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# LEGE ARTIS

Language yesterday,  
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## LEGE ARTIS

Language yesterday, today, tomorrow

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# PARTICULARIZING FOCUS MARKERS IN OLD ENGLISH: JUST A CASE OF ADVERB POLYSEMY?<sup>1</sup>

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**Abstract:** The paper investigates the status of the focusing particularizer adverb *efne* in Old English, which has a polysemous character and can also be used as a manner, time, locative, and as an intensifying adverb. The automated analysis of the lexeme based on the Corpus of Dictionary of Old English is realized through #LancsBox software, the tools of which (KWIC, Words, GraphColl) assist in reconstructing a hypothetical pattern of the adverb emergence in the language and possible grammaticalization pathways.

**Key words:** focusing adverbs, particularizer, grammaticalization, polysemy, Old English.

## 1. Introduction

The current investigation sets out to explore particularizing focus markers in Old English, whose functions in Present-Day English (PDE) are realized by such focusing adverbs as *just*, *exactly*, *precisely*. The particularizer *just* is first recorded in ca. 1400 (Andrushenko 2021a; 2022b; Nevalainen 1991: 151). Other adverbs performing similar functions, i.e., *precisely* and *exactly*, emerge in the language as lexemes with a wide range of meanings approximately at a similar time frame, viz. 1392 and 1530 respectively. While *precisely* is already introduced into English as a focusing adverb (Cougil Alvarez 2003), instances of the particularizer *exactly* are not observed until the 18<sup>th</sup> century (OED 2022; Cougil Alvarez 2003: 304).

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The relatively late emergence of Present-Day English particularizers in the language, as well as their foreign origin (Latin and French bases) triggered the question of how the particularizer meaning is rendered in previous centuries, more precisely in Old English records. One of the hypotheses to check is whether this function is initially performed by manner adverbs, as is the case with Present-Day English particularizers (see: Gast & Auwera 2011).

## **2. Focusing adverbs: Literature review**

Before moving to particularizer functions in Old English I would like to highlight common syntactic, semantic and pragmatic characteristics of focusing adverbs (FA) (Nevalainen 1991) in PDE and the problems that arise while delineating them from non-focusing ones. This will allow the drawing of parallels between the older and modern stages of English language development. It is known that this class of adverbs is characterized by their positional variation or flexibility, interacting with sentence focus and sentence structure in a very specific way. Thus, adverb removal from the sentence does not affect its grammaticality, but it may have an influence on its truth conditions (Rooth 1992). In addition, focusing adverbs have both syntactic and semantic scope over their associate constituent (König 1991: 13; De Cesare 2015: 60). They also contribute to the proposition in which they occur, and thus their meaning can be captured by indicating the "type of relation that holds between the focus value and its alternative values" (De Cesare 2015: 61).

The investigation of focusing adverbs in Middle English and Early Modern English periods shows that oftentimes the same form of the adverb can perform different functions due to their polysemous character, which is specifically evident for *even* (Andrushenko 2021b; 2022a) and *just* (Andrushenko 2022b; Nevalainen 1991). Assuming that this might be also true for the earlier stages of English, I propose highlighting the major semantic differences between various subtypes of focusing adverbs in PDE to single out particularizer and other adverbial functions.

FAs are identified based on the semantic operations of quantification and scalarity. In terms of quantifying over the set of alternative values to the element in focus, they can be subdivided into restrictives and additives. The group of restrictives shows a further partition into exclusives (*only*-group) and particularizers (*just*-group). Exclusive adverbs single out definite components in the sentence thereby denying other possibilities, whilst particularizers imply that there are possibilities other than the one described (Kanetani 2019: 79). The difference between restrictives and additives lies in their influence on the truth conditions of the sentence: the former "do have truth conditional effects, whereas additive adverbs are neutral and trigger a level of meaning that is non-truth conditional"

(Herman 2013). Based on the second type of operation, focusing adverbs can assign (be assigned?) a high or low focus value on the likelihood scale. Therefore, the additive group is subdivided into non-scalar (*also*- group) and scalar (*even*-group) (De Cesare 2015; Gast 2017).

### 3. Methods

The investigation of entries from the Oxford English Dictionary (2022) shows that the particularizer meanings of *just*, *exactly* and *precisely* are realized by the polysemous adverb *efne* (PDE *even*), which has the following senses in Old English: *even*, *exactly*, *precisely*, *just*, *alike*, *likewise* and *just now*. Examples (1)-(3) from the Bosworth and Toller Dictionary (2019) illustrate some of the abovementioned senses.

(1) "*He wintra hæfde **efne** hund-seofontig ðer him sunu wóce*" (Cd 57; Th. 70,24; Gen. 1158). – *He had **just** seventy winters ere a son was born to him.*

(2) "*We ðe willaþ ferigañ **efne** to ðam lande*" (Adr. Kmbl. 587; An. 294; Bt. Met. Fox. 8, 95; Met. 8, 48). – *We will convey thee **even** to the land [to the very land].*

(3) "*Deór **efne** swá some æfter ðære stefne on ðone stenc faraþ*" (Th. 358, 30; Pa. 53). – ***Just so** goes the beast after the voice in that odour.*

Adverb *efne* in (1) is used in a focusing particularizer sense, while in (2) it conveys the scalar additive meaning of *even*. Example (3) demonstrates the double reading of *efne* in combination with the other OE adverb *swa*, in this case apart from the particularizer meaning the phrase expresses a manner of action. Such instances are also investigated in our study as marginal cases that simultaneously carry both senses; therefore, a wide contextual analysis of the text should be considered.

The ambiguous reading of manner or degree and focusing adverbs has been noted in Nevalainen & Rissanen (2002) who point out that historical records do not reveal this directly, therefore this ambiguity is in a sense a "function of the coinciding of degree modifier with intonational focus" (Traugott 2006). Such shifts occur due to metaphorical meaning change (Nevalainen 1991). As Traugott (2006) suggests, changes of meaning initially arise as conversational implicatures, which become generalized and can be coded as semantic or pragmatic polysemes in the long run. As observed, *efne* shows evidence of several polysemes in OE, which are typical even in further periods of English development (cf. for ME Andrushenko 2021b; Traugott 2006).

It is also important to note, that *efne* in OE functions as an interjection or intensifying adverb meaning *Lo! Behold! Indeed! Truly!* (4), which also should not be overlooked during the analysis.

(4) "*And efne! Ðá ætýwde Moyses and Helias*" (Mt. Bos. 17,3). – *Et ecce apparuerunt Moyses et Elias.*

The hypothesis to check is whether among the usages of *efne* a purely focusing particularizer meaning can be identified or whether the abovementioned cases represent double senses like particularizer and manner or particularizer and time, particularizer and intensifying adverb (interjection), etc.

To obtain more quantitative data the preliminary findings from two historical dictionaries are tested **based on** the Corpus of Dictionary of Old English (OE Corpus), which contains a wide range of texts that vary in date, dialect and gender (DOE 2022). The version used for the investigation is represented by 77 records with a total number of 4,578,301 running words.

The automated analysis of lexemes is made by means of #LancsBox, a new generation software package for the analysis of language data and corpora (Brezina et al. 2015). To simplify the data search and visualize the results obtained the following tools from the package were used: KWIC, Words, GraphColl (Brezina et al. 2020). The statistical analysis bar of #LancsBox shows that *efne* is registered in 741 instances in 60 out of 77 texts with a total frequency of 1.619 per 10K. Due to the polysemous character of *efne* the further analysis of its meaning and the most frequent collocates is based on contextual analysis (Rooth 1992). Under the present study the manually investigated KWIC sample is based on 13 concordance lines that precede the lexeme (Haugh, Eckhoff & Welo 2014: 36) to ensure its main semantic contribution to the sentence in which it occurs (Herrmann 2013).

#### 4. Results and discussions

The semantic analysis of the word *efne* in the OE Corpus allows singling out the following usages in reliance on 741 tokens overall extracted by means of #LancBox: intensifying interj/adverb (*indeed, truly, lo, behold*) 46.84%, particularizer (*just*) 9.36%, scalar additive (*even*) 3.32%, exclusive focusing (*only*) 0.9%, temporal (*just*) 0.6%, manner adverb (*evenly*) 0.6%, noun (*alum*) 0.3% (See Fig. 1).



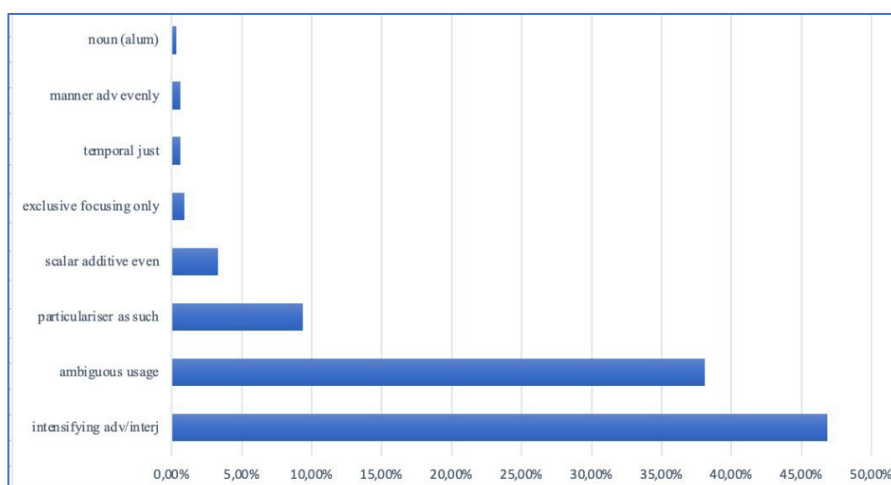


Figure 1. The Meaning of *efne* in OE Corpus. Source: own processing

Examples (5)-(9) are provided to illustrate some of the abovementioned usages in Fig. 1.

(5) "*Efne*, me þonne god gleawe fultumeð, is andfengea ece drihten sawle minre; he me swican ne wile" (DOE 2022). – *Ecce enim Deus adjuvat me, et Dominus susceptor est animæ meæ* (Behold! Indeed! – intensifying interjection/adverb).

(6) "*Hæfde wederwolcen widum fæðmum eorðan and uprodor efne gedæled, lædde leodwerod, ligfyr adranc, hate heofontorht*" (DOE 2022). – *A weather cloud evenly divided the earth and heaven with its wide expanses, guided the host of people, quenched the fiery flame, hot [and] heaven-bright* (manner adverb).

(7) "*He him þære lisse lean forgildeð, se gehalgoda hælend sylfa, efne in þam eðle þær he ær ne cwom, in lifgendra londes wyne, þær he gesælig siþþan eardað, ealne widan feorh wunað butan ende*" (DOE 2022). – *He, the holy Saviour himself, will grant to him the reward of grace, even in that homeland where he never came before, in the joy of the land of living, where he will thereafter live in happiness, dwell forever without end* (scalar additive even).

(8) "*Nis þæt eower siþ; ne gemet mannes, nefne min anes, þæt/ he wið; aglæcean eofodo dæle, eorlscype efne*" (DOE 2022). – *Nor fitting for any man except me alone, that he should exert his strength against the monster, fulfill a man's job [but my own, that they with monster's violence dispense, bravery only]* (restrictive exclusive only).

(9) "*Gif ic on heofenas up hea astige, þu me þær on efn. andweard sittest; gif ic on helle gedo hwyrft*

*ænigne, þu me æt byst efne rihte*" (DOE 2022). – *If I ascend into heaven, you are there; if I go down into hell, you are here [If I on heaven up [ascend] you me there on even sits, if I on hell make a course by all means, you me at shall be, **just** right]* (focusing particularizer).

The analysis of the right position of the adverb, with statistical measure chosen in GraphColl tool as 01 - Freq (5.0), L0-R1, C: 5.0-NC: 5.0) in #LancsBox indicates that the most frequent collocates are (387 tokens): *efne swa*, *efne ic*, *efne on*, *efne þa*, *efne he*, *efne nu*, *efne her*, etc., (see Table 1 and Fig. 2).

Table 1. Collocates of the search term *efne* in OE Corpus. Source: own processing

ID	Position	Collocate	Stat (Freq)	Freq coll	Freq corpus
1	R	swa	108	108	28356
2	R	nu	74	74	6729
3	R	ic	47	47	28929
4	R	þa	44	44	46043
5	R	ðā	31	31	19682
6	R	her	20	20	3776
7	R	swylce	20	20	1817
8	R	þu	16	16	15448
9	R	he	14	14	50059
10	R	we	13	13	12234

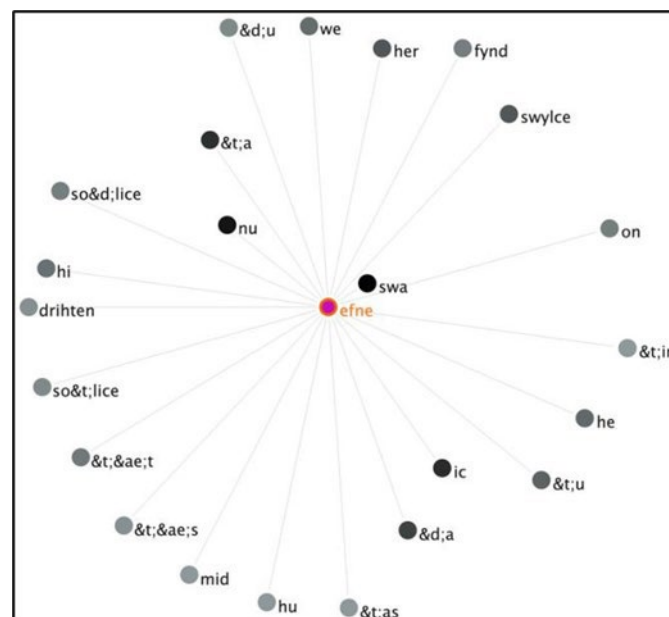


Figure 2. Collocation network: *efne* in Dictionary of Old English. Source: own processing

KWIC analysis shows that *efne* as an emphatic interjection or adverb frequently occurs at the beginning of the clause to express a strong feeling, normally as a gloss to the Latin *ecce* (10). (Hiltunen 2016: 107). Moreover, collocates analysis indicates that in this usage *efne* frequently precedes pronominals



*ic, he, þu, we*, which, however, are not registered with *efne* in a particularizer sense. Momma (1997: 156) states that some editions show punctuation between *efne* and the following clause, since interjections are never attached to a specific constituent in the sentence. Mitchell (1985: 299-300) suggests that interjections like *efne* may influence word order but does not elaborate on it (Walkden 2014: 125). The instances in the current study, however, indicate that when functioning as an interjection or an emphatic adverb *efne* does not affect the word-order in the following clause, even in the case of topic shift, which makes it distinctive from OE *hwæt* (see: Walkden 2014). Still, 5.16% instances analyzed show the inverted word order, which may be explained by the individual features of the texts (0.65%) or by the presence of locative *her* (*here*) at the beginning of the clause that follows (11) that may account for WO change (see: Kemenade 2009; 2020), e.g.:

(10) "*Pa wæron 8ared8 on þam 8ared waciende ofer heora eowde. And efne þa godes engel stod onemn hi and godes beorhtnys hi bescean*" (DOE 2022). – *And there were shepherds in the country watching. Over their flock; and lo, the angel of God stood before them and God's brightness shone on them.*

(11) "*Efne her is foresæd se upplica grama. þe ofer mannum becymð; to wrace heora mandædum; Coða becumað; Efne her is manna lichamana ungemetegung*" (DOE 2022). – *Lo, here is foretold the heavenly anger which shall come upon men in vengeance of their crimes. "Pestilences shall come." Lo, here are the intemperance and affliction of men's bodies.*

The lexeme *efne* in the example (11) can also be interpreted as *just [exactly] here* providing double reading of the word as an emphatic interjection or a focusing particularizer. Such examples may indicate a transitional stage of lexical meaning change and part of speech switching. Thus, the initial hypothesis that the particularizer *efne* originates from the manner adverb is cast into some doubt. Untypical grammaticalization pattern for an adverb development from an emphatic interjection finds ground in the historical development of the German focusing operators *zumal* 'in particular', *gar* 'even' and *sogar* 'even', which developed their original intensifying sense 'very', 'completely' around 1600. The intensifying sense of *efne* can be illustrated in example (12). The untypical position of *efne* before the verb may testify to its functioning as an intensifying adverb "truly".

(12) "*Wyrcað dædbote eowra misdæda, forðan þe heofonan rice efne genealæch*" (DOE 2022). – *Work penitence for your misdeed, for the kingdom of heaven just [truly] approaches.*

To dwell on this hypothesis for the Old English *efne*, I will first refer to Diewald's (2002) idea of meaning

change, which presupposes three stages: 1) untypical contexts that create the precondition to change, 2) critical contexts that indicate structural and semantic ambiguity (triggering the change) and 3) isolating contexts (the original meaning is no longer available). Sentences (11)-(12) exemplify the second stage of transformation.

On the other hand, 38.08% examples of *efne* (282 sentences overall) used in combination with such adverbs as *swa*, *þa*, *nu* and adjective *gelicost*, etc. demonstrate particularizer and additional adverbial meanings (See Fig. 3).

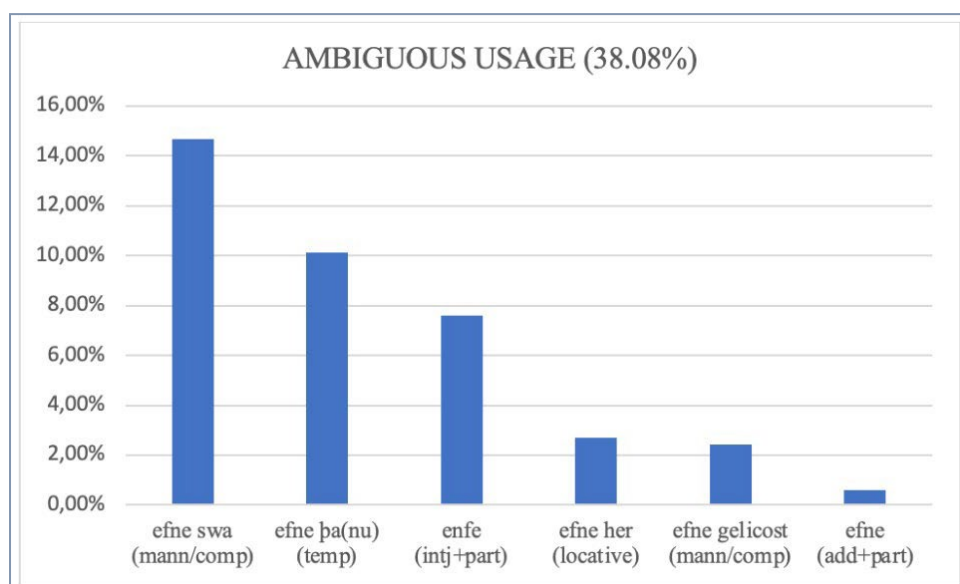


Figure 3. Collocates with particularizer *efne* rendering additional adverbial senses. Source: own processing

Thus, based on Fig. 3 collocate *efne swa* amounting to 14.67% of all the tokens renders both particularizer and manner or comparison sense (13), *efne þa* and occasionally *efne nu* (10.12%) convey particularizer and temporal meaning (14), *efne her* (2.69%) has an additional locative sense (15), *efne gelicost* (2.42%) render particularizer and manner functions (16), and double reading occasionally occurs when it comes to differentiation between a scalar additive and particularizer (0.6%) (17). Such double sense reading is possible owing to the second element in the construction.

(13) "*Ponne of ceastrum ond cynestolum ond of burgsalum beornþreat monig farað; foldwegum folca þrypum, eoredcystum, ofestum gefysde, dareðlacende; deor efne swa some æfter þære stefne on þone stenc farað*" (DOE 2022). – *Then from cities and royal dwellings and from the halls of towns many troops of warriors in bands of people, in chosen hosts, travel on the land's paths, hastened with speed, waving spears; exactly as wild animals travel after the sound towards that fragrance.*

(14) "***Efne þa** comon twegen seolas of sælicum grunde. and hi mid heora flyse his fet drygdon. and mid heora blæde his leoma beðedon*" (DOE 2022). – *Just then came to seals from the sea-ground, and they with their fur dried his feet and with their breath warmed his limbs.*

(15) "***Efne her** gæð godes lamb se þe ætbret middaneardes synna*" (DOE 2022). – *Just here goes the the Lamb of God, who shall take away the sins of the world.*

(16) "& *efne swa se wind swiþor slogon þone leg swa bræc he swiþor ongean þæm winde, efne þæm gelicost* swylce ða gesceafta twa him betweenan gefeohtan sceoldan" (DOE 2022). – *even as the wind struck the more violently upon the flame so it more vehemently strove against the wind, exactly as if it were two creatures fighting one against another.*

(17) "& ic *efne* gefeonde in minum mode geornlicor ða lond sceawigean wolde" (DOE 2022). – *And I even [just] rejoiced [exulted] inwardly {in my inner man} with the will that land to explore [observe wanted].*

The hypothesis in favour of a manner/comparison adverb contributing to the later development of the particularizer sense of *efne* finds its ground based on the significant percentage rate of *efne swa* and *efne gelicost* constructions in OE texts amounting to 17.09% in total. Moreover, the meaning of *efne swa* is realized in the records with the help of another construction *swa swa* translated as *exactly as* or *just as*, e.g.:

(18) "*Moyseþ ða dyde swa swa Drihten him beþead*" (DOE 2022). – *Moses then did just as the Lord asked him.*

Constructions like the one represented in sentence (18) amount to 400 examples out of 1078 instances of usage analysed in the records, which is ca. 37.1%, while the raw data for *efne swa* in the Corpus reach only 108 occurrences per 741 examples (14.67% as mentioned above). I also compared the representation of *efne swa* and *swa swa* in OE records, it was observed that the former construction is limited to four works, i.e. *Blickling Homilies*, *Wulfstan's Institutes of Polity*, *Riddles*, *The Exeter Book*, while *swa swa* with particularizer sense is registered in 13 records: *Aelfric's First and Second Letters to Wulfstan*, *Aelfric's Letter to Sigeward*, *Aelfric's Catholic Homilies*, *Aelfric's Lives of Saints*, etc. These figures may hypothetically indicate the comparative/manner adverbial *swa swa* construction as a source of reanalysis of *efne* as a manner/comparison adverb into a particularizer.

Moreover, the instances of ambiguous interpretation of *efne* with some collocates become frequently transparent in Present-Day English translations of Old English records. Hence, some authors view the first element in *efne þa* construction as the adverb *precisely* or *just* (Killie 2008: 77-78), while others give preference to the intensifying interjection *Behold! Lo!* (Thorpe 1844: 79), which may also be used in favour of the interjection as the original source for the adverb. Cf.:

(19) "& ***efne þa*** *wæs growende Aarones gyrd on blostmum & on leafum on hnutbeames wisan*" (DOE 2022). – and ***just [precisely] then*** was growing Aron's twig into flowers and into leaves in nut tree's manner.

(20) "*Þa þa se hælend acenned wæs. on þære iudeiscan bethleem. on herodes dagum cyninges: efne þa comon fram eastdæle middaneardes þry tungelwitegan to þære byrig hierusalem*" (DOE 2022). – When Jesus was born in the Judaeen Bethlehem, in the days of Herod the king, behold, ***then*** came from the east part of the earth three astrologers to the city of Jerusalem.

With reference to Old English examples, sentences (12)-(15) and (19)-(20) demonstrate the second stage of Diwald's (2002) idea of meaning change, i.e. semantic ambiguity, which is observed in 38.08% of instances from OE Corpus. These observations may contribute to the hypothesis that *efne* initially functions as the intensifying interjection or adverb meaning "*Lo! Behold! Truly! Indeed!*", and goes through a process of transformation, gradually developing the sense of a focusing adverb in Old English. On the other hand, it can be assumed that manner and comparison adverbial functions evolved in parallel due to combination with other adverbs, which gave rise to the development of a particularizer function of *efne*, while additive and exclusive senses still remain in a "nascent state" in Old English. The hypothetical scheme for *efne* standing in OE is given in Fig. 4.

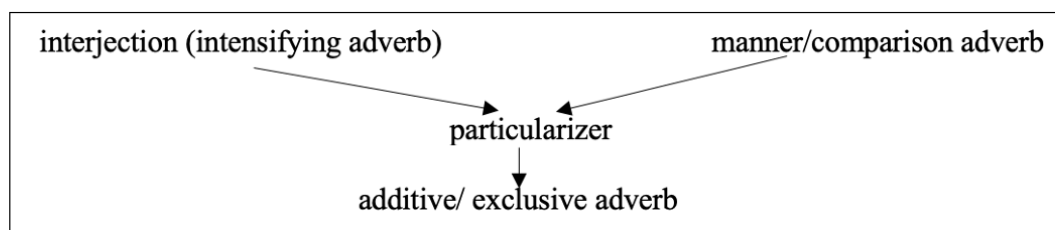


Figure 4. Grammaticalization pathway for adverb *efne* in OE

This assumption finds its ground with reference to the formation of focusing adverbs in other Indo-European and Non-Indo-European languages (Eberhardt 2022; Gast & Auwera 2011).

## 5. Concluding remarks

The relatively late emergence of Present-Day English particularizers, viz. 13–15<sup>th</sup> centuries, from Latin and French bases has triggered the question of expressing a restrictive particularizer meaning in earlier stages of the language development. Eliciting a particularizer sense is centered on the semantic operations of quantification and scalarity. It has been found that these types of adverbs are used to delineate the focus value more precisely or emphatically without explicitly mentioning the alternative values implying that there are possibilities other than described. This assumption has enabled identifying the focusing particularizer adverb *efne* in the Corpus Dictionary of Old English, texts from which have been statistically processed via #LancBox software. The quantitative data obtained allow singling out the grammaticalization pattern for *efne*, which hypothetically developed its meaning from two sources: the intensifying interjection (adverb) and a manner/comparison adverb that is observed in reliance of the frequency of collocates with adverb *swa*, further evolving into focusing particularizer and eventually becoming the source of adverb transformation into the scalar additive *even* and the sporadically exclusive restrictive *just* [*only*]. Such metaphorical abstractions in OE are possible due to lexeme occurrence in untypical contexts that create the precondition to change and critical contexts that trigger structural and semantic ambiguity.

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# THE POST-WAR VISION IN THE COLLECTIVE COGNITIVE SPACE OF UKRAINIANS AND EUROPEANS (BASED ON CONTEMPORARY MASS MEDIA DISCOURSE)<sup>1</sup>

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**Abstract:** The study presents the outcomes of discursive and conceptual analyses of Ukrainian and Slovak media discourse that has been produced by the representatives of political and economic elites and news media outputs. The above outcomes contain Ukrainians' and Slovaks' basic ideas (within their collective cognitive space) of the post-war processes both in Ukraine and in the rest of the world in the form of certain concepts.

**Key words:** discourse, discourse practice, mass-media discourse, discourse of war, concept, conceptual system, cognitive space, collective cognitive space.

## 1. Introduction

For the second year in a row, the topic of the war has been on the front pages of the media. The war in Ukraine has shaken the whole world by its unexpectedness, cruelty and aggression, which are generally unheard of in modern society. Many publications by scholars in various fields (politics, economics, geography, history, psychology, etc.) demonstrate the deep concern of humanity about the ongoing atrocities. Contemporary linguistics has not stood aside either, immediately taking

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thematically relevant linguistic phenomena to be analysed from different perspectives. In particular, Shevchenko studies the cognitive and pragmatic coverage of war designations in the English-language media (Шевченко 2022), Zhuravska analyses the types and functionality of war memes in the Ukrainian media (Журавська 2022), and Shcherbak identifies linguistic strategies and tactics that structure news texts about the war in Ukraine from the angle of news reports collated from the German-language website tagesschau.de (Щербак 2022).

Since mid-2022, a new topic has emerged in the rhetoric of military news, apparently related to Ukraine's success at the front and the world's consolidation in the increase of military aid: the post-war world, its structure, organizations, guarantees, etc. Analysing the helplessness of the world at the beginning of Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine, most researchers agree that with the end of the war, the current administrative and political world order will definitely need to be reframed and re-evaluated using well-known techniques (Prihodko 2016). In reviewing these publications, we set out to track trends in the collective cognitive space of Ukrainians and representatives of the European space (Slovaks) from a cognitive point of view, which are revealed in the rhetoric of the Ukrainian and Slovak media regarding the vision of the post-war world order and Ukraine in particular.

The object of the study is the mass media discourse (as a way of presenting material) on militarily oriented topics in its political and public manifestations, and its subject is the autochthonous concepts reflecting the basic thematically oriented mental markers of the ethnospaces under study. The material comprises the speeches and statements by politicians (primarily presidents, but also parliamentarians from Ukraine and Slovakia) and famous people (scientists, businesspeople etc.), who are considered to be the decision-makers of society. The countries chosen are also obvious: Ukraine, which is the object of aggression and a party to the war, and Slovakia, which, as a member of the European Union, represents the general mood of Europeans. We are aware of the diversity of the European discourse, but our goal is to reveal the general trends in European thinking from this perspective, which may be continued in the study of nationally specific European discourses on the stated topic. Another task is to compare the ideas about the post-war order in the mindsets of Ukrainians and Europeans, as well as the mental coincidences and differences demonstrated in their speech.

The most appropriate linguistic projection for such a study is the cognitive-discourse paradigm of linguistic research, and within it, the discourse conceptualisation area, which among other things deals with the establishment of the components of collective cognitive spaces – "a particularly structured set of knowledge and representations that all individuals of a social group (as a discursive community) possess" (Osovska & Tomniuk 2019a: 48)). Against the background of different types

of discursive practices, the collective cognitive space is reflected in certain relatively stable mental frameworks – conceptual systems of discourses, which, in turn, are sets of concepts regularly reproduced in them, which are commonly called autochthons (Mináriková et al. 2023; Osovská 2013; Pryhodko 2008).

## **2. Media and the war in Ukraine**

The outbreak of the war in Ukraine naturally came into the field of view of both national and global media and replaced the topic of coronavirus not only in the Slovak, but also in the European media, which has been intensively covered since the beginning of 2020 (Višňovský & Radošinská 2021). When the virus spread around the world, in March 2020, the World Health Organisation declared a pandemic, to which the governments of the countries reacted by introducing various restrictive measures to prevent its spread. This was a media agenda that was the top topic of both national and global news coverage for almost two years and was replaced by the Russian invasion of Ukraine, which began on 24 February 2022.

As far as the coverage of the war in Ukraine is concerned, the Slovak media have paid increased attention to the events beyond Slovakia's eastern border since the beginning of the war, for several reasons. From a historical point of view, Subcarpathian Rus, which is now part of western Ukraine (Lenovský & Slobodová Nováková 2021), was for centuries part of the same state units of which the Slovaks were a part, firstly Hungary and later the Czechoslovak Republic, and which since 1946 has been annexed to Ukraine (Geremešová 2017). The Slovak Republic shares a 98-kilometres border with Ukraine, which is also the border of the European Union, the Schengen area and the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO). Ukrainians lived in Slovakia before the conflict broke out. According to the results of the 2021 Population, Housing and Housing Census, 0.17 % of the population with permanent residence in Slovakia declared Ukrainian nationality, which is approximately 9 400 persons (Štatistický úrad Slovenskej republiky / Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic 2022). According to the law, the public broadcaster Radio and Television of Slovakia is obliged to ensure broadcasting for national minorities living in Slovakia, i.e., for Ukrainians, who are a recognised national minority (Zákon č. 532/2010 Z. z. o Rozhlase a televízii Slovenska a o zmene a doplnení niektorých zákonov / Act No. 532/2010 on Radio and Television of Slovakia as Amended 2010). Commercial broadcasters are not obliged by law to broadcast programmes for national minorities. Nevertheless, in response to the Russian aggression in Ukraine, the news broadcaster TA3 launched a news format called Ukrajinské správy / Українські новини (Ukrainian News). The programme began broadcasting on 2 March 2022.

The Slovak media have been intensively covering the war conflict, and their interest in it has not waned even after more than 30 months of its duration. Both the public service media and commercial television stations have dedicated separate sections to it in their news programmes (Dúbravská 2023), and web portals have set up sections where they publish information about the conflict. The issue is still discussed in political programmes and on the news (Murár & Piatrov 2022), although nowadays aid to Ukraine has become part of the electoral battle ahead of the forthcoming early parliamentary elections in Slovakia to be held on 30 September 2023.

While the serious media try to proceed with caution when reporting on a war conflict, to verify information or to lead by not being able to independently verify it, the conspiracy media lean towards one side or the other. The coronavirus pandemic has been sparked by a pandemic of fake news, disinformation, hoaxes and propaganda that has begun to spread through social media (Krajčovič 2022; Panasenکو et al. 2020; Pravdová et al. 2021), especially social networks (Facebook, Instagram, YouTube and others). In his study, the Dutch media theorist Deuze concluded that the coronavirus pandemic is the first major media pandemic of the 21st century in which the media have played a role in its spread:

*"It is perhaps also not surprising, from this point of view, that most of the debates and discussions about the pandemic do not just concern the virus and its impact, but focus especially on the roles of expert information provision, news coverage, government communications, and social media. It is clear that the coronavirus pandemic is a mediatized event as much as it is a virus that infects millions of people around the world" (Deuze, 2020: 14).*

In 2021, the Government of the Slovak Republic adopted the Security Strategy of the Slovak Republic, in which it committed to respond to hybrid threats, eliminate the spread of disinformation and propaganda, and develop critical thinking (Ministerstvo obrany Slovenskej republiky / Ministry of Defence of the Slovak Republic 2021). In March 2022, following the start of Russia's invasion of Ukraine, the National Security Office blocked four disinformation online and web portals for publishing disinformation and harmful content. The information space is constantly flooded with disinformation aimed at manipulating public opinion (Greguš et al. 2022), and these efforts are escalating.

The fact that the phenomenon of spreading false content in the online environment in Slovakia has a significant impact on ordinary Internet users is confirmed by data from the YouGov agency. According to YouGov, the Slovak Republic is one of the countries with the highest incidence of people who have fallen for misinformation in the whole of Europe (Tisová 2022). The inability of internet users to distinguish between sources in the context of the origin of a message or the lack of

knowledge of the distinction between news and journalistic texts or blogging is a clear predisposition to receive and then disseminate any content, including false content (Bielik & Višňovský; Solík 2021). The gradual regulation of social and online media in the context of responsibility for the content disseminated is a positive change in Slovak legislation and one of the necessary steps to combat the phenomena of the dissemination of intentionally false content, the spread of aggression and the polarisation of society (Škarba & Višňovský 2022). However, it must be said that it is not only foreign media that are exposed to disinformation and the spread of political propaganda.

The language of the media is extremely dynamic and flexible, naturally reflecting the reality it reports. This is manifested in media communication, where information is most often exchanged through language. The enrichment of language with new words is a natural part of its evolution. It reflects the liveliness of the language and at the same time is a reflection not only of the various intensive contacts with other linguistic communities, but also of the current situation – social, cultural, political and scientific-technical (Panasenکو & Greguš 2022; Pitoňáková 2021).

### **3. Methodology**

According to Starzyńska and Budziszewska (2018: 291), discourse "authoritatively decides on whether to include or exclude particular contents from archives of social knowledge". The modern variety of interpretations of the phenomenon of discourse generally allows us to determine our position as a socially linguistic one. Therefore, we treat discourse as a functional ethno-cultural space of a particular society, represented by a certain verbalized practice in a certain socio-communicative sphere. In this research, we define discourse as a linguistic unit of communication, which reflects the differentiated diversity of the world and includes typical situations of social interaction, participants, social norms and conventions, along with cultural representations (Osovska & Tomniuk 2019a: 169).

In accordance with our goal (to reveal the general post-war vision in the collective cognitive space of Ukrainians and Europeans) and the object stated above, which is located at the intersection of mass media, military and political discourses, we define the research materials as manifestations of mass media-represented politically orientated and military-themed discourse in two national discourses in almost equal amounts. The corpora are analysed according to the procedure outlined in (Osovska 2013) and tested in (Kolisnichenko et al. 2022; Osovska & Tomniuk 2019a; 2019b and others).

Thus, the research methodology, comparing cognitive representation, verbal reproduction and discursive realization includes several stages: 1) determining through conceptual analysis the allochthons as a general complex of possible concepts – the minimum units of storing, transmitting,



and reproducing the knowledge; 2) determining autochthons as regular concepts through the procedures of quantitative verification (namely, the application of the  $\chi^2$  criterion) of actuals; 3) comparing the autochthons of Ukrainian and Slovak national concepts in the stated topic through comparative analysis.

The identification of autochthonous concepts is based on the following considerations within the discourse conceptology: a) it is possible to cognise and comprehend each discourse by realising its peculiar concept system, which unites a certain set of regular and an infinite set of variable (random) concepts that are actualised in it; b) this set can be established by analysing and inventorying the texts that are realised within this discourse, recording the verbalisers of concepts and quantifying the most frequent. In general, the applied methodology enables us to model the conceptual system of a discourse and represent it on a cognitive map, but this study is only the initial stage of such a possible procedure and will only allow us to identify regular concepts as the skeletons of the studied discourses.

The traditional study of the fullness of conceptual structures is based, as a rule, on the definition of frequency of lexemes that designate certain elements or nominal characteristics of a concept. However, quantitative techniques, in particular, one of the basic methods for verifying hypotheses in linguistics – the chi-square ( $\chi^2$ ) criterion (which is referred to as criterion of correspondence), make it possible to determine the existence of correspondences or discrepancies between distributions of frequencies of the quantities under observation (Левицкий 2012: 156), actually verifying their regularity of this discursive environment (examples of the application of such a procedure can be found in (Osovska 2013: 159-196; Osovska & Tomniuk 2019a; 2019b and others)).

The material, which is subjected to analysis, was a selection of approximately 300 pages from the most visited Slovak and Ukrainian news portals, [www.sme.sk](http://www.sme.sk), [www.pravda.com.ua](http://www.pravda.com.ua), official speeches of the President of the Slovak Republic Zuzana Čaputová and of the President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelensky and their statuses on the social network Facebook, statuses of the respected economist and former Minister of Finance of the Slovak Republic Ivan Mikloš and thematically relevant studies by prominent Ukrainian economists as well as other well-known and respected personalities in Slovakia and Ukraine from various areas of public life.

#### **4. Results and discussion**

This procedure allowed us to identify the set of the main concepts in the rhetoric of Ukrainian and Slovak decision-makers. However, it is quite logical that they display different frequency of use by

the speakers. The main autochthonous concepts recorded in the Ukrainian mass media political discourse are presented in Table 1 in descending order of frequency.

Table 1. The main autochthonous concepts recorded in the Ukrainian mass media political discourse of the post-war period. Source: own processing

Concept	English equivalent	Percentage of the total number of verbalisers	Concept	English equivalent	Percentage of the total number of verbalisers
БУДУВАННЯ	BUILDING	10.47	РЕКОНСТРУКЦІЯ	RECONSTRUCTION	1.95
ВІДБУДОВА	REBUILDING	8.00	ЗРОСТАННЯ	GROWTH	1.94
ВІДНОВЛЕННЯ	RECOVERY	7.32	ЗАХИСТ/ ОБОРОНА	SAFETY/ SECURITY	1.73
БЕЗПЕКА	DEFENCE	6.72	ВПРОВАДЖЕННЯ	IMPLEMENTATION	1.42
ДОПОМОГА	HELP	5.99	ДЕМОКРАТІЯ	DEMOCRACY	1.20
РОЗВИТОК	DEVELOPMENT	5.44	ЦИФРОВІЗАЦІЯ	DIGITALIZATION	1.13
РЕФОРМА	REFORM	5.09	РОЗШИРЕННЯ	EXTENSION	0.79
ВКЛЮЧЕННЯ/ ІНТЕГРАЦІЯ (до СС чи НАТО)	INCLUSION/ INTEGRATION (to EU or NATO)	4.55	МОДЕРНІЗАЦІЯ	MODERNIZATION	0.76
ПРОГРЕС	PROGRESS	4.47	МИР	PEACE	0.56
ПІДТРИМКА	SUPPORT	4.43	ПОДОЛАННЯ	OVERCOMING	0.39
СТВОРЕННЯ	CREATION	4.14	ЗАПОБІГАННЯ	PREVENTION	0.38
ІНВЕСТИЦІЇ	INVESTMENT	4.04	СВОБОДА	FREEDOM	0.32
ЗАЛУЧЕННЯ	INVOLVEMENT	2.85	ЗВІЛЬНЕННЯ	RELIEF	0.31
ЗМІНА	CHANGE	2.76	ОНОВЛЕННЯ	UPDATE	0.29
ПЕРЕТВОРЕННЯ	TRANSFORMATION	2.75	РОЗГОРТАННЯ	DEPLOYMENT	0.27
ПРОЕКТ	PROJECT	2.65	ПОЛІПШЕННЯ	IMPROVEMENT	0.24
ЕКСПОРТ	EXPORT	2.38	САНКЦІЇ	SANCTIONS	0.06
СПРІЯННЯ	FACILITATION	2.13	СУВЕРЕНІТЕТ	SOVEREIGNTY	0.05

As we can see, the awareness of the post-war state in the collective cognitive space of Ukrainians is concentrated around the ВІДБУДОВА / REBUILDING (8%):

(1) Ukr. *Україна потребуватиме системної відбудови після війни, а деякі об'єкти потребують негайного відновлення.* ("Доступ громадськості до прийняття рішень щодо відновлення України в частині збереження довкілля і протидії зміні клімату"). March 20 2023. – Eng. 'Ukraine will need systemic rebuilding after the war and some facilities will need immediate recovery'. ('Public access to decision-making regarding the restoration of Ukraine in terms of environmental protection and climate change prevention'). ([https://ua.boell.org/sites/default/files/2023-03/zvit\\_uchast-gromadskosti-u-procesakh-vidbudovi-2023.pdf](https://ua.boell.org/sites/default/files/2023-03/zvit_uchast-gromadskosti-u-procesakh-vidbudovi-2023.pdf))

ВІДНОВЛЕННЯ / RECOVERY (7.32%) acknowledges the need for ДОПОМОГА / HELP (5.99%):

(2) Ukr. *Відновлення України – це всеосяжна трансформація країни, під час якої багато елементів мають працювати одночасно.* ("Відбудова України: принципи та політика"). May 28 2023. – Eng. 'The recovery of Ukraine is a comprehensive transformation of the country and during

this change many components must work simultaneously'. ("Reconstruction of Ukraine: principles and politics"). ([https://cepr.org/system/files/2022-12/reconstruction%20book\\_Ukrainian\\_0.pdf](https://cepr.org/system/files/2022-12/reconstruction%20book_Ukrainian_0.pdf))

(3) Ukr. *На такому рівні необхідна допомога іноземних незалежних експертів у відборі та навчанні буде найбільш ефективною*, May 28 2023. ("Відбудова України: принципи та політика"). – Eng. 'At this level, the necessary help of foreign independent experts in selection and training processes will be most efficient'. ("Reconstruction of Ukraine: principles and politics"). ([https://cepr.org/system/files/2022-12/reconstruction%20book\\_Ukrainian\\_0.pdf](https://cepr.org/system/files/2022-12/reconstruction%20book_Ukrainian_0.pdf))

ПІДТРИМКА / SUPPORT (4.43%) of the world:

(4) Ukr. *Україна, за підтримки країн, які вірять у світовий порядок, заснований на правилах, переможе*, May 28 2023. ("Відбудова України: принципи та політика"). – Eng. 'Ukraine will gain victory with the support of the countries that believe in the world order based on rules'. ("Reconstruction of Ukraine: principles and politics"). ([https://cepr.org/system/files/2022-12/reconstruction%20book\\_Ukrainian\\_0.pdf](https://cepr.org/system/files/2022-12/reconstruction%20book_Ukrainian_0.pdf))

ІНВЕСТИЦІЇ / INVESTMENT (4.04%):

(5) Ukr. *Україна може спростити приплив інвестицій надаючи доступ до майданчиків*, May 15 2023. ("Нарис про відбудову України"). – Eng. 'Ukraine can facilitate the investment inflow by providing access to the platforms'. ("A Blueprint for the Reconstruction of Ukraine"). ([https://voxukraine.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/04/Reconstruction-of-Ukraine-2022-04-05-copy-edited\\_Ukr.pdf](https://voxukraine.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/04/Reconstruction-of-Ukraine-2022-04-05-copy-edited_Ukr.pdf))

ЗАЛУЧЕННЯ / INVOLVEMENT (2.85%):

(6) Ukr. *Залучення місцевої влади та громадянського суспільства мають велике значення задля успішного відновлення*, May 23 2023. ("Повоєнне відновлення України. Нові ринки та цифрові рішення"). – Eng. 'The involvement of local authorities and civil society plays a crucial role in achieving successful recovery'. ("Post-war recovery of Ukraine. New markets and digital decision"). (<https://kse.ua/wp-content/uploads/2022/09/Digital-instruments-in-Ukrainian-recovery.pdf>)

Provision of ЕКСПОРТ / EXPORT (2.38%) opportunities:

(7) Ukr. *Саме на прикладі експортної зернової ініціативи ми показали, що світ здатен гарантувати стабільність попри будь-які загрози, які створює Росія*, November 5 2022. ("Маємо забезпечити повний захист українського неба"). – Eng. 'The very example of the grain export initiative proved that the world is able to ensure stability despite any threats posed by Russia'

("We must ensure full protection of the Ukrainian sky"). (<https://www.president.gov.ua/news/mayemo-zabezpechiti-povnij-zahist-ukrayinskogo-neba-j-budemo-78973>)

Ukrainians acknowledge that БЕЗПЕКА / DEFENCE (6.72%) is bound with ІНТЕГРАЦІЄЮ / INTEGRATION (4.55%):

(8) Ukr. *Відбудова, євроінтеграція і модернізація мають бути виконані, бажано паралельно. Головна довгострокова ціль України – тісніша інтеграція з Європою.* June 2 2023. ("Повоєнне відновлення України: відбудова заради кращого майбутнього"). – Eng. "Rebuilding, integration to the EU and modernization should be carried out, preferably at the same time. The main long-term goal of Ukraine is closer integration with Europe". ("Post-war recovery of Ukraine: reconstruction for the sake of a better future"). (<http://epl.org.ua/wp-content/uploads/2023/01/post-war-reconstruction-UA3001.pdf>).

ЗМІНИ / CHANGES (2.76%) are possible through СТВОРЕННЯ / CREATION (4.14%) and ПРОЕКТУВАННЯ / PROJECT (2.65%) of something new:

(9) Ukr. *Пріоритетом має стати зміна підходів до розвитку економіки; Кардинальна зміна підходів до водогосподарської політики в рамках Зеленого відновлення дозволить максимально реалізувати стратегію інтегрованого управління водними ресурсами.* June 2 2023. ("Повоєнне відновлення України: відбудова заради кращого майбутнього"). – Eng. 'Changing the approaches to economic development should become a priority. A radical change in approaches to water management policy within the framework of the Green Recovery will make it possible to fully implement the strategy of integrated management of water resources'. ("Post-war recovery of Ukraine: reconstruction for the sake of a better future") (<http://epl.org.ua/wp-content/uploads/2023/01/post-war-reconstruction-UA3001.pdf>)

(10) Ukr. *Має бути створений механізм для спрямування міжнародної допомоги; Використання цифрових інструментів для створення сучасної відкритої для відслідковування та аналізу цифрової архітектури.* July 16 2023 ("Відбудова України: принципи та політика"). – Eng. 'A mechanism of allocating international aid must be created; digital tools should be used in order to create modern digital architecture, open for tracking and analysis'. ("Reconstruction of Ukraine: principles and politics").

([https://cepr.org/system/files/2022-12/reconstruction%20book\\_Ukrainian\\_0.pdf](https://cepr.org/system/files/2022-12/reconstruction%20book_Ukrainian_0.pdf))

ПЕРЕТВОРЕННЯ / TRANSFORMATION (2.75%):

(11) Ukr. *Більше того, немає унікального плану реформ для перетворення України на сучасну європейську демократію. Виважена стратегія відновлення залучатиме інвестиції, які розкривають потенціал людей та територій без "замикання" їх та перетворення в*

майбутньому на незворотні інвестиції. July 16 2023. ("Відбудова України: принципи та політика"). – Eng. 'Moreover, there is no unique reform plan for transforming Ukraine into a modern European democracy. A balanced recovery strategy will attract investments that will show the potential of people and territories without "locking" them and transforming them into irreversible investments in the future'. ("Reconstruction of Ukraine: principles and politics"). ([https://cepr.org/system/files/2022-12/reconstruction%20book\\_Ukrainian\\_0.pdf](https://cepr.org/system/files/2022-12/reconstruction%20book_Ukrainian_0.pdf))

БУДІВНИЦТВО / BUILDING (10.47%) or РЕКОНСТРУКЦІЮ / RECONSTRUCTION (1.95%) of certain decimated objects:

(12) Ukr. *Пріоритетом має стати коригування економіки шляхом будівництва більш енергоефективних і менш енергозатратних систем.* July 16 2023. ("Повоєнне відновлення України: відбудова заради кращого майбутнього"). – Eng. 'Adjusting the economy by building more energy-efficient and less energy-consuming systems should be at the forefront'. ("Post-war recovery of Ukraine: reconstruction for the sake of a better future") (<http://epl.org.ua/wp-content/uploads/2023/01/post-war-reconstruction-UA3001.pdf>)

(13) Ukr. *Реконструкція – це не про відбудову України до передвоєнного стану, а про глибоку модернізацію країни.* July 16 2023. ("Відбудова України: принципи та політика"). – Eng. 'Reconstruction is not about rebuilding Ukraine to its pre-war state, but about deep modernization of the country'. ("Reconstruction of Ukraine: principles and politics"). ([https://cepr.org/system/files/2022-12/reconstruction%20book\\_Ukrainian\\_0.pdf](https://cepr.org/system/files/2022-12/reconstruction%20book_Ukrainian_0.pdf))

There is a clear realisation of the fact that the society needs РЕФОРМ / REFORMS (5.09%), in particular ЦИФРОВІЗАЦІЇ / DIGITALISATION (1.13%) and МОДЕРНІЗАЦІЇ / MODERNIZATION (0.76%) of all domains:

(14) Ukr. *Фінансова допомога ... зможе надати якір для інституційних реформ та упевненість для приватних інвесторів.* July 17 2023. ("Нарис про відбудову України"). – Eng. 'Financial assistance ... could provide an anchor for institutional reforms and confidence for private investors'. ("A Blueprint for the reconstruction of Ukraine"). ([https://voxukraine.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/04/Reconstruction-of-Ukraine-2022-04-05-copy-edited\\_Ukr.pdf](https://voxukraine.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/04/Reconstruction-of-Ukraine-2022-04-05-copy-edited_Ukr.pdf))

(15) Ukr. *Використання можливостей цифровізації для розширення залученості, побудови структурного діалогу.* July 17 2023. ("Доступ громадськості до прийняття рішень щодо відновлення України в частині збереження довкілля і протидії зміні клімату"). – Eng. 'Using the opportunities of digitalization to expand involvement and build a structural dialogue'. ("Public access to decision-making regarding the restoration of Ukraine in terms of environmental protection and

climate change prevention"). ([https://ua.boell.org/sites/default/files/2023-03/zvit\\_uchast-gromadskosti-u-procesakh-vidbudovi-2023.pdf](https://ua.boell.org/sites/default/files/2023-03/zvit_uchast-gromadskosti-u-procesakh-vidbudovi-2023.pdf))

Although the perceptions of РОЗВИТКУ / DEVELOPMENT (5.44%), ЗРОСТАННЯ / GROWTH (1.94%) and ПРОГРЕС / PROGRESS (4.47%) are currently, for obvious reasons are active present in the corpus and indicate optimism among Ukrainians.

We can also see a fairly moderate percentage of appeals to the concepts of FREEDOM and PEACE, which may indicate the deviation from declarative populism and the commitment to a long struggle. Ukrainians also show no tendency to overuse the notion of SANCTIONS, which is evident from the understanding and identification of many features of their lack of effectiveness.

Analysing the Slovak content of the same type, we record a partially different frequency configuration, which indicates partially different social priorities (see Table 2).

Table 2. The main autochthonous concepts recorded in the Slovak media political discourse of the post-war period. Source: own processing

Concept	English equivalent	Percentage of the total number of verbalisers	Concept	English equivalent	Percentage of the total number of verbalisers
POMOC	HELP / AID	12.00	DIGITALIZÁCIA	DIGITALIZATION	1.70
ZAČLENENIE / INTEGRÁCIA (do EÚ alebo NATO)	INCLUSION / INTEGRATION (to EU or NATO)	11.53	SLOBODA	FREEDOM	1.51
BEZPEČNOSŤ	SAFETY/SECURITY	10.11	SUVERENITA	SOVEREIGNTY	1.51
PODPORA	SUPPORT	10.00	REKONŠTRUCIA	RECONSTRUCTION	1.40
OBRANA	DEFENCE	7.72	ROZVOJ	DEVELOPMENT	1.12
OBNOVA	RECOVERY	5.00	BUDOVANIE	BUILDING	0.81
EXPORT	EXPORT	4.50	ZMENA	CHANGE	0.80
RAST	GROWTH	4.50	MODERNIZÁCIA	MODERNIZATION	0.70
INVESTÍCIE	INVESTMENTS	3.60	ZAPOJENIE	INVOLVEMENT	0.69
MIER	PEACE	3.03	REFORMA	REFORM	0.40
SANKCIE	SANCTIONS	2.53	UĽAHČENIE	FACILITATION	0.30
PROGRES	PROGRESS	2.38	PREKONANIE	OVERCOMING	0.30
DEMOKRACIA	DEMOCRACY	2.38	IMPLEMENTÁCIA	IMPLEMENTATION	0.28
TVORBA	CREATION	2.00	PREVENCIA	PREVENTION	0.13
ROZŠÍRENIE	EXTENSION	1.96	AKTUALIZÁCIA	UPDATE	0.13
ZLEPŠENIE	IMPROVEMENT	1.96	ÚĽAVA	RELIEF	0.13
PRESTAVBA	REBUILDING	1.82	NASADENIE	DEPLOYMENT	0.12
PROJEKT	PROJECT	1.70	TRANSFORMÁCIA	TRANSFORMATION	-

As we can see from the table, the Slovak discourse is quite logical for a European country focused on the priority of POMOC / HELP / AID (12.00%), ensuring OBRANA / DEFENCE (7.72%) and BEZPEČNOSŤ / SAFETY of Ukraine (10.11%) by ZAČLENENIE / INTEGRÁCIA / INTEGRATION (11.53%) into the interstate economic and security structures of the EU and NATO.



The concept of POMOC / HELP / AID has appeared in Slovak discourse in various contexts, but most often in connection with economic and military aid, assistance in the reconstruction of the country and ensuring stability and peace, as can be seen in this example:

(16) Sk. *Ukrajinský prezident verí, že Ukrajina vo vojne za slobodu zvíťazí a stane sa plnohodnotným členom NATO. Ocenil, že od partnerov dostal na summite pozitívne správy o novom balíku pomoci, a poďakoval všetkým lídrom, ktorí sa rozhodli takýmto spôsobom pomôcť Kyjevu.* ("Stoltenberg: Ukrajina je k NATO bližšie ako kedykoľvek predtým"). July 12 2023. – Eng. 'The Ukrainian President believes that Ukraine will win the war for freedom and become a full member of NATO. He appreciated the positive news he received from partners at the summit about the new aid package and thanked all leaders who decided to help Kiev in this way'. ("Stoltenberg: Ukraine is closer to NATO than ever"). (<https://www.trend.sk/spravy/stoltenberg-ukrajina-je-nato-blizsie-ako-kedykolvek-predtym-2>)

The concept of POMOC / HELP / AID is also related to the provision of financial and material support to the OBRANA / DEFENCE of Ukraine and the re-establishment of BEZPEČNOSŤ / SAFETY in the country, which is often discussed in Slovak and European discourse in terms of ZAČLENENIE / INTEGRÁCIA / INTEGRATION of Ukraine into European structures, namely the EU and NATO, which is also confirmed by the following examples. However, the analysed materials often draw attention to the fact that the integration of Ukraine during the war will not be possible.

(17) Sk. *Od prvého momentu Ukrajinci pri obrane svojej vlasti preukazujú nesmiernu statočnosť a vytrvalo bránia svoju zvrchovanosť, nezávislosť a územnú celistvosť.* ("Spoločné vyhlásenie troch najvyšších ústavných činiteľov Slovenskej republiky pri príležitosti prvého výročia napadnutia Ukrajiny vojskami Ruskej federácie.") February 24 2023. – Eng. 'From the very first moment, Ukrainians have shown tremendous bravery in defending their homeland and have steadfastly defended their sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity'. ("Joint statement of the three highest constitutional officials of the Slovak Republic on the occasion of the first anniversary of the invasion of Ukraine by the troops of the Russian Federation."). (<https://www.prezident.sk/upload-files/12373.pdf>)

(18) Sk. *Vysvetlil, že predmetné bezpečnostné záruky budú v platnosti, kým Ukrajina nevstúpi do NATO.* ("Stoltenberg predstavil plán na začlenenie Ukrajiny do Aliancie"). July 11 2023. – Eng. 'He explained that the security guarantees in question will remain in force until Ukraine joins NATO'. ("Stoltenberg unveils plan to integrate Ukraine into the Alliance"). (<https://www.sme.sk/minuta/23192843/stoltenberg-ukrajina-sa-stane-clenom-nato>)

OBNOVA / RECOVERY (5.00%) of the country can be achieved through INVESTÍCIE / INVESTMENT (3.60%), new PROJEKT / PROJECT (1.70%), EXPORT (4.50%) and MODERNIZÁCIA / MODERNIZATION (0.70%). In the context of the economic reconstruction of Ukraine, the Slovak and European discourse talks about investment by foreign companies and enterprises in Ukraine, or transfer of production to Ukraine, implementation of projects designed for the reconstruction and recovery of the country and restart of the economy, promotion of exports, e.g., grain and other raw materials, and overall modernization and implementation of new technologies with the aim of Ukraine's reconstruction. Examples of these concepts are given below:

(19) Sk. *Európska komisia v najbližších týždňoch predloží návrh, ktorý by umožnil využitie zmrazených ruských aktív na financovanie obnovy vojnou zničenej Ukrajiny.* ("Brusel finalizuje návrh na využitie zmrazených ruských aktív na obnovu Ukrajiny"). June 22 2023. – Eng. 'In the coming weeks, the European Commission will present a proposal that would allow frozen Russian assets to be used to finance the recovery of war-torn Ukraine'. ('Brussels finalises proposal to use frozen Russian assets to recovery Ukraine'). (<https://www.trend.sk/spravy/brusel-finalizuje-navrh-vyuzitie-zmrazenych-ruskych-aktiv-obnovu-ukrajiny>)

(20) Sk. *Spoločnosť Baykar plánuje odštartovať výrobu dronov na Ukrajine v roku 2025. Celkový objem plánovaných investícií je okolo 95 miliónov dolárov.* ("Turecká spoločnosť Baykar otvorí na Ukrajine servisné centrum pre drony, neskôr rozbehne aj ich výrobu"). July 31 2023 – Eng. 'Baykar plans to start drone production in Ukraine in 2025. The total volume of planned investments is around \$95 million'. ('Turkish company Baykar opens a service centre for drones in Ukraine, later to start drone production'). (<https://sita.sk/turecka-spolocnost-baykar-otvori-na-ukrajine-servisne-centrum-pre-drony-neskor-rozbehne-aj-ich-vyrobu/>)

(21) Sk. *Po ruskej invázii na Ukrajinu utrpel export obilia z Ukrajiny a potravín a hnojív z Ruska ťažkú ranu.* ("Ukrajina tvrdí, že za deväť dní ruských útokov bolo zničených 180-tisíc ton obilia"). July 31, 2023 – Eng. 'Following the Russian invasion of Ukraine, exports of grain from Ukraine and food and fertiliser from Russia have suffered a severe blow'. ('Ukraine says 180 thousand tonnes of grain destroyed in nine days of Russian attacks'). (<https://www.sme.sk/minuta/23199974/ukrajina-tvrdi-ze-za-devaet-dni-ruskych-utokov-bolo-znicenych-180-tisic-ton-obilia>)

(22) Sk. *Peniaze majú podporiť modernizáciu a zvyšovanie výroby v doterajších závodoch, ako aj vznik nových výrobných kapacít.* ("EÚ vyplatila Ukrajine ďalšiu tranžu pomoci na opravu zničenej infraštruktúry"). July 25 2023 – Eng. 'The money is to support the modernisation and increase of production in existing factories as well as the creation of new production capacities'. ('EU disburses another tranche of aid to Ukraine to repair damaged infrastructure'). (<https://www.trend.sk/spravy/eu-vyplatila-ukrajine-dalsiu-tranzu-pomoci-opravu-znicenej-infrastruktury>)

Comparing the studied discourses, it should be noted that, in general, Slovak and Ukrainian conceptual systems (and, therefore, the framework of ethnic communities' thinking) demonstrate certain similarities regarding the need for support, assistance in recovery, protection and defence, security, and a vision of the ways to rebuild and reform the economy and the state.

However, we also notice certain subtleties.

Unlike in the Ukrainian discourse, in the Slovak discourse we find an active appeal to universal values – ДЕМОКРАТИЯ / DEMOKRACIA / DEMOCRACY (2.38%), СВОБОДА / SLOBODA / FREEDOM (1.51%) and СУВЕРЕНИТЕТ / SUVERENITA / SOVEREIGNTY (1.51%). Through this analysis, we found that these concepts are mainly present in the official speeches and statements of politicians (president, prime minister) and top representatives of European structures (general secretary of NATO, president of the European Commission) emphasizing universal values that are threatened as a result of the ongoing war conflict and often urging for their restoration as well. Many of the materials analysed emphasise these concepts in the context of support for Ukraine, the need to restore peace and Ukraine's sovereignty.

(23) Sk. *Pevne stojíme za ukrajinským ľuďom v jeho obrane slobody, demokracie a práva na sebaurčenie a práva rozhodovať o vlastnej budúcnosti.* ("Spoločné vyhlásenie troch najvyšších ústavných činiteľov Slovenskej republiky pri príležitosti prvého výročia napadnutia Ukrajiny vojskami Ruskej federácie.") February 24 2023. – Eng. 'We stand firmly behind the Ukrainian people in their defence of freedom, democracy and the right to self-determination and the right to decide their own future'. ("Joint statement of the three highest constitutional officials of the Slovak Republic on the occasion of the first anniversary of the invasion of Ukraine by the troops of the Russian Federation."). (<https://www.prezident.sk/upload-files/12373.pdf>)

(24) Sk. *Ukrajina musí byť opätovne zvrchovaná, plnohodnotne a nezávisle fungovať v rámci svojich medzinárodne uznaných hraníc, byť pevne ukotvená v integračnom procese do Európskej únie, a mať právo sa o svojom budúcom smerovaní rozhodovať samostatne.* ("Spoločné vyhlásenie troch najvyšších ústavných činiteľov Slovenskej republiky pri príležitosti prvého výročia napadnutia Ukrajiny vojskami Ruskej federácie.") February 24 2023. – Eng. Ukraine must regain its sovereignty, function fully and independently within its internationally recognised borders, be firmly anchored in the integration process into the European Union and have the right to decide its future direction independently'. ("Joint statement of the three highest constitutional officials of the Slovak Republic on the occasion of the first anniversary of the invasion of Ukraine by the troops of the Russian Federation."). (<https://www.prezident.sk/upload-files/12373.pdf>)

We assume that these obvious values are being actively verbalized by the European society, being rediscovered in the context of the awareness of the enormous price paid by the Ukrainian people for them. The concept of МИР / MIER / PEACE is also much more actively used by Slovaks (3.03%) than by Ukrainians (0.56%), apparently due to the latter's focus on reclaiming their own territories and reluctance to consider other situations of "reconciliation."

(25) Sk. *Naše úsilie, naše kroky musia sledovať jediný cieľ, nastolenie spravodlivého mieru.* ("Mimoriadne vystúpenie k výročiu ruskej vojenskej agresie na Ukrajine v RTVS.") February 24 2023. – Eng. Our efforts, our actions must pursue a single goal, the establishment of a just peace. ("Extraordinary appearance on the anniversary of the Russian military aggression in Ukraine on RTVS."). (<https://www.prezident.sk/upload-files/17089.pdf>)

Much more actively than Ukrainians (0.06%), Slovaks (2.53%) appeal to САМКИЦІЇ / SANKCIE / SANCTIONS.

ІНТЕГРАЦІЯ / INTEGRÁCIA / INTEGRATION (into NATO and the EU) is much more often mentioned by Slovaks (11.53%) than by Ukrainians (4.55%), who, despite the ever-growing sociological trend, are quite realistic about the impossibility of a country at war joining NATO and are aware of the length of this path.

The study shows that Ukrainians are quite conscious of the need for ПОЗВИТОК / ROZVOJ / DEVELOPMENT (5.44%), ПРОГРЕС / PROGRES / PROGRESS (4.47%), ЗМІНИ / ZMENA / CHANGE (2.76%) and РЕФОРМИ / REFORM / REFORM of the state (5.09%), while Slovaks, being aware of this problem, are careful not to misuse such considerations (1,12%, 2,38%, 0.8% and 0.4% respectively).

One of the most important concepts for Ukrainians, ВІДБУДОБА / PRESTAVBA / REBUILDING (8%), is quite low in frequency in the Slovak corpus (1.82%), which obviously shows the extreme relevance of this process for Ukrainians and the abstractness of Slovaks. This is also confirmed by another concept, БУДУВАННЯ / BUDOVANIE / BUILDING, which appears 0.81% in the Slovak and 10.47% in the Ukrainian corpora.

The statistical calculations of the above set series of concepts make up a quite controversial picture. The application of the  $\chi^2$  criterion allows determining the presence or absence of a statistical relationship between the frequency distributions of the observed values (Левицкий 2012: 156). What

is more, the due regard of its value for the two discourses under study ( $\chi^2 = 5426.9$ ) makes it possible to ascertain that the probability of direct statistical interconnection between them is less than 1%. This also indicates the rather low value of Chuprov's coefficient of mutual conjugation ( $K=0.209$ ) (Левицкий 2012: 160).

Hence, despite the seeming similarity, as well as the presence of certain common features, the difference in discourses and, consequently, in the tendencies of Ukrainians' and Slovaks' way of thinking about the postwar future, is statistically confirmed.

## 5. Conclusions

We have aimed to disclose the tendencies represented in the media regarding the perspective on the post-war world and on Ukraine in particular, in the collective cognitive space of Ukrainians and Slovaks as the representatives of the European space, applying the methodology that combines the principles of discourse conceptualization and linguistic statistics to identify and verify the concepts-authors. We have established both mental similarities and discrepancies in the ideas of the post-war order in the minds of Ukrainians and Europeans, as demonstrated in the speeches of well-known politicians, economists and numerous news media content.

The general trend is quantitatively confirmed as everyone understands the need for urgent support and assistance, both in terms of protection and in terms of post-war recovery and further security, which will primarily involve Ukraine's inclusion in interstate economic and security structures. It is stated by the operational activity of the verbalizers of corresponding concepts.

Some differences have also been discerned and recorded, namely that Europeans are idealistic in their emphasis on conceptual values (democracy, freedom, sovereignty, peace), appealing to sanctions and the importance of the integration of Ukraine into NATO and the EU. Ukrainians, on the other hand, after a year and a half of the full-scale war and all the atrocities of existence associated with it, are demonstrating that they have given up on declarative illusions and now clearly acknowledge that they are facing the primary task of rebuilding an altered and reformed state.

However, considering the results of the statistical analysis ( $\chi^2$  criterion), we can speak of an extremely low probability of a direct connection between the discourses under study from the point of view of their main concepts, and, therefore, the difference in the mindsets of Ukrainians and Slovaks regarding the understanding of the post-war future of the state.

## Notes and abbreviations

Translation from Slovak into English is done by Ján Višňovský.

Translation from Ukrainian into English is done by Iryna Osovska.

Eng. – English

Sk. – Slovak

Ukr. – Ukrainian

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**LEGE ARTIS**

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**THE ESSENCE OF ONOMASIOLOGICAL BASES AND THEIR TYPES  
IN PHYTONYMIC LEXICON***Nataliya Panasenko* *University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava, Trnava, Slovakia***Received:** 19.09.2023 **Reviewed:** 02.10.2023 and 22.10.2023**Similarity Index:** 4%

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**Abstract:** The article presents the results of the onomasiological analysis of the names of medicinal plants or phytonyms. The research is based on the ternary onomasiological model, which includes a basis, feature, and predicate. Emphasis is placed on the basis zone and two bases: a person and an artefact. The research shows that the basis zone includes four varieties of the basis: a suffix, an exocentric compound word, a so-called split basis, and a meaningful word. Lexical bases designate not only the plant itself and its part, but also other things, which are examples of indirect designation.

**Keywords:** onomasiological model, basis zone, formal and lexical onomasiological bases, feature zone, indirect designation.

**1. Introduction**

In every language, the names of medicinal plants (MPs) form a coherent, organised system with a specific structure. They represent a large and diverse group of terms, including scientific, literary and common names, united by ancient origin, structural-semantic features, and synonymy. In plants' names stages of historical development, way of life, common and social life, and formation of primary representations about the natural phenomena are reflected. This lexicon is nationally specific, is connected with culture of people and embodies features of national consciousness (Панасенко 2014 /2011/). Phytonymic lexicon can be analysed from different points of view. I have made word-building, onomasiological and cognitive analysis of MPs' names in Romance, Germanic and Slavic languages. Now I want to present some results of the interpretation of two onomasiological bases: **a person and an artefact**.



How are the plants named? Why do some plants have many names and other only few? The naming of medicinal plants is a particular type of activity, since it lies between everyday life and medical practice, in that more names are given to those objects (plants), on which human activity is concentrated and which are of utilitarian interest.

In giving names to MPs, man first assigns them from the general class of plants, then identifies them with plants or objects already known to him, thus being guided by his personal sensual experience. The name of the MP can be considered an original instruction: where this plant can be found, what it looks like, when it blossoms, which disease it is most effective against, and so forth.

## **2. Aims, methods, and language material**

My study had several stages. Firstly, MPs were selected from specialised reference books and dictionaries, total number of which comprises 170 items (see Панасенко 2010: 406-416); later new books and the Internet sources were added to this list. These examples were sorted with the help of programme "Flora".

The next stage was structural-semantic analysis, which revealed typical word-forming models (simple, derived, compound and complex-compound words) and designation types (multi-word units and phrases). This type of lexical analysis was very popular in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It has now lost its appeal to linguists. It plays a minor role in my research. I use it to find out, in which structural models human knowledge is packed and how much information is hidden in them.

Derived, compound and complex-compound words together with the multi-word units were subjected to the onomasiological analysis. The analysis of onomasiological structure of phytonyms allows specifying nominative potential of these word-forming models and designation types; it helps reveal how different notions are combined in the name of a MP and thereby thoroughly characterise this lexico-semantic group.

Dokulil (1962) offered a binary onomasiological model (OM). Later his theory was further developed by Kubryakova (Кубрякова 1978), who offered a ternary model consisting of onomasiological basis, onomasiological feature, and onomasiological predicate, which will be referred to as simply a basis, a feature, and a predicate. Kubryakova (Кубрякова 1988) analysed mainly derivative and compound words, to which the scholars added complex-compound words and multi-word units (Дроздова 1990; Панасенко 2010; Рябко 2003).

However, the use of the onomasiological approach alone does not allow us to define how the name of the MP is connected with people's ideas about the world around them, about society in which they live and also about the system of concepts with which they operate. In order to solve this task, cognitive research is required, which makes it possible to describe not only the features sufficient for the identification of a MP, but also the entire complex of knowledge about this MP, i.e., word semantics and its evaluative component.

My aim is to characterise the basis zone (the term was first introduced by Drozdova (Дроздова 1990), to specify formal and lexical bases typical of the phytonymic lexicon focusing on two bases: **person** and **artefact**. To make a proper interpretation of some phytonyms a cognitive analysis was applied.

### ***2.1. Basics of onomasiological analysis***

One of popular trends of modern linguistics is onomasiology, although it has old roots. In the late 1960s, onomasiology began to branch out in two directions: on the one hand, it performs its primary tasks – it studies the process of creating nominative units on the basis of word-forming models (Соснина 2020), methods and mechanisms of language objectification of various types of concepts (Panasenko 2012b), semantic and nominative connections (Косова 2008), and the cognitive nature of this process (Лукьянова 2018; Усик 2020); on the other hand, the onomasiological approach is considered as "a dynamic, functional-communicative aspect of studying the units and categories of all levels, the role of the latter in the naming activity of the linguist, their semantic task, the purpose of use in a specific statement (text)" (Бацевич & Космеда 1997: 29).

Numerous onomasiological studies based on various designation types in different languages highlight the problems of designation (Кислухина 2009; Курушкіна 2010; Kalafus Antoniová 2020). The onomasiological analysis reveals the act of the designation as the speech cogitative act, during which the designated is placed in a certain category. According to Rayevskaya, onomasiological approach to the process of the designation allows considering the words "as the result of human cognitive activity, which establishes connections between various substances in the surrounding world and expresses this communication in the name created by it" (Раевская 1981: 82). Among other trends I would like to mention the attempts to link onomasiology with grammar (Даниленко 1990), word-formation (Grzega 2005; Kos & Kozubíková Šandová 2020; Štekauer 1998), cognitive science (Borys 2023; Grondelaers & Geeraerts 2003; Panasenko 2021), and onomasiological modelling in the information field (Bolbakov et al. 2022).

When carrying out the onomasiological analysis, we must bear in our minds that it is the analysis of



the linguistic activity that represents the technique, which is very well worked out on the material of the word-formation analysis. In the field of onomasiology, the emphasis has shifted from the names of subjects to the study of designation processes in general.

As a rule, the onomasiological analysis is preceded by a structural-semantic analysis, which in my research has made it possible to identify the main ways of designating MPs and their distribution in the languages under consideration. Furthermore, derivatives and compound words, complex-compounds, and word combinations were analysed. The onomasiological analysis of the phytonym structure makes it possible to reveal the designative potential of derivatives and compounds, as well as other models, and to establish the semantic and onomasiological characteristics of these nominative units.

Ternary OM consists of a basis, feature, and predicate. Now I would like to specify what bases and features can be found in phytonymic lexicon. We can speak about a basis zone and a feature zone. Formally, the zone of basis is formed by suffixes and notional words, by exocentric composites, and compound bases. Categorically, all the bases are divided into two groups. Firstly, **plant** names include the genus-species relations and hypo-heteronymic relations that imply the used part of a plant (**flower**, **leaf**, **root**, etc.), or a botanical part of a plant (**thorn**, **prickle**, **leaf**, **sprout**, etc.). Secondly, in designation of a plant such lexical classes as **artefact**, **person**, **entity**, **feeling**, **state**, **property** and some other lexical categories are used. The most frequent basis in all the languages under consideration is the name of a plant; then its used part; in Slavic languages – **person**, **substance**, and **feeling**. This group of lexical bases, which in some languages includes 15-25 varieties, leads us to the secondary designation of MPs and needs its cognitive interpretation, which can help identify what properties of plant are hidden in their names and where they are located: in features or in bases.

The feature zone of phytonym contains the features necessary for the identification and localisation of a MP: **features of appearance** (colour /for colour properties see Uberman 2023/, size, plant's structure, form, etc.), **locatives**, **temporal** (blossoming time, beginning and duration of blossoming), **evaluative** (for the essence of evaluation see Bigunova 2019 and Prihodko 2016) – (evaluation proper, physical properties, addressee, functional target, efficiency of application, etc.), **features of alienate/inalienate possession**, **emotive-expressive features** (positive and negative emotions arising at contact with a plant), and **features of the warning of dangerous properties of a plant** (Panasenکو 2015; 2016). All these features are attributed to the basis by means of comparative, causative, temporal and other predicates.



Let us illustrate it with some examples. Ukrainian phytonym *Осі́нник* /autumn + suffix/ – Common autumn crocus (*Colchicum autumnale* L.) is a derivative; the formal basis is presented by the suffix *-ник*, to which a temporal feature is attributed by the predicate "something has a property"; interpretation: a MP, which blossoms in autumn. The English example Windflower (*Anemone nemorosa* L.) is a compound word, in which a temporal feature is attributed to the basis denoting the plant part (flower). The Slovak phytonym *Kozá brádka* /goat's beard + dim. suff./ – Mountain arnica (*Arnica montana* L.) belongs to the group of multi-unit words. Its OM consists of the basis "part of animal's body"; predicate "something has something" attributes the feature of (in)alienate possession and appearance (small size). It is a metaphoric designation of the MP specifying its appearance. Russian complex-compound word *Золототысячник* /gold + thousand + suff./ – Hedgehyssop (*Gratiola officinalis* L.) has a formal basis represented by the suffix *-ник* denoting a plant; a predicate "something has a number of items" attributes to the basis the feature of appearance (colour).

Now let us discuss the basis zone in detail.

### 3. Formal and lexical onomasiological bases

According to Kubryakova, the basis reflects "the nominative activity of a person who in the act of word-formation brings up designated object under a certain category" (Кубрякова 1994: 39-40), which is undoubtedly associated with the natural categorization of the world. The basis plays the role of the concept that forms the ground for the designation of a class of objects. It was first introduced by Dokulil (1962: 197) who in the two-member onomasiological category, consisting of onomasiological basis and onomasiological feature, distinguished such types of bases as categories of substance, properties, actions, and circumstances. In the course of time the list of bases was growing and included abstract names denoting feelings and emotions, nature objects, people, and many others.

Bases can be described from a structural and categorical point of view, i.e., formally and meaningfully. Taking into account the structure and semantics of bases, the following types can be distinguished in the names of MPs: basis-suffix and basis – a full-valued word; the last one can be a complex or split basis, as well as other types of words containing a basis-exocentric compound with a zero morpheme. Each type of the basis in turn has its own dichotomy, both structural and substantive.

The types of bases identified in the MPs' names can be represented as follows (see Fig. 1).

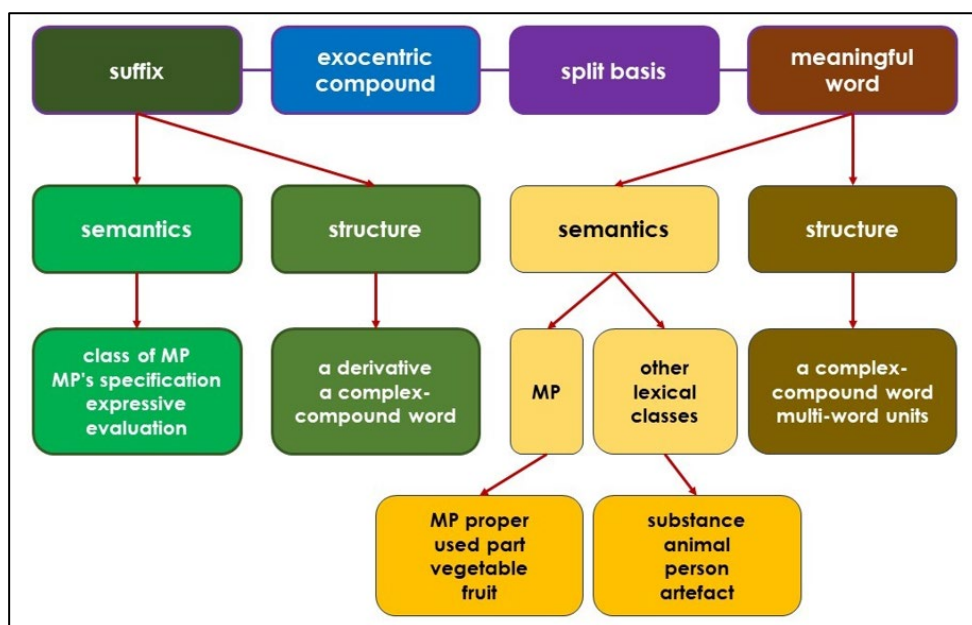


Figure 1. Onomasiological bases in the names of MPs. Source: after Панасенко 2010.

Let us discuss the basis zone presented in Fig. 1. Some suffixes, mainly in Slavic languages identify the plant, like Russian: *-ик, -як, -янк, -ец, -ица, -ина* – *Кислянка* – European barberry (*Berberis vulgaris* L.); Ukrainian: *Багнюк* /from *багно* – bog, mud/ – Marsh Labrador tea (*Ledum palustre* L.); Polish: *-yna, -iak, -ina* – *Szypszyna* – Dog-rose (*Rosa canina* L.), *Maliniak* – Raspberry (*Rubus idaeus* L.); Czech: *-k, -ek* – *Borůvka* – Blackberry – European blueberry (*Vaccinium myrtillus* L.), *Kamenka* – Cranberry (*Oxycoccus palustris* Pers.), and Slovak with identical suffixes and *-ina*: *Ostružina černicová* – European blueberry (*Vaccinium myrtillus* L.).

A suffix in combination with various predicates can express the **specification of a MP**, e.g.:

- 1) some suffixes specify that this plant is a bush: French *-ier* in *Vinettier* – European barberry (*Berberis vulgaris* L.), *Noisetier* – Common hazel (*Coryllus avelana* (L.) H. Karst.); others traditionally refer to berry plants in Slavic languages: Russian *-ика* in *Черника* /black + suff./ – European blueberry (*Vaccinium myrtillus* L.) and *Журавика* /crane + suff./ – Cranberry (*Oxycoccus palustris* Pers.); Ukrainian *-иця* in *Чорниця* /black + suff./ and *Боровиця* /pine forest + suff./ – European blueberry (*Vaccinium myrtillus* L.); Polish *-ica* in *Kwaśnica* – Cranberry (*Oxycoccus palustris* Pers.), *Czernica* /black + suff./ – European blueberry (*Vaccinium myrtillus* L.);
- 2) the second group of suffixes serves as an indicator of various plant properties; modifier suffixes **"performs an action"**: Russian *-ник, -ун* in *Пицальник* /to squeak + suff. *-ник*/ – European elder (*Sambucus nigra* L.); Ukrainian *-ак, -л(о) -к(а)* in *Свербак, Свербило*, /to itch + suff. *-ак, -л(о)/, Дрячка* /to irritate + suff. *-к(а)/* – Dog-rose (*Rosa canina* L.); Polish and Czech *-l(o)* in *Żolcidło* and *Žlutidlo* /yellow + suff./ – Dyer's broom (*Genista tinctoria* L.); **"evokes feeling or**

**state"**: Russian *-як* in *Пухляк* /to swell (up) + suff./ – Mezereon (*Daphne mezereum* L.); Ukrainian *-ник* in *Плоховник* /bad + suff./ – Sea-buckthorn (*Hippophae rhamnoides* L.); **"has a property or feature"**: Russian *-як, -ец* in *Шипняк* /thorn + suff./ – Dog-rose (*Rosa canina* L.) and some others;

- 3) some suffixes have expressive evaluation. Emotivity and expressiveness in language can be conveyed in a word in two ways: by diminutive and pejorative suffixes, as well as lexical means. Although there are many positive examples in the Slavic languages, such phytonyms can be found in all the languages studied except English. Each language has a set of diminutive suffixes: German *-lein, -chen*; French *-et, -ette*; Russian *-к(а), -ик, -ичк(а)*; Ukrainian *-ок, -ик, -к(о)*; Polish *-к(а), -ек, -ieczek*; Czech and Slovak *-enk(a), -k(a), -eček, -ičk(a), -k(a), -ičk(a), -ec, -ešk(a), -ek*, e.g., Russian /dial./ *Товстушка* /a plump female + dim./ – Three-lobed beggarticks (*Bidens tripartita* L.); Czech *Veverčí ocásek* /squirrel's tail + dim./ – Field horsetail (*Equisetum arvense* L.). As far as derogatory suffixes are concerned, I have come across few examples. In general, they characterise colloquialisms and have ironic meaning: Russian *Друцуха* /Russian colloquial verb of diarrhoea + suff. *-уха*/ – Guelder-rose (*Viburnum opulus* L.), *Восковуха* /wax + suff. *-уха*/ – Sea-buckthorn (*Hippophae rhamnoides* L.); Ukrainian *Жовтуха* /yellow + suff. *-уха*/ – Dyer's broom (*Genista tinctoria* L.).

It is necessary to emphasise once again the role of suffix semantics in the onomasiological structure of the phytonym. In many cases, a suffix is a formal basis denoting the plant. However, in derived words containing a diminutive suffix, the basis can shift to the left, because in this case the suffix serves to indicate the feature, and the suffix acts as a carrier of the feature of the appearance (small size) and positive or negative emotional assessment. Thus, the semantics of suffixes must be taken into account in the onomasiological analysis of the vocabulary.

The next element of the scheme are exocentric compounds, a type of a compound word where the meaning of the compound is not directly related to the meaning of its individual components. In other words, the compound as a whole has no inherent reference to its constituent words. Exocentric compounds are relatively rare and can sometimes be difficult to understand because the meaning is not compositional; you cannot easily infer the meaning of the compound based on the meanings of its parts (see more Bauer 2008 and Benczes 2015). In phytonymic lexis, they are usually easily interpreted if the researcher knows the properties of the MP very well. Although the examples are not numerous, they are very interesting and can only be found in low colloquial vocabulary: Russian *Балигалоф* /contorted Болиголов – something that evokes a headache/ – Labrador tea (*Ledum palustre* L.), *Золотохвост* /something that has a golden tail – peculiarities of the MP's structure and

colour/ – Dyer's broom (*Genista tinctoria* L.), *Дурнопьян* /something that evokes faintness and alcoholic intoxication/ – Black henbane (*Hyoscyamus niger* L.), *Пусторыл*, *Пусторосль* /something, which is empty inside – feature of the MP's structure; pipes are often made from young shoots/ – *Lilac* (*Syringa vulgaris* L.), *Кровенуск* /something that evokes bloodletting/ – Common yarrow (*Achillea millefolium* L.), *Пустодуї* /something, which after blowing off becomes empty/ – Dandelion (*Taraxacum officinale* Wigg.), *Хворобой* /something that kills the ailment, "хворь" is a colloquial form of "болезнь"/ – Common St. Johnswort (*Hypericum perforatum* L.); Ukrainian *Свербивуз*, *Свербивус* /something that evokes irritation of the skin, in this case the moustache, in physical contact/ – *Dog-rose* (*Rosa canina* L.), *Глеконар* /something that steams off *гличик*, a typical Ukrainian ceramic jug with the purpose of disinfection/ – Greater celandine (*Chelidonium majus* L.); Polish *Czworolist* /something that has four leaves/ – Herb Paris (*Paris quadrifolia* L.); Czech *Žlutozob* /something that has yellow seed/ – Sea-buckthorn (*Hippophae rhamnoides* L.). In all of these examples, and others not mentioned here, the basis is easy to reconstruct, because it reflects a MP and its medicinal or useful properties.

I would also like to note that one of the features of phytonyms is that some OM's may consist of two bases, whose two-digit structure can be realised as a combination of one-order and equivalent units. Kubryakova names such bases "split" and gives the following Russian examples: *выставка-продажа* /trade exhibition/ and *диван-кровать* /folding divan/ (Кубрякова 1977: 287). Although there are but few examples of the split bases in phytonymic lexis, I cannot but mention this type of the basis, e.g., Russian *Репешки-колючки* /this phytonym is difficult to translate; it conveys the idea that something is prickly, like flowers of burdock, and has thorns/ – Spiny cocklebur (*Xanthium spinosum* L.). Another phytonym, *Волчий корень-трава* /wolf's root-grass/ – Aconite monkshood (*Aconitum napellus* L.) serves a good example of the split basis, which identifies MP's used part at any one time – root and grass.

Since the object of my research is a MP, it is naturally to suppose that a lexical basis in its name will be the plant itself or its part. But it is not so. All the lexical bases can be divided into two groups. The first group is made up of lexical bases related to plants and flora. These are the examples formed by the direct designation, and they represent information of the plant appearance, the place of its growth and time of blossoming, its useful properties and so forth (Panasenko 2012a). We find the following lexical bases in this group: **plant** – Czech *Bršlen európsky* – European spindle-tree (*Euonymus europea* L.), **its used part** – German *Schwarzkraut* /black grass/ – Eurasian baneberry (*Actaea spicata* L.); Russian *Сухотный корень* /root healing tuberculosis/ – Wild arum (*Arum maculatum* L.),

**vegetable, fruit, sort of plant (tree, bush)** – Russian *Païдеpeво* /heaven + tree/ – Lilac (*Syringa vulgaris* L.).

Another group includes examples, in which the lexical basis means something else: **artefacts** (the weapon, tools, house utensils, clothes and their details, and so forth), **people** (the queen, soldier, mother and so forth), **animals** (wild and domestic animals, birds, insects, mythical creatures, and so forth), **substances** (blood, salt, acid, and so forth), **nature object** (the sun, moon, star) and many others. These bases show the reference of the designated object not only to a plant or its part, but to something else. It means that the designation of a plant has been done by comparison with known concepts and objects. This gives us a basis for considering another, no less important way of designation – metaphorisation (for detailed analysis of metaphoric designations from onomasiological perspective see Panasenko 2023).

### 3.1. Lexical basis **PERSON**

Here I would like to return to the semantic classification of bases, take two lexical classes – **person** and **artefact** – and try to clear out how culture-specific information is reflected in different languages. Let us start with the basis **person** (see Fig. 2).

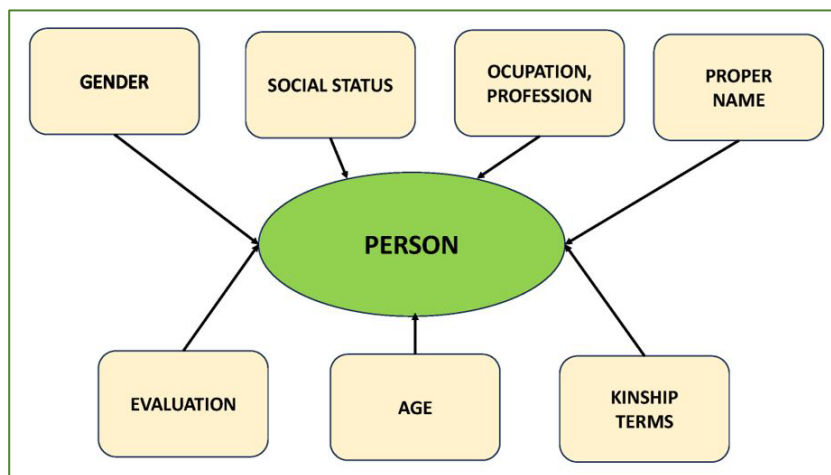


Figure. 2. Semantic interpretation of lexical basis **person** in the names of MPs. Source: own processing

In the languages under consideration the list of the bases representing person in literary and common MPs' names is considerable and includes the following items.

**Gender** – German *Waldmeister* /forest master/, *Waldmännlein* /forest men + dimin. suff./ – Sweet woodruff (*Asperula odorata* L.); Ukrainian *Братки* /brothers + suff./ – Pansy (*Viola tricolor* L.);

**social status** – French *Reine des bois* /queen or dame of the forest/ – Sweet woodruff (*Asperula odorata* L.); English *Lords-and-ladies* – Cuckoo-pint (*Arum maculatum* L.), *Fair lady* – Belladonna (*Atropa Belladonna* L.), *Naked ladies* – Common autumn crocus (*Colchicum autumnale* L.); Russian *Боярка* /boyar's wife/ – Common hawthorn (*Crataegus sanguinea* Pall.), *Мать-королева ядов* /mother-queen of poisons/ – Aconite monkshood (*Aconitum napellus* L.); Ukrainian *Царичка* /queen + dimin. suff./ – Belladonna (*Atropa Belladonna* L.);

**occupation, profession** – French *Trucheron* (*argot*, cadger) – St. John's wort (*Hypericum perforatum* L.); German *Wegwarte* (road guard) – Yellow gentian (*Gentiana lutea* L.); Russian *Попенок* /priest + dimin. suff./ – Corn bindweed (*Convolvulus arvensis* L.); Ukrainian *Москалик* /Moskal + dim. suff./, *Солдатик* /soldier + dim. suff./ – Dandelion (*Taraxacum officinale* Wigg.); Polish *Mniszek* /monk + dim. suff./ – Aconite monkshood (*Aconitum napellus* L.);

**proper name** – these examples are numerous and reflect names typical of each language under discussion, like French *Angélique*; English *Jenny*, *Adam*, *Eve*; Russian *Матренка*, *Иван*, *Марья*; Ukrainian *Гриць*, *Іван*, *Мар'яна*, *Мотька*, *Любка*, etc., e.g., English *Sticking Roger*, *Stinking Roger* – Black henbane (*Hyoscyamus niger* L.); Russian *Любка* /popular female name Люба + suff./ – Spiny cocklebur (*Xanthium spinosum* L.), *Акулинка* /obsolete female name Акулина + suff./ – Common mullein (*Verbascum thapsus* L.); Ukrainian *Євка* /Eve + suff./ – Horsetail (*Equisetum arvense* L.);

**evaluation** – German *Immerschön* /eternal beauty/ – Dwarf everlasting (*Helichrysum arenarium* (L.) Moench.), *Nackte Hure* /naked whore/ – Common autumn crocus (*Colchicum autumnale* L.); Polish *Milek wiosenny* /spring darling/ – Pheasant's eye (*Adonis vernalis* L.), *Żeniszek* /bride groom + dimin. suff., which in this case adds to the plant's name an ironic evaluation/ – Common yarrow (*Achillea millefolium* L.);

**age** – Ukrainian *Бабка* /old countrywoman + suff./, *Дідки* /grandfathers + suff./ – *Taraxacum officinale* Wigg.); Polish and Czech *Babička* /old countrywoman + dimin. suff./ – Common hawthorn (*Crataegus sanguinea* Pall.); Czech *Dědek* /grandfather + suff./, *Mládeneček* /baby + dimin. suff./ – Dwarf everlasting (*Helichrysum arenarium* (L.) Moench.);

**kinship terms** – German *Stiefmütterchen* /stepmother + dimin. suff./, *Stiefkind* /stepchild/ – Pansy (*Viola tricolor* L.); Russian *Мать-и-мачеха* /mother-and-stepmother/ – Coltsfoot (*Tussilago farfara* L.), *Братки* /brothers + suff./; Ukrainian *Сестрички* /sisters + dimin. suff./, *Сирітки* and Polish *Sierotki* /orphans + dimin. suff./; Polish *Macoszka* and Czech *Maceška*, /stepmother + dimin. suff./, Polish *Bratek* /brother + dimin. suff./, *Brat-y-sestra* /brother-and sister/, *Wdówki* /widows + suff./; Czech *Sírotka* /orphan + dimin. suff./ – Pansy (*Viola tricolor* L.).

From the examples given above it is clear that semantic classification of the bases designating **the person** makes it possible to determine his or her social status, profession, age, family relationships,



and so forth. But how do all these categories relate to a plant? The semantic class of the person bases can be interpreted in different ways. First of all, it is the **appearance** of the named plant. Most of the common names of Dandelion indicate specific form of its flown inflorescences. This form is associated with certain types of activity and, accordingly, with certain clothing (German, Russian, Ukrainian and Polish examples). The names reflecting such **age** categories, as Ukrainian *Баба* /grandma/ and *Дідку* /grandpas/ are connected with the **appearance** of a plant – these are undersized plants with a silvery (gray-haired) edge of leaves.

The other class of names is connected with **the evaluative component**, either positive, or negative. The higher social status of the person is (queen, nobleman, lady), the more important the role of the plant in the arsenal of phytotherapeutic remedies.

Some lexical bases require cultural-historical knowledge to interpret the name of a plant. A good example of it is Autumn crocus (*Colchicum autumnale* L.) which has an unusual structure: part of the bulb is on the surface of the ground, and from time to time it loses part of its skin. The English common name *Naked ladies* reflects the aristocratic custom of wearing low-cut dresses. The German common name *Nackte Hure* (naked whore) not only refers to the characteristic structure of the plant, but also contains a strong negative component that overlaps with the group of bases expressing evaluation.

And the most numerous group of names has a cultural component. In every language there are personal names (English *Roger*, French *Angélique*, Russian *Мамрѣнка*, Ukrainian *Грицики*, and so forth); in the culture of peoples there are numerous legends, in which plants are mentioned. The common names of the pansy (*Viola tricolor* L.) in five languages are an illustration of the legend of the wicked stepmother who drove poor orphans, the brother and the sister, out of the house in the woods where they turned into flowers. A blue or violet part of a flower is associated with the male (brother), and a yellow part – with the female (sister).

### **3.2. Lexical basis ARTEFACT**

Let us consider one more lexical basis – **artefact**. In my language material it is presented as follows (see Fig. 3).



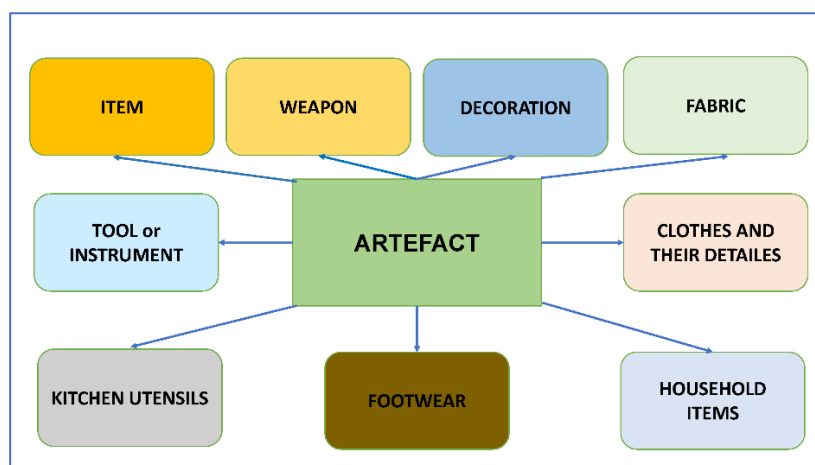


Figure. 3. Semantic interpretation of lexical basis **artefact** in the names of MPs. Source: own processing

This lexical basis is represented in phytonymic lexicon in the following way:

**tool or instrument** – German *Ackerpfriemen* (field awl) – Dyer's greenweed (*Genista tinctoria* L.); English *Adam's needle* – Common yucca (*Jucca filamentosa* L.), *Base broom* – Dyer's greenweed (*Genista tinctoria* L.); Russian *Кадило медоволистное* /censer/ – Bastard balm (*Melittis melissophyllum* L.), *Боговы грабельки* /God's rake + dimin. suff./, *Топорчику* /axe + dimin. suff./ – Pansy (*Viola tricolor* L.); Ukrainian *Сепник* /sickle + dimin. suff./ – Common yarrow (*Achillea millefolium* L.), *Сокирки*, *Топірчик* – /axe + dimin. suff./ – Pansy (*Viola tricolor* L.);

**item** – French *Bourse à pasteur* /a bag for a shepard/ – Common shepherd's purse (*Capsella bursa-pastoris* (L.) Medik.), *Canne aromatique* /fragrant cane/ – Sweet flag (*Acorus calamus* L.); German *Frauenspiegel* /woman's looking glass/ – Water-pepper (*Polygonum hydropiper* L.); English *Solomon's seal* – Angular Solomon's seal (*Polygonatum odoratum* Mill.) Druce); Russian *Суконная плетъ* /cloth lash/ – Common mullein (*Verbascum thapsus* L.); Ukrainian *Мишечки* /sacks + dimin. suff./ – Common shepherd's purse (*Capsella bursa-pastoris* (L.) Medik); Slovak *Krížek* /cross + dimin. suff./ – St. John's wort (*Hypericum perforatum* L.);

**clothes and their details** – French *Manchette de la Vierge* (the Virgin Mary's cuff) – Corn bindweed (*Convolvulus arvensis* L.); German *Eisenhut* /iron cap/ – Common yarrow (*Achillea millefolium* L.); English *Lady's foxglove* – Common mullein (*Verbascum thapsus* L.); Russian *Манжетка обыкновенная* /cuff + suff./ – Common Lady's Mantle (*Alchemilla vulgaris* L.), *Попова скуфья* /skouphos, skull cap, a specific black or violet cap of an orthodox priest/ – Dandelion (*Taraxacum officinale* Wigg.); Czech *Kapsička* /pocket + dimin. suff./ – Common shepherd's purse (*Capsella bursa-pastoris* (L.) Medik.); Slovak *Cigánske gombíki* /gipsy buttons/ – Greater burdock (*Arctium lappa* L.), *Suknička* /frock + dimin. suff./, *Ženský plášť* /feminine cloak/ – Common Lady's mantle (*Alchemilla xanthochlora* Rothm.);

**kitchen utensils** – French *Bassinet blanc* /white pannikin/ – European wood anemone (*Anemone nemorosa* L.); Russian *Богова скатерка* /God's table-cloth + suff./ – Dwarf everlasting (*Helichrysum arenarium* (L.) Moench.); Ukrainian *Бовча стyna* /wolf's mortar (vessel) – Meadow crane's-bill (*Geranium pratense* R. Knuth), *Мисочки* /pannikins + dimin. suff./ – Common shepherd's purse (*Capsella bursa pastoris* (L.) Medik.);

**household item** – French *Coussinette* /cushion + dimin. suff./ – Cranberry (*Oxycoccus palustris* Pers.); Russian *Высокая свеча* /high candle/ – Common mullein (*Verbascum thapsus* L.), *Подойнички* /milk-pail + dimin. suff./ – Dandelion (*Taraxacum officinale* Wigg.); Polish *Koszyszczko* /wattled bag + dim. suff./ – Vervain (*Verbena officinalis* L.); Slovak *Drabinka* /ladder + dimin. suff./ – Common silverweed (*Potentilla anserina* L.);

**weapon** English *Hercules' club* – Southern prickly ash (*Xanthoxylum clava-herculis* L.), *Green arrow* – Common yarrow (*Achillea millefolium* L.); Russian *Егорьево копье*, *Иисуса Христа копье* /Yegory's spear, Jesus Christ's spear/ – Meadow crane's-bill (*Geranium pratense* R. Knuth); Czech *Ježkova palice* /hedgehog's club/ – Thorn apple (*Datura stramonium* L.);

**decoration** – Ukrainian *Бовчі сережки* /wolf's ear-rings/ – European spindle-tree (*Euonymus europaea* L.), *Матері Марії сережки* /the Virgin Mary's ear-rings/ – Meadow vetchling (*Lathyrus pratensis* L.); Polish *Kocanki żółte* /yellow ear-rings/ – Dwarf everlasting (*Helichrysum arenarium* (L.) Moench.);

**footwear** – German *Blauer Pantoffel* /blue home slipper/ – Monkshood (*Aconitum napellus* L.); Ukrainian *Удодів чобіт* /hoopoe's boot/ – Pansy (*Viola tricolor* L.), *Черевички Божої матері* /the Virgin Mary's shoes + suff./; Slovak *Papučky* /slippers + dimin. suff./ – Yellow balsam (*Impatiens noli-tangere* L.);

**fabric** English *Adam's flannel*, *Old man's flannel*, Russian *Суконце* /woollen cloth + dimin. suff./ – Common mullein (*Verbascum thapsus* L.).

The bases of this group serve for the metaphorical identification of the **form** of the MP (or its part) (sword, arrow, candle); they inform us about **specific properties of the MP** (pillow – cranberry forms a dense tangle on which it is possible to lie down); **physical properties** – smell (censer) or milky juice (milk-pail); peculiarities of the MP structure (hollow stem) – whistle, horn, etc.

#### 4. Concluding remarks

A basis is an important element of the OM, which also includes onomasiological features attributed to the basis by the predicate. The basis plays the role of the concept that forms the basis for the designation of a class of objects, in my case the names of MPs. When carrying out the onomasiological analysis we may speak about the basis zone and the feature zone.

In the feature zone of the phytonymic lexicon it is possible to distinguish features of appearance, evaluation, warning of the plant's dangerous properties, of (in)alienate possession and emotive-expressive. The basis zone includes formal, split, lexical bases and exocentric compounds. Formal and lexical bases can be classified according to their structure and semantics. The formal basis represented by a suffix indicates the class of MPs or specifies the medical target of the plant. Structurally, these bases can be found in the derivative and complex-compound words. Semantically, bases represented by meaningful words, denote the plant itself or its part. Other lexical bases are diverse and denote a person, artefact, substance, feeling, state, nature objects, etc. Such examples constitute a large group of phytonyms that have arisen through indirect designation, i.e., through metaphorical shift.

If we compare the bases **person** and **artefact**, it becomes obvious that the first lexical basis has a prominent culturological connotation, contains the large volume of hidden information, which should be decoded properly, and is related to the category of evaluation. The basis **artefact** also has a culturological component, but to a lesser extent; it mainly metaphorically describes the appearance and physical properties of the MP and its parts.

## Abbreviations

MP(s) – medicinal plant(s)

dim. suff. – diminutive suffix

OM(s) – onomasiological model(s)

suff. – suffix

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**METAPHOR OF WAR IN AMERICAN AND RUSSIAN MEDIA DISCOURSE:  
A CASE STUDY OF THE 2022 RUSSIAN INVASION OF UKRAINE****Judyta Pawliszko** *University of Rzeszów, Rzeszów, Poland***Received:** 20.06.2023 **Reviewed:** 22.07.2023 and 11.09.2023**Similarity Index:** 0%

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**Abstract:** The aim of this article is to analyse the use of war metaphors in the articles published on February 24, 2022, by the "New York Times" and the "Moscow Times" thematising Russian aggression against Ukraine. Building on Lakoff and Johnson's theory of conceptual metaphor, we observe how war and its various aspects are conceptualised metaphorically in the media discourse. The analysis confirms opposing ideological viewpoints on the Russian-Ukrainian war presented in the two online newspapers that shape public opinion and influence global narratives.

**Key words:** discourse linguistics, cognitive linguistics, metaphor, war, outbreak of war, Russian-Ukrainian conflict.

**1. Introduction**

The systematic examination of semiotic data, including written, spoken, or visual forms, unveils ideologies and their capacity to comprehend and elucidate broader social phenomena (Wodak & Meyer 2009). Conceptual metaphors play an important role in the realm of cognitive linguistics as they aim to facilitate comprehension of individuals' perceptions and address significant issues. Given that, every discourse is distinguished not only by its specific terminology but also by the discourse-specific metaphors it contains (Panasenکو et al. 2018; 2020). This goal is linked to the aims of the present study: as today's world's focus is centred on the Russian-Ukrainian war, it is important to investigate how this conflict portrayed by journalists on opposing sides has likely influenced public opinion. To accomplish this, we analysed articles published on February 24, 2022, sourced from online newspaper reports such as the "New York Times" and the "Moscow Times". Both magazines contribute to shaping public discourse and are vital sources of information for readers seeking diverse perspectives on international events and Russian affairs.



Through the analysis of 24 articles sourced from the "Moscow Times" and 60 publications from the "New York Times", the research aims to determine how the Russian-Ukrainian war is conceptualized in the media discourse through various conceptual metaphors and answer the following research questions (RQs):

RQ1. What are the conceptual metaphors in the "New York Times" and the "Moscow Times" about the war in Ukraine?

RQ2. Are there any similarities and differences between the conceptual metaphors used by the "New York Times" and the "Moscow Times" in their respective articles?

## **2. Theoretical framework**

The article systematically synthesizes the theoretical foundation of conceptual metaphor research by referencing prominent scholars (e.g., Evans 2013; Kövecses 2010; 2018; Lakoff & Johnson 1980; 1999; Lakoff & Turner 1989; Langacker 2004; Vorobyova 2017; Zhabotynska 2013) while putting the main emphasis on the exposure of significant universal trends in the construction of cognitive metaphors used to write about war. Additionally, the paper makes practical use of diverse methods of metaphor (cf. Klein 2002; Liebert 2003; Liedtke 2002; Musolff 1996; 2005) and discourse (cf. Bilut-Homplewicz 2011; Czachur 2011; Dąbrowska-Burkhardt 2013; Dąbrowska-Burkhardt & Hanus 2022; Hanus 2018; 2020; 2021; Pawliszko 2019; 2021) analysis.

For many years the study of metaphor focused solely on its stylistic function. However, in cognitive linguistics, it has assumed a new role as a cognitive tool. The conceptual metaphor theory, as articulated by Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 112), advances the proposition that our comprehension of abstract or less familiar concepts, denoted as the target domain, frequently relies on the process of associating them with more tangible or commonly understood concepts, referred to as the source domain. This cognitive mapping facilitates both the elucidation and effective communication of the target domain. The source domain encompasses a collection of literal attributes (the characteristics or properties associated with a source domain when it is used metaphorically to understand or describe a target domain), relationships, and processes that are semantically linked and stored in the mind while the target domain tends to be abstract and its structure is created based on the connection to the source domain (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 74-80).

Conceptual metaphors establish correlations not only between individual concepts but also between broader meaningful spheres that encompass various related notions (Zhabotynska 2013: 48). Cognitive linguistics highlights the connection between metaphors, thinking and conceptual system

of a person (Vorobyova 2017: 93). Thus, discourse analysis considers metaphors as a tool of politics and power. Rhetoric underlines their role in communicative influence.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 4) distinguish between structural, orientational, and ontological types of conceptual metaphors. An example often used to illustrate structural conceptual metaphor is ARGUMENT IS WAR articulated in expressions such as *He attacked every weak point in my argument* or *He shot down all of my arguments*. Here the abstract conceptual domain *debate* is understood through the specific conceptual domain of *war*. In the orientational conceptual metaphor, a system of ideas is organized in the relation and interaction in space like up-down, inside-out, front-behind, shallow-deep, etc. An example often cited to illustrate the orientational conceptual metaphor group is HAPPY IS UP, SAD IS DOWN illustrated in these examples: *I'm feeling down/up*, *You are in high spirits*, *He's really low these days* (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 5). The last type of conceptual metaphors, the ontological metaphor, serves as cognitive mechanisms that facilitate the comprehension of intricate or abstract notions by contextualizing them within the framework of more palpable, tangible, and commonplace experiences. The ontological metaphor often involves framing a complex concept as if it had a specific existence, location, or properties. For example, the ontological metaphor MIND IS A MACHINE can be shown by the following examples: *I'm little rusty today* or *My mind just isn't operating today* (Nguyen 2015: 69).

Another typology of conceptual metaphors is presented by Fabiszak (2007), who divides conceptual metaphors based on their structures, classifying them as paragraph-structuring metaphors and isolated metaphors. The first is the lexical realisation of a single conceptual metaphor underlying larger portions of text, such as a paragraph or an entire article that play an important discourse-structuring function. Fabiszak (2007: 113) illustrates paragraph-structuring metaphor exploiting the conceptual metaphor WAR IS A THEATRE by providing the following example: *This is how one of the acts of this play ends. We don't know yet if this play will turn out to be a grotesque show or a bloody drama of an as yet unknown title*. Isolated metaphors are also linguistic expressions motivated by conceptual metaphors, but their impact on discourse is limited to one sentence or sentence fragment only. The isolated metaphors for WAR IS A THEATRE conceptual metaphor are, for example, *the last but one act of war*, *a new act of aggression*, *to play a role*, *efforts behind the scenes* (Fabiszak 2007: 114). Both classifications are used in studying the conceptual metaphors of the Russian-Ukrainian war. Paragraph-structuring metaphor is extracted from the text based on the criterion of extended and complex comparison, contextualisation within a larger narrative or text, and the ability to emphasize and develop a theme whereas isolated metaphor is brief, self-contained, and impactful comparisons that can stand alone within a text.

Undoubtedly, media discourse serves as a valuable source for investigating conceptual metaphors. As emphasized by Chilton (2004), language is an indispensable component of political action and media discourse. Aljanadbah and Alramamneh (2022) emphasize the significance of examining how the media utilizes language and the role it plays in communicating ideas and beliefs. As the authors point out, journalists aim to utilize lexical and syntactic elements to shape the responses of their readership toward specific narratives laden with values. In the same vein, Kövecses (2018: 130) asserts that conceptual metaphors can structure media discourse both intertextually and intratextually, encompassing various forms of media language such as journalists' discourse, advertisements, headlines, and pictures. Hart (2017: 25) emphasizes how prior texts, linguistic or visual, are appropriated or alluded to establish a frame for understanding the current text. The author notes that intertextuality becomes particularly significant when the described texts belong to different frames than the target situation, offering a rich source for metaphorical interpretation.

Velykoroda and Moroz (2021: 78) provided evidence that media discourse fosters the generation of intertextual metaphors by examining the phenomenon of intertextuality from the recipient's perspective. During our analysis of conceptual metaphors of war, instances of intertextuality were also observed. For instance, some commentators from the "New York Times" draw on intertextuality through the use of historical references to World War II to provide the historical context, draw parallels, or highlight the significance of the conflict. This intertextual reference helps readers shape their understanding of the current conflict by associating it with a well-known and significant historical event, thereby highlighting the gravity and implications of the ongoing war.

### **3. Database and methodology**

#### *3.1 The research design*

This research provides an analysis of conceptual metaphors featured in 84 online newspaper reports, 60 by the "New York Times" and 24 by the "Moscow Times", thematising the Russian aggression against Ukraine. The study aims to assess how the media discourse on the war has been portrayed by each and their likely effects on public opinion, both domestic and international. The research method relied upon a qualitative analysis of the conceptual metaphors to reveal the nature of the underlying concepts that influence the attitudes and opinions of each publication's readership, respectively. This method enables a more comprehensive interpretation of the outcomes and allows for an interpretation of both the views of the writers of the articles and the researchers' views to be considered.

### 3.2 Materials

The data were gathered from all the articles thematising Russian aggression against Ukraine, that is 24 articles from the "Moscow Times" and 60 articles from the "New York Times" published on February 24, 2022. This date is considered to represent the declaration of war by Russia on Ukraine. These two newspaper websites were selected to present instances of opposing ideological viewpoints on the Russian-Ukrainian war.

### 3.3 The "Moscow Times" vs. the "New York Times"

The "Moscow Times" and the "New York Times" are esteemed magazines that hold significant influence in the realm of journalism, yet they differ in aspects such as their geographical focus, language usage, content, readership, and perspectives. The "Moscow Times" primarily concentrates on events and developments within Russia, offering in-depth insights into Russian politics, business, culture, and society. Its coverage is characterized by its understanding of the local context and the Russian perspective. The publication is predominantly in English, targeting an international audience interested in gaining nuanced perceptions of Russian affairs. In contrast, the "New York Times" maintains a broader international focus by incorporating a blend of international and American viewpoints. With its emphasis on objective reporting and diverse voices, the "New York Times" plays a significant role in shaping public opinion and influencing global narratives. This newspaper is characterized not only by its comprehensive reporting and investigative journalism but also in-depth coverage appealing to a broad audience both within and beyond the United States.

### 3.4 Procedure

The selection of the material involved five main steps: (1) the researcher determined which online news articles published on the websites of the "Moscow Times" and the "New York Times" on February 24, 2022, were related to the Russian aggression against Ukraine; (2) the general theme of each text and (3) words/phrases that conveyed any meanings related to the conceptual metaphors were underlined; (4) all the highlighted terms were tabulated along with their respective subcategories; (5) subcategories were analysed using statistical data (frequency and percentage) of instances of each to provide a comprehensive summary of each newspaper's ideological stance towards the conflict. The researcher conducted qualitative analysis of all instances of the conceptual metaphors that exemplified the common patterns in each article, respectively.

## 4. Results and discussion

### 4.1 The "Moscow Times"

The conceptual metaphors prevalent in numerous abstracts analysed within The "Moscow Times" pertain to the idea that WAR IS ECONOMY. These metaphors are applied to understand and illustrate different aspects of the Ukrainian-Russian conflict, particularly in terms of the economic strategies, the resource control, and the use of economic measures as tools of warfare:

(1a) *Scholz warned Tuesday that Russia could face further sanctions in response to its actions in Ukraine.* (<https://www.themoscowtimes.com/2022/02/24/scholz-says-germany-suspending-nord-stream-2-a76515>)

(1b) *Scholz says Germany suspending Nord Stream 2.* (<https://www.themoscowtimes.com/2022/02/24/scholz-says-germany-suspending-nord-stream-2-a76515>)

Extract 1a suggests that by the imposition of economic sanctions on Russia by various countries and international organizations and using economic measures such as trade restrictions and financial penalties, nations seek to exert pressure on Russia, highlighting the idea that economic tools are employed as a form of warfare. The struggle for control over strategic gas pipelines in the region in 1b reflects the metaphor WAR IS ECONOMY as both sides recognize the economic significance of these resources.

The Russian aggression against Ukraine can also be illustrated by the conceptual metaphor WAR IS A CRIME through the portrayal of military assaults as criminal acts, accusations of violating international law and breaching commitments, and the characterization of actions as brazen violations of the international order. These structural metaphors help convey the perception that certain actions in the context of war are considered morally and legally unacceptable, aligning them with the concept of crimes:

(2a) *Zelenskiy also told reporters that the Kremlin was paving the way for a major military assault on Ukraine.* (<https://www.themoscowtimes.com/2022/02/24/ukraine-says-will-consider-cutting-ties-with-russia-a76516>)

(2b) *He [French Foreign Minister Jean-Yves Le Drian] accused Russia of violating international law and breaching its commitments.* (<https://www.themoscowtimes.com/2022/02/24/macron-demands-targeted-sanctions-on-moscow-a76503>)

(2c) *Russia has brazenly violated the international order.* (<https://www.themoscowtimes.com/2022/02/24/kremlin-categorically-denies-ukraine-war-crimes-claim-in-intl-court-a76684>)

In extract 2a the metaphor suggests that the anticipated military assault by the Kremlin on Ukraine is perceived as a criminal act. In quote 2b, the conceptual metaphor WAR IS A CRIME is reflected in the accusation of Russia violating international law and breaching its own commitments. By framing these actions as violations, it implies that Russia's conduct in the war is considered unlawful, akin to criminal behaviour. In the last extract (2c), the journalist reinforces the metaphor WAR IS A CRIME by asserting that Russia's actions have openly disregarded or violated the international order. The use of the term *brazenly* suggests audacity or boldness in violating the established norms and rules that govern international relations. By characterizing Russia's actions as a violation of the international order, the metaphor frames these actions as a transgression, emphasizing their illegitimate nature.

War is always associated with blood, brutality, and pain. The analysed articles contain the conceptual metaphor WAR IS BRUTALITY emphasizing the extreme violence and inhumanity associated with warfare. The journalists depict it in the following extracts:

(3a) *And the Ecumenical Patriarchate is the only Orthodox Church outside Ukraine to decry Russia's unprovoked actions as a violation of human rights and brutal violence against human beings.* (<https://www.themoscowtimes.com/2022/02/24/an-orthodox-christian-standing-with-ukraine-a76685>)

(3b) *We're still open to a diplomatic solution but we not longer (sic!) intend to allow a new bloodbath in the [eastern Ukraine territories known as] Donbas.* (<https://www.themoscowtimes.com/2022/02/24/were-all-just-spectators-russia-ukraine-border-residents-await-putins-next-move-a76521>)

In example 3a, the phrase *a violation of human rights and brutal violence against human beings* suggests that the actions carried out by Russia in the context of war are perceived as brutally violent and inhumane, showing disregard for individuals' rights and dignity. Extract 3b also aligns with the metaphor WAR IS BRUTALITY through the use of the term *bloodbath*. The metaphor implies that the situation in the Donbas region is characterized by extreme violence and a high potential for significant loss of life. The term *bloodbath* evokes an image of brutality and carnage, emphasizing the severity and inhumanity of the potential consequences of the continued conflict.

The conceptual metaphor WAR IS DIVISION used by the "Moscow Times" journalists also helps convey the idea that war inherently leads to division, whether it is in terms of conflicting ideologies, internal conflicts, or the response and actions of societies:

(4a) *The same ideological clash of worldviews is reflected in our own domestic context, where basic norms are likewise under threat.* (<https://www.themoscowtimes.com/2022/02/24/an-orthodox-christian-standing-with-ukraine-a76685>)



(4b) (...) *the decision to recognize the Donbas led to what he termed cognitive dissonance*. (<https://www.themoscowtimes.com/2022/02/24/were-all-just-spectators-russia-ukraine-border-residents-await-putins-next-move-a76521>)

In extract 4a, the metaphor WAR IS DIVISION is evident in the mention of an ideological clash of worldviews. It suggests that the confrontation leads to a sense of conflict and division, where basic norms and values are at risk. Although the author of extract 4b does not explicitly use the term *division*, it indirectly relates to the metaphor WAR IS DIVISION through the mention of *cognitive dissonance* – a psychological state of inconsistency or conflict between thoughts, beliefs, or values. In the context of war, the metaphor suggests that the decision to recognize the Donbas as an independent entity created a sense of division or internal conflict within individuals who were faced with conflicting beliefs or perceptions.

One of the most interesting conceptual metaphors found in the "Moscow Times" is WAR IS DEFENSE used in President Putin's emotional and angry speech in the wake of February 24:

(5a) *President Vladimir Putin pitched Moscow as a defender of its historical motherland on a crusade to protect Russians and Russian speakers from genocide as he justified the dramatic decision to recognize the independence of pro-Russian separatists in Eastern Ukraine late on Monday*. (<https://www.themoscowtimes.com/2022/02/24/rewriting-history-putin-pitches-russia-as-defender-of-an-expanding-motherland-a76518>)

(5b) *President Vladimir Putin on Monday ordered Russia's military to act as peacekeepers in two breakaway regions of Ukraine, just hours after he recognized them as independent*. (<https://www.themoscowtimes.com/2022/02/24/putin-orders-russian-military-to-act-as-peacekeepers-in-ukraine-regions-a76504>)

In paragraph-structuring metaphor 5a, Putin presents Russia as a defender of its historical homeland, framing its actions as a response to a perceived threat or attack. This aligns with the metaphor's idea that military actions are defensive in nature. The use of the term *protect* highlights the Russian intervention as a means of safeguarding the lives and well-being of Russians and Russian speakers, framing it as a defensive act against potential harm. Russia's actions are framed as a righteous cause also in an isolated metaphor presented in extract 5b which portrays Russia as a defender, with the concept of *motherland* being mapped onto a physical entity that needs protection. By using the term *peacekeepers*, it presents Russia's military actions as a means to restore stability and protect the people in these regions.

There are also examples of less productive conceptual metaphors like WAR IS A SPECTACLE (6a), WAR IS SPORT (6b), and WAR IS A RELATIONSHIP (6c):

(6a) *At the end of the day, we're all just spectators, staring with open mouths at what's happening.* (<https://www.themoscowtimes.com/2022/02/24/were-all-just-spectators-russia-ukraine-border-residents-await-putins-next-move-a76521>)

(6b) *In the end, for Putin, the church is merely instrumental, just another arrow in his quiver to reconstitute the Soviet Union, an atheist state.* (<https://www.themoscowtimes.com/2022/02/24/an-orthodox-christian-standing-with-ukraine-a76685>)

(6c) *Ukraine says will consider cutting ties with Russia.* (<https://www.themoscowtimes.com/2022/02/24/ukraine-says-will-consider-cutting-ties-with-russia-a76516>)

The underlined words in the given examples represent source domains SPECTACLE (spectators, staring with open mouths), SPORT (arrow, quiver), and RELATIONSHIP (ties) and map their qualities and characteristics on the target domain WAR.

As the analysis of the conceptual metaphors found in the "Moscow Times" shows, there are several prominent metaphors that convey various aspects of the Ukrainian-Russian conflict. The prevalent metaphor is WAR IS ECONOMY, emphasizing the use of the economic strategies, the resource control, and economic measures as tools of warfare. Another notable metaphor, WAR IS A CRIME, characterizes Russia's military actions as violations of international law. WAR IS BRUTALITY highlights the extreme violence and inhumanity associated with warfare, depicted through descriptions of brutal violence against human beings and the potential for a bloodbath. The metaphor WAR IS DIVISION reflects the idea that war inherently leads to division, whether in terms of conflicting ideologies or internal conflicts. Lastly, WAR IS DEFENSE is employed in President Putin's speech, presenting Russia as a defender of its historical homeland and framing its actions as defensive responses. Less frequently, there are also references to WAR IS A SPECTACLE, WAR IS SPORT, and WAR IS A RELATIONSHIP, which depict war as an event to be observed, a competitive endeavour, or a relationship between nations. These metaphors collectively shape the discourse surrounding the conflict, conveying complex aspects of the situation through metaphorical language.

#### 4.2 The "New York Times"

The journalists at the "New York Times" appear to give significant attention to the connection between warfare and the economy. This is evident in the numerous articles analysed within the

newspaper, where the content of the articles often revolves around the conceptual metaphor WAR IS ECONOMY:

(7a) *The Russia-Ukraine crisis could slow global economic growth sufficiently to cause a recession, creating a dilemma for central banks.*

(<https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/24/business/economy/stock-market-today.html>)

(7b) *The Russian invasion of Ukraine poses a risk to economic growth but will likely exacerbate inflation.* (<https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/24/business/economy/interest-rates-russia-ukraine.html>)

(7c) *[President Biden] agreed to move forward on devastating packages of sanctions and other economic measures to hold Russia to account.*

(<https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/24/world/europe/why-russia-attacked-ukraine.html>)

(7d) *Europe faces a new refugee crisis, and harsh economic penalties to punish Russia are expected to reverberate worldwide.* (<https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/24/us/politics/ukraine-russia-whats-next.html>)

(7e) *On Wednesday, he [Tucker Carlson] labelled Ukraine a pure client state of the United States State Department.* (<https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/24/business/fox-news-russia-ukraine.html>)

(7f) *"If Putin does not pay a devastating price for this transgression, then our own security will soon be at risk" Senator Chris Murphy, a Connecticut Democrat, said.*

(<https://www.nytimes.com/live/2022/02/24/world/russia-ukraine-putin>)

Structural metaphors 7a-7f represent the conceptual metaphor WAR IS ECONOMY to frame the Ukraine-Russia war in terms of power dynamics, dependence, and the exchange of costs and benefits. The phrase *slow global economic growth* and the mention of a *dilemma for central banks* in 7a highlight the economic consequences of the crisis, akin to how businesses analyse and respond to potential disruptions that could lead to recessions. In extract 7b, the WAR IS ECONOMY metaphor is used to frame the Russian invasion as a risk to economic growth and a potential cause of inflation, highlighting its potential to disrupt economic stability. *Devastating packages of sanctions* and *economic measures* are depicted in 7c as strategic tools employed by governments to hold Russia accountable, akin to businesses' strategic decision-making in addressing challenges while 7d links the WAR IS ECONOMY metaphor to economic penalties, portraying them as punitive measures similar to financial penalties in business and highlighting their global economic repercussions. By describing Ukraine *a client state of the United States State Department* extract 7e suggests that Ukraine is dependent on and compliant to the interests and control of the United States. The expression used in 7f (*paying a price*) implies that Russia, personified by Putin, must face severe consequences or penalties for its actions.

Russian-Ukrainian war is also illustrated by the journalists as WAR IS A CRIME conceptual metaphor, where RUSSIA IS A CRIMINAL:

(8a) *It was not enough in the end to deter Russia from carrying out the broad assault that got underway early on Thursday.* (<https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/24/world/europe/intelligence-putin-biden-ukraine-leverage.html>)

(8b) *Those concerns, analysts say, are likely to shape how far the United States is willing to go to punish Russia for its invasion of Ukraine.* (<https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/24/business/biden-sanctions-russia-ukraine.html>)

(8c) *There is no purgatory for war criminals, they go straight to hell.* (<https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/02/24/briefing/news-quiz-russia-ukraine-war.html>)

Page does not exist anymore.

(8d) *Russia is the aggressor. Russia chose this war.*

(<https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/24/us/politics/biden-putin-sanctions-ukraine.html>)

The use of the phrase *broad assault* (8a) suggests that Russia is portrayed as a criminal engaging in aggressive actions while the term *punish* (8b) reflects the notion of holding a criminal accountable for their actions. By characterizing Russia's invasion of Ukraine as a criminal act, the metaphor implies that there should be consequences imposed on Russia akin to those imposed on a criminal. In the next statements (8c and 8d), the metaphor is explicitly expressed through the comparison of war criminals to individuals who deserve punishment. By stating that war criminals *go straight to hell*, the metaphor portrays Russia's actions as morally reprehensible and deserving of severe condemnation. Russia framed as the *aggressor* in extract 8d suggests that it is responsible for initiating the war, likening the actions to those of a criminal who instigates harmful acts.

The conceptual metaphor WAR IS A SURPRISE is also used frequently by the "New York Times" to convey the unexpected, disorienting, and disruptive nature of war. This metaphor highlights the element of surprise, abruptness, and the profound impact that war may have on individuals, organisations, and societies at large:

(9a) *His [President Putin's] announcement came as the United Nations Security Council held an emergency meeting, stunning ambassadors who had to deliver impromptu reactions to the rapidly changing events.* (<https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/24/world/europe/why-russia-attacked-ukraine.html>)

(9b) *The shock of war adds to the enormous challenges facing central banks worldwide.* (<https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/24/business/economy/interest-rates-russia-ukraine.html>)

(9c) *The swiftness of Russia's multipronged assault sent shudders through international boardrooms and raised questions for businesses about how to confront the rapidly shifting geopolitical landscape.*

(<https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/24/business/multinationals-halt-operations-in-ukraine-and-move-employees-to-safety.html>)

(9d) *Russians awoke in shock as they learned that he had ordered a full-scale assault, our Moscow bureau chief writes.* (<https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/24/world/europe/putin-russia-ukraine.html>)

The source domain SURPRISE is expressed by the adjective *stunning*, nouns *shock*, *swiftness* and phrase *awoke in shock*. Also, the expressions *rapidly changing events*, *rapidly shifting*, and *swiftness* align with the metaphor WAR IS A SURPRISE as they imply that unfolding events associated with the war took the individuals and organizations by surprise, catching them off guard and requiring them to respond quickly and adapt to the unexpected developments. The phrase *awoke in shock* in 9d signifies the element of surprise experienced by the Russians upon discovering the order for a full-scale assault. It suggests that the news of the war came as an unexpected and shocking revelation, eliciting a profound emotional response. In stark contrast to the above is an extract from yet another article where the conceptual metaphor WAR IS A PREMEDITATED ACT is used:

(10) *Mr. Biden vowed to punish Moscow for a premeditated war that will bring a catastrophic loss of life and human suffering.* (<https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/24/world/europe/biden-russia-ukraine-sanctions.html>)

Considering this example, we identify another conceptual metaphor – WAR IS SUFFERING which points out that war is not only characterized by physical destruction but also by the immense emotional, psychological, and social suffering endured by those affected.

In each of the following extracts, war is metaphorically conceptualized by the journalists as a path, course, or trajectory that has various implications and consequences. This metaphorical mapping suggests that WAR IS A JOURNEY with its own set of challenges, directions, and potential outcomes:

(11a) *Diplomacy is in turmoil with Russia's path of aggression.*

(<https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/24/us/politics/ukraine-russia-whats-next.html>)

(11b) *On Wednesday night, even as he predicted that an assault was imminent, Mr. Blinken issued an 11th-hour appeal for Mr. Putin to take a diplomatic path from conflict.*

(<https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/24/us/politics/ukraine-russia-whats-next.html>)

(11c) *And if neither international cooperation nor military aid is enough to get Putin to reverse course?* (<https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/24/opinion/ukraine-russia-putin-war.html>)

(11d) *Even if it is not enough to shake the Fed from its course, some analysts are warning that the fallout of the conflict could be meaningful.*

(<https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/24/business/economy/interest-rates-russia-ukraine.html>)

(11e) *In Parsi's view, the path to Putin's flagrant violation of Ukraine's sovereignty was paved in part by similar transgressions on the part of the United States.*

(<https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/24/opinion/ukraine-russia-putin-war.html>)

The underlined words in the given examples represent the source domain JOURNEY (*reverse course, shake from its course, path of aggression, diplomatic path, path was paved*) and map their qualities and characteristics on the target domain WAR, allowing for a conceptual understanding of war that incorporates elements such as trajectories, paths, courses, alterations, and consequences.

One more conceptual metaphor which may be frequently identified in the "New York Times" is WAR IS FUEL as in the following examples:

(12a) *It couldn't happen at a worse time as it is pouring fuel over an already kindled fire of inflation.*

(<https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/24/business/economy/interest-rates-russia-ukraine.html>)

(12b) *Russia and Ukraine together supply more than a quarter of the world's wheat, and coming disruptions could fuel higher food prices and social unrest.*

(<https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/24/business/ukraine-russia-wheat-prices.html>)

In extract 12a, this conceptual metaphor suggests that war acts as a source of fuel that intensifies or exacerbates a pre-existing situation, in this case, inflation. Likewise, in 12b the disruptions caused by the war act as fuel, which could lead to higher food prices and social unrest. The conflict in the region is seen as a factor that amplifies the already existing conditions, resulting in potentially negative consequences. By employing these metaphors, the extracts provide a vivid and evocative way to conceptualize the impact of war on inflation, food prices, and social stability.

There is also an example of conceptual metaphor such as WAR IS A CONTAINER:

(13) *Early this morning in Ukraine, Russian troops poured over the border, and Russian planes and missile launchers attacked Ukrainian cities and airports.*

(<https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/24/briefing/ukraine-russia-invasion-putin.html>)

The underlined expression illustrates the source domain CONTAINER (*poured over*). Here, the borders of Ukraine act as a container that separates conflicting forces, and the pouring of Russian troops into Ukraine can be seen as the filling of that container.



There were also some examples of orientational metaphor found in the "New York Times", which explain the concept of war through its SHALLOW-DEEP (14a) and IN-OUT (14b) spatial orientation:

(14a) *The conflict has deepened divisions between the two nations.* (<https://www.nytimes.com/news-event/ukraine-russia>)

(14b) *Russia's invasion crossed the border of Ukrainian territory.* (<https://www.nytimes.com/news-event/ukraine-russia>)

In extract 14a, the orientational metaphor SHALLOW-DEEP is used to describe the impact of the conflict on the relationship between the two nations. *Deepened divisions* suggests that the conflict has intensified or exacerbated the existing differences and hostilities between Ukraine and Russia. The metaphor implies that these divisions have become more profound and significant due to the conflict, emphasizing the depth of the rift between the nations. 14b employs the orientational metaphor IN-OUT to describe the movement of Russian forces into Ukrainian territory. The phrase *crossed the border* conveys the idea of moving from one spatial region (outside, in this case, Russia) into another (inside, Ukrainian territory). It highlights the violation of Ukraine's sovereignty and territorial integrity by emphasizing the invasion as a breach of borders.

As it is evident from the analysis presented above, the "New York Times" employs several conceptual metaphors to analyze the Ukraine-Russia conflict from which the most prominent is WAR IS BUSINESS, framing the conflict in terms of economic consequences, strategic decisions, and costs and benefits. Economic repercussions are extensively discussed, portraying the conflict as a potential disruptor of global economic stability. The metaphor not only links to punitive economic measures against Russia, but also characterizes Ukraine's relationship with the United States as dependent, akin to a client-state dynamic and, at the same time, points to the high-stakes nature of the conflict. The newspaper also frequently uses WAR IS A CRIME, depicting Russia's actions as criminal. The conceptual metaphor WAR IS SUFFERING highlights emotional and psychological anguish while WAR IS A SURPRISE underscores the unexpected and disruptive nature of war. WAR IS A JOURNEY portrays the conflict as a trajectory with implications. Additionally, the metaphor WAR IS FUEL suggests the conflict intensifies existing conditions. Orientational metaphors SHALLOW-DEEP and IN-OUT provide spatial orientations to describe deepened divisions and territorial violations. These metaphors collectively provide readers with rich perspectives on the multifaceted nature of the conflict.



## 5. Conclusions

After analysing 84 articles, 24 from the "Moscow Times" and 60 from the "New York Times", it is evident that while both newspapers use conceptual metaphors WAR IS ECONOMY and WAR IS A CRIME to portray Russia as a criminal engaging in aggressive actions, highlighting the notion of accountability and the need for consequences, they provide various lenses through which the conflict can be understood, highlighting different dimensions and implications.

Russian media discourse described war through such structural metaphors as WAR IS BRUTALITY, WAR IS DIVISION, WAR IS DEFENSE, WAR IS A SPECTACLE, WAR IS SPORT, WAR IS A RELATIONSHIP, capturing its brutality, divisive nature, manipulative aspects, spectacle-like quality, and competitive dynamics. American media frame the Ukrainian-Russian war mostly in terms of power dynamics, dependence, and the exchange of costs and benefits. The metaphors used in the "New York Times" such as WAR IS A SURPRISE, WAR IS A PREMEDITATED ACT, WAR IS SUFFERING, WAR IS A JOURNEY, WAR IS FUEL collectively depict the Russian-Ukrainian war as an event surprising in its onset and/or planned in its execution, transformative in its consequences, deliberate in its trajectory, fuelled by various factors, and characterized by performative elements.

Symptomatic for the analysed discourse is also the difference in the understanding of the notion of the aggressor in the conflict. The "New York Times" emphasises that the Russian nation is responsible for the aggression acts through negative evaluations of Russians (RUSSIA IS A CRIMINAL) which evoke images of extreme negativity, immorality, and danger. The "Moscow Times" journalists use *Putin* while writing about the aggressive military intervention by Russia.

The ontological metaphor WAR IS A CONTAINER used in the "New York Times" indicates the limitations of war and the orientation metaphors SHALLOW-DEEP and IN-OUT draw upon physical experiences and spatial reasoning to make these concepts more accessible and relatable, allowing readers to grasp the magnitude and impact of the conflict.


Our research encompassed an analysis of the two aforementioned media discourse sources as the foundation. Subsequent studies may explore additional print or digital media outlets to investigate potential variations in content and identify further metaphorical expressions.

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## LEGE ARTIS

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# DOES THE SMALL PRINT REALLY MATTER? THE INFLUENCE OF EXPLICIT EXPOSURE TO DISCLAIMERS ON THE PERCEPTION OF TV COMMERCIALS

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**Abstract:** Disclaimers, which should prevent advertising audience from being falsely informed, are usually ignored by viewers. The present study demonstrates that when the viewers are exposed to the full content of commercials, including the small print disclaimers, their evaluation of the products and producers is, contrary to expectations, higher. However, the viewers fail to notice the manipulative discursive tactics applied by the advertisers, involving strategic use of disclaimers. This suggests that disclaimers do not perform their protective role effectively.

**Keywords:** disclaimers, small print, medicinal products advertising, perception of commercials, persuasion, manipulation, discursive strategies.

## 1. Introduction

Armed with sophisticated technology and years of research-supported persuasive tricks, the advertising industry seeks its prey amid crowds of oblivious individuals, bombarding them with offers, bargains, and deals on an everyday basis. Although we are unwilling to admit that our actions and decisions are influenced by commercials which we mostly ignore and disregard, their impact on our cognition, attitudes, and behaviour has been proven in many scholarly publications (Armstrong 2010; Batra et al. 1995; Eisend & Tarrahi 2016; Janiszewski & Warlop 1993; Sethuraman, Tellis & Briesch 2011; Stewart 1992; Tellis 2004; Vakratsas & Ambler 1999, Zabuzhanska et al. 2022).

The obvious inequality between the two participants of the advertising game was noted many years ago and has resulted in numerous legal regulations aimed at protecting consumers (e.g., Federal Trade



Commission 2021; Government of India 2020; UK Parliament 2014; UNCTAD 2016). Many of them are related to the advertising of products containing hazardous and harmful substances (such as nicotine or alcohol) or enterprises that involve a significant degree of risk of some kind, like certain investments. However, the product range that is subjected to particularly restrictive regulations is substances used in medical treatments and health protection. In Poland there are two separate legal acts, one related to the advertising of medicinal products (Regulation of the Minister of Health of November 21, 2008, on the advertising of medicinal products), and the other to dietary supplements (Regulation of the Minister of Health of October 9, 2007, on the composition and labelling of dietary supplements). Advertisements for pharmaceutical products must present references to research in a standardised manner, and contain information on the composition of the drug and the instructions for its use, as well as the standard recommendation to read the package leaflet and consult the GP or the pharmacist.<sup>1</sup> Commercials for dietary supplements, on the other hand, do not have to contain the above-mentioned recommendation, but no direct claim can be made in the advertisement that the substance cures a certain condition.

Another form of consumer protection, which has accompanied advertisements for decades due to relevant legislation, is the so-called disclaimer, defined as a "statement of disclosure made with the purpose of clarifying or qualifying potentially misleading or deceptive statements made within an advertisement" (Stern & Harmon 1984: 13). Since the information it communicates is usually disadvantageous for the producer of the advertised commodity, in the sense that it undermines in some way the claims in the slogans or the body copy, various strategies aimed at making it less explicit, inconspicuous, or hard to understand have been adopted over the years. The most frequently encountered include the use of very small print, inconspicuous font colour, increased speed of delivery in ads where disclaimers are read out, and a very short display time in TV commercials. As a result, it is often difficult or impossible to absorb the content of disclaimers under ordinary conditions of viewing or exposure.

The answer to the question whether the obligation to include mandatory disclaimers actually serves to benefit the public is far from clear. For example, Green and Armstrong demonstrate that "the mandatory disclaimers caused confusion among consumers" and "[m]andated messages were ineffective or harmful in the 15 experiments that examined perceptions, attitudes or decisions" (2012: 302). The authors argue in a convincing manner that there is no need to impose the inclusion of such statements in advertisements, since being honest about one's product in a commercial is actually in the advertiser's best interest, because any attempt to engage in deceitful practices would very soon turn against the fraudulent entrepreneur.

Irrespective of their protective efficiency or usefulness, however, disclaimers have become an essential component of most commercials and many viewers treat them as one of the constitutive elements of an advertising message. Nevertheless, the expectation of finding a disclaimer within a commercial does not translate into the intention to pay attention to it. Studies have shown that viewers tend to disregard the content of the disclaimers, especially when they are familiar with the advertised brand (Herbst, Hannah & Allan 2013; LeBlanc Wicks et al. 2009, Wojtaszek 2007). Extensive disclaimers are most frequently found in commercials for medicinal products (Hoek et al. 2011; van de Pol & de Bakker 2010), dietary supplements (Dodge & Kaufman 2007; Mason, Scammon & Fang 2007) and products intended for children (Bakir 2009; Stutta & Hunnicutt 1987). Commercials for erection stimulants belong either to the group of pharmaceutical products or to dietary supplements, depending on how the product was registered by the manufacturer. The choice of this particular product group as the focus for the present study was governed by two reasons: firstly, the commercials were bound to contain a sizeable disclaimer component, and secondly, the results could be juxtaposed with the findings of Wojtaszek (2017), where disclaimers in commercials for the same type of product were studied.

The study showed that in some commercials for dietary supplements the instruction to read the package label and consult the pharmacist or a doctor was included, although the law did not demand it. Wojtaszek (2017) classifies this as a manipulative strategy, aimed at presenting a mere dietary supplement as a medicinal product which has been subjected to rigorous testing and clinically proven to cure the erectile dysfunction. Since consumers are aware of the obligation to include the instruction to read the package label in medicine advertising, they are likely to identify its presence as an indicator that the product adheres to a higher and more reliable standard.

Another interesting observation pertains to the very careful formulation of the disclaimers in the commercials for dietary supplements, which, on the one hand, were aimed at convincing the viewers that the product was really effective, but on the other hand, could not violate the legal ban on claiming that it actually cures the condition. Wojtaszek (2017: 217-218) demonstrates a number of examples of statements which indirectly, but suggestively, seek to convince potential users of the healing and remedial properties of the advertised products, though never actually saying it in a manner which could be found to commit a legal breach.

In view of the above, as well as the other potential modifications (under the influence of disclaimers) of the explicitly communicated persuasive message, the present research **aims** at finding out whether explicit exposure to their content can demonstrably alter viewers' perceptions of the product and its

properties, and whether viewers would be able to notice the advertisers' manipulative tricks employed in the small print component.

## 2. Material and methods

In order to investigate the aforementioned issues, we designed a **study** to examine how viewers perceive a selection of commercials that advertise erection stimulants. There were 75 participants, divided into 3 equal groups which corresponded to three different viewing conditions. All participants were native speakers of Polish, students aged 20-24, not distinguished according to their gender, as this was assumed irrelevant to the results.

The **material** for the study consisted of four Polish video commercials for erection stimulants (*Braveran*, *Penigra*, *Permen Go*, and *Stymen*), all 30 seconds long, originally produced in the years 2010-2013, combined with exact transcripts of all disclaimers included in them. Additionally, a questionnaire including five questions served as a data collection tool, eliciting participants' opinions and perceptions based on the viewing session (the survey form can be found in Appendix A). Since the term 'perception' is potentially very capacious and may involve a number of different dimensions, it was decided to limit it to the following three aspects: viewers' assessment of producer credibility, viewers' expectations of product effectiveness based on advertising, and their evaluation of information value of the ad. Answering the first three questions involved viewers' evaluation on a scale of 1-7 of the three dimensions mentioned above, where 1 represents the lowest and 7 the highest score. The fourth question attempted to elicit the most important advantages and benefits that the advertised product offers (maximally three), and the fifth question asked the viewers to reveal what they perceived as truthful information, and what they considered to be a false representation of reality in each of the commercials. Each participant was asked to fill in four questionnaire forms, one for each commercial. The procedure was in many aspects similar to the data collection process applied in other studies attempting to collect viewers' responses combining qualitative and quantitative perspectives (e.g., Poppi & Urios-Aparisi 2021).

As mentioned before, the participants were exposed to the commercials in three different ways. The first group watched the ads without receiving any additional information about them (hereinafter referred to as "unmodified" viewing) – they were shown each clip only once, and after each viewing, they were asked to fill in the questionnaire related to the ad that they had just seen. The second group received a full transcript of each of the commercials, including all disclaimers, immediately following the viewing of every ad (hereinafter referred to as "enhanced" viewing). They were asked to watch the commercials and read the transcripts, paying special attention to the information provided in the



disclaimers before they filled in their questionnaires. The third group was exposed to the unmodified viewing first, and after one week to another of the same ads, but supplemented with the transcripts, just like the second group. This arrangement was intended to check whether there were significant differences between two viewings by the same group of people and two different viewings by distinct groups.

The focal point of the study, however, was to find out whether significant differences could be observed between viewings when the information provided in the disclaimers was made explicitly available as opposed to when it was not. Finding such a difference would mean that our perception of commercials depends on the full availability of their informational content, and if we are not able to perceive the content of disclaimers, we develop a different set of beliefs about the advertised products. Additionally, it is interesting to discover which direction such a potential change in perception takes: whether explicit exposure to the content of disclaimers enhances or reduces our perception of the advertised product and our evaluation of the manufacturer. Finally, it is also intriguing to see whether the viewers manage to spot the potentially deceitful practices of the advertisers thanks to their enhanced exposure to the full content of the commercials. In connection with the issues raised above, the following research questions were formulated:

Q1: Are there significant differences in the perception of the producer's credibility between the unmodified and enhanced viewing?

Q2: Are there significant differences in the perception of the product effectiveness between the unmodified and enhanced viewing?

Q3: Are there significant differences in the perception of the information value of the ad between the unmodified and enhanced viewing?

Q4: Is there a significant difference between the enhanced perception of the ads by the group that saw them only once and the group that was earlier exposed to the same ads in an unmodified way?

Since the research questions pertain to statistical significance, each of them is linked to an implicit 0-hypothesis (H0) that there is no significant difference, and the opposite H1 hypothesis that such a difference exists. The results should show whether there are grounds for rejecting the above-mentioned H0 at a commonly accepted probability value (p) of 0.05 or less, and claim that the noted differences are large enough not to be attributed to chance. The quantitative data was collected in an Excel file and subjected to analysis with the use of Statistica 14 software (version 14.0.0.15 © 1984-2020 TIBCO Software Inc), while the qualitative data was manually analysed and the results of this analysis were used as a supplement and extension of the quantitative results.

### 3. Results and discussions

Before the findings pertaining to the research questions are presented, some information on the data should be summarised, because its nature has an important impact on the choice of the statistical tests applied in the analysis. Firstly, it was checked whether the data represents normal distribution. Table 1 below summarises the main descriptive statistics for the three variables: producer's credibility, product effectiveness, and information value of the ad:

Table 1. Descriptive statistics for the three variables representing the perception of ads. Source: own processing

Variable	Descriptive Statistics					
	Valid N	Mean	Median	Minimum	Maximum	Std.Dev.
credibility	400	3.627500	4.000000	2.000000	5.000000	0.741700
effectiveness	400	2.867500	3.000000	1.000000	5.000000	0.735729
informative value	400	2.822500	3.000000	1.000000	5.000000	0.976410

It can be seen that while minimal scores were sometimes selected by the viewers, none of them ever evaluated the commercials with the highest two values, 6 or 7. There is also a visible difference between the mean and the median values. All this suggests that the distribution of the data does not follow the normal pattern, which is further confirmed by the three histograms in Fig. 1, Fig. 2, and Fig. 3.

Since the data does not represent normal distribution, non-parametric statistical tests were used to test the 0-hypotheses related to the research questions. The 0-hypotheses assumed no statistically significant difference between the unmodified and enhanced viewing as far as the studied parameters were concerned, and because in each situation we were dealing with two independent variables<sup>2</sup> and a distribution of values which was not normal, the Mann-Whitney U Test (comparing the rank sums of the variables) was used for evaluation of the statistical significance of the results.

Every commercial used in the study was constructed in a slightly different way and the disclaimers exhibited various functions in relation to both the explicitly presented content of the advertisements and their major persuasive strategy. For this reason, the optimal method of presenting the findings is a separate discussion of each commercial, followed by a summarising section, generalising the observations.

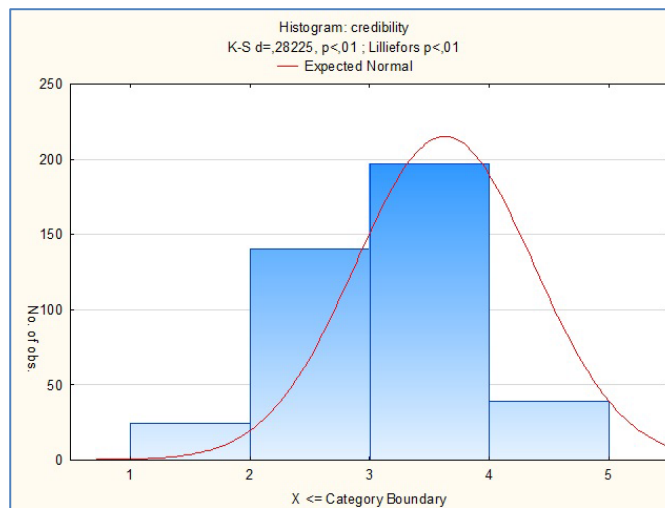


Figure 1. Histogram of producer's credibility. Source: own processing

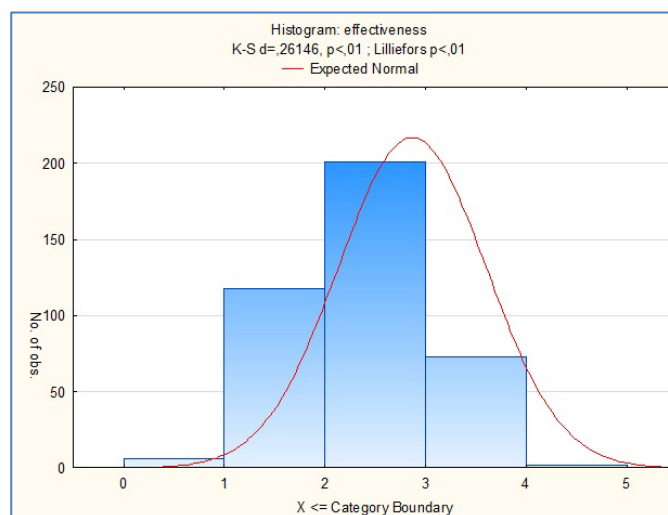


Figure 2. Histogram of product effectiveness. Source: own processing

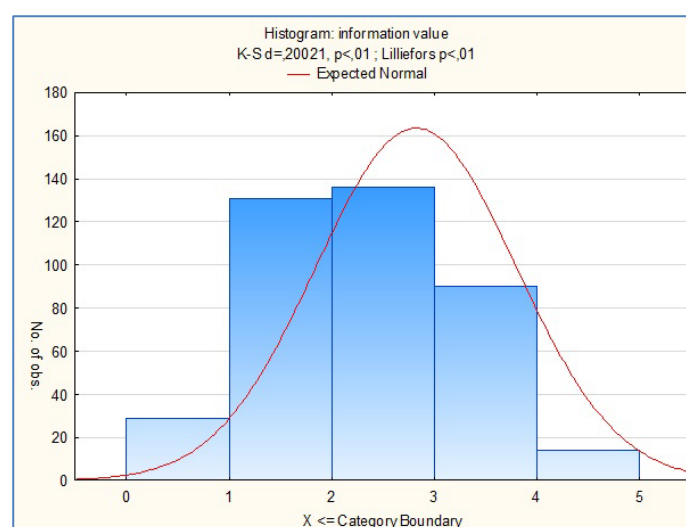


Figure 3. Histogram of information value of the ad. Source: own processing

### 1.1 The commercial for Braveran

The commercial for *Braveran* takes the form of an animated story presenting a young couple during a hiking trip in the mountains. As night approaches, the man is trying to light a camp fire, because it is evidently getting cold. At first, he struggles to no effect, but after a while the fire starts happily burning and the couple enter their tent together. The narration initially corresponds to what the viewers can see, but the sex-related metaphorical interpretation revolving around problems with sexual performance (Pol. *prawdziwy mężczyzna (...) wie, jakiej rozpalki użyć, kiedy konar nie chce zapłonąć*. – Eng. a real man (...) knows what kindling must be used when the log won't burn) is quite obvious for the viewers. Soon the properties of the advertised product become the major theme, followed by a short instruction for use and the slogan at the very end. The disclaimers which are presented in small print perform here three major functions: dialogic/supplementary, overwhelming, and instructive (Wojtaszek 2017).

The formulation of the first portion of the disclaimers is to a large extent governed by the classification of the advertised product as a dietary supplement. Commercials for such products cannot contain claims that their ingredients can cure a specific problem or condition, so the disclaimer reads as follows:

(1) Pol. *buzdyganek ziemny wspomaga popęd seksualny oraz wzmacnia doznania seksualne; maca pomaga w zachowaniu naturalnej aktywności seksualnej i energii, pobudza popęd seksualny; żeń-szeń pomaga wywołać i wzmocnić erekcję; selen przyczynia się do prawidłowego przebiegu spermatogenezy; cynk pomaga w utrzymaniu prawidłowego poziomu testosteronu we krwi.* (<https://www.aflofarm.com.pl/pl/produkty/suplementy-diety/braveran/>). – Eng. *tribulus terrestris* boosts libido and sexual satisfaction; maca root helps to maintain natural sexual function and energy and boosts sexual drive, ginseng helps to stimulate and maintain erection, selenium assists in rejuvenation of spermatogenesis, zinc helps to maintain satisfactory testosterone levels in the blood.

On close inspection, the viewers realise that the above claims describe potentially enhancing effects of the product ingredients on the functioning of a healthy organism, so the impression that the advertised product is capable of curing erectile problems is exclusively the result of our inferences, and thus the advertiser cannot be held responsible for including disallowed claims in the commercial.



Figure 4. *Braveran* commercial.

Source: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3suB9y\\_KIXk](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3suB9y_KIXk)

The second part of the disclaimers included in the *Braveran* ad offers a lengthy and detailed list of all the ingredients, which serves to supplement the claim read out by the announcer that no other product can boast such a composition of ingredients. This cannot be denied; it would be difficult (and probably illegal) to copy the unique proportions in which the components are mixed in the advertised product, and the inclusion of the detailed list in the disclaimer is probably meant to impress the viewers and create the impression that such a multitude is bound to yield the expected results. The final disclaimer, in turn, includes a simple instruction for use, a bit more detailed than what was communicated in the main text.

The viewers' evaluation of the producer's credibility remained surprisingly constant throughout all the viewing sessions. The difference between the credibility ratings of the first and the second group of viewers amounted to merely 0.04 (3.2 for group 1 and 3.24 for group 2) and was slightly bigger between the two ratings made by the third group: 0.16 (3.4 for the first viewing and 3.24 for the second, enhanced viewing). These differences are negligible and suggest that exposure to the detailed content of the disclaimers did not have any influence on the trustworthiness of the producer in the eyes of the viewers. This is confirmed by the results of the Mann-Whitney U Test, which returns the p-value of 0.75, which definitely does not allow us to reject the 0-Hypothesis which assumes that there is no significant difference between the unmodified and enhanced viewing. Interestingly, the perception of the products effectiveness turned out to be observably influenced by the viewing mode. The enhanced viewing in both groups resulted in a substantial increase in the evaluation of the product effectiveness: 2.28 for group 1 compared to 2.88 for group 2 (rise by 0.6), and 2.48 for the first viewing of group 3, compared with 3.24 for the enhanced viewing by group 3 (rise by 0.76). This time the p-value in the Mann-Whitney U Test is 0.00, so it has to be concluded that there is a statistically significant difference between the two viewings. The 0-Hypothesis would claim that the

access to the full transcript does not change the viewer's perception, but there are very good grounds here to reject such a hypothesis. It has to be admitted, at the same time, that in spite of the increase the scores remain quite low and reflect the viewers' general mistrust and scepticism about the effectiveness of *Braveran*. Similar differences were noted for the evaluation of the information value of the commercial: group 2 estimated it at 3.2, which is 0.88 more than the score given by group 1 (2.32), whereas the second viewing by group 3 produced the value of 2.97, which is 0.44 higher than the score for the first viewing (2.48) – the statistical significance of these differences is confirmed by  $p=0.00$  in the Mann-Whitney U Test. Again, these results signal that the viewers did not learn much from the commercial and that they perceived it as rather uninformative. Charts showing all the scores within the three categories identified in the study, arranged comparatively according to the groups representing the viewing conditions, can be found in Appendix B (Figures 8-10).

Access to the full content of the commercial turned out to modify the perception of the major advantages of the product. There was one feature of it which was frequently reported, irrespective of the viewing mode: its potential to boost the sexual performance of the user. Apart from that, the respondents were inclined to mention slightly different advantages, depending on how they had been exposed to the advertisement. Unmodified exposure resulted in their mentioning *Braveran*'s power to stimulate and prolong erection and its unique composition, understood mainly as significantly high content of the active substance. The viewers who had a chance to inspect the disclaimers, however, listed *Braveran*'s very rich composition (sometimes even mentioning some of the key ingredients), and its multifaceted effectiveness, not limited to enhancing erection, but also positively influencing the sexual drive and testosterone levels. The claims that were perceived as truthful included the product's rich composition (reported mainly by the viewers after enhanced exposure) and its potential to positively influence the sexual performance of the users. On the other hand, the viewers who did not have a chance to inspect the disclaimers refused to believe that *Braveran* worked whenever used, while those who could familiarise themselves with the content of the small print expressed doubts about the optimality and uniqueness of the product's composition. They understood that there were many ingredients but did not see anything special or extraordinary in it and contested the uniqueness of the composition as an important feature of the product.

### *1.2 The commercial for Stymen*

The commercial for *Stymen* represents the only item in the study which is labelled as a medicinal product. For this reason, the disclaimers must conform to the legally imposed requirements, which essentially involve the inclusion of the mandatory instruction to read the package leaflet, the composition of the product and contraindications. Since the precise formulation and the format<sup>3</sup> are

specifically stipulated only in reference to the instruction to read the package label, this appears in a relatively large font and is read out by the announcer. The remaining information is included in very small print and its display time does not allow the viewers to read it under ordinary conditions. The commercial itself is constructed as a slice-of-life narrative, featuring a young couple first preparing for a night out at the theatre and then sitting in the audience and watching the performance. However, because this is a commercial for an erection enhancing medicine, they are also shown engaged in sexual activity, first before leaving home and then somewhere backstage in the theatre. The woman is shown initiating the frolic and seducing the man, who is ready to respond to her advances any time, thanks to the advertised drug.

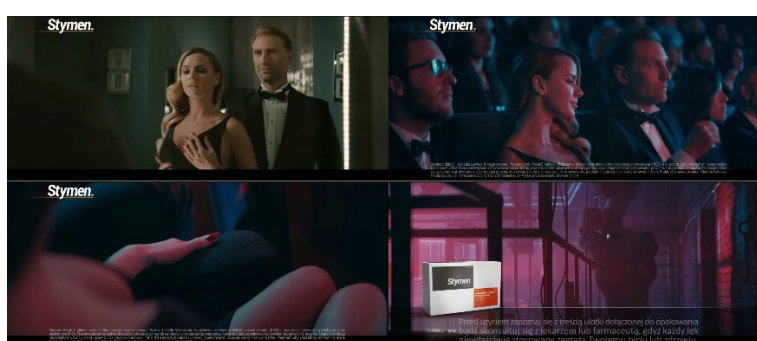


Figure 5. *Stymen* commercial.

Source: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jqXR83\\_HMc](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jqXR83_HMc) (video currently not available)

Regarding the typology of disclaimer functions in Wojtaszek (2017), the disclaimers in this commercial include three of them: the warning/advisory function (the instruction to read the label), the dialogic/supplementary function (information on the composition, therapeutic indications, and contraindications), and the identifying function (the name and address of the Marketing Authorisation Holder). Upon closer inspection, however, it can be noticed that the therapeutic indications spelled out in the disclaimer do not match the explicitly presented benefits of the product very closely. The overt message of the ad acclaims *Stymen*'s role in maintaining high sexual performance, and the announcer claims that it guarantees a high level of testosterone, while the disclaimer reveals that the product supplements DHEA (dehydroepiandrosterone). This hormone can stimulate the production of testosterone, but the improvement of the sexual function is only a likely, but not necessary consequence (see e.g., Reiter et al. 2001). Thus, the disclaimer must be also classified as performing a weakening function, since it communicates information which is disadvantageous for the advertiser and mitigates the attractiveness of the appeal. This is probably the reason why it is formulated in highly specialised language and presented in very small print for only two seconds.

Interestingly, the commercial for *Stymen* turned out to be the leader when it comes to the positive



difference in the evaluation of the producer's credibility. What is more, the viewers who had a chance to inspect the text of the disclaimers were observably more favourable towards the manufacturer than those who watched the commercial in the unmodified way (3.6 for group 1 vs. 4.08 for group 2 and 3.64 for group 3 in the first viewing vs. 3.96 in the second viewing). The p-value obtained in the Mann-Whitney U Test (0.007) confirms the statistical significance in the evaluation between the unmodified and enhanced viewing. One might suppose that the viewers appreciated the producer's honesty in revealing the real function of the product in the disclaimers and admitting that the positive influence on sexual performance was not so straightforward. If that were the case, however, it would presumably be reflected in a decline in their rating of the product effectiveness. No such decline was observed; in fact, the results were exactly the opposite. Similarly to the evaluation of producer credibility, an evident increase was noted in the estimation of product effectiveness as a result of explicit exposure to the disclaimers (2.48 for group 1 vs. 3.48 for group 2 and 2.68 for group 3 in the first viewing vs. 3.32 in the second viewing). The Mann-Whitney U Test with  $p=0.00$  leaves no doubts about the statistical significance of these differences. An almost identical increase, also statistically significant, was noted for the evaluation of the information value of the ad. Therefore, it has to be concluded that the viewers who were presented with the full transcript of the disclaimers did not notice that the small print message contained a weakening of the claim which was explicitly made in the commercial. Instead, they appreciated the inclusion of precise contraindications, interpreted as a sign of care for potential users, and the precise contact details which suggested honesty and openness. The sophisticated formulation of the therapeutic indications was taken as a guarantee of the scientific expertise and sound research involved in the drug's development. Such were some of the comments of the viewers who were asked for additional information, to account for the scores they provided in the questionnaire.

The unmodified mode of viewing the commercial yielded quite different impressions related to the major advantages of the product, in comparison with the enhanced exposure. The former led viewers to report the guarantee of constant readiness for sex, no need to remember about taking the medicine one hour before sex and increased testosterone level as the major benefits. In comparison, those who were shown the transcript of the disclaimers mentioned the increase in DHEA levels, as well as the safety and effectiveness of a genuine medical product. The extensive list of contraindications was interpreted by some as being an advantage, because precise information was provided, safeguarding proper use, but to some of the respondents it weakened the attractiveness of *Stymen*, because too many people had to be excluded from the group of potential users. All respondents believed in proper testing of the medicine before it was authorised for marketing and sale, but the enhanced exposure viewers were more convinced of this, thanks to the precise contact details provided in the disclaimers.

Nevertheless, most participants in the study pointed to the unnaturalness of the situations depicted in the spot (especially the couple leaving the audience half way through the show to have sex) and expressed their doubts about the effect of constant readiness which *Stymen* allegedly provided, which was also reflected in their relatively low evaluation of product effectiveness on the scale from 1 to 7 (less than 3.5 even in enhanced viewing mode).

### 1.3 The commercial for Penigra

The small print disclaimer included in the *Penigra* commercial is the shortest included in the study. Its function may be identified as dialogic/supplementary (Wojtaszek 2017), and is similar to that described in connection with the *Braveran* ad, although there are good grounds for suggesting that it is in some way more risky than the formulations found there. Since *Penigra* is a dietary supplement, the commercial cannot claim that the product is capable of curing a medical condition, but the text gives the impression that it does precisely that:

(2) Pol. *Preparat Penigra jest stosowany tradycyjnie u mężczyzn z łagodnymi do umiarkowanych zaburzeniami erekcji oraz z zaburzeniami popędu płciowego (hypolibidemią) jako środek pobudzający popęd płciowy.* (<https://www.i-apteka.pl/product-pol-383-PENIGRA-x-30-kaps.html>).

– Eng. *Penigra* is traditionally used by men with mild to average erectile dysfunction and with sexual desire disorders (low libido) as a sexual drive stimulant.

The erectile problems and problems with libido are explicitly mentioned here, but upon closer inspection it can be noted that there is in fact no direct claim that *Penigra* cures the ailments; it is only said that it is traditionally used by people suffering from them. It seems that it would be relatively easy for the manufacturers to argue in court that no violation of the law occurred here, although it is likely that most viewers would draw the conclusion that the advertisement actually claims that the drug offers an effective remedy.

The plot of the commercial is also similar to that of the *Braveran* ad in its metaphorical symbolism, as there are clear visual references to the sexual act and to the erectile problems that prevent it. In the clip the viewers can see a woman in a rider's outfit sitting on a bull which refuses to move and finally sits down. However, when the woman reaches to her pocket and takes out a package of *Penigra*, the action gains momentum and soon an expression of pleasure appears on the woman's face, as she is riding the bull which is now very active, jumping and trying to buck her off, as in a real rodeo.



Figure 6. *Penigra* commercial.

Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FdU1JoFNikg>

In comparison with the others, the commercial for *Penigra* received the lowest scores in almost all categories. As far as producer credibility is concerned, the scores oscillate between 3 and 3.5: for group 1 it is 3.44, for group 2 it is 3.16, and for group 3 it is 3.36 and 3.24 in the first and the second session respectively. Although a small decrease in the evaluation for the enhanced viewing can be observed, it does not seem to offer any indications for far-fetched conclusions. The p-value obtained in the Mann-Whitney U Test (0.21) confirms that the differences are too small to be interpreted as statistically significant. Product effectiveness is rated even lower, with almost identical scores in all viewings, ranging between 2.32 and 2.52. With the  $p=0.74$  this is the only commercial in the sample which does not show a statistically significant difference between the evaluations of this variable in the unmodified and enhanced viewing. The most striking result, however, is the extremely low evaluation of the information value of the ad, because the scores for all four viewings fluctuates between 1.6 and 1.88, which is again statistically insignificant ( $p=0.26$ ). It turns out that the *Penigra* commercial, in addition to receiving the weakest scores, does not show any important differences between the viewing modes, at least in the purely quantitative dimension.

Unlike the quantitative results, the qualitative findings do show some noticeable divergences between the two types of viewing. The participants who watched the commercial in the unmodified way remembered such vital features of the product as its potential to boost libido, fight fatigue, and enhance sexual performance, while those who had a chance also to read the disclaimer said that *Penigra* stimulated sex drive and cured erectile problems. This is consistent with the suggestion made above that viewers would be inclined to interpret the formulation that the product is traditionally used by people suffering from those problems as a claim that it actually cures them. It has to be remembered, however, that the fact that such was the interpretation of the claims being made does not entail viewers' inclination to believe them: the very low scores for product effectiveness speak for

themselves quite clearly. Thus, although there was a qualitative difference between the informational content recall in unmodified and enhanced viewing, this did not change the viewers' overall negative attitude towards the product.

#### 1.4 The commercial for Permen Go

The commercial for *Permen Go* represents the problem-solution format of narration. In the initial part of the spot the viewers are presented with a couple of short frames of night-time situations, depicting attractive women wearing sexy lingerie or petticoats, looking sad and lonely. These images are juxtaposed with snapshots of men apparently busy with such petty activities as playing chess, taking photographs, hanging lamps, and mending taps. The narrator tells the viewers that these all represent different forms of avoiding sex, which is caused by erectile problems. After a while a solution to the problem is presented in form of the advertised product, *Permen Go*. In one of the final frames the viewers see a man facing the window, standing behind a smiling woman, who draws the curtains, in preparation for what is going to happen in the bedroom.

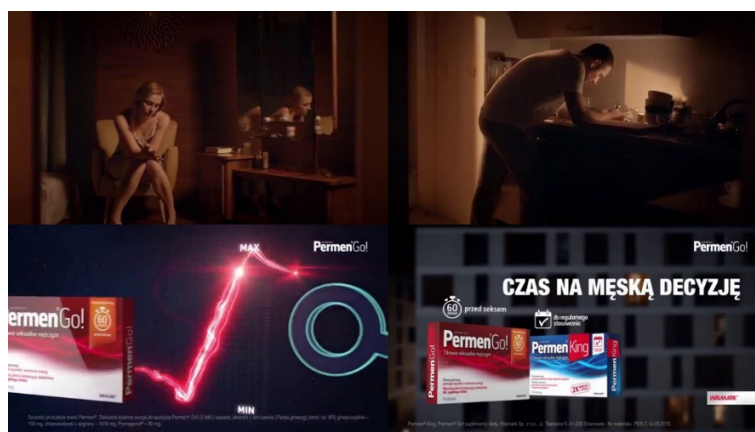


Figure 7. *Permen Go* commercial.

Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AMGChnBzBH4>

This commercial has many disclaimers which perform various functions, with the focus on the dialogic/supplementary function, as identified by Wojtaszek (2017). This function is first evident in the reference made by the narrator, who claims that over 1.5 million Poles suffer from various forms of erectile problems. The small print disclaimer refers the viewer to an article by Michał Rabijewski, "Zaburzenia erekcji – etiologia i leczenie" [Erectile dysfunction – etiology and treatment], published in 2006 in *Przegląd Urologiczny* [Urological Review], where the details can be found. Another incarnation of the dialogic/supplementary function is what follows the directly made claim that *Permen Go* assists in triggering and maintaining erection, taking the form of the small print message that the substances responsible for that are ginseng extract and L-arginine. In yet another place the

viewers can come across the text in Polish *versus produkty do regularnego stosowania* [versus other products for regular use], which is the comment to the explicitly communicated information on the 60-minute delay in the effect of the advertised product.

It is also possible to identify the weakening function (Wojtaszek 2017) of some disclaimers: at a certain point in the ad, the viewers are told by the announcer that *Permen Go* can boast the highest dose of L-arginine. This constitutes a typical use of comparative and superlative constructions in commercials, which lack a point of reference. Usually, in such situations the viewers identify the missing comparative element as the products offered by the competition, and such an interpretation would be the most advantageous for the advertiser. However, most of the time the actual point of reference is different, and this is what happens here as well. It is revealed in one of the disclaimers that the product has the highest dose of L-arginine when measured against other *Permen* products. This is probably the reason why the advertisers decided to provide this information in small print, significantly reducing the probability of its intake by the viewers and the resulting likelihood of their making a less favourable interpretation of the whole message.

The *Permen Go* commercial is the only one in the study that exploits the identifying function of disclaimers (providing the name and address of the manufacturer) and one of the two (along with *Braveran*) that use disclaimers for instructive purposes (Wojtaszek 2017), telling the viewers what recommended daily dosage should be followed. The avoidance of the direct claim that the product offers a cure for a medical condition is not wholly encrypted in the disclaimers in this commercial, but is achieved in the most part by careful formulation of the body copy. The juxtaposition of the information that over 1.5 million Poles suffer from erectile problems with the description of the positive effects of the active substances creates the impression that the product actually cures erectile dysfunction. Again, however, such a simplifying and connective interpretation can only be the result of the mental processing of the information by the viewers.

Interestingly, the overall scores for the *Permen Go* commercial are the highest among the four used in the study. There is no clearly discernible difference between the results for producer credibility among the study groups; the scores are all very close to 4. The difference between the two viewing modes is not statistically significant ( $p=0.49$  in the Mann-Whitney U Test). By contrast, there seems to be a visible positive impact from enhanced viewing for the estimation of the product effectiveness. The viewers were more convinced of this when they were able to inspect carefully the content of the disclaimers (the values for groups 1 and 2 were 3.12 and 3.48, respectively, while for group 3 the difference between the first and the second viewing was even greater: 2.96 vs. 3.88). The statistical

significance of the difference between the two viewing modes is confirmed by the p-value of 0.00 in the Mann-Whitney U Test. This clearly indicates that in the case of this commercial the additional information provided in the disclaimers was positively received as further evidence of the benefits of the product, in spite of the weakening effect of one of the disclaimers. Not surprisingly, quite similar (and relatively high, against the background of the other commercials) were the assessments of the informative value of the ad. For groups 1 and 3 (following the first viewing) these were on the same level of 3.36, while for groups 2 and 3 (after the second viewing) the assessments were 4.08 and 4.12, respectively, indicating an observable, statistically significant ( $p=0.00$ ) increase.

Some noteworthy findings can also be reported from the qualitative perspective. Predictably, the groups engaged in enhanced viewing tended to foreground slightly different features of the advertised product than those who saw the ad in the unmodified way. While the former quite often recalled *Permen Go* as the strongest drug within the *Permen* range and focused on high levels of both ginseng and L-arginine, the latter did not mention ginseng at all, and made slightly more general statements, such as the claim that the drug helps in overcoming erectile problems or is effective in its performance. There were also some small differences between the groups when it comes to the elements which were received as false representation of reality. All groups agreed that the advertisers were telling the truth that *Permen Go* could positively influence sexual performance, but when it comes to misrepresentations, the unmodified exposure groups usually mentioned the suspiciously high number of men suffering from erectile problems in Polish society, while the enhanced exposure subjects accentuated the unnaturalness of women demanding sex from men. It seems that the 1.5 million figure mentioned in the commercial stopped being perceived as questionable when a reference to the study reporting it was explicitly provided.

#### **4. Conclusions**

The first observation resulting from the study is that there was no discernible effect that resulted from familiarity with the presented material on the participants' evaluations of the three quantified criteria included in the questionnaires. The scores assigned by the two groups of respondents participating in the unmodified viewings were almost the same, and those given by the two groups of enhanced exposure participants also differed only slightly. The distribution of the scores in group 1 resembled very much that of group 3 after their initial viewing, while the scores assigned by group 2 were very similar to those given by group 3 when they saw the commercial in the enhanced manner. The Mann-Whitney U Test was administered for all three variables (producer credibility, product effectiveness, and information value) against the two groups representing the same type of viewing, additionally grouped by the product. In just one situation (for *Permen Go*, when testing the significance of the

difference between the evaluation of product effectiveness by the two groups representing enhanced viewing), Statistica returned a p-value lower than 0.05 – it was 0.045. In all other cases the null hypothesis assuming a statistically significant difference had to be rejected. In this situation it seems justified to conclude that no form of familiarity with the commercials used in the investigation had any important impact on the results. It is likely that the majority of the respondents had already seen some of the commercials used in the study, but on the other hand, their recall was definitely not very precise, as the time span between the commercial's original appearance on television and the period when the data was collected exceeded five years.

There was, however, an observable effect from the enhanced viewing in both the quantitative and qualitative dimensions, although it turned out to be less evident in the evaluation of producer credibility. Within this category the scores reported in all four viewings are surprisingly similar for each commercial used in the study. Only in the case of the *Stymen* commercial a statistically significant difference can be reported. For all the other commercials access to the full transcript of the ad and the disclaimers did not result in any modification of the viewers' readiness to believe the producers. When it comes to the evaluation of product effectiveness, the enhanced viewing usually yielded a higher score, with the exception of the *Penigra* commercial, for which the reported values remained on a very low level for all modes of viewing. For the other ads the difference in the group mean score between the unmodified and the enhanced viewing ranged between 0.36 and 1.00. It can be concluded that enhanced viewing is beneficial for the producers of these advertised products, in spite of the fact that some of the disclaimers actually weaken the attractiveness of the claims made in the explicit way, as if the viewers were not capable of noticing some of the potentially manipulative strategies employed by the advertisers. Quite expectedly, the largest divergence between the scores for unmodified and enhanced viewing was found in the category of the information value of the ad. It is not surprising that the participants who received the full transcript of the commercials found them more informative than those for whom not all details were conspicuous. Within this category the average difference between the scores for unmodified and enhanced viewing ranged around 1.00, again with the exception of the *Penigra* commercial, for which the scores were consistently low for all viewing formats.

Inspection of the qualitative part of the questionnaires reveals that enhanced viewing changed the viewers' perception of the commercials to a significant degree. As shown in the discussion of each individual commercial above, the participants usually focused on the information included in the disclaimers when they had access to them, and what they learned from careful inspection of the transcripts became the most salient informative component, which was later recalled and reported. It



is interesting, however, that more often than not the viewers were not particularly critical about the communicated messages and tended to accept whatever the advertisers chose to tell them without any reflection. Such a conclusion can be drawn from the overall increase of their perception of product effectiveness, expressed by the scalar scores.

It could be expected, for example, that upon noticing that the advertiser was attempting to present the drug as a medicinal product rather than a dietary supplement, the viewers would evaluate both the producer credibility and the product effectiveness lower. On the contrary, no such change was found for the *Penigra* commercial, in which the advertisers inserted the well-known formula to read the package label and consult the GP or the pharmacist before taking the drug, although this particular product, being a dietary supplement, did not require it. Evidently, the viewers did not notice that the advertiser was attempting to present the product as what it is not, and in this way win their confidence.<sup>4</sup> An alternative explanation might be that the scores for this particular commercial were very low anyway, so there was not much space for further decline.

A better indicator of the viewers' unreflective perception is the ample increase in the evaluation of the effectiveness of *Permen Go* (from 2.5 to 3.5 in groups 1 and 2, and from 2.7 to 3.3 in group 3), in spite of the fact that the disclaimers revealed that the highest dose of L-arginine in the drug is measured against other *Permen* products and not against competing medicaments. Interestingly, the study participants noticed this piece of information, as it was mentioned in a number of reports, but for some reason did not find it in any way to weaken the force of the claims presented in the ad. This seems to indicate that making proper use of all available information exceeds the processing powers of average ad viewers, and that the advertisers may get away with such manipulative tricks even when the viewers have enough time to inspect the disclaimers carefully. Paradoxically, what was meant to be elided and to go unnoticed, turned out to make a positive impression on the participants and elevate their estimations.

On the other hand, however, it has to be said that all the evaluations of producer credibility and product effectiveness were on a remarkably low level, especially in connection with the commercial for *Penigra*. It is evident that the respondents were negatively biased against the advertised products and had numerous reservations about the form and content of the commercials used in the study. The opportunity to familiarise themselves with the complete informational content did not manifestly change their mindset, and in cases where some changes were observed, their direction was usually opposite to the expected one. I am talking here about the variable of product effectiveness because the differences in the evaluation of producer credibility were negligible and the evaluations of

information value were bound to be higher under enhanced exposure conditions. It is somewhat surprising that the legally mandated inclusion of potentially unfavourable pieces of information (from the advertiser's perspective) did not result in viewers' higher awareness of the manipulative tricks that the advertisers attempted to employ. Generally, such practices seemed to go unnoticed and remarks related to these issues were largely absent from the participants' reports. Admittedly, the respondents did point out some manifestations of false representations of reality, pretentiousness and even outlandishness in the commercials, but these had nothing to do with the clash between ostensive and disguised communication in the ad. The study participants did not expect the disclaimers to contain information potentially contradicting or lessening the openly made claims; they just treated them as supplementary statements, which were assumed to follow the same line of argument as the slogans. Thus, the intended protective mechanism failed to perform its legally projected role. This might be one of the many indicators of the increasingly persistent symptoms of information overload (Toffler 1970), which people experience on everyday basis. In an attempt to somehow tackle the problem, they often reduce critical attention and careful inspection, although at the back of their heads they know very well that the small print matters and that it is there for their own good.

## Notes

1. In Polish the formula used to read: *Przed użyciem zapoznaj się z treścią ulotki dołączonej do opakowania bądź skonsultuj się z lekarzem lub farmaceutą, gdyż każdy lek niewłaściwie stosowany zagraża Twojemu życiu lub zdrowiu...* (e.g., [https://nonsa.pl/wiki/Przed\\_użyciem\\_zapoznaj\\_się\\_z\\_treścią\\_ulotki\\_dołączonej\\_do\\_opakowania\\_bądź\\_skonsultuj\\_się\\_z\\_lekarzem\\_lub\\_farmaceutą](https://nonsa.pl/wiki/Przed_użyciem_zapoznaj_się_z_treścią_ulotki_dołączonej_do_opakowania_bądź_skonsultuj_się_z_lekarzem_lub_farmaceutą)) – Eng. Before use read the package leaflet or contact your doctor or pharmacist, because every drug, if used improperly, threatens your life or health.
2. Even though the third group was exposed to the commercials two times (once in an unmodified form and another time in the enhanced mode) these two viewings are treated as independent, since the access to the full transcript of the commercials undoubtedly had a much bigger influence on their perception than the fact that the participants had already seen the commercial before. It is our everyday experience that we see the same commercials a number of times, and this does not much change the way we perceive them. This is why it seemed fully justified to assume that the effects of repeated exposure would be negligible in comparison to the effects of access to the full transcript, and to treat the observations as independent.
3. The regulation of the Minister of Health of November 21, 2008, on the advertising of medicinal products specifies the size and orientation of the text, the line spacing and the contrasting background requirement, the minimal duration (8 seconds), and reading speed.
4. This is one of the examples of how contemporary advertisers try to turn the potentially restrictive

legal requirements to their advantage, creatively exploiting obligatory disclaimers. Two other examples are ads for the sedative drugs *Valerin Forte* and *Valerin Max*, in which the producers decided to incorporate the appeal to consult the GP and the pharmacist into the ad in an inventive and untypical way, whereby the instruction is shouted by an agitated secondary character, apparently in need of some medication. In this way the manner of presentation of the disclosure serves at the same time as the illustration of the problem that the advertised drug purports to treat.

### List of abbreviations

DHEA – dehydroepiandrosterone

GP – General Practitioner

K-S d – Kolmogorov-Smirnov d (distance)

Std.Dev. – Standard Deviation

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## **Appendix A: The survey used in the study (translated from Polish)**

1. Please circle the value on the scale from 1 to 7, indicating your evaluation of the trustworthiness of the producer, where 1 denotes "I don't trust the producer at all" and 7 means "I fully trust the producer".

1                      2                      3                      4                      5                      6                      7

2. Please circle the value on the scale from 1 to 7, indicating your opinion on the effectiveness of the advertised product, where 1 denotes "the product will not show any positive effect or influence" and 7 means "the product is bound to be 100% effective".

1                      2                      3                      4                      5                      6                      7

3. Please circle the value on the scale from 1 to 7 indicating your evaluation of the informative value of the commercial, where 1 denotes "I haven't learned anything new from the commercial" and 7 means "I have learnt a lot of interesting things from the commercial".

1                      2                      3                      4                      5                      6                      7

4. What are the main advantages and benefits which the advertised product offers? Mention not more than three:

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

5. What information provided in the commercial do you perceive as true and verified, and what should be classified as presentation of falsehood and misrepresentation?

- a. Verified and true:
- b. False and fabricated:

## Appendix B: The participants' evaluation of the ads

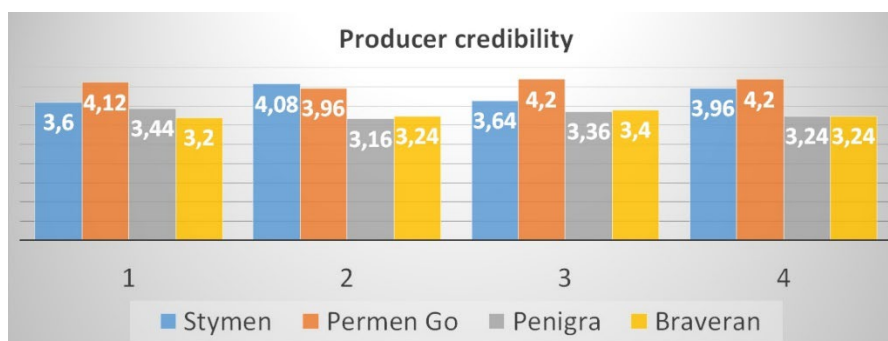


Figure 8. Viewer's evaluation of producer credibility. Source: own processing



Figure 9. Viewer's evaluation of product effectiveness. Source: own processing

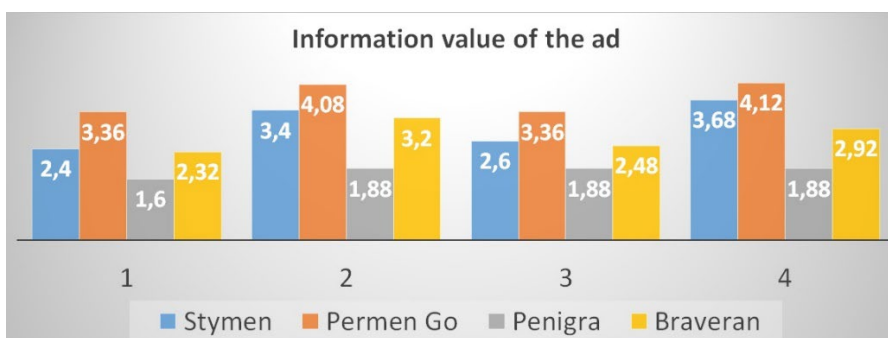



Figure 10. Viewer's evaluation of information value of the ad. Source: own processing

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# EMOTIONAL STORYTELLING TECHNIQUE IN ENGLISH AND SLOVAK MEDIA DISCOURSE: POINTS OF LINGUISTIC INTERSECTION

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**Abstract:** The present study examines the phenomenon of storytelling in modern English and Slovak media discourse. The aim of the analysis is to cast some light on linguistic means utilized to convey emotions. The main findings present similarities and differences of the lexicalization of emotions in American and Slovak TV shows. The results complementarily indicate a plethora of future investigations in this sphere.

**Keywords:** storytelling, media, positive emotions, negative emotions, comparative analysis, TV show.

*Facts tell, stories sell*  
(Social media storytelling 2022)

## 1. Introduction

Storytelling technique derives from narrative and discourse studies, being defined as one of the oldest forms of human communication and simultaneously one of the most productive techniques to realize pragma-communicative purposes of discourse. "Stories are everywhere around us, from the ads on TV or music video clips to the more sophisticated stories told by books or movies. Everything comes wrapped up in a story, and the means employed to weave the narrative thread are just as important as the story itself" (Handbook of research...2021: xviii). The term "storytelling" is prestigious in many spheres since narrative techniques allow for particularly efficient and sustainable communication. Stories catch our attention, move us, teach us to empathize, and create strong memories (Friedmann 2021).





A range of empirical studies investigates its effectiveness as a pedagogical tool in the development of language skills (Digital storytelling... 2020; Ihnatova et al. 2022; Lichtman 2018; Lucarevschi 2016; Moradi & Chen 2019; Prätör 2018). Thus, clearly there is a vast range of data in the field that addresses the impact of storytelling on L2 learners. Through storytelling, one can communicate experiences, values, and viewpoints, as well as express feelings toward politics (Maynard 2005). However, media storytelling has been a matter of rare discussion and controversy (Friedmann 2021; Handbook of research 2021; Humeniuk 2022; Rehm et al. 2019). Researchers generally believe that storytelling plays a crucial role in modern media (Gilliam & Flahertyb 2015). The reason for this is its simplicity yet also its powerful persuasive if not implicit manipulative power. Narrative science has established that stories should always communicate in a meaningful way (Friedmann 2021: 41).

There is much empiric research highlighting the cross-linguistic and cross-cultural features of English and Slovak (Hudíková et al. 2020; Stashko et al. 2022; Zabuzhanska et al. 2022). Yet, to date, expressive linguistic forms of Slovak and English emotional media storytelling have been studied less intensively. We believe that cultures may vary in the degree of emotional expressivity, verbally and non-verbally and the present research will help shed light on it.

The structure of this paper is as follows: **Section 2** describes the aims, material, and methodology of the research. **Section 3** provides an overview of the data on emotional storytelling in discourse. **Section 4** focuses on the difference between emotion and emotional talk. **Section 5** presents a comparative analysis of the most frequently used verbal and nonverbal means in American and Slovak TV storytelling programs. Finally, **Section 6** summarizes the results of the research and highlights the potential future research areas in this field.

## 2. Research design

The **aim** of the paper is to investigate the storytelling techniques of American and Slovak TV programs as a means to realize pragma-communicative purposes of the given discourse. The **textual data** comprise recorded fragments of American and Slovak TV shows containing storytelling.

**Taxicab confessions (1995–2006)** is a show that deals with the lives of everyday people when they share their most intimate thoughts and secrets while riding in a taxi. With the help of hidden lipstick-sized cameras and microphones, Taxicab Confessions featured unscripted and mostly uncensored intimate nocturnal conversations with actual NYC taxicab passengers – often capturing tearful and emotional moments. Since the show set the stage for unfiltered and reality-based storytelling, it was among the first in its genre. By revealing the personal stories, confessions, and unique experiences of

people from all lifestyles, Taxicab Confessions allowed viewers to connect with the human experience (The 20 best reality shows of all time 2023). For research purposes, we investigated 16 episodes, randomly selected from the Internet (Taxicab confessions 2013). The length of individual episodes ranged from eight to ten minutes – the average value was nine. In terms of the number of reports within one episode of the show, the average number is three reports per episode.

The television show **Reflex** is transmitted by the most viewed commercial television broadcaster in Slovak Republic – TV Markíza. It is broadcast every work day in the afternoon at 17:25. As the broadcaster itself explains, the show "brings interesting reports through stories, emotions, and civil cases" (Reflex 2023). As part of the analysis, we focused on 5 episodes broadcast during the week of 10/23/2023 to 10/27/2023. The length of individual episodes ranged from 17 minutes 27 seconds (Monday 23/10/2023) to 19 minutes 57 seconds (Friday 27/10/2023) – the average value was 18 minutes 22 seconds. In terms of the number of reports within one episode of the show, the average number is 3.4 reports per episode – there were 3 reports in 3 episodes, 4 reports in the remaining two episodes.

Relying on the methodological tools of media linguistics, we use the following **methods** to process the data: quantitative content analysis, namely frequency analysis accompanied by electronic analysis. For the latter we used the corpus processing and grammar editor environment NooJ (Silberztein 2012). Besides being able to process and annotate corpora, NooJ allowed us to efficiently combine lexical, morphological, and syntactic features. Furthermore, the aim of our research demanded using valency analysis (Panassenko & Greguš 2022) with the subsequent comparative analysis of storytelling means in English and Slovak.

### 3. Storytelling: Basic notions

The widespread interest in storytelling arose in the 1960s and can be explained by the fact that structural analysis of narratives and narrative grammars, which were at that time emerging in the fields of the analysis of tales, literary and biblical texts as well as oral narrative covered elements going beyond the limits of the sentence (Boyd 2018). Some linguists, sociolinguists, and psycholinguists were driven to take a closer interest in storytelling due to the manifest lack of thinking about the text, common not only to discourse analysis and linguistics in general but to psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics as well (Adam 2019).

Researchers in the field of language teaching generally define storytelling in terms of how it works or what it does to promote communication between storytellers and story listeners. Dyson and Genishi

in *"The need for story: Cultural diversity in classroom and community"* (1994) advocate that storytelling is a process where a teller uses a narrative structure, vocalization, and/or dramatic and mental imagery to communicate with the audience, who also uses mental imagery to provide the teller with verbal and non-verbal feedback. In similar fashion, Hsu (2015: 14-15) emphasizes non-verbal elements of storytelling. The latter includes the use of voice, facial expressions, gestures, eye contact, and interaction to connect a tale with listeners. A tale is created through the interaction between the storyteller and the audience. Thus, while the storyteller uses his/her voice and gestures to convey a story, the audience physically reacts to it by either squinting, staring or smiling, providing the storyteller with feedback on how storytelling is being received. Typically, any story is created with emphasis on its structure with three main blocks: introduction (the initial part), the main part (the main body) and the final part (the end).

Storytelling is a face-to-face transmission of oral narrative in real time without text or additional media. However, its purpose and parameters change from century to century and from culture to culture; storytelling fulfills critical social and individual needs as human beings have an innate need to communicate their feelings and experiences through the story (Storytelling art and technique 2021: 3; Telling stories: Language, narrative... 2010).

Humeniuk views storytelling as one of the means for efficient discourse realization, which presupposes presenting information in the form of a story, narrative, which is the easiest form of perceiving information by the recipient and, thus, the most efficient form to convey information from the creator of information to the recipient; as well as its having manipulative potential, which may be used implicitly, without the recipient's knowing (2022: 110).

From a functional viewpoint, storytelling accomplishes different social actions like complaining, trouble telling, answering questions, expressing solidarity, and soliciting empathy. Telling stories about experiences or events fulfills numerous pragmatic, discursive, and interactional functions in discourse. In a similar vein, Mueller and Rajaram postulate that good stories burn into people's memories like emotional moments and real experiences (2022: 45). This happens in two ways: stories wire visuals to our brains and explain complex matters in simple stories. As Maynard (2005) mentioned, storytelling is so powerful that it can be utilized in political campaigns, awareness campaigns as well as social campaigns.

Norfolk and Ford generally agree that:

*"Oral storytelling is the original immersive technology. Human beings have used it to communicate knowledge about the world around us; to make or strengthen or sever ties, to recall the lineage of our people and our position in that lineage for millennia. After all this time, our brains are hard-wired for narrative. Story is the conduit through which we take in, remember and recount our experiences and their meanings in our life"* (Storytelling strategies ... 2020: 45).

Linguists explain that story hooks its audience through "psychological realism" – recognizable emotions and believable interactions among characters. Additional studies show that the audience needs to be connected emotionally to the characters in an immersion state (Storytelling art and technique 2021: 6; Zabuzhanska et al. 2022). Human beings have the trait – the ability of empathy – a necessary trait that allows one to put oneself in another's shoes (Storytelling art and technique 2021: 7).

The aforementioned aspects of storytelling once more highlight its importance in the development of human civilization – it is the transmission of oral spiritual tradition, storytelling, stories based on experience and facts, tinged with mysticism, cautionary tales that have accompanied man from the earliest years of life. Storytelling can include fables, parables, anecdotes, modern Internet memes, and the functional range extends from the education of children in the family to the motivation of work teams and political image. The uniqueness and sustainability of storytelling as a genre are closely linked to archetypes – psychic structures that incorporate all human experience and transform it into universal patterns.

#### **4. Emotion talk vs emotional talk in media storytelling**

Research on language and emotion comes from many disciplines (Bamberg 1997; Cichmińska 2010; Johnson-Iaird & Oatley 1989; Izard 1991; LREC 2010; Panasenko & Greguš 2022; Panasenko et al. 2018; 2023; Theodoropoulous 2012). Despite its long and deep study history, scholars still argue about definitions of emotions, their sources and triggers, defining criteria, and classifications. While it is beyond the scope of this paper to give an extensive outline of emotion, a few key principles will be outlined due to their relevance in the discussion.

According to Foolen, the "emotional revolution", which took place in psychology more than two decades ago, has finally reached linguistics. He strongly believed in the mutual influence of emotions and language in the way that "linguistics cannot neglect the emotions anymore and, for that matter, that emotion research cannot neglect linguistics" (2012: 364). Moreover, deeper insight into the relationship between language and emotion can only be reached by the further strengthening of interdisciplinary contacts.

Foolen states that the relevance of emotion for language and linguistics is considered from three perspectives: (a) the conceptualization of emotions, (b) the expression of emotions and (c) the grounding of language (ibid., 349). Bamberg (1997: 309) claims that language and emotions are two concurrent, parallel systems in use, and their relationship exists in that one system (emotions) impacts the performance of the other (language). He believes that both of these systems share their functionality in the communicative process between people. Wierzbicka (2009), in her turn, highlights the importance of the language of emotion as "languages (including English) shape the emotion categories of their speakers and carry with them culture-specific emotional scripts" (ibid., 13). Similar to Wierzbicka's approach is Harre's and Gillet's "emotionology", according to which people use their emotion vocabulary (emotional lexicon) in commenting upon, describing and reprimanding people for emotional displays and feelings (1994: 148).

We generally agree with Foolen (2012: 349-350) that the expression of emotions takes place on all linguistic levels: phonological, morphological, lexical, syntactic, and on the level of figurative language use (metaphor and metonymy).

In the present study, we utilize the theory put forward by Bednarek (2010). He states the difference between emotion talk and emotional talk in the following way: emotion talk is constituted by expressions that denote affect/emotion, for example love, hate, joy, envy, sad, mad, enjoy, dislike and so on (as well as fixed expressions such as *He had a broken heart*). Emotional talk relates to constituents (linguistic and non-linguistic) that conventionally express or signal affect/emotion (e.g., interjections, intensification, expletives). E.g., *I was absolutely terrified by having a baby*. (ibid., 10). The example demonstrates the emotion (*terrified*) and emotional talk (*absolutely*).

Notwithstanding the fact that there exist various classifications of emotions (e.g., eight basic emotions according to Izard (1991); six key emotions according to Ekman (The nature of emotion...1994, etc.), for the sake of ordering the obtained data in the research, we stick to a very simplistic division singling out two categories – positive and negative. The classification serves the purpose of organizing and analyzing the data. In some cases, the decision concerning how to classify a certain emotion was not an obvious one, and may be open to discussion.

Rocklage et al. (2018) assume that a persuasive message is always emotionally-loaded. The reason for this lies in people's subconscious or sometimes deliberate shift toward using more emotional language to increase their persuasive capacity.

## 5. Lexicalization of emotions in modern media storytelling

### 5.1. The English context

The obtained results indicate that out of 16 episodes, there were 12 negatively tuned contents and 4 positively tuned reports. The vast majority of episodes evolve around negative situations, to name just a few:

- off-duty trauma cop who recounts scenes of death he has witnessed;
- a homeless man who explains his decline;
- a young woman who talks about the joys of body piercing;
- a foul-mouthed young woman who admits to having shot her boyfriend in a fit of rage;
- a cocaine addict struggling with his yearning for drugs,
- a prostitute who claims she narrowly missed becoming the latest victim of a cab-driving serial killer;
- a couple with a (very) open marriage;
- a down-and-out woman who explains how she turned to heroin and prostitution after losing one of her legs in a car accident, etc.

The most common emotion vocabulary items were from various lexical fields: *shot, rage, cocaine addict, struggle, drugs, prostitute, victim, serial killer, heroin prostitution, car accident, lust, sex, loss, cheat, trap, collapse, run away, disappear, stranger, yell, bang, to kick, death, bisexual, porn, nervous, kill, crazy, careful, fight, dangerous, violence, bribe, carjacking, stabbed, dead bodies, demons, nightmare, bad dreams, poison, on fire, blame, break the heart, lie, bloody*, etc.

Conversely, the positively charged vocabulary consisted of such words as *hopefully, married, protected, perfect, love, gorgeous, awesome, open, friendly, proper, classy, pretty, fashionable, marriage, proposal, romantic, engaged, star, survivor, joke, ok, the right direction, beautiful, dating, save, my baby*, etc.

As the famous American film composer, Bernard Herrmann, once mentioned, "music can propel narrative swiftly forward, or slow it down. It often lifts mere dialogue into the realm of poetry. It is the communicating link between the screen and the audience, reaching out and enveloping all into one single experience" (The power of music in storytelling 2023).

Music is a powerful yet invisible tool in appealing to the subconscious and compelling people to act, one must form an emotional connection. Zabuzhanska et al. state that audiobranding (the use of music in business) significantly effects consumers' emotions – and ultimately guides their decisions (2022: 272).

Thus, the impact of music cannot be overestimated in storytelling as well since it gives one the opportunity to tell the story in a different way by influencing the amount of consideration consumers give the message. It increases the value of the content by steering storylines, driving audience engagement, and increasing consumer retention – making the story not only more interesting, but impactful (The power of music in storytelling 2023). In view of this, we additionally investigated the general sounding – musical accompaniment – of the stories. Our results testify to the fact that the storytelling of the studied TV show lacks musical accompaniment, and the expression of emotions takes place purely due to linguistic means.

## 5.2 The Slovak context

In terms of storytelling, out of 17 journalistic contents, we recorded 5 negatively tuned contents, 4 neutrally tuned and 8 positively tuned reports. Some journalistic contents included an appeal to two emotions as well, such as the joy of helping a little boy with health problems and hope for others who suffer from similar problems. Almost every report (13 out of 17) was based on a personal story presenting a specific life story, and in some, user generated contents (5 contributions) were also used to achieve authenticity. In five reports, the focus was also on the effort to empathize with the depicted person, and in three contributions, an appeal on a shared experience was pointed out. The authors did not avoid using the "call for an action" method, which they applied in five contributions to support people in taking care of their mental health and the health of their loved ones, to take care of safety when travelling and when behaving in road traffic.

Within the framework of the language used, we can say that the means of expression were at the level of ordinary news language, while only occasionally non-literary or emotionally charged words were used. If we were to look at the linguistic elements used, we had several words or phrases expressing negative connotations, or negative emotions – these were linguistic means:

*Strach* (fear), *otrasy* (vibrations), *zemetrasenie* (earthquake), *zomrel* (died), *nedotýkať sa* (not to touch), *nefotiť* (not to take pictures), *nehovoriť* (not to talk), *ukradne* (steals), *uť ať ruku* (to cut off a hand), *nevera* (infidelity), *tresty* (punishments), *hrozba* (threat), *náročné podmienky* (difficult



conditions), *hrozný* (terrible), *vojna* (war), *teroristické útoky* (terrorist attacks), *masové protesty* (mass protests), *stupeň bezpečnostného rizika* (level of security risk), *výhražné telefonáty* (threatening phone calls), *napätie* (tension), *útok* (attack), *zabiť nožom* (to kill with a knife), *vlna strachu* (wave of fear), *bomby* (bombs), *poplašná správa* (alarm message), *vyhýbať sa* (to avoid), *nebezpečné situácie* (dangerous situations), *stovky zranených* (hundreds of injured), *depresia* (depression), *samovražedné myšlienky* (suicidal thoughts), *šikana* (bullying), *mánické stavy* (manic states), *nárast prípadov* (increase in cases), *sebapoškodzovanie* (self-harm), *psychózy* (psychoses), *zabiť sa* (to kill oneself), *ublížiť* (to harm), *predaj dieťaťa* (selling a child), *obchod s ľudskými orgánmi* (trafficking human organs), *čierna adopcia* (black adoption), *mreže* (prison bars), *obchodovanie s deťmi* (child trafficking), *sexuálne vykorisťovanie* (sexual exploitation), *nútené sobáše* (forced marriages), *zneužívanie* (abuse), *nehody* (accidents), *tragický* (tragic), *zranenia* (injuries), *neopakovať* (not to repeat), *nepozornosť chodcov* (inattentive pedestrians), *nedisciplinovaní* (undisciplined), *invalidný vozík* (wheelchair), *jazyková bariéra* (language barrier), *nerozumieť* (not to understand), *psychické problémy* (psychological problems), *detská psychiatria* (child psychiatry), *pokus o zabitie* (attempted murder), *nereprezentovanie rodičov tak, ako by sa malo* (not representing parents as they should), *zlyhania* (failures), *hanbiť sa* (to be ashamed), *hospitalizácia* (hospitalization).

In the same way, there were also words or phrases with positive connotation in individual reports, or positive emotion – specifically, such linguistic means as:

*Sebavedomie* (confidence), *vd'ačnosť* (gratitude), *chuť do života* (zest for life), *zázrak* (miracle), *neuveriteľný príbeh splneného sna* (incredible story of a dream come true), *slávna veršované čokoláda* (famous verse chocolate), *poézia v čokoláde* (poetry in chocolate), *pomoc* (help), *liečba* (treatment), *starostlivosť* (care), *totálne dojalo* (totally moved), *dar* (gift), *dobrí ľudia* (good people), *podarilo sa vyzbierať* (managed to collect), *ochota* (willingness), *prekvapenie* (surprise), *ekologický* (ecological), *možnosť* (possibility), *šťastie* (happiness), *šťastný život* (happy life), *hodnota života* (value of life), *na pochmúrne myšlienky nemá čas* (no time for gloomy thoughts), *pomáhať ľuďom* (to help people), *pomáhať* (to help), *všetko je možné* (everything is possible), *byť vzorom* (to be a role model), *byť inšpiráciou* (to be an inspiration), *cítiť sa ako bohyňa* (to feel like a goddess), *kreatívna duša* (creative soul), *zisk politických práv* (gain of political rights), *zásluha spojenia* (merit of connection), *pozitívny krok* (positive step), *vd'ačná* (grateful), *byť ľudský* (to be human to others), *pochopenie* (understanding), *plne otvoriť* (to fully open), *radosť zo života* (joy of life), *úprimný* (sincere), *par excellence* (par excellence), *krásna* (beautiful), *krémová* (creamy).

In addition to the use of linguistic elements, the emotions were amplified in every single report using musical elements. The results indicate that dynamic, dramatic music dominated the most (11 contributions), melancholic music (5 reports), playful music full of life (5 reports), calm music (4 reports) and romantic music (1 report) were also used. Of course, in some contents, the authors used several moods within the music, but they were always related to the effort to evoke a greater emotional response in the audience. In two posts, we even noted the use of popular songs in their acoustic textless form, namely by Imagine Dragons "Believer", One Republic – "I ain't worried" and Ed Sheeran "Bad habits".

## 6. Discussion and conclusions

Though new media have changed the way we create, present, and understand stories, emotional storytelling remains one of the most powerful techniques used in modern media discourse for the fact that humans are generally empathy-attuned. For the purposes of this research, we have collected and graphically presented instances of emotion vocabulary both in English and Slovak contexts (Fig.1).

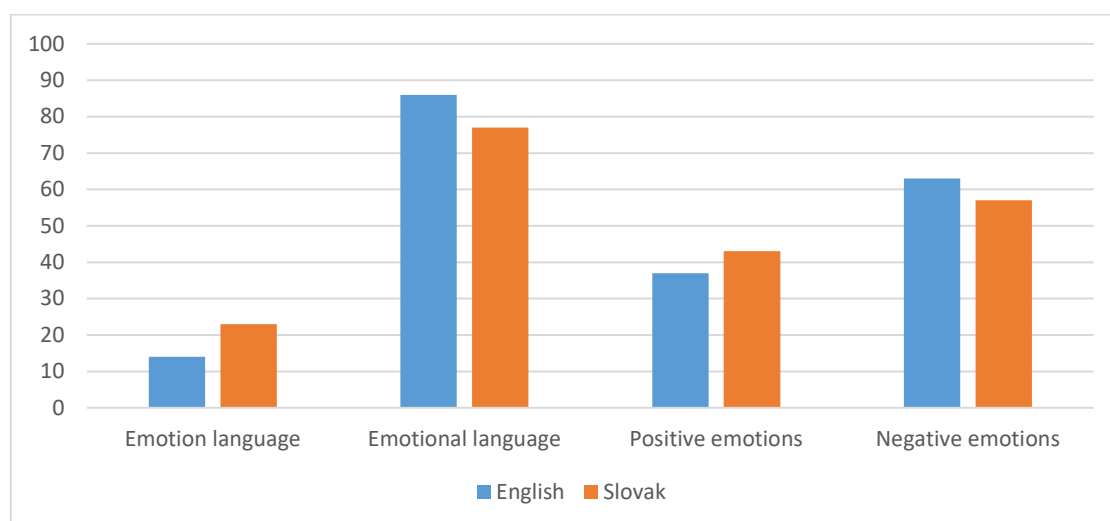


Figure 1. Positively and negatively tuned emotion vs emotional language in English and Slovak storytelling. Source: own processing

As the analysis of the data has revealed, our emotional repertoire encompasses a wide range of emotional responses together with their blends, nuances and shades; probably there exist more such states than we have words. In particular, in terms of emotion vs emotional language the diagram presents that 14% of the vocabulary denotes emotions (mostly such as love, anger, fear) in the English context while emotional language makes up 86% of the words (the bulk includes a lot of expletives). Somewhat similar are the results for the Slovak context with 23% of emotion language (denoting such emotions as love, happiness, fear) and 77% of emotional language (the bulk includes mainly words that conventionally express or signal affect/emotion).

With regard to its positive vs negative emotion dichotomy, 37% of the words denote positive emotions and states, while 63% stand for negative ones in English. The analysis of Slovak examples testifies to the dominance of negative (57) over positive (43) emotions. Emphasis was placed on the emotion of fear (5 reports), hope (4 reports) and joy (4 reports), while the reports also featured elements to evoke feelings of sadness (2 reports), admiration (2 reports) and excitement (1 report).

The following example demonstrates the emotion and emotional talk in Slovak (where the blue colour indicates emotion while the green one – emotional talk):

"My sme dostali v podstate niekoľko takých pravidiel, ktoré máme dodržiavať – nefotiť ľudí bez povolenia a vôbec nie ženy, nedotýkať sa žien, nenadviazať s nimi rozhovor, pokiaľ teda nenadviažu rozhovor ony samy, nefotiť si kontrolné stanovišťa a nehovoriť o hnutí Taliban zle. Jeden z tých pracovníkov sa pýtal: "A máte u vás v Bratislave nočné kluby?". Hovorím, že máme. "Ja by som tak išiel do nočného klubu." Vlastne úplný opak, čo sme čakali. Keď človek niečo ukradne, je mu proste uťatá ruka – zhruba odtiaľto. Takže tam keď si proste necháte vreće zlata na zemi, tak buďte si istý, že vám ho nikto nezoberie, pretože nikto nechce mať odtiatú ruku. Za neveru sú tam tresty, za alkohol sú tam tresty. Deje sa to. Väčšinou sa to teda deje na nejakých štadiónoch, kde sú ľudia kvázi pozvaní, aby to videli. Aby to bola hrozba pre ostatných, že toto sa nerobí. Nevieme si predstaviť, v akej krajine oni žijú. Nevieme si predstaviť, čím všetkým si prešli, aké náročné podmienky sú tam a že tí ľudia sú jednoducho iní. A tí ľudia nedokážu pochopiť náš systém fungovania. Táto cesta mi predovšetkým ukázala samého seba. Ako sa dokážem v postate správať v náročných cestovateľských podmienkach". (Reflex 2023).

Eng. Basically, we were given several such rules that we have to follow – not to take pictures of people without permission and not women at all, not to touch women, not to start a conversation with them unless they start a conversation themselves, not to take pictures of checkpoints and not to speak badly about the Taliban movement. One of the workers asked: "Do you have night clubs in Bratislava?". I say we have. "I'd rather go to a nightclub." Actually, the complete opposite of what we expected. When a person steals something, his hand is simply cut off – from about here. So there, if you just leave a bag of gold on the ground, be sure that no one will take it from you, because no one wants to have their hands cut off. There are penalties for infidelity, there are penalties for alcohol. It's happening. So it mostly happens in some stadiums where people are quasi invited to see it. To be a threat to others that this shall not be done. We cannot imagine in which country they live. We cannot imagine what they went through, how difficult the conditions are there and that those people are simply different. And those people cannot understand our system of operation. Above all, this journey showed me myself. How I can behave in difficult travel conditions.

Likewise, the following example illustrates the dominance of emotional talk over emotion in an English storytelling context:

*"I am in the rescue squad next door to the precinct. I really like it. All the job today is ok. You have got to be a regular cop first. I have been at least five years on that job and then you try out for the rescue squad. It is all that SWAT rescue stuff for jumping out of helicopters. It is ten times better than being a regular cop. I want to forgive everything. I am busy. We are just shooting some killings around here and every UV. If I can destroy this guy...he was driving on one of his motorbikes and they tried to rob him and started shooting up right after 14 times I think the guy was dead. I mean I have seen every conceivable way a person could die. It was the most upsetting thing to see them die. Once the guy got hit by the train, he lost his life". (Taxicab confessions 2013).*

The obtained results also confirm Rojková's et al empirical research that in the Slovak cultural space, media content frequently contains negatively tuned reports. Negative emotions are more attractive than positive emotions since people remember them better and longer (2016: 238).

The quantitative analysis of the collected data also revealed the following interesting fact: Slovak emotional storytelling makes use of various linguistic means employed to convey the emotions. Namely, in the examined episodes there were two euphemisms ("leave" – die; "when I'm not here, people will be better off" – when I die, they will be better off), two diminutives of "little legs" ("nožičky" in Slovak) and "little beer" ("pivko" in Slovak), one simile ("sweet as poetry"), three metaphors ("poems scattered all over Slovakia"; "shout to the whole world"; "the world will turn upside down") and one established expression ("school of life"). Conversely, there were no other linguistic means, as opposed to the wide variety of emotion nouns spotted in the English context.

The conducted comparative analysis of Slovak and English media storytelling techniques has revealed some similarities and differences.

We observed such similarities:

1. Storytelling is an environment loaded with emotions that facilitates communication and social-emotional support, though negative emotions dominate in both discourses allowing one to state that modern media storytelling is a powerful arena for venting negative emotions.
2. Both the English and Slovak emotional storytelling contexts consist of emotional talk rather than the explicit use of linguistic means denoting various emotions.

Our findings also demonstrate the differences, in particular:

1. In contrast to the English context, Slovak storytellers make use of various linguistic means employed to convey the emotions (metaphors, similes etc.). The analysis of examples taken from *Taxicab Confessions* confirms the statement that the storytelling technique is able to influence the recipient by presenting information in its easiest form.
2. Up to date music is utilized to accompany storytelling, intensify the emotions expressed, and evoke a greater emotional response in the Slovak audience.

The aforementioned points cannot be treated as conclusive, as they would require a more rigorous analysis, which will be the subject of our further research. Linguists can study storytelling from a plethora of perspectives. They may concern storytelling in different languages; multimodality and embodiment of the joint social action of storytelling (including gestures, gaze, body posture, body language); and storytelling prosody or the story-telling trance (e.g., storytelling mode, voice-related recontextualization of reported speech etc.). Truly, research on storytelling can focus on any of these strata: phonology/phonetics, lexicogrammar, discourse semantics, and register.

## Note

Translation from Slovak into English was done by Ľuboš Greguš.

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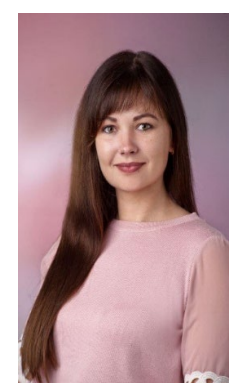
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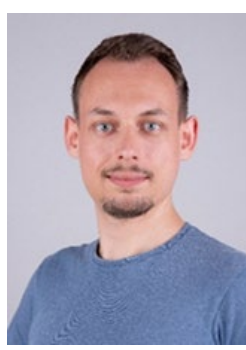
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