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

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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" (Osovská & 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; Panasenko 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 (Panasenka & 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 (Osovská & 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 (Osovská 2013) and tested in (Kolishnichenko et al. 2022; Osovská & 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 χ^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 (χ^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, 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
СПРИЯННЯ	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) Укр. *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)

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

(2) Укр. *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)

(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)

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)

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)

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)

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)

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

(12) Укр. *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) Укр. *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)

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) Укр. *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)

(15) Укр. *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)

Although the perceptions of РОЗВИТКУ / DEVELOPMENT (5.44%), ЗРОСТАННЯ / GROWTH (1.94%) and ПРОГРЕСЬ / 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 – ДЕМОКРАТІЯ / DEMOKRACIA / DEMOCRACY (2.38%), СВОБОДА / SLOBODA / FREEDOM (1.51%) and СУБЕПЕХІТЕТ / 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 САМКЦІЇ / 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 РОЗВИТОК / 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, ВІДБУДОВА / 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 χ^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 (χ^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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