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Bachelor's thesis

**POLITICAL EVENTS IN UKRAINE IN WESTERN MASS MEDIA
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Abstract

This bachelor's thesis is dedicated to the comprehensive linguistic analysis of the Russia-Ukraine war as represented in British and American media discourse. The relevance of this topic lies in the growing influence of the media on shaping public opinion, constructing political narratives, and framing global conflicts.

The research focuses on several key linguistic dimensions. Media headlines are studied, namely revealing how syntactic structure, modality, lexical choices, and numerical data are employed to frame events and form interpretations. The study explores how various illocutionary acts are strategically used to present facts, influence readers, express emotions, and declare political positions. Another focus of the thesis is the use of deictic elements, namely linguistic expressions that depend on context for meaning. The study categorizes and analyzes different types of deixis to reveal the ways authors build proximity or distance between readers and key figures, establish authority, and encode power relations.

Drawing on a corpus of authentic media texts and headlines, the thesis demonstrates that wartime reporting is not neutral or objective. The findings of this study show that language in the media plays a dual role in each narrative, as it informs and performs, reflects and constructs, describes and directs readers towards certain interpretations. Based on the critical discourse analysis, pragmatic analysis, content analysis, and quantitative analysis, this thesis offers profound results into how modern media shape collective understanding of global events. It highlights the importance of linguistic awareness in times of political crisis and provides a foundation for further studies into the role of language in shaping the socio-political realities of war.

Keywords: media discourse, critical discourse analysis, Russia-Ukraine war, modality, speech act, deixis.

Анотація

Бакалаврська робота присвячена комплексному лінгвістичному аналізу російсько-української війни в британському та американському медіа-дискурсі. Актуальність теми полягає у зростаючому впливі ЗМІ на формування громадської думки, конструювання політичних наративів та обрамлення глобальних конфліктів.

Бакалаврська робота зосереджується на кількох ключових лінгвістичних аспектах. Досліджуються заголовки ЗМІ, а саме, як синтаксична структура, модальність, лексичний вибір та числові дані використовуються для формування подій та інтерпретацій. Дослідження вивчає, як різні іллокутивні акти стратегічно використовуються для представлення фактів, впливу на читачів, вираження емоцій та оголошення політичних позицій. Іншим фокусом роботи є використання дейктичних елементів, а саме лінгвістичних виразів, значення яких залежить від контексту. Дослідження класифікує та аналізує різні типи дейксису, щоб виявити способи, якими автори будують близькість або дистанцію між читачами та ключовими фігурами, встановлюють авторитет та кодують відносини влади.

Спираючись на корпус автентичних медіа-текстів, як редакційних статей, так і заголовків, робота демонструє, що репортажі про воєнний час не є нейтральними чи об'єктивними. На основі критичного дискурс-аналізу, прагматичного аналізу, контент-аналізу та кількісного аналізу робота пропонує глибокі результати щодо того, як сучасні медіа формують колективне розуміння глобальних подій. Вона підкреслює важливість мовної свідомості в часи політичної кризи і створює основу для подальших досліджень ролі мови у формуванні соціально-політичних реалій війни.

Ключові слова: медійний дискурс, критичний дискурс-аналіз, російсько-українська війна, модальність, мовленнєвий акт, дейксис.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	5
1. THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS OF MEDIA LINGUISTICS	8
1.1. Media Linguistics and Media Discourse.....	8
1.2. Political Discourse and Media Discourse.....	16
1.3. Media Framing and Linguistic Representation of Political Events.....	23
1.4. Methods of Discourse Analysis.....	29
CONCLUSION TO CHAPTER 1	33
2. LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF THE PRESENTATION OF POLITICAL EVENTS IN BRITISH AND AMERICAN PRESS (2022-2025)	35
2.1. The Effect of Headlines on Readers' Perception.....	35
2.2. Evaluative Means in Media Narrative.....	43
2.3. Speech Acts.....	47
2.4. Stylistic Framing of Geopolitical Conflict.....	55
2.5. Deictic Representation of the Russia-Ukraine War in Media Texts.....	60
CONCLUSION TO CHAPTER 2	67
CONCLUSION	69
REFERENCES	78
LIST OF DATA SOURCES	92
APPENDIX	103

INTRODUCTION

In the modern information age, language has become a powerful tool not only for informing the public but for shaping political realities, ideological perceptions, and emotional responses. The ongoing war between Russia and Ukraine has again put the spotlight on the media's power to shape public opinion, narrative building, and guiding perception through the use of language. This thesis is devoted to the comprehensive analysis of media discourse, focusing on how linguistic tools such as modal verbs, speech acts, deixis, and media stylistics are strategically employed in British and American press coverage of the Russia-Ukraine war from 2022 to 2025. These tools are aimed at demonstrating how language is employed as a means of symbolic politics projecting, mediating, and sometimes distorting the image of war through linguistic tools.

The **topicality** of this study stems from the growing recognition that media discourse is never neutral. Headlines, modal verbs, speech acts, and deictic reference are not simply grammatical or lexical structures; they are ideological resources that frame events, allocate blame, and legitimize action. As global audiences receive increasingly rapid, emotive, and highly stylized media messages, it becomes increasingly important to make sense of how such texts operate on both linguistic and sociopolitical levels.

Media discourse analysis has been extensively explored by noted linguists and scholars such as Teun A. van Dijk (1995, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2014, 2017), Norman Fairclough (1992, 1995, 2003, 2006, 2015, 2017), and Ruth Wodak (2006), who examined the connection among language, power, and ideology. Van Dijk's interest lay in cognitive and social structures in media discourse, whereas Fairclough's critical discourse analysis was curious about the ways in which language is involved in the reproduction of social dominance. Ruth Wodak's discourse-historical approach showed how political language reflects national identity and ideology. In pragmatics, John Searle's speech act theory (1979) and Stephen Levinson's work on deixis (2004)

offered the basis for examining the operation of language in context. Yu. Polovynchak (2014), and O. Semotiuk's (2019) work represents a valuable contribution to the study of Ukrainian media discourse, with special reference to its typological, communicative, and manipulative potential.

The **practical value** of this research lies in its ability to improve critical media literacy and discourse awareness. By revealing political and ideological meaning-making accomplished through linguistic choice, the study aids readers and researchers in assuming a more informed and analytical position with regard to media texts. The findings may also be of benefit in disciplines such as political linguistics, media studies, translation, journalism, and sociolinguistics.

The **object** of the study is media discourse in Western media, specifically in the context of the Russia-Ukraine war.

The **subject** of the study is the linguistic features used in British and American press to construct political meaning and influence perception.

The **purpose** of the thesis is to analyze the pragmatic, and ideological functions of these linguistic tools in shaping media narratives around the Russia–Ukraine war and to uncover how language performs both informative and manipulative roles in political reporting.

To achieve this goal, the research sets out to complete the following main **tasks** are defined as follows:

1. To define and explore the theoretical foundations of media discourse.
2. To analyze headlines to identify modality, syntactic, and numerical patterns used for framing and influencing interpretation.
3. To examine the role of evaluation in the British and American press.
4. To analyze speech acts within media texts and their pragmatic functions during wartime.
5. To study the stylistic framing of a political event, particularly in media portrayals of key diplomatic moments.

6. To investigate the use of deictic expressions in shaping point of view, proximity, and ideological alignment.

The research **methods** applied include literature review, critical discourse analysis, pragmatic analysis, content analysis, quantitative analysis.

The **material** of the research comprises authentic English-language articles and headlines from major British and American newspapers published between 2022 and 2025. The headlines corpus contains **657 entries**. **69 full-text articles** were selected and analyzed from sources such as *The Times*, *The Guardian*, *The Economist*, *Politico* (**British press**) and *The New York Times*, *The Wall Street Journal* (**American press**). These texts include coverage of political speeches, diplomatic meetings, interviews, war events and situations, various battles, editorials, and military developments related to the war.

This thesis is structured into two chapters, conclusion, summary, 134 references, a list of 69 data sources, the appendix with the list of 657 headlines.

1. THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS OF MEDIA LINGUISTICS

In the era of rapid information exchange and global shaky situation and uncertainty, people tend to search various sources of reliable information to stay informed about all the crucial events and develop their perspectives and points of view on current events. The media has never had a greater role to play, as it serves as a bridge between raw facts and public consciousness. The way information is presented can have a significant impact on perception and the function of headlines in providing first impressions cannot be overestimated, as it can define the whole article and its mood. This phenomenon is especially evident when it comes to the coverage of geopolitical conflicts, where the way information is outlined can reflect ideological biases, national interests, or broader political agendas, it can also control the subtle manipulation of language to distort reality.

1.1. Media Linguistics and Media Discourse

Media linguistics

The rapid evolution of traditional media, along with the growing impact of the Internet, has led to the creation of a unified information space made up of numerous interconnected media streams. The Internet and its associated technologies have emerged as dominant tools of mass communication and crucial information resources that support the storage and dissemination of vast amounts of data. As a result, the exponential growth of mass communication has significantly influenced how words spread and how language evolves. Among the prominent fields in contemporary linguistics, media linguistics stands out for its relevance and future potential. Its rapid development stems from the fact that media language mirrors societal changes, being closely tied to spontaneous speech, free from censorship constraints, and aimed at portraying reality as it truly is.

In this context, examining the language of media and media broadcasting holds significant value not only from a linguistic standpoint but also from a social

perspective. It requires the application of innovative tools by linguists and scholars from related fields in the humanities. This has led to the rise of interdisciplinary research. Through a comprehensive and systematic approach, researchers are exploring various topics, such as determining the functional and stylistic characteristics of media broadcasting, understanding how socio-cultural factors shape language choices, and analyzing the linguistic and media strategies used to influence audiences (Grynyuk, 2022).

Media linguistics investigates how language operates within media systems to construct, reflect, and challenge ideological frameworks. The field recognizes that all media texts are embedded within power relations that influence how reality is represented (Fairclough, 2015)

Media linguistics is a relatively recent and evolving subfield of applied linguistics. According to Martin Luginbühl, media linguistics can be considered as one of the most dynamic fields of applied linguistics. This is due to the fact that the focus of media linguistics has shifted in multiple directions with the rise of digital media — which, by the second decade of the 21st century, can scarcely still be considered 'new media' (Luginbühl, 2015).

The term 'media linguistics' was first introduced in 1998 by John Corner in his article "The Scope of Media Linguistics", where he outlined the field's aims and scope as a new branch of philological inquiry. Corner viewed media linguistics not merely as a distinct discipline, but as an interdisciplinary field that brings together diverse approaches to the study of language in mass communication (Grynyuk, 2022).

Medialinguistics developed at the intersection of linguistics, discourse studies, and communication theory. It utilizes methods from critical discourse analysis (CDA), pragmatics, stylistics, and semiotics to explore how media language both mirrors and shapes power dynamics, societal norms, and ideological perspectives (Fairclough, 1995). Researchers such as Bell (1991) and Fowler (1991) have demonstrated that even minor lexical or grammatical decisions in news articles, headlines, or TV broadcasts can shape the portrayal of events and individuals in ideologically charged ways.

A recent work on media linguistics by Ulrich Schmitz begins with the following statement: “Media linguistics studies how language is used in the media”. According to this quote, similarly to conversation analysis and sociolinguistics, media linguistics primarily concentrates on how language is used in real-life communicative contexts. Bell argues that media language functions not merely as a means of conveying information, but as a performative act shaped by editorial agendas, audience expectations, and ideological stances. As such, media texts are far from neutral, they are deliberately crafted to influence interpretation, stir emotional reactions, and often advance particular perspectives on the world (Schmitz, 2016).

Luginbühl stated that the object of media linguistic analysis particularly depends on the concept of the medium (of a technical device, serving the production, transmission and/or storage of signs). In the past, the scope of analysis was relatively straightforward: it focused on mass media texts such as those from newspapers, radio, and television. These texts were typically created by professional writers working collaboratively within institutional frameworks. Their production involved technical processes, such as printing or broadcasting, and they were distributed to the public as one-way communication aimed at large, anonymous audiences.

With the rise of digital media, media linguistics has expanded beyond traditional mass media i.e., newspapers, radio, and TV to include online and digital communication. This shift has blurred lines between personal and mass communication, increased focus on how media formats (print, online, mobile) affect language use, highlighted interactivity, audience engagement, and multimodality (text, images, videos, links), and broadened media linguistics to include social media, emails, chats, and comments, beyond just journalistic texts (Luginbühl, 2015).

According to Ulrich Schmitz, this development signifies a major broadening of media linguistics, which now goes beyond focusing solely on journalistic mass media. However, if interpersonal communication, because “it can be realised in a variety of different media” (Tresch, 2008), becomes the focus of media linguistic analysis then all forms of communication can be examined through a media linguistic lens.

Consequently, the key question is no longer what is being analyzed, but rather the specific approach or perspective applied in the analysis.

Critical linguistics, on the basis of the research by Fowler and Kress, examines how various grammatical structures such as nominalization, passive voice, and modality function as carriers of ideological content. Media discourse does not merely reflect reality; rather, it actively constructs it through selective framing, deliberate representational choices, and the organization of specific narrative structures (Rice & Bartlett, 2006). These linguistic choices naturalize certain worldviews while potentially marginalizing others, a process of ideological influence on the readers (Fairclough, 2015).

There are different types of media linguistics. Among them, the most prominent approaches are recognised:

- Traditional Mass Media Linguistics centers on the analysis of language used in traditional mass media formats, including newspapers, radio, and television. It explores how professional media organizations construct messages intended for broad, anonymous audiences via one-directional channels of communication (Luginbühl, 2015).

- Digital Media Linguistics, with the advent of digital technologies, investigates the role of language in online contexts. It analyzes the distinctive linguistic characteristics of websites, blogs, online news platforms, and digital versions of traditional media. Digital media linguistics explores how elements such as hypertext, multimedia integration, and the affordances of digital platforms shape language use and the construction of meaning (Tresch, 2008).

- Critical Media Linguistics, drawing heavily from Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), examines how language in media reflects and reinforces power relations, ideologies, and societal values. Critical media linguistics investigates how seemingly neutral language choices can frame events, individuals, and groups in ways that perpetuate certain worldviews while marginalizing others (van Dijk, 2017).

- Multimodal Media Linguistics acknowledges that media texts are seldom exclusively linguistic, as they often incorporate visual components, audio, layout, and interactive features. Multimodal media linguistics investigates how various semiotic modes collaborate to convey meaning within media texts. It utilizes multimodal discourse analysis to examine how these elements function collectively in the construction of media messages (Fairclough, 1995).

- Corpus-Based Media Linguistics uses large collections of media texts and computational tools to identify patterns in media language. Corpus-based approaches allow researchers to analyze frequencies, collocations, and semantic prosodies across large datasets, revealing linguistic patterns that might not be apparent in smaller-scale studies (O'Halloran, 2010).

- Cross-Cultural Media Linguistics examines how media language varies across different cultural and linguistic contexts. It investigates how cultural values, journalistic traditions, and socio-political contexts shape media discourse in different countries or language communities (Grynyuk, 2014).

Media discourse

From the outset, it is of paramount importance to understand the term discourse. In 1952, Z. Harris initially used the phrase "discourse" as an independent expression in his essay "Discourse Analysis". He defined discourse as a series of sentences spoken or written by a person or collective in a specific circumstance (Harris, 1981). Teun A. van Dijk's work is essential for grasping the concept of "discourse," as he offers both broad and narrow interpretations of the term. In a broad sense, discourse refers to a complex communicative event that occurs between a subject and an object within a specific context and may encompass both verbal and non-verbal elements. In a narrower sense, discourse is understood as a text or conversation consisting solely of verbal elements, representing the outcome of a communicative act. Discourse can be seen either as a completed product or as an ongoing process that is open to interpretation by its recipients. This approach is both intricate and multidimensional.

T. van Dijk views discourse as a fusion of linguistic structure, knowledge, and action. This perspective enables the merging of two key approaches to language: the formal and the functional. The formal approach concentrates on linguistic units while often overlooking social and contextual dimensions. In contrast, the functional approach emphasizes language as a tool for communication between individuals. It particularly focuses on political, social, and economic processes, analyzing them as discursive practices that operate within specific contexts. Within this framework, discourse is regarded as one of the fundamental forms through which institutions function (van Dijk, 1999).

According to Nataliia Horbenko, there is no universally accepted definition of discourse; however, most scholars tend to adopt a broad interpretation. This perspective has formed the foundation for much of the scientific research in the field. Broadly speaking, discourse can be described as a complex communicative act that encompasses extralinguistic factors and is inherently tied to social, political, and cultural contexts. A defining feature of contemporary discourse analysis is its interdisciplinary nature (Horbenko, 2023).

As for the media discourse, it functions not just as a means of conveying information, but as an active and ideological practice that reflects institutional agendas, shapes public interpretation, and influences societal perceptions of events and individuals. As van Dijk asserts, media texts are the prime sources of people's knowledge, attitudes and ideologies, and thus must be examined not only for their content, but also for the linguistic and structural ways in which that content is produced. The researcher Teun van Dijk also states that discourse meaning primarily reveals the underlying beliefs of speakers, including their mental representations of specific events, such as those reported in the news. However, discourse extends beyond meaning alone: meaning must be conveyed through specific linguistic choices, words that form sentences, each with their own syntactic structures. In the context of the press, these meanings are further shaped by visual and structural elements such as font style,

layout, imagery, and article placement. These various forms of expression or discursive patterns can serve to highlight or downplay particular meanings (van Dijk, 1988).

The study of media discourse stands out as being one of the most relevant and modern areas in linguistics. It can be concluded that media discourse refers to interactions that take place through a broadcast platform, whether spoken or written, in which the discourse is oriented to a non-present reader, listener or viewer. In other words, media discourse is a public, manufactured, on-record, form of interaction (O'keeffe, 2006).

The basics of the linguistic theory of text and discourse were established in the middle of the 20th century which were in line with broader studies on the communicative nature of language. The recent studies that were conducted have considered discourse on the level of social and mental processes explained both by linguistic and extralinguistic factors (Teubert, 2010). As for the extra-linguistic factors, the specifics of discourse types, genres, sub-genres and the relevant requirements imposed on them are covered. Therefore, discourse can be defined as a very complex phenomenon with linguistic, psychological, social and cultural dimensions. Traditionally discourses are divided into three broad types: 1) literary; 2) institutional (media, political, etc.); and 3) academic or scientific (Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk & Mammadov, 2022).

According to Svitlana Grynyuk, media discourse (or mass information discourse) is a type of speech activity in the media, aimed at informing the audience about various spheres of social life through mass communication (through television, radio, Internet, print media, etc.). It is a peculiar and specific category of modern media linguistics, involving special methods, means and techniques of analysis. It is connected, first of all, with the expansion of media channels – printed content (newspapers, magazines) and interactive material (radio, television, Internet, advertising) (Grynyuk, 2022).

Media discourse structure, its topology and methods of research has been extensively studied by various famous linguists. Among those - Teun A. van Dijk is prominent for his profound studies “*News as Discourse*” (1988), , Norman Fairclough

“*Media Discourse*” (1995), Allan Bell “*The Language of News Media*” (1991), Roger Fowler “*Language in the News*” (1991), John E. Richardson “Analysing Newspapers” (2007), Lali Tavadze et al “Modern Tendencies in Media Newspapers” (2024), Azad Mammadov and Barbara Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk “Analysing Media Discourse” (2022).

The whole category of media discourse can be divided into large areas - written and spoken. Modern media comes in many different formats, including print media (books, magazines, newspapers) and spoken ones, which consist of radio and television, and primarily rely on spoken speech (television, movies, video games, music, cell phones, various kinds of software, and the Internet). Each type of media involves both content and also a device or object through which that content is delivered (Tavadze, Diasamidze, Katamadze, & Davitadze, 2024).

To conclude, the theoretical framework of media linguistics emerges from the convergence of linguistics, communication theory, discourse analysis, and socio-cultural studies. The discipline has evolved from analyzing conventional mass media to embracing digital and multimodal communication in response to contemporary linguistic practices. At its core, media linguistics recognizes that media language is not a neutral information vehicle but a powerful tool that shapes ideologies, reflects societal norms, and influences public perception through deliberate linguistic choices. Media discourse is conceptualized as a multilayered communicative act conditioned by contextual, institutional, and ideological factors, a socially constructed practice that reflects and reinforces power relations rather than merely informing. Through critical discourse analysis, multimodal analysis, and corpus linguistics, media linguistics provides insights into how media texts construct social realities, spread ideological formations, and facilitate or conceal linguistic diversity. As technological advancements reshape the media landscape, the field continues expanding its scope, reaffirming its analytical role in examining the evolving interconnections between language, society, and communication technologies.

1.2. Political Discourse and Media Discourse

From a sociolinguistic perspective, discourse is understood as human communication analyzed in relation to individuals' membership in specific social groups or within the context of typical speech behavior scenarios, such as political discourse. Analyzing political texts, along with their individual components, requires examining how various linguistic, social, cultural, economic, political, national, and other factors influence both the text itself and its reception by the audience. As R. Wodak emphasizes, the intricate relationship between society and discourse can only be fully understood through the integration of both sociological and linguistic approaches. The foundations of political discourse theory were laid by prominent scholars such as T. A. van Dijk, M. Foucault, J. Habermas, and R. Barthes, whose contributions are now regarded as classic works in the field (Wodak, 2006).

The structure of political discourse suggests that its study involves analyzing its content, objectives, and form as they are employed in specific contexts, placing it at the crossroads of multiple academic disciplines. Although political discourse is recognized as a distinct type of discourse, it still lacks a universally accepted definition within linguistics (Bell, 1995).

Political discourse largely revolves around rhetoric, the art of persuasion, and manipulation, as politicians often employ persuasive or manipulative language strategies that differ from everyday language use by the general public. Politics is essentially a contest for power, carried out through the battle to control political language among political actors to gain power and support of the public. According to Paul Chilton and Christina Schäffner Fairclough, political discourse, as a genre, serves as a means for establishing and exercising dominance, he indicates that language is one of the key tools used in practicing politics, particularly in the formation of social groups, which contributes to understanding politics in its broader sense (Chilton & Schäffner, 2002).

As Yevheniia Korneliaieva states, one of the most effective approaches for analyzing the structure of political discourse is the field approach. This method helps

identify the extent to which political discourse intersects with other types of discourse, both non-institutional (such as everyday or artistic) and institutional (including scientific, religious, educational, military, legal, sports, advertising, etc.). Essentially, it relies on a thematic-content principle rooted in the nature of textual reference. Scholars highlight the media's crucial role in delivering political discourse to a wide, public audience, noting an emerging trend toward the convergence of media discourse and political discourse (Kornelaieva, 2023).

She indicates that the functional characteristics of political discourse can be examined from two main perspectives: first, in terms of its system-defining intention, and second, in relation to its fulfillment of general linguistic functions (Kornelaieva, 2023).

Political communication serves several general linguistic functions, notably the regulatory and incentive roles, which are evident through mechanisms like prohibition and encouragement. The marked creativity present in political discourse suggests that the referential and magical functions of language are no longer actively at play in this context (Kornelaieva, 2023).

Fairclough mentions that the distinctive feature of political communication discourse, compared to other forms of discourse, lies in its primary function which is serving as a tool of political power. This is expressed through gaining, maintaining, exercising, stabilizing, and redistributing power. This core role allows us to identify several key functions within political discourse, which reflect different aspects of this main analysed purpose: the integration of group political agents and differentiation functions, promotion of harmony or atonality, interpretation and orientation, actional and informational function, as well as control function and behavior motives. Moreover, despite institutionality, which was discussed above, the system-forming features of political discourse include information content, semantic uncertainty, dynamic, mass media factor, distance, authoritarianism and theatricality. All these features have a certain specificity, due to the intentional component of discourse in the field of political communication (Fairclough, 2006).

Kornielaieva distinguishes the following genres within political discourse:

1) institutional political discourse, within which there is a different genre (formal addresses by heads of state, the structure of their speeches, discussions held in parliaments, election campaign activities, interviews with political figures, and similar forms of communication.);

2) official-business genres of political discourse, which encompass texts intended for employees of the state apparatus;

3) mass media genres of political discourse include texts produced by journalists, which are distributed through the newspapers, the Internet, radio, and television;

4) institutional political discourse, within which genres and texts created by ordinary citizens (letters and appeals directed at politicians or government bodies, as well as correspondence sent to the media, etc.);

5) «political thrillers», «political poetry» and various genres of political memoirs;

6) Academic and scholarly genres focused on political topics and issues (Kornielaieva, 2023).

Norman Fairclough states that in the field of foreign political linguistics, various genres are identified based on their connection to different aspects of the political system. These include genres associated with the operation of the political system itself, such as parliamentary debates, political manifestos and programs, speeches by party leaders at conferences, and official political documents. Additionally, there are genres linked to mass media, like political news, interviews, talk shows, and press-based political advertising. Finally, genres connected to the public sphere are also recognized, including citizen meetings and political forums (Fairclough, 2006).

As Iryna Paten and Liliia Sobol state, political discourse is a multifaceted area of study that has long attracted the interest not only of linguists but also of linguo-psychologists, cultural theorists, psychologists, sociologists, and historians. Each of these academic disciplines, however, approaches the discourse from its own perspective, emphasizing different aspects of its functioning. Political discourse has been profoundly researched by prominent Ukrainian academic researchers: H.

Pochepstov (2016), I. Klymenko (2005), L. Lukina (2021), N. Shevchuk (2013), K. Serazhym (2003), A. Sotnykov (2018). Their attention was directed toward its peculiarities, directions and development prospects, as well as the linguistic influence on issues such as control, domination, social and communicative inequality, and, ultimately, the dynamics of state power. M. Kostenko (2022) and O. Semotiuk (2019) are Ukrainian scientists who are engaged in the study of political media discourse, focusing on its typological traits, structural and organizational features, as well as its importance and potential development. As for the foreign scientist: V. Benoit (2003), R. Wodak (2006), An. Musolff (2004), M. Schroeter (2013), V. Dijk (1988, 1995, 1997, 1999, 2014), the authors pay much attention to the study of political media discourse, as it is of paramount importance in modern society, where information is a driving force in each sphere of life (Paten & Sobol, 2023).

Contemporary discourse enhances communication and information channels, allowing for a larger readership and enabling quicker responses to changes in societal and individual life. According to Yuliia Polovynchak, “the mass media discourse is characterised by significant influence exerted by opinion leaders whose information is received, comprehended, relayed, and used by a wider audience” (Polovynchak, 2014). Politics stands at the core of this discourse, representing the practical application of political science as realized through institutional political communication (Кривенко, 2016).

The media and the public sphere have traditionally been viewed as large-scale structural entities, and considerable theoretical work in sociology, media studies, and political communication has been devoted to exploring their interrelations. Political discourse conveyed through mass media, for example, has often been interpreted as a form of “symbolic politics.” The term is based on Edelman’s distinction (1976) between the instrumental and expressive aspects of politics, which Sarcinelli (1987) refers to as the production versus the presentation of politics. The term “symbolic politics” can create confusions, as all forms of politics are inherently conducted through language and are therefore symbolically constructed (Chilton & Schäffner,

2002). However, because of the mentioned limitations in access, most of the data used in discourse analysis pertains to mediated politics, focusing not on the production, but rather on the presentation aspect. This presentation, shaped by the performative nature and commercial interests of mass media, has become so ritualized, standardized, and formulaic that it is reasonable to describe it as a mere “semblance” of political reality (Sarcinelli, 1994). It is this negative interpretation that has become the dominant meaning of “symbolic politics” in political communication studies (Tenscher, 1998).

Media discourse turns politics into a symbolic and ideological construct by virtualizing political reality. This virtual representation becomes integrated into the symbolic realm of politics and influences the political awareness of society. Frequently, the version of reality presented by the media is more appealing to citizens than their actual, lived political experiences. The primary medium for political communication and the main link between political discourse and society is the discourse conducted through mass media. Today’s mass media represent one of the most powerful instruments for exerting psychological influence on the public and serve as a key vehicle for state-driven messaging, especially political propaganda. It is within the media sphere that various political forces and their viewpoints confront one another (Paten & Sobol, 2023).

Ukrainian scholar Heorhii Pocheptsov argues that the study of political language is not limited to linguists alone. Understanding how language functions and recognizing its symbolic nature allows for a fairly accurate analysis of political reality. However, when political discourse is examined solely through the lens of political linguistics, as a "linguistic act" performed by political figures, it risks diverging from the broader, widely accepted view of political discourse as a form of virtual reality experienced by a politically and culturally unified community. In analyzing political statements, scholars also focus on the distinctive features of the political culture and collective consciousness of a particular society (Кривенко, 2016). According to Kateryna Serazhym, in this way, the scholar established a basis for understanding discourse as a multifaceted communicative phenomenon that encompasses not only

texts but also extralinguistic elements, such as the speaker's background knowledge, beliefs, intentions, and other contextual factors etc. (Серажим, 2003).

One important function of the political discourse is its impact upon the recipient whereby the aim is to modify the recipient's political convictions and urge him to take actions that are beneficial to the sender. Using numerous syntactic, lexical, and intonational tools as well as secondary nomination tools (such as metaphors, metonymies, periphrases, terminologisms, phraseologisms, and other kinds of new lexical innovations) constitutes an important method used by politicians in their speeches to influence minds of recipients. The political discourse presents itself as an institutional environment of sorts, with its own terminology and vocabulary (Paten & Sobol, 2023).

A key function of political discourse is its influence on the recipient, aiming to shape their political beliefs and motivate actions that serve the interests of the speaker. Politicians employ a wide range of strategies in their speeches to achieve this effect, including syntactic, lexical, and intonational techniques, as well as secondary nomination methods such as metaphors, metonymies, periphrases, specialized terminology, idioms, and various lexical innovations. Political discourse also functions as a kind of institutional framework, characterized by its distinct vocabulary and terminology (A key function of political discourse is its influence on the recipient, aiming to shape their political beliefs and motivate actions that serve the interests of the speaker. Politicians employ a wide range of strategies in their speeches to achieve this effect, including syntactic, lexical, and intonational techniques, as well as secondary nomination methods such as metaphors, metonymies, periphrases, specialized terminology, idioms, and various lexical innovations. Political discourse also functions as a kind of institutional framework, characterized by its distinct vocabulary and terminology. As a result, political discourse and mass media discourse are deeply interconnected and mutually influential (Paten & Sobol, 2023).

Contemporary linguistic research often aims to integrate various forms of discourse into a single, cohesive category. Tatiana Dobrosklonska states that mass

media outlets today play an active role in shaping political processes, while politicians increasingly struggle to operate without the communicative backing of the media, which serve as key instruments for spreading and popularizing significant political ideas. As a result, political discourse within the mass media represents a multifaceted network of linguistic processes and outputs within the sphere of mass communication, all intricately interconnected. According to Iryna Paten and Liliia Sobol, this type of discourse defines the informational landscape shaped by mass media or manifests within the sphere of mass communication generated by media platforms (Paten & Sobol, 2023).

Notably, the context of influencing the electoral process is the two-step flow of communication theory proposed by P. Lazarsfeld. Through experimental research, Lazarsfeld demonstrated that the interaction between political entities and the public is characterized by an indirect form of influence. This means that the information initially disseminated (such as through media channels) may undergo significant transformation by the time it reaches the recipient. Social diversity and the presence of manipulative psychological elements, like biases and stereotypes, act as filters that distort the original message. Furthermore, political influencers, including representatives of political parties, bloggers, media hosts, journalists, and other opinion leaders, also function as such filters. The opportunity to engage in discussions with trusted figures and subsequently form personal interpretations and judgments plays a critical role in political communication (Tesfaye, 2022).

In conclusion, political discourse is established as discourse analysis to build a multidisciplinary methodological framework that integrates sociolinguistic and critical discourse analysis perspectives to examine political communication within its social and institutional contexts. Drawing on theoretical foundations from van Dijk, Foucault, Fairclough, and Wodak, it recognizes political discourse as a tool of political power through mechanisms of gaining, maintaining, and redistributing authority. The convergence of media and political discourse creates “symbolic politics” where mediated representation virtualizes political reality, requiring analytical methods that

account for the complex filtering processes in political communication. The methodological synthesis combining language-in-use and socio-political approaches provides comprehensive analytical tools for examining specific linguistic strategies (syntactic, lexical, intonational and stylistic techniques, specialized terminology) while understanding political discourse as a complex social practice embedded within broader power structures rather than merely a linguistic phenomenon.

1.3. Media Framing and Linguistic Representation of Political Events

It is well established that the public depends on the mass media for political information (Simon & Xenos, 2010). In a democratic society, where people have the right to make choices and exercise their freedoms, the media plays a central role in supplying information through news, entertainment, and educational content across different platforms. However, its function goes beyond simply sharing information, the media also shapes how the public perceives and interprets events by framing and presenting news in specific ways (Gunther & Christen, (2002). Media framing refers to the deliberate way information is structured and presented by the media to influence how audiences understand and interpret news and events (Dimitrova & Strömbäck, 2005). It involves shaping a specific perspective or storyline around an issue, thereby affecting how the public comprehends and forms opinions about it. Frames may be applied either intentionally or unintentionally, helping to establish a 'common sense' perspective on complex issues (Connolly-Ahern & Broadway, 2008). Frames can shape how stories are told and perceived by emphasizing elements such as assigning responsibility, highlighting conflict, focusing on human interest, addressing economic impacts, and invoking moral considerations (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000).

Media framing plays a powerful role in shaping public opinion on a wide range of issues. The way information is presented in the media significantly affects how the public perceives and interprets different topics. Research has demonstrated that framing can influence public attitudes, particularly in contexts involving conflict or disputes over international policy (Rice & Bartlett, 2006) and in altering how people

perceive risks (Rim, Hong & Kioussis, 2014). The way news stories are presented can reinforce certain ideas and shape public attitudes toward specific groups or issues (Harsa & Rofil, 2021). Moreover, media portrayal of political issues can shape how individuals interpret and view these matters (Mohamed & Wahab, 2024). Additionally, the selection and prominence of frames in media coverage can have a significant influence on the public's perception of crises, the reputation of corporations, and the attribution of responsibility (Mason, (2016). Additionally, various media frames have been found to foster a more informed and engaged public by expanding the audience's viewpoints (Huang, 2009).

The concept of framing was first introduced in Goffman's influential work (Goffman, 1975), which proposed that the way messages are structured influences later thoughts and behaviors. Broadly speaking, framing refers to the way information is organized and presented. According to Erving Goffman, we constantly structure and categorize our experiences in order to understand and interpret them. These "schemata of interpretation", known as frames, help individuals to recognize, interpret, define, and categorize information. When psychologists study framing effects, they typically focus on how the context in which information is presented influences the way that information is understood and interpreted.

Dietram Scheufele states that framing serves as both a tool for presenting and interpreting information, with media frames and personal frames significantly shaping how messages are processed and understood. The framing process consists of four key stages: frame building, frame setting, individual-level framing effects, and the interaction between individual and media frames (Scheufele, 1999). De Vreese highlights that frame building results from ongoing interactions between journalists and influential actors such as elites or social movements, which are reflected in the frames present within news content. The creation of these frames is shaped by internal factors like media ownership, editorial policies, and journalistic norms, as well as external influences such as advertising. Frame setting, on the other hand, pertains to the extent to which audiences internalize the frames conveyed through media content,

ultimately influencing their attitudes and behaviors based on the journalistic frames they encounter (Vreese, 2005).

The media's role in shaping interpretive "schemas" that influence how the public views and understands different issues should not be underestimated (López-Rabadán, 2021). The media selectively highlights certain issues while overlooking others, and provides specific "schemata of interpretations" that the public relies on to make sense of both familiar and unfamiliar events (Vaughan & Johns, 2021). These interpretive frameworks, or frames, guide how citizens engage in public discourse. By framing stories in particular ways, media outlets can emphasize certain viewpoints, angles, or interpretations while minimizing others. This selective emphasis can shape how audiences understand the information, ultimately affecting their attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors (Vaughan & Johns, 2021), especially in times of conflicting and difficult information (Papacharissi & de Fatima Oliveira, 2008). Furthermore, with the advancement of technology, media framing now extends beyond conventional news sources to include modern platforms such as social media, which have been shown to impact and shape traditional media frames (Etter & Vestergaard, 2015). Contemporary media outlets are increasingly applying framing techniques to cover political protests, build political campaigns, and report on various events, demonstrating the versatility of framing methods in diverse contexts (Ashfaq, Shahid & Zubair, 2021).

In the political realm, media framing is a vital factor that shapes public opinion and influences how political issues are understood (Vreese, 2005). Framing is frequently employed by media organizations as a powerful mechanism to sway public opinion, steer public discourse, and construct narratives around political subjects. The way the media frames an issue can influence the assignment of responsibility and result in varying interpretations of the same political events (Matthes, 2009). The repetition and prominence of frames in media coverage are essential in influencing the narrative surrounding political figures and events (Hänggli, 2011). Media often concentrate on particular events and incidents, framing political parties and leaders with negative characteristics, which frequently results in a conflict-oriented and personalized

narrative (Dahal, 2019). However, the framing process is not solely determined by the media; it is also heavily shaped by political elites (Glazier & Boydston, 2012; Hänggli, 2011). Media framing is not always impartial; the way political events are framed can be strongly influenced by political biases and personal stories, straying from the principles of objective journalism (Chuma, 2008). This influence can result in the media adopting particular tones and viewpoints that align with the statements and agendas of political leaders (Glazier & Boydston, 2012). The relationship between political framing and media framing is dynamic, with shifts in political framing affecting how the media represent certain issues (Esmark & Schoop, 2017). The power of media framing stems from its ability to choose certain aspects of an issue and emphasize them, thereby shaping public perception (Ödmark, 2021). This selective presentation of information can result in the creation of specific realities and limit the range of political alternatives (Carragee & Roefs, 2004). The study of media framing is a vital component of communication research that explores how information is presented and understood by both the media and its audiences. It plays a key role in contexts like crisis communication, media discourse, and social movements. Understanding media framing is essential because it sheds light on how various actors such as politicians, journalists, and audiences shape realities based on their perspectives, ultimately influencing the prevailing narrative (Anshori, Pawito, Kartono & Hastjarjo, 2023). Most research on media framing is carried out through two main approaches: *analyzing the content of news (frame building)* and *examining the effects of news on the audience* (Asiamah, Osei-Mensah & Sackey, 2022; Vreese, 2005; Thankachan & Thomas, 2021). In analyzing media content and exploring how various frames impact audience perceptions, Hassan et al. highlight that framing theory has become a crucial tool. This theory emphasizes the media's ability to shape public opinion by presenting specific viewpoints and influencing the context and intent behind news production (Hassan, Basit & Ahmad, 2022). It is through framing that the media can narrow down political alternatives and ultimately, steer public discourse toward particular interpretations (Munoriyarwa & Chibuwe, 2022).

In recent years, newspaper discourse has gained a significant interest from researchers in the field of critical analysis, especially concerning political matters (Farahani & Ahmadian, 2014; Sadeghi, Hassani & Jalali, 2014). The nature of newspaper discourse has evolved, making it possible to analyze news articles to reveal the underlying intentions embedded within their discursive construction (Sadeghi, Hassani & Jalali, 2014). Newspapers play a vital role in modern societies as they tackle a wide range of societal issues. However, the language used in newspapers goes beyond merely delivering explicit information. As Wodak argues, language serves as a tool of domination and social power, making it an effective medium for exposing hidden ideologies aimed at shaping social norms and values (Fairclough, 1995; Davies, Caldas-Coulthard & Coulthard, 2001). In addition to its function of informing and conveying various issues, the newspaper provides extensive details about news stories, including event descriptions and analyses of their significance and impact. Newspapers play a key role in representing social and national concerns (Mahmood, Javed & Mahmood, 2011). Such issues bear ideological values hidden under the words chosen to represent them. These values are revealed through the use of CDA (Fairclough, 1995).

Language plays a crucial role in news writing, showcasing the journalist's or reporter's ability to present events in a strategic and impactful manner. As Harris noted in 1980, newspapers embody communication and social interaction through the use of language. Language serves as the most effective tool for communication, as it mirrors our social behaviors and human experiences. It enables us to convey our thoughts and actions, whether through spoken or written discourse (Harris, 1980; Richardson, 2007; Taiwo, 2007). It does not reflect our reality, but it also shapes our reality (Taiwo, 2007). Others, like Pennycook stated that the language of newspapers has been recognized as a tool for conveying information and reflecting different patterns of social interaction (Pennycook, 2004). Bell and Popp (Popp, 2006) agreed that newspapers function as institutions for the formation and expression of language. Consequently, the representation of cultural, political, social, ideological, and economic matters must

consider the significance of language use in news media discourse, especially in the press, as the connection between media and language is crucial for critical and analytical studies (Shojaei, Youssefi & Hosseini, 2013). According to Thomas Roksvold's viewpoint, exploring the language of news is a compelling area of study because, although it is deeply embedded in everyday life, its underlying mechanisms often remain hidden. The use of language becomes evident through its linguistic elements, which encompass syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic structures. These elements serve to explain and frame the events presented in newspaper articles (Roksvold, 2010).

In conclusion, media framing is a pivotal process that molds public understanding of political events through mass media by actively constructing social realities via intentional language choices, not just broadcasting information. Based on Goffman's (Goffman, 1975) interpretive schemas and Scheufele's (Scheufele, 1999) four-stage process, particular features are more highlighted and downplayed than others to influence public opinion and build narratives around political topics. The connection between politics and media underlines political biases that affect journalistic representation of events and shift from objective reporting towards selective emphasis. Such methods restrict political alternatives and guide readers' perception to engage with certain interpretations, showing language as a tool of control that uncovers hidden ideologies in media.

1.4. Methods of Discourse Analysis

This study accepts a qualitative approach using *Critical Discourse Analysis* (CDA) as the primary analytical framework. Media linguistics often refers to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to examine how power and ideology are embedded in media texts. Van Dijk introduced this term to describe an emerging interdisciplinary field that encompasses the theory and analysis of text and discourse across a wide range of disciplines within the humanities and social sciences (van Dijk, 1997). According to Allan Luke, CDA aims to describe, interpret, analyze, and critique social life by

examining the discursive practices of a community, that is, its conventional ways of using language. Therefore, media and CDA are closely related to each other (Luke, 1997). R. Wodak and B. Busch have stated that in CDA, the media serve as representations of the public sphere and can be analyzed as arenas of social power and conflict, particularly through the lens of mass media language: “Language is often only apparently transparent (Wodak & Busch, 2004). Media institutions often purport to be neutral, in that they provide space for public discourse, reflect states of affairs disinterestedly, and give the perceptions and arguments of the newsmakers” (Wodak & Busch, 2004), while they often have hidden socio political agenda that lie at the heart of the matter (e.g. Gamson, Croteau, Hoynes, & Sasson, 1992; Herman & Chomsky, 2008; Miller, 2004). The key issues addressed in the outline encompass capitalism, racism, nationalism, identity politics, antisemitism, and the reporting of war.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) has been widely used in studies examining newspaper discourse. It makes a significant contribution to linguistic research in media, whether in spoken or written form, by uncovering hidden meanings, exploring the connection between language and context, and analyzing how language exerts power across various domains. Furthermore, CDA emphasizes how texts reflect ideological, social, cultural, and political perspectives (Fairclough, 1995; van Dijk, 1995). According to Norman Fairclough, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) involves a systematic examination of the “opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes” (Fairclough, 1992). This approach aims to uncover how such events, practices, and texts are produced and shaped, and how they are ideologically influenced by underlying power dynamics.

Fairclough and Wodak summarized the main tenets of CDA as follows:

- 1) CAD addresses social problems;
- 2) power relations are discursive;
- 3) discourse constitutes society and culture;
- 4) discourse does ideological work;

- 5) discourse is historical;
- 6) the link between text and society is mediated;
- 7) discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory;
- 8) discourse is a form of social action (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997).

It also draws specific attention to Norman Fairclough's three-dimensional model. According to Muhannad Alasiri, text analysis involves three distinct phases. The first phase concentrates on the text itself, analyzing its structure, form, and features to provide a detailed description of its characteristics. The second phase, called processing analysis, is interpretive and focuses on discourse practices. It involves examining the context in which the text is created and received, exploring how it is interpreted by audiences within that context. The third phase connects the text to wider social practices, explaining how both the text and the associated discourse practices reflect and shape broader societal processes. This final phase emphasizes the exploration of power dynamics and sociocultural contexts through the text's production and interpretation (Alasiri, 2024).

Pragmatics refers to the study of how context influences the interpretation and meaning of language within a literary text. It examines how language is utilized to convey someone's intended meaning in specific contexts, especially when the literal words might seem to suggest a different meaning (Austin, 1975). Pragmatic analysis aims to uncover what is implied rather than directly stated and how spoken words can be understood within specific situational contexts (2021). Pragmatics was investigated by many researchers, such as J.L. Austin, "How to Do Things with Words" (1962); John Searle, "Speech Acts" (1969); H.P. Grice, "Logic and Conversation" (1975); Dan Sperber and Deirdre Wilson, "Relevance: Communication and Cognition" (1986); Stephen C. Levinson, "Pragmatics" (1983); George Yule, "Pragmatics" (1996). On social media, where messages are typically brief and quick, the role of pragmatics is especially important. Users depend on various linguistic tools, such as politeness, implied meanings, and contextual hints to express their intentions clearly and understand the communications of others (Kamsinah, Natsir & Aliah, 2024).

Content Analysis (CA) is a research method used to interpret the often unstructured content of communication such as texts, images, symbols, or audio by uncovering underlying meaning (Gheyle & Jacobs, 2017). While many other methods also examine textual and message content, like conversation analysis, rhetorical analysis, or discourse analysis, content analysis is unique in several ways. One widely cited definition describes it as “a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the contexts of their use” (Krippendorff, 2004). This highlights its inferential nature, where meaning is derived through inductive, deductive, or abductive reasoning based on selected samples and premises (Gheyle & Jacobs, 2017). Content analysis has been explored by Klaus Krippendorff, “Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology” (2004, 3rd ed. 2013); Bernard Berelson, “Content Analysis in Communication Research” (1952); Ole R. Holsti, “Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities” (1969); Kimberly A. Neuendorf, “The Content Analysis Guidebook” (2002, updated in 2017).

Last but not least, quantitative analysis consists of the key components, such as formulating hypotheses, selecting a data sample, and establishing a clearly defined coding framework in advance. It follows a deductive methodology, where categories are predetermined and precise coding guidelines are created to ensure consistent classification. Once the data is coded, statistical methods are applied not only to interpret the findings but also to assess their reliability and validity (Gheyle & Jacobs, 2017). This approach primarily focuses on measurable and quantifiable data, typically used to explain phenomena by identifying relationships between them. It emphasizes outcomes, often involves representative samples, and allows for generalization of the results to a larger population. Additionally, it can handle a large number of cases and relies on statistical analysis and numerical data (Cárdenas, 2019).

To summarise, this study adopts a qualitative approach using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as the main framework to examine how language, ideology, and power are embedded in media discourse. CDA emphasizes the relationship between discourse and social structures, viewing media texts as arenas of ideological struggle. Pragmatic

analysis is also considered, focusing on how context shapes meaning, especially in social media interactions where implied meanings and politeness strategies are vital. Content Analysis (CA) is used to systematically interpret communication content, and Quantitative Analysis is applied for measurable data, allowing statistical evaluation, generalizability, and the identification of relationships between phenomena.

CONCLUSION TO CHAPTER 1

The theoretical part of the thesis focuses on the interdisciplinary intersection of media linguistics, discourse analysis, sociolinguistics, and communication theory, underlined by socio-cultural perspectives. Media linguistics has emerged due to the shift of communication patterns, the development of technological advancements, expanding from traditional mass media analysis to the complex phenomena of digital and multimodal communication. At the center of the concept, there is the denial of the notion that media language as a neutral channel, instead it is viewed as an ideologically charged medium of information that constructs and shapes social realities, reinforces societal norms, shapes people's perception of various events through specifically chosen linguistic and structural tools.

Central to this framework is the concept of media discourse, built around institutional, contextual, and ideological dynamics. Within its functions, the main one is not simply to inform readers of particular news, but to perform power, construct symbolic representations that remediate political and social meaning. This aligns with the theoretical traditions of critical discourse analysis (CDA), mainly the works of famous researchers such as Fairclough, van Dijk, Wodak, and Foucault, whose main focus was to emphasize the role of discourse in the reproduction of power, ideology, and social inequality.

The thesis also conceptualizes the interaction between political and media discourse as a dynamic and reciprocal process, where political narratives are shaped,

amplified, and often reinterpreted through the lens of media language. Rather than viewing them as separate domains, the study highlights how media discourse not only transmits political messages but actively co-constructs them, influencing public perception, agenda-setting, and ideological alignment. This interaction gives rise to what is referred to as “symbolic politics”, which means a mediated representation of political events in which language functions simultaneously as a tool of communication and a mechanism of influence, requiring analytical approaches that consider both linguistic structures and sociopolitical impact.

The framework incorporates media framing theory, particularly Goffman’s and Scheufele’s models, to examine how selective linguistic emphasis in news reporting shapes public interpretation of political events. This reinforces the argument that language in media is not passive but constitutive, actively participating in the discursive construction of reality and the reproduction of dominant and ruling power structures.

This study employs a qualitative methodology, primarily grounded in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), to explore the ways in which language, ideology, and power operate within media discourse. It highlights the interplay between discourse and broader social structures, positioning media texts as sites of ideological negotiation. The study also incorporates pragmatic analysis to understand how meaning is shaped by context, particularly in social media where indirect language and politeness play key roles. Complementing this, Content Analysis (CA) provides a structured approach to interpreting communication, while Quantitative Analysis supports the investigation with measurable data, enabling statistical interpretation, broad applicability, and insights into the relationships among variables.

2. LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF THE PRESENTATION OF POLITICAL EVENTS IN BRITISH AND AMERICAN PRESS (2022-2025)

2.1. The Effect of Headlines on Reader's Perception

In today's era of rapid information flow and widespread global instability, individuals increasingly turn to multiple trusted sources to stay informed about critical developments and to form their own opinions on current events. The media plays an unprecedentedly vital role in this process, acting as a conduit between raw information and public understanding. However, the way news is framed significantly shapes public perception, with headlines, often the first point of contact, playing a particularly powerful role in setting the tone and guiding interpretation of an entire article. This influence becomes especially pronounced in the reporting of geopolitical conflicts, where the presentation of information may reveal underlying ideological leanings, reflect national priorities, or support broader political narratives. Additionally, such framing often involves the subtle use of language to manipulate or distort reality.

A particularly revealing example of this dynamic is the media coverage of Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine. This conflict highlights how global media can influence international perspectives on Ukraine, its legitimacy, and its geopolitical standing, potentially even shaping real-world outcomes. The framing employed by prominent media outlets, especially those based in the United Kingdom and the United States is especially significant. Their portrayals offer insights into how Ukraine's image is constructed and perceived on the global stage.

In this research, we study written materials, namely newspaper articles from leading **British** (*The Times, The Economist, The Guardian*) and **American** (*The New York Times, Politico, The Wall Street Journal*) national publishing houses based on the case in point which is the Russian invasion of Ukraine, as it serves as a striking example of how the media can shape global perceptions and opinions of Ukraine and its position on the international arena, and sometimes even decide the future. The way well-known

publishing houses frame their coverage is of paramount importance, as it shows how the image of Ukraine is perceived on the world stage. Having studied all the materials gathered, a total of **657** articles were selected, ensuring a balanced approach in political orientation and coverage of events related to the Russian invasion of Ukraine selecting headlines, lead paragraphs, and body content that specifically address political framing and commentary.

Articles and the most prominent headlines were gathered from materials covering major political events highlighting Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine. The sample includes 657 analysed headlines from each national context, focusing on the most urgent political stories published during 2022–2025.

First of all, the type of sentences plays a crucial role. Having studied all the materials gathered, it must be concluded that the number of analyzed British and American articles include:

- 620 declarative sentences (both positive and negative);
- 37 interrogative sentences;
- 19 imperative sentences;
- 1 exclamatory sentence.

Therefore, the majority of declarative sentences (620 examples) serve a primary function to inform and state facts. For instance, such headlines as *“Russia invades Ukraine: A dark day for Europe”* (The Times, 2022), *“The war in Ukraine is not ‘a picnic’”* (Politico, 2022), *“Ukraine has one million ready for fightback to recapture south”* (The Times, 2022), *“World War III is already underway. In Ukraine.”* (Politico, 2024), *“Time for a rethink: Helping Ukraine win a long war”* (The Economist, 2023), *“Freedom’s Price”* (The Times, 2025) bring readers’ attention to the most vital events happening in the world.

37 interrogative sentences in headlines serve to capture readers' attention and spark their curiosity. Questions are often employed to highlight ambiguity, express doubt, or signal the need for further explanation, especially in contexts marked by incomplete information or ongoing developments, such as conflicts or crises. *“What*

next after Ukraine's shock invasion of Russia?" (The Economist, 2024), *"How many Ukrainian soldiers have died?"* (The Economist, 2024), *"What happens if Ukraine loses?"* (The Economist, 2024), *"Has Support for Ukraine Peaked? Some Fear So."* (The New York Times, 2023), *"Will Europe send troops to postwar Ukraine?"* (Politico, 2025).

19 imperative sentences were identified among the headlines analyzed; these are primarily used to issue commands, prompt action, provoke specific responses, or highlight urgent situations. Such functions are realized through the use of the imperative mood of the verbs, aiming to provoke immediacy, emotional engagement, or political urgency. For instance: *"'Keep an alarm suitcase ready': Scenes from a Kyiv facing Russian invasion!"* (Politico, 2022); *"'Free world needs a new leader': Europe defends Zelenskyy after Trump attack"* (Politico, 2025); *"Give Ukraine fighter jets to counter Putin's drone war, West urged"* (The Times, 2022); and *"Stay neutral on Ukraine must come at a cost"* (The Times, 2022).

Only one example out of the 657 headlines analyzed is presented in the form of an exclamatory sentence. *"Dispatch from Ukraine's front lines: Here, casualties have faces Time for Ukraine to talk to Russia? 'Nuts!'"* (Politico, 2022). It demonstrates a rare use of emotional emphasis, which helps preserve a tone of professionalism and impartiality, and minimizes the use of emotive language that influences the reader's perception and latest shapes the opinion.

Modality is another important linguistic device frequently employed in headlines to convey the author's intended message, shaped by the degree and nature of their choices. It plays a key role in expressing tone and meaning, as it reflects the level of certainty, obligation, or possibility through the use of modal verbs (e.g., must, may, can, could, should, will, might) and other linguistic markers (e.g., adverbs like probably, certainly or adjectives like likely, possible). There are three distinguished groups of modal verbs - modal auxiliaries of **high modality** (*must, ought to, shall, have to*), **medium modality** (*will, should, can, need to*) and **low modality** (*may, might, could, would*) as well as **epistemic adverbs** (*probably, possibly, clearly, obviously,*

presumably, evidently, apparently, supposedly, conceivably, undoubtedly, allegedly, reportedly, arguably, unquestionably, seemingly, certainly) (Wierzbicka, 2006). Such modality and epistemic adverbs are illustrated in some prominent examples of the analysed headlines:

1. **High modality** generates assertive, authoritative headlines that convey confidence and a sense of certainty. Verbs with high modality help drive the narrative forward and emphasize a specific viewpoint. “*Staying neutral on Ukraine must come at a cost*” (The Times, 2022), “*Ukraine must take the risks. All Russia needs to do is not lose*”(The Times, 2023), “*The war is going badly. Ukraine and its allies must change course.*”(The Economist, 2024) are examples where high modality is achieved through the use of modal constructions with *must*, which highlight strong obligation and urgency, reinforcing the authors’ firm position on the issues discussed. *Must* is the most frequently used high-modality verb in the dataset, in contrast to other strong modals such as *ought to*, *shall*, or *have to*, which appear only sporadically or not at all in the analyzed headlines. This prevalence underscores the preference for direct and forceful language in media discourse around the war.

2. **Medium modality** leaves room for nuance and clarification and occupies the middle ground between certainty and uncertainty. It strikes a balance between authority and flexibility and, moreover, suggests likelihood without making absolute claims. “*Ukraine will not accept results of any US-Russia talks held without them, Zelenskyy says*” (The Guardian, 2025) - *will* expresses a firm but not unqualified attitude toward a future action. The use of *will* does not indicate a likely and deliberate attitude, typical of medium modality, it is not extreme in assertion but conveys intention. “*We should not be saving Putin’s face*” (The Times, 2022) - *should not* suggests a recommendation, not a command. This stance is particularly prominent for medium modality, as it offers a strong position while still allowing room for alternative views, “*Zelenskyy says Ukrainian territory should be under ‘Nato umbrella’ to stop war*” (The Guardian, 2024) - *should* indicates a proposal or preferred course of action, without asserting it as inevitable. It balances assertiveness with openness, “*Hope and*

*scepticism in Ukraine as Zelenskyy says Trump can bring about ‘just peace’” (The Guardian, 2025) - can expresses possibility and it reflects potential without guaranteeing outcomes, which is a characteristic of medium modality, “Europe Can’t Make Ukraine Enough Weapons — So It’s Paying Kyiv to Do It” (Wall Street Journal, 2024)- *Can’t* here shows a limitation and lack of ability. It conveys a realistic assessment rather than an absolute denial, making it a medium-strength claim rather than a categorical one.*

3. **Low modality** conveys uncertainty or speculation, allowing for ambiguity and minimizing the writer's sense of responsibility. “The Ukrainian air battle has begun: it may decide the entire war” (The Times, 2024), “Trump tried to extort Zelenskyy and was impeached – now he may succeed” (The Guardian, 2025), “Ukraine Has a Window to Strike Within Russia, but Trump May Close It” (The New York Times, 2024). In these examples, *may* indicates possibility, leaves open the outcome, reflecting speculation or cautious prediction, classic example of medium modality; it reflects uncertainty but conveys the seriousness of the potential action. “Why Russia’s War in Ukraine Could Run for Years” (The Wall Street Journal, 2023), “Fighting in Ukraine could wind down in 2025” (The Economist, 2024). In these headlines, *could* suggests a future possibility, signals hope or possibility, but not a guaranteed outcome, it opens the door to long-term conflict without stating it definitively, and reflects a tentative forecast. “Zelenskyy says he would ‘quit for peace’ as he refuses US demand for Ukraine minerals” (The Guardian, 2025), “‘You would think it’s a safe place’: A nurse recounts an attack on a Mariupol hospital.” (The New York Times, 2022). *Would* is a hypothetical willingness dependent on peace being achieved.

There are some headlines with **epistemic adverbs** which work as one of the significant indicators of modality. It can be explained by the fact that headlines must be short and catchy to attract reader’s eyes, and epistemic adverbs add length or reduce impact, weakening the immediacy of the titles. Publishing houses aim to create them to be as engaging as possible, often using only a few carefully chosen words or phrases to capture the reader’s attention. When users browse online content, headlines alone

often determine whether they choose to read a particular article. On average, effective headlines contain no more than 12 words. Given this limitation, authors must possess strong writing skills to convey information in a compelling way. They do so by varying their language, using creative sentence structures, deliberate word choices, and numerical data to keep reader interest and avoid monotony. (Wiredu, 2012). Nonetheless, a few outstanding examples must be outlined: “*Two Russian jets and two helicopters reportedly shot down – as it happened*” (The Guardian, 2023) - the epistemic adverb *reportedly* indicates that the information is not confirmed by the source itself but was reported by others. It gives the readers uncertainty or a lack of direct evidence that highlights a tone of journalistic caution and detachment. The epistemic adverb *unlikely* is used the most number of times in such examples as “*Ukraine’s War Efforts Gain an Unlikely Source of Funding: Memes*” (The New York Times, 2022), “*Zelensky Says Ukraine Unlikely to Survive Its War Without U.S. Support*” (The New York Times, 2025), “*Trump Is Unlikely to Abandon Ukraine — and Might Dangerously Escalate the War*” (The Wall Street Journal, 2024). It signals a low level of certainty or even pessimism about Ukraine’s future, supporting the low probability and a hedged certainty. Even seemingly neutral words like “reportedly” or “allegedly” are used strategically to distance the journalist from the statement or to signal lack of verification.

Another key feature used to attract readers’ attention is the inclusion of **numerical data**. Statistics have become a pervasive part of everyday life, subtly shaping how people perceive the world and make decisions, often without even realizing it. Nearly every crucial aspect of modern life is quantified in some form: from the quality of our environment and the severity of health conditions, to the performance of a favorite football player, the estimated value of a property, the state of the social care system, the health of the economy, and even the credentials of political leaders we consider voting for. In short, statistics influence how we understand and interact with the world around us (Nguyen & Lugo-Ocando, 2015). Numerals in news headlines enhance their credibility, clarity, and urgency, often making them more persuasive and

attention-grabbing. Statistical evidence indicates that a significant share of headlines includes some form of numerical or quantitative detail. An experimental study on news interpretation found that readers are more likely to perceive a story as credible when it includes specific numbers rather than vague quantifiers like *many*. Furthermore, the presence of multiple figures tends to increase the perceived trustworthiness of the report (Koetsenruijter, 2011). This effect has its roots due to widespread assumptions that quantification is inherently objective (McConway, 2015). Within the headline corpus under analysis, 62 headlines were found to include numerical data, accounting for approximately 9% of the total 657 headlines. Based on the varying purposes for incorporating numerical information, several key criteria can be identified as most prominent.

Using round numbers helps make information easier for readers to process, enhancing clarity, impact, and memorability. For instance, “*Ukraine has one million ready for fightback to recapture south*” (The Times, 2022) mentions the number “*one million*” which immediately conveys a sense of vast scale and strength which shapes the perception that Ukraine has substantial military force and amplifies the large scale of mobilization effort.

When numerical data is presented not in words but in numbers it is perceived differently, as it creates an overwhelming figure when it comes to a large number. For instance, “*Ukraine war casualties ‘near 500,000’*” (The Times, 2023) the number *500,000* is perceived as being a terrible figure that ensures fear and panic, as readers often instinctively compare such figures to the population of a country or a specific city, this helps them grasp the scale and significance more effectively. Round numbers often evoke a stronger emotional response than precise figures like 487,256. From another perspective, although some headlines present numerical data using digits, they do not necessarily create a sense of fear; instead, they can inspire optimism or even encouragement in readers. For example, “*Ukraine has recaptured 6,000 sq km in counteroffensive, says Zelenskiy.*” (The Guardian, 2022). In contrast to the previous headlines, this one conveys a sense of triumph and strategic achievement.

Precise numbers tend to convey a sense of specificity and authority, making the data appear more accurate, reliable, and deliberately calculated. As a result, readers are more likely to interpret them as confirmed or verified statistics rather than rough estimates. “*31,000 Ukrainian soldiers killed since Russia invaded, Zelenskiy says – as it happened*” (The Guardian, 2024). A headline featuring a strikingly high number is often perceived as a credible estimate. Unlike broad, impersonal war statistics, small and specific figures linked to a particular attack in a Ukrainian city tend to draw readers in, prompting greater emotional engagement and interest in the details: “*Russian attack in Ukrainian city of Poltava kills at least 50 people*” (The Guardian, 2024). This headline brings a sense of immediacy and emotional intensity, prompting readers to engage more deeply with the reality of the event.

In short, this section explores how 657 linguistic cues in top British and American newspapers build public opinion regarding Russia's invasion of Ukraine. Most headlines consist of declarative statements (94%), give facts, and highlight urgency, while interrogatives (5%) arouse interest, and imperatives (3%) call people to action. There was only one exclamatory sentence (0,15%), which showed exceptional emotional stress. Modality plays a crucial role and is divided into three types: high: conveys strong obligation, medium: makes recommendations, low modality: expresses uncertainty or speculation. Epistemic adverbs, like reportedly and unlikely, are employed less often due to the necessity for brevity but help to signal cautious or tentative tone. Numerical data is found in 62 headlines (9%), with rounded numbers evoking scale, and specific numbers conferring credibility and emotional appeal. All these mentioned linguistic tools decide how the conflict is presented and understood by global audiences.

2.2. Evaluative Means in Media Narrative

Narratives are a primary way by which people interpret, portray, represent, and share life experiences. Evaluation within narratives plays key roles, it shapes communication, helps express and interpret emotions, guides how individuals identify and track personal and social concerns, and relies on basic assumptions about rational thinking when weighing possible risks or advantages (Özyürek & Trabasso, 1997). Thompson and Hunston define this phenomena as a general term that encompasses how a speaker or writer conveys their attitude, perspective, or emotional response toward the subjects or statements they are discussing (Bednarek, 2006).

Evaluative language in media narratives is realized through a variety of lexical and grammatical tools that subtly convey the stance, attitude, and ideology of the speaker or writer, as they are essential in shaping how the audience interprets events, characters, and actions in the news and other media formats. One key set of tools involves evaluative lexis, such as adjectives, adverbs and verbs that carry implicit stance or affective meaning. These lexical items convey judgment, emotional response, or appreciation, contributing to the overall evaluative stance of the text. The selection of specific lexical items can mark a text as approving, critical, or emotionally charged, even when presented in an ostensibly objective tone (Bednarek, 2006; Martin & White, 2005).

Evaluation in media discourse can be conveyed through both explicit and implicit means, each serving distinct rhetorical and ideological functions. First of all, explicit evaluation refers to the direct expression of attitudes, judgments, or emotions through clearly marked evaluative language. This includes overtly positive or negative adjectives, evaluative verbs, or adverbs that clearly indicate the writer's or speaker's stance. In such cases, the evaluation is linguistically transparent, leaving little ambiguity about the affective or judgmental position being conveyed (Martin & White, 2005; Bednarek, 2006).

Explicit evaluation is prominent in all articles, where direct judgments and clear stances highlight key perspectives on the conflict. For example, in the analysed

articles there are such examples “*Doing so isn’t a gift to Ukraine. It’s a necessity for the whole democratic world.*” (Politico, 2023) - this straightforward declaration underscores the urgency and **importance** of continued aid; “*strategic mistakes*”, “*waging wars and occupying other countries*” (Politico, 2023) - directly attributing **aggression** and imperialism to Moscow. NATO’s hesitations are also explicitly judged as problematic, with terms such as “*de facto veto*” signaling obstructive behavior; “*great compassion*” (Politico, 2023) - which openly praise human kindness and emotional **solidarity** despite the war’s hardships; “*A nation that did not cry, scream or take fright. One that did not flee. Did not give up. And did not forget.*” (Guardian, 2022) - this statement openly celebrates Ukrainian **strength**; “*dire,*” “*worsened significantly,*” and “*serious problem*” (The New York Times, 2024) - the phrases leave no doubt about the severity of Ukraine’s situation. **Criticism** of aid delays is direct: “*delays in American assistance are deepening the challenges.*”. These explicit evaluations serve to clearly position the authors’ viewpoints, emphasizing the urgency of support for Ukraine, condemning Russian aggression, highlighting human resilience and compassion amid war, and underlining the severe challenges faced by Ukraine’s military forces. They create a strong, unequivocal narrative that guides readers toward a sympathetic and urgent understanding of the conflict.

In contrast, implicit evaluation involves more subtle or indirect ways of conveying stance. It is often realized through *metaphor*, *presupposition*, *lexical connotation*, or *narrative structure*. Rather than stating an opinion directly, the media may imply it through the choice of what information to include or omit, the order of presentation, or the use of seemingly neutral language that carries evaluative undertones (Thompson & Hunston, 2000; van Dijk, 1998). Implicit evaluation is especially powerful because it can pass as objective or factual, while still influencing the audience's interpretation.

Implicit evaluation runs throughout the articles, shaping interpretation through nuanced linguistic choices without overt statements. In the analysed articles, the following examples must be outlined: “*Western governments need to change tack to*

stop this war grinding on for another year” (Politico, 2023) - implies **dissatisfaction** with current policies while avoiding outright condemnation. The verb “*grinding on*” evokes fatigue and stagnation, influencing reader perception subtly. Ukraine was described as “*an asset*” rather than a “*burden*” (Politico, 2023), implicitly challenging negative stereotypes about the country and encouraging readers to see Ukraine’s positive strategic role without explicitly stating it.

In the next example, “*And although these animals have already been betrayed, left behind and deserted, they nevertheless seek human company — as well as food.*” (Politico, 2023), animals were described as “*betrayed*” and “*deserted*”, which implies **criticism** of war’s cruelty, while their seeking “*human company*” suggests resilience and hope (Politico, 2023). Phrases like “*deepened sense of foreboding*” and “*little hope that an end to the fighting is in sight*” (Guardian, 2022) convey **anxiety** and **pessimism** implicitly, while presenting official statements with a tone of skepticism that invites the reader to question their sincerity. These examples demonstrate how implicit evaluation subtly guides readers’ understanding and emotional responses without direct judgments. By relying on carefully chosen language and suggestive phrasing, the articles encourage reflection on the complexities of the conflict, the resilience of those affected, and the shortcomings of current policies, all while maintaining a tone that invites critical engagement rather than overt persuasion.

Adjectives and adverbs in analysed articles play a key role in intensifying or softening evaluations. The use of “*full-scale*” and “*multi-pronged*” (Politico, 2023) is done to describe Russian aggression as severe and multifaceted, while adverbs such as “*understandably*” in “*understandably wary*” soften judgments about investor caution (Politico, 2023). Moreover, such an adjective as “*record-high*” positively emphasizes Ukraine’s progress and NATO’s potential, while “*sluggish*” criticizes Russia’s military efforts (Politico, 2023). Adverbs such as “*voluntarily*” and “*rapidly*” subtly commend Ukraine’s reform efforts (Politico, 2023). Examples of “*sombre*,” “*brutal*,” and “*terrible*” (Politico, 2023) the war’s harsh realities, while “*decisive*” and

“*international*” carry positive connotations of solidarity and military success. Adverbs like “*constantly*” and “*especially*” add urgency and emphasis.

Metaphorical language is another significant resource. It allows abstract concepts or complex social issues to be expressed through more familiar, emotionally resonant terms, reinforcing particular evaluative positions and framing public understanding of events. Metaphors are often ideologically loaded and contribute to the construction of particular worldviews (Charteris-Black, 2004).

Metaphorical language further reinforces evaluative framing. The comparison of the EU to an “*arsenal for democracy*” evokes historical resonance with World War II, linking Ukraine’s defense to a broader moral and democratic struggle. This metaphor appeals to shared cultural narratives and strengthens the ideological appeal of the article. The metaphor of Ukraine as “*an asset*” shielding the Alliance from “*the most significant direct threat*” (Politico, 2023) frames Ukraine as a protective buffer, reinforcing its strategic importance. The metaphorical use of “*reprieve,*” “*hope,*” and “*psychologists*” (Politico, 2023) to describe animals, illustrate the emotional support role of animals for soldiers, “*preserve some love in our souls*” poetically conveying how caring for animals sustains humanity amid war. Zelenskiy’s also uses metaphor of Ukraine being “*reborn*” (Guardian, 2022) rather than “*born,*” symbolizing national renewal through suffering. The phrase “*our skies remain blue*” (Guardian, 2022) metaphorically represents peace and safety, emphasizing what is at stake. Last but not least, such a metaphor as “*Shell Hunger*” (The New York Times, 2024) personifies ammunition shortages as a desperate need; “*the burden will fall on the infantry*” (The New York Times, 2024) emphasizes frontline sacrifice.

In conclusion, evaluation functions in media narratives as a crucial tool to emphasize the pivotal role of evaluative language in shaping audience interpretation and emotional engagement. It distinguishes between explicit evaluation, being direct, clear expressions of judgment or emotion, and implicit evaluation, which uses subtle linguistic choices, such as connotation, presupposition, and metaphor, to influence readers more indirectly. Explicit evaluation in the analysed articles includes overt

statements highlighting urgency, condemnation, and human resilience, while implicit evaluation operates through nuanced phrasing that invites reflection without overt persuasion. The use of adjectives and adverbs intensifies or softens these evaluations, balancing critique and praise. Metaphorical language further enriches the narratives by framing complex realities in emotionally resonant terms, reinforcing ideological positions and shared cultural meanings. Together, these evaluative strategies construct compelling media portrayals that engage readers critically and emotionally with the multifaceted dimensions of the conflict.

2.3. Speech Acts

Speaking a language involves carrying out various speech acts, such as making statements, issuing commands, asking questions, offering comments, making requests, and more abstractly, referring and predicating. These acts are generally enabled and governed by specific rules that dictate how linguistic elements are used. The focus on studying speech acts arises from a fundamental insight: all verbal communication consists of such acts. Therefore, the true unit of linguistic communication is not the symbol, word, or sentence in isolation, but rather its use in performing a speech act that represents the fundamental building blocks of linguistic communication. The theory of speech acts was first introduced by J.L. in his book *How to Do Things with Words* (1962). He stated that when we speak, we're not just saying things, we're doing things (like promising, warning, declaring). Later, John Searle expanded and refined this theory in works such as: *Speech Acts: An Essay in the Philosophy of Language* (1969), *Expression and Meaning* (1979). The researcher proposed a widely accepted taxonomy of five types of illocutionary acts: there are five broad functions of language, known as categories of illocutionary acts. We use language to describe reality (assertives), to influence others' actions (directives), to make commitments (commissives), to convey our emotions or attitudes (expressives), and to create real-world changes through speech (declarations) (Searle, 1979).

First of all, **assertives** function as statements of belief or evaluation, often presented as facts. They also offer descriptions and interpretations, make judgements and evaluations. Their main function is to convey information that the author wants the audience to accept as true, valid, or authoritative.

Based on the analysed articles, various focus areas can be outlined to make a research of **assertives**. The first area is focused on military situations and strategic decisions, as this type is aimed at battlefield realities, logistics, and strategic shifts. The most prominent examples include: *“Ukraine has liberated less than 0.25% of the territory that Russia occupied in June.”* (The Economist, 2023) - it presents specific and concrete evidence of limited success in the counteroffensive. *“Ukraine is not yet ready; nor are its Western partners.”* (The Economist, 2023) - gives readers the understanding of not being ready for massive actions, and hints at systematic shortcomings. The second area is political and diplomatic developments focused on diplomatic meetings, political maneuvers, and leadership dynamics. *“By the time the Ukrainian president left, [the relationship] was shattered.”* (The Economist, 2025) - outlines breakdown of US-Ukraine relations. *“Trump had just falsely accused Zelensky of starting the war with Russia...”* (The Economist, 2025) - this assertive corrects a falsehood and brings the truth. *“A scheduled press conference was cancelled...”* (The Economist, 2025) - reports a diplomatic outcome. The third area is etic, moral and evaluative judgments, as this type of illocutionary act functions to highlight significant statements about justice, hypocrisy, and responsibility. *“You cannot be neutral in a war as asymmetrical, aggressive and repulsive as this one.”* (The Times, 2022)- stands for moral criticism of a neutral position in the war. *“This conflict is such an obvious case of right and wrong...”* (The Times, 2022)- similarly to the previous example, this one leaves no room for neutrality, frames Ukraine’s cause as morally clear. As for the fourth area, it is historical and factual foundations; their main function is to assert particular data connected with dates, actions, and figures. *“On February 24, 2022, Russia launched a full-scale invasion of Ukraine.”* (The Times, 2022) - represents a key historical fact. *“Thousands of civilians have been killed... Ukraine has*

acknowledged 9,000 military deaths...” (The New York Times, 2023)- outlines statistics of war casualties. The fifth area is directed at personal and emotional impact, since these assertives reveal the human cost and emotional impact of the war. *“In September, the conflict reached my family in an unexpected way.”* (The New York Times, 2024) - assertive that describes personal trauma, outlining emotional outcomes. *“Physically, I was in Poltava, but my thoughts were in Lviv.”* (The New York Times, 2024) - describes internal conflict of war survivors and depicts internal conflict between physical presence at one site but psychological attachment to the place of personal loss.

The second category of illocutionary acts is **directives**. The main job of them is to instruct the listener to do something. They are the expression of the speaker's wishes, desires, or intentions and are intended to alter the behavior of the listener. In contrast to assertives, which are about stating facts or opinions, directives are about action.

In the analysed articles, the following categories of directives can be outlined. First of all, there are examples of clear forms of commands and demands that are intended for policymakers in NATO, the UK, the US, or the EU. As the topic of the Russian-Ukrainian war is on top of various publishing houses, strongest calls to actions frequently appear across editorials. A case in point includes *“Britain must think again about the millions we give them in foreign aid.”* (The Times, 2022) - pushes for decisive military, economic, or diplomatic actions with an authoritative tone. *“A ring-fenced warfighting fund will be needed — hardly an attractive prospect in an election year when domestic priorities loom.”* (the Times, 2023) - assertive imperative that is framed through public pressure as being moral and strategic necessity.

The next category is coercive and even manipulative **directives**, which are often used by influential politicians in order to express their more powerful position, exert dominance and even show a shift in attitude towards Ukraine. For example, *“Zelensky was almost shuffled out of the building, Apprentice style, and told he was not welcome back until he was ready to talk peace.”* (The Times, 2025) - enforced

command framed through political leverage. *“The Ukrainian leader was at the White House on sufferance: to sign over Ukraine’s mineral wealth, not to demand security guarantees.”* (The Times, 2025) - this sentence has implied economic subjugation, highlighting how power is expressed through speech often in a manipulative and intentional manner. Furthermore, directives are used to express strategic recommendations. *“They need to rethink Ukraine’s military strategy and how its economy is run.”* (The Economist, 2023) - used to urge the Western partners to rethink military, political, or economic strategy. *“We need a longer-term cohesive and sustainable strategy to replace the current step-by-step approach.”* (Politico, 2023) - shapes the idea of thinking reorientation, changing Western and Ukrainian planning frameworks. Moreover, directives include direct appeals from Ukrainian officials that express pleadings for help, weapons, support, and quicker reactions to urgent situations. For instance, *“Give us the tools, we will finish the job”* (The Times, 2022) - a worldwide famous Winston Churchill’s plea is quoted here to urge the West to provide more aid. *“Each day we’re waiting for howitzers, we can lose a hundred soldiers.”* (The Times, 2022) - this example aligns urgency with moral duty, humanizing Ukraine’s need. The last category of directives is framed as warnings in a very cautious and preventative way. Their main function is to inform people about urgent alerts with the use of consequences and risk to direct behavior or decision-making. *“This must not happen.”* (The Times, 2023) - this sentence is aimed at preventing aid withdrawal. It functions as an indirect directive that outlines detrimental consequences if certain actions are not taken. *“We will rightly be cast as ineffectual and weak.”* (The Times, 2022) - expresses warnings of reputational damage if the countries do not act together. This statement with advice or calls to action is embedded in warnings or consequence framing.

As for the other category of speech acts, it is **commissives**. They are frequently used to commit the speakers to doing particular actions in the future with the help of promises, offers, threats, refusals, vows, guarantees, or intentions. Based on the materials gathered, commissives are categorised according to the kind (political,

military, diplomatic, institutional) and the person who makes a specific promise or commitment. First of all, the topic of the Russia-Ukraine war is full of examples of political commissives declared by leaders. The most prominent examples include: Volodymyr Zelensky: *“We will never accept just a ceasefire.”* (The Economist, 2025) - expresses strong and firm national commitment to go ahead with war conditions until full peace agreements are met. *“He pledged to keep fighting until Ukraine had recaptured annexed Crimea and occupied areas in the east.”* (The Guardian, 2022) - outlines clear strategic pledge to restore the total territorial Ukraine. Donald Trump: *“I think I have the power to end this war, and I think it’s going very well,”* (The Guardian, 2025) - the example of a personal promise of resolution to achieving peace. Joe Biden: *“Biden announced a further \$3bn in military aid...”* (The Guardian, 2022) - concrete commitment of U.S. ongoing military support. Boris Johnson: *“Ukraine ‘can and will win the war.’”* (The Guardian, 2022) -strong rhetorical promise of belief and support. The next category outlines military and strategic commissives based on the speeches from ministers, institutions, and NATO partners. Oleksii Reznikov (Ukraine’s ex Defence Minister): *“Tell me what you need to defend our country better, I will try to find it, I will try to persuade our partners to give us these things.”* (The Times, 2022) - strong personal commitment to guaranteeing the closure of the necessary military resources and needs. Western Allies / NATO: *“Partners have promised a web of bilateral security guarantees.”* (The Economist, 2023) - the highlight of formal military-diplomatic commitment. *“New production is needed to meet Ukraine’s appetite for materiel.”* (The Times, 2023) - carries the idea of industrial-military promise. Furthermore, many instances encompass implied and strategic commissives, specifically about threats, conditions, or anticipated shifts. Some instances from the U.S. and Trump Administration: *“Trump... willing to crush his critics.”* (The Times, 2025) - intentional domination over the other world leaders, prioritising punishment or domination over negotiation. The Economist Editorial Voice: *“A moment to show we are committed to Ukraine for as long as it takes.”* (Politico, 2023) - implies a moral promise of a long-term commitment to supporting Ukraine, no matter how long the

war

lasts.

Speaking about the next group of speech acts, it is **expressives** that have the main purposes to reveal or evoke emotions, attitudes, or values, convey feelings, judgments, or evaluations. They express the speaker's subjective emotional attitude toward a particular situation. They do not merely describe the world, but show how the speaker feels about it. Based on the gathered articles, the most prominent expressive examples must be outlined, organized by emotion or evaluative type. Firstly, there are many situations of expressing moral outrage and condemnation - their expressive tone highlights injustice, betrayal, or failure in morals, often in cases of war crimes, political neutrality, or leadership decisions. *"The Russian army is an army of rapists, looters and murderers."* (The Times, 2022) - moral fury at Russian actions that convey emotions, especially in relation to justice and war crimes. *"Sounds like Trump bought Putin's propaganda hook, line, and sinker."* (The Guardian, 2025) - clear and expressive criticism of Trump's alignment with Russian propaganda. *"Neutrality as an acceptable choice has been crushed under the rubble of Kharkiv and Mariupol."* (The Times, 2022) - emotionally charged metaphor denouncing neutrality that evokes empathetic attitude towards the consequences of the war. Secondly, expressives occupy a large proportion of examples of representing grief, loss, and sufferings. This category is about individual or collective pain and tragedy. *"As I'm speaking to you now I have goosebumps... There's no celebration today."* (The Guardian, 2022) - emotional reaction to Independence Day during war time. *"...they're experiencing a great loss — as if they're mourning a fellow soldier, one they loved dearly."* (Politico, 2023) - Grieving loss of a pet animal, humanizing war. Thirdly, expressives are used to convey sarcasm, irony, and even mockery, as their tone and metaphor express reduction and criticism of behaviour, often implied by Trump's or Russian leaders'. *"What kind of diplomacy, J.D., are you speaking about?"* (The Economist, 2025) - expression of Zelensky's biting irony. *"Trump fired Zelensky like he was a loser on The Apprentice."* (The Times, 2025) - Sarcastic metaphor mocking Trump's theatrics. Moreover, expressives are a very significant tool to show pride, identity, and resilience,

since they are a manifestation of strength, justice, and ideological convictions. *“We’re people of the free world and with a real sense of justice and liberty.”* (The Times, 2022) - highlights national pride and democracy. *“Ukraine is also a democracy with the largest combat-experienced army in Europe.”* (Politico, 2023) - Evaluative national pride in military capacity. *“In normal times, bees buzz around and make honey. But when a bear tries to steal it, they swarm, and sting him.”* (The Economist, 2023) - admiration and allusion of Ukraine’s resilience compared with bees. Another way expressives are implied in the media is their role to show anxiety, urgency and despair to convey a sense of time pressure, survival concerns, or pessimism. *“Victory still seems a long way off.”* (The Economist, 2024) - expressive realism and despair. *“This anniversary isn’t a moment for reflection. It’s a moment for action.”* (Politico, 2023) - expressive sentence of urgency and moral imperative. *“After 18 months of war, Britain’s cupboard is bare.”* (The Times, 2023) - ironic urgency about the limited resources of our partners. *“America is the make-or-break ally.”* (The Times, 2023) - anxious behaviour towards dependency.

The last speech act category encompasses **declarations** that affect the social and institutional reality merely by being pronounced, if spoken by the appropriate person with the necessary authorization and in the right context. According to the type and function, formal, symbolic or moral, rhetoric, psychological or experiential realities can be identified. Formal declarations have institutional and legal impact, carrying official weight and changing diplomatic, legal, or military stances. *“In 2022 Mr Zelensky signed a decree barring Ukrainian officials from negotiating with Russia...”* (The Economist, 2024), *“Joe Biden announced a further \$3bn in military aid...”* (The Guardian, 2022), *“Ukraine has officially become a candidate for EU membership...”* (The Economist, 2023). The mentioned examples carry significant weight in international political relations, military alliances, or legal standing, since they are typically issued by heads of state or governments and convey shifts in policy, alliance, and diplomatic engagement. Furthermore, declarations carry symbolic and moral meanings, powerfully constructing ideological narratives. *“We are sure the anti-*

Kremlin coalition was born.” (The Times, 2022), *“We are defending the eastern wall of the European civilisation and democratic values.”* (The Times, 2022), *“A new nation appeared in the world on 24 February at four in the morning. It was not born, but reborn.”* (The Guardian, 2022) , *“Trust in government and institutions has increased.”* (The Economist, 2023). These assertions locate Ukraine's war in existential, civilizational, or transformative terms, shaping international perception and domestic identity even if not applied by institutions. As for the next significant function of declarations, it is a rhetorical purpose, aimed at re-framing public discourse or informing policy direction often implied in opinion pieces or strategic documents *“If we do not continue to support Ukraine, Ukraine could lose.”* (The New York Times, 2024), *“The EU must be the 'arsenal for democracy' for Ukraine now.”* (Politico, 2023), *“But a strong Ukraine will only emerge if it can successfully rebuild from the devastation of this war...”* (Politico, 2023). Such appeals to action or reframings, while not coming from policymakers, hold real power by reshaping strategic narratives or public opinion. Declarations can be used in psychological and experiential contexts, highlighting announcements of a shift in personal or collective awareness, often on the basis of shared experience. *“The war has reached my doorstep.”* (The New York Times, 2024), *“Even 500 miles from the front, the war can find you when you least expect it.”* (The New York Times, 2024), *“Today, in Ukraine, a man is ready to give his last food to a dog that isn't even his own.”* (Politico, 2023). These declarations redefine emotional or psychological landscapes, amounting to internal turning points in the war's experience and conception and despite the fact that they are not political, they are deeply resonant.

To summarise, a speech act analysis of the Russia-Ukraine war media discourse demonstrates how language is a strong tool for influencing minds and shifting actions. Assertives construct narratives of truth and legitimacy, and directives attempt to persuade and steer action. Commissives convey commitments and promises, expressives convey emotions and solidarity, and declarations actually restructure political and social fact. Together, these acts of speech demonstrate that language in

times of war is not primarily descriptive but rather performative, modeling the war, mobilizing opinion, and building popular perception through purposeful and crafted communication.

2.4. Stylistic Framing of Geopolitical Conflict

Media coverage of the crucial events goes beyond just informing readers of the news - instead, it covers the realm of performative storytelling, persuading people to believe in particular situations. Therefore, the media does not simply describe events, it fills them with specific mood, stances, persuasive language and focuses. This section covers the stylistic framing of the geopolitical conflict performance, highlighting special rhetorical interplay between Volodymyr Zelenskyy, Donald Trump.

Ukraine was anticipated to see progress in the peace talks, to observe a high-stakes diplomatic meeting between Ukrainian and American sides; instead, the world was shaken because of the meeting between Trump and Zelenskyy because it turned out to be a disaster, a global media spectacle to humiliate Ukraine and put on the stage performance making diplomacy die on live TV.

This situation gave much food for thought through media coverage of the world's famous publishing houses. The internet exploded with flashy and eye-catching headlines covering the explosive Trump - Zelenskyy Oval Office meeting. The most noteworthy example, presenting the meeting as dramatic collapse, irreversible detrimental change for Ukraine, breakdown of diplomacy, includes: "*The Trump-Zelenskyy slugfest was shocking. What does Ukraine do now?*" (The Guardian, 2025) - introduces highly emotional conflict highlighted by charged and performative language to intensify the drama: "*It didn't morph into a full-on screaming match, but it came close.*" (The Guardian, 2025). The noun *slugfest* and an idiomatic expression *screaming match*, of an informal mode, breaks down the formal narrative of the article about the diplomatic event. It engages readers with visualising a volatile, televised showdown, turning the diplomatic meeting into political theatre with the sense of

public embarrassment. Moreover, the presence of JD Vance adds critical significance, as he is represented not as an observer of the meeting, rather as an agent provocateur with his provocative and confrontational style: “*Have you ever said thank you?*” (The Guardian, 2025) - a direct assertion of hierarchical power, which adds heat and shows the dishonour of Ukraine. This rhetorical device infantilizes Zelenskyy, putting him in the role of a petulant child scolded for ingratitude, not a wartime president. It’s a moment dripping in imperial arrogance. The article indicates that he tries to gaslight the Ukrainian delegation for not being thankful, as, in fact, according to the CNN statistics, Ukraine’s leader has thanked Americans and the American president for their pivotal support **33** times. Complete disrespect is shown by both Trump and Vance, and while the American President controls the whole “entertaining performance”, Vance’s finger-pointing and interruptions serve as amplifier and enforcer, reducing crucial significance of the war for the whole world to stagecraft. The article also employs such an evaluative idiomatic expression as “*There’s no coming back from this debacle...*” (The Guardian, 2025) which introduces a collapse with strategic and symbolic consequences portrayed as destructive for Ukraine. Last but not least, such directive as “*Make a deal or we are out*” (The Guardian, 2025) or declarative “*Ukraine ‘gambling with World War Three’*” (The Guardian, 2025) expressed by the American President are manipulative devices used to introduce great statements, catch readers’ attention with tabloid-style storytelling, namely with informal *gambling with*. The use of **direct speech** in articles is a powerful tool to show immediate connection with the readers and provoke deep emotions, knowing everything firsthand. The article presents Trump as being not a diplomatic leader, unwilling to listen to Ukraine’s pleas, and even implies his personality as a volatile figure who only demands submission and praise rather than dialogue: “*Yuck, you might say: that would have been obsequious and undignified. True, but there are two rules for anyone meeting Trump, especially when the press corps is on hand: use flattery and avoid arguments.*” (The Guardian, 2025). Furthermore, there are many stances of the focus on Trump’s domination, Ukraine’s shame and power games, which are used to make people feel terrified of the world’s

future and emphasise the American leader's aggressive behaviour and attitude and Zelenskyy's embarrassment. A case in point is the article "*Diplomacy dies on live TV as Trump and Vance gang up to bully Ukraine leader*" (The Guardian, 2025) - a great example of the summarised narrative of dominance-as-spectacle, where Trump sets his personal desires to show the world how powerful he is and performance of public humiliation of an allied head of state. The main message of the article is only if Ukraine bows to America, and Trump specifically, shows its mandatory submission, military support might be given, neglecting the fact that thousands of Ukrainians die every day, live in constant danger and suffer from the lack of people and weapons. He ended the catastrophic meeting proclaiming it to be an entertaining spectacle: "*This is going to be great television,*" (The Guardian, 2025). The Guardian article intentionally **compares** it with Titanic: "*And as they slipped into the icy depths, the captain of the Titanic probably assured his passengers that this would make a great movie someday.*" (The Guardian, 2025) which strengthens the sense of disastrous show for the media in the Oval Office. In this way, Trump isn't portrayed as a leader here, but rather as a producer of human sufferings for political benefits. The article draws special attention to the portrait of Volodymyr Zelenskyy and dominance that was shown over him. Trump represents Zelenskyy as naive, weak, reckless, even absent-minded, someone who doesn't understand the whole situation: "*The problem is I've empowered you to be a tough guy and I don't think you'd be a tough guy without the United States...*" (The Guardian, 2025) - an example of a toxic masculinity model of leadership, highlighting Ukraine's shaky position. Nevertheless, the author of the article depicts the Ukrainian president not only as a victim: "*Zelenskyy looked shellshocked.*" (The Guardian, 2025), but also as a symbol of resilience and toughness, using the **comparative metaphor** that the Oval Office was Zelenskyy's own "*diplomatic Chornobyl.*" (The Guardian, 2025). The use of Chornobyl, one of Ukraine's most painful trauma, is not random in this situation, it is a specifically used metaphor to mark a tragic event, failed meeting and many hopes Ukraine saintly had. It is reinforced with the sentence, which ends the article, "*As for the rest of Europe, a bust of Winston*

Churchill, looming over the shoulders of Trump and Vance, may have shed a tear or two.” (The Guardian, 2025) It expresses disappointment and shame not only in Europe, but even in America, mourning the lost hope in America's clear position and its powerful support.

After a shocking meeting in the Oval Office, the world's leaders immediately expressed their support to Zelenskyy, which was remarkably shown in the world's biggest publishing houses in terms of a symbolic shift in the leadership politics, from Washington to Europe. An article in focus is *“Europe Rallies Around Zelensky After Explosive White House Meeting”* (The New York Times, 2025) - outlines not only polite political gestures, but performative reaffirmation of values, framing Zelenskyy as a significant symbol of the courage and determination. Having analysed all the supportive comments given by the leaders, it is clear that emotionally charged language is employed, balancing between the White House meeting and expressing emotional language. For instance, Ursula von der Leyen: *“Be strong, be brave, be fearless. You are never alone, dear President.”* (The New York Times, 2025) - personalisation of European support and emphasis on emotional solidarity. President Emmanuel Macron of France stated his clear Ukrainian position claiming that Ukraine is *“fighting for their dignity, their independence, their children, and the security of Europe.”* (The New York Times, 2025) - this stance suggests emotional appeal, making readers feel a story of morality and right actions, embodying the struggle for peace and justice. However, some leaders, such as Friedrich Merz intentionally but indirectly states that *“We must never confuse aggressor and victim.”* (The New York Times, 2025) - it illustrates common Europe's moods towards Trump's betrayal and disrespectful behaviour. The tactical message Zelenskyy delivered to Trump after the meeting focuses on Ukraine's president desire to continue diplomatic dialogue and peace talks: *“Thank you America, thank you for your support, thank you for this visit,”* (The New York Times, 2025), emphasizing that *“Ukraine needs just and lasting peace, and we are working exactly for that.”* (The New York Times, 2025). This narrative is a powerful way to regain narrative control, shifting from embarrassing humiliation toward active diplomacy.

In conclusion, it is illustrated how linguistic strategies build public opinion of the Trump - Zelenskyy Oval Office meeting, transforming a diplomatic encounter into an affair of humiliation through stylistic and rhetorical targeting. The Guardian's journalism is marked by affective, performative language, using words like "*slugfest*," "*debacle*," "*meltdown*," and metaphorical symbols like "*diplomatic Chornobyl*" and *the Titanic* to situate the event as catastrophic and historically shameful. Strategic direct speech is used to make the power imbalance more dramatic and present, and to create immediacy and emotional force. This use of quotation marks is manipulative and infantilizing, subordinating Zelenskyy to second position and hyperbolizing Trump's aggressive overpresence and theatricality. Modality and assertive statements make failure seem irrevocable. Irony and sarcasm contribute to the narrative of performative politics. In contrast, *The New York Times* makes use of personalisation, repetition, and appeals to emotions in order to construct Zelenskyy as a hero of tenacity and to frame European solidarity in upbeat evaluative language. Fair sentence structure and respectful modality in Zelenskyy's native language aim to regain honor and shift the discussion towards diplomatic legitimacy. All of these language tools work together to provide a counterbalance to poisonous, domination-oriented political rhetoric with empathy-based, values-driven narratives.

2.5. Deictic Representation of the Russia-Ukraine War in Media Texts

One of the clearest ways the connection between language and context appears in language structures is through the phenomenon known as deixis. This term comes from the Greek word meaning "pointing" or "indicating". This is because it contains numerous deictic expressions, such as *they*, *that*, *tomorrow*, *here*, and *now*, which meanings rely heavily on the immediate physical context in which they are used. These expressions clearly illustrate how certain parts of language can only be interpreted through understanding the speaker's intended meaning (Yule, 1985).

Deixis involves interpreting a phrase based on elements such as the time, place, or participants involved in a particular conversation, or in relation to other language used within that same interaction (Birner, 2013). As a result, it can be divided into five main categories: person deixis, spatial deixis, temporal deixis, discourse deixis, and social deixis.

Personal deixis is based on a fundamental three-way distinction, marked by the use of pronouns: first person (I), second person (you), and third person (he, she, it). In direct, face-to-face communication, the referents of *I* and *you* constantly shift as speakers and listeners take turns in the conversation. The pronoun *we* can either include or exclude the listener, depending on what the speaker intends, making it either inclusive (*we* as the speaker and the listener together) or exclusive (*we* as the speaker and the others, excluding the listener) (LoCastro, 2013).

For instance, in the article “*Trump blames Ukraine over war with Russia, saying it could have made a deal*” (The Guardian, 2025) - Trump frequently uses the pronoun *we* in his speech: “*We have a situation where we haven’t had elections in Ukraine, where we have essentially martial law in Ukraine...*” (The Guardian, 2025) - the meaning of *we* is vague in this context, as it grammatically has connection with the USA; however, contextually it refers to global community and Western allies - he outlines Ukraine as the main topic to discuss, not as part of the presented *we*. “*We’re very far away*” (The Guardian, 2025) - the sentence presents exclusive *we*, as the US distances themselves from the war, removing themselves from European support for Ukraine. “*By working together with the US, we can achieve a just and lasting peace – on Ukraine’s terms.*” (The Guardian, 2025) - *we* is presented as inclusive deixis, since the US, Europe and Ukraine should take responsibilities and altogether stop the war. It greatly contrasts with Trump’s exclusive rhetorics. The examples that present the second person deixis - **you** - include: “*You should have never started it. You could have made a deal.*” (The Guardian, 2025) - the American president’s use of *you* is distancing and accusatory, as he directs the blame on Ukraine’s side and neglects Russian inhuman aggression. “*They want a seat at the table, but you could say ...*

wouldn't the people of Ukraine have a say?" (The Guardian, 2025) - *you* in this example refers to Zelenskyy and then Trump shifts the tone to a more general - a rhetorical device to involve public and media which, nevertheless, focuses on Ukraine's faults and puts pressure on the victim. An important point in the narrative of the article is that the presented Zelenskyy's quotes tend not to use second person deixis, as he highlights "*Ukraine,*" "*Russia,*" "*the people,*" specifically, presenting general, formal language conversely to Trump's personal tone. Third person deixis is shown in many instances: "*They want a seat at the table*" (The Guardian, 2025) - Trump refers to Ukraine using the pronoun **they** - a way to avoid naming Ukraine directly in a dismissive tone, reducing its importance in peace talks. "*The leader in Ukraine – I mean, I hate to say it, but he's down at 4% approval rating...*" (The Guardian, 2025) - the American leader neglectfully uses the pronoun **he** to refer to Zelenskyy in his presence, showing off his position in authority and greater power he possesses in the world with disrespect he has towards Ukraine. As for Zelenskyy's speech, the use of *they or Russia* showcases a clear deictic distance, diplomatic tone and moral hostility towards the country-aggressor: "*Of course Russia wants to get rid of me. Maybe not physically any longer, like they did at the beginning of the war but politically.*" (The Guardian, 2025).

Notably, the Ukrainian President describes himself as "*I'm a very uncomfortable person, uncomfortable for Putin,*" (The Guardian, 2025) referring to himself in the first person to express his own resilience and power with unbeatable hope.

Spatial deixis is used to indicate locations in relation to a reference point within a given speech context. The importance of spatial references lies in the idea that objects can generally be referred to in two main ways: by describing or naming them, or by identifying their location. Among the clearest examples of spatial deixis are the words *here* and *there*. While the language marks a distinction between the two, their precise meanings are shaped by context. Depending on what the speaker is referring to, *here* might indicate a specific place such as a room, a house, a city, or even a country (Yule,

1985). It is proposed that the core pragmatic foundation of spatial deixis lies in the concept of psychological distance. In general, objects that are physically close to the speaker are perceived and referred to as being psychologically near. Conversely, items that are physically farther away are usually regarded as psychologically distant as well. According to Virginia LoCastro, an important aspect of spatial deixis is that the sense of distance from the speaker or listener is not always physical, it can also be psychological. In other words, the perceived distance often reflects the speaker's emotional or attitudinal stance toward the listener or the situation being discussed (LoCastro, 2013).

A case in point is the article "*Ukraine's desperate struggle to defend Kharkiv*" (The Economist, 2024) - which contains many prominent examples of spatial deixis. "*The Russians come closer, closer, closer...*" (The Economist, 2024) - the verb **come** possesses a deictic meaning that relates to spatial movement, implying growing threat and danger. The repetition of the adverb *closer* creates a sense of inevitable Russia's invasion and it is not abstract, the reality comes very close. The use of **compass directions** also relates to spatial deixis: "*Already enveloping Vovchansk, 25km to the north*" (The Economist, 2024) - it builds the rising sense of proximity and Vovchansk's spatial vulnerability, outlining a reaching frontline. "*Right down to the town of Pechenihi*" (The Economist, 2024) - showcases an arranged plan of invasion into Ukraine's territory and implies Russia as an external violator of the sovereign country. The article is also rich in **locative phrases** such as "*inside Ukraine further west, near Lyptsi*" (The Economist, 2024) - this spatial deixis outlines that the land belongs only to Ukraine - independent state; "*burned earth*" *left behind*" (The Economist, 2024) - location is perceived symbolically in this case, presenting Ukraine as a physical and metaphorical frontline and Russia's invasion that lefts total destruction and sufferings; "*From Kyiv to Kharkiv*" (The Economist, 2024) - reinforces an idea of national continuity, creating a line between the capital and the frontline; "*near the reservoir*" (The Economist, 2024) - the indication of a specific place is intentional to draw attention to the familiar and local venues, reminding of the occupied homeland and

conveying a sense of personal war.

There is the third type, it is **temporal deixis** which involves expressions that indicate time, such as now and then, and functions similarly to other types of deixis by ultimately referring to the speaker's role in a given context. Like spatial deixis, it is largely psychological in nature, with time often conceptualized as something that moves either toward or away from the speaker. In English, unlike some other languages, there are only two fundamental tense forms: the present tense, which represents the proximal (or near) perspective, and the past tense, which indicates a distal (or distant) perspective. Events described in the past are generally perceived as being removed from the speaker's current point in time (Yule, 1985).

For example, the article "*Ukraine is now struggling to cling on, not to win*" (The Economist, 2024) contains many temporal deixis. Deictic expressions like "*...now struggling to cling on...*" (The Economist, 2024) - *now* signals immediate and currently urgent state and builds a tone of developing crisis; "*after 970 days of war*" (The Economist, 2024) - outlines long-term and still ongoing timeline of war; "*on October 21st*" (The Economist, 2024) - a marker of specific date to create the immediate effect of the ongoing events; "*At this point we are thinking...*" (The Economist, 2024) - a contrasting tool to compare the previous ideas with the current ones, highlighting current strategic ways of thinking. Moreover, the use of tenses plays a crucial role in temporal deixis, since they are important for the perception of the war. **Present tense** "*Ukraine is struggling, Russia is slicing*", "*Russian troops are moving*", "*Western partners are privately urging*" etc. (The Economist, 2024) describes current struggles and ongoing processes, creating immediacy, emotional appeal and proximity. **Past tense** "*Ukrainian forces have managed*", "*Mr Austin offered confidence*" etc. (The Economist, 2024) is used to show prior decisions, statements, and chronological structure of events, giving some room for readers' reflections and distancing them from already made resolutions. **Future tense** "*Moscow will never prevail*", "*Russia will spend a third of its national budget on defence*", "*Ukraine's breaking point will come*

first”, “*Ukraine will win*” etc” (The Economist, 2024) is implied when talking about forecasts and predictions, threatening or giving people hope.

Social deixis focuses on aspects of language that reflect the social roles or relationships between participants, or between a speaker and the individuals or entities being referenced. While many features of language reflect these relationships, only those that are embedded in the grammar are relevant in this context. Common examples include formal pronouns and forms of address. As noted by LoCastro, this fourth category of deixis involves linguistic tools that express differences in social status. Social deixis enables speakers to communicate social and contextual information through their selection of specific deictic forms. As a result, such forms often carry social and attitudinal meanings beyond their basic referential (or pointing) function (LoCastro, 2013).

To analyse social discourse, the article “*Ukraine ‘gambling with world war three’ , Trump tells Zelenskyy in fiery meeting*” (The Guardian, 2025) is represented for the most focal examples. The formal titles like *President Zelenskyy, US President, Vice-President JD Vance, the US Secretary of State Marco Rubio, the European foreign policy chief Kaja Kallas, European Commission President, Ursula von der Leyen* indicate the institutional legitimacy of each member of the article, regardless their personal intentions, behaviour or political position. The framing of structured diplomacy, evoking the sense of authority and power of each participant. As for the informal references based on the name-only addressing, they reduce state leaders and the other politicians to individuals rather than institutional representatives, which is more likely to be used in populist or critical reporting: “*Trump tells Zelenskyy...*”, “*Zelenskyy said...*”, “*Trump told reporters...*” (The Guardian, 2025). The presented references shift the tone of the passage, allowing flawless text without mentioning the person’s titles and, therefore, an easier way to perceive the information. Moreover, the context makes the drama that happened in the Oval Office more personal and accessible to readers, inviting emotional judgments. Referring to the people with the use of other phrases to describe them is another tool of social deixis (talking about

Zelenskyy): *“Wearing a black turtleneck”* (The Guardian, 2025). A neglected way to outline *“Trump sought to physically dominate”* (The Guardian, 2025) implies a power imbalance and may well signify bullying. It is a non-verbal structure of social deixis to frame the leaders - Zelenskyy as stoic and embattled; Trump as performative and domineering.

Another article in focus is *“Nato will act if Russia uses chemical weapons in Ukraine, says Joe Biden”* (The Times, 2022), as it includes such instances as *“President Biden”*, *“President Putin”*, *“Nato secretary-general Jens Stoltenberg”*, *“British government sources”*, *“British defence sources”*, *“Johnson”* (referring to Boris Johnson) - formal titles to outline the importance of the world leaders, especially when it comes to discussing global conflict and diplomacy. It builds an official, hierarchical world of state actors. In the narrative, Western leaders are treated with respect, as the use of full titles indicates this tone of objectivity, not allowing even adversaries to be accorded with formal deference, since, for example, Biden is never simply *Joe*; Putin is not referred to as *Vladimir*, creating distance, framing leaders as institutional actors, and reducing personal emotional heat. There is a shift in tone with the use of surnames only, often when expressing opinion or taking a firm stance: *“Johnson refused to rule out...”*, *“Macron ruled out supplying tanks...”* (The Times, 2022). It is applied in the later sections of the article to change from a diplomatic to a more personal positioning, which diminishes their status and creates a reader’s proximity. There are various indirect names of institutional powers: *“Tiger Team”* (White House task force), *“30 heads of state and government”* (The Times, 2022) that evoke readers to feel control over the situation, coordination of the actions, and readiness to fight for independence.

As for **discourse deixis**, it focuses on how certain expressions within an utterance refer to segments of the discourse that include that very utterance. In this type of deixis, the deictic term does not point to the external context or situation but instead refers to part of the utterance itself or to a proposition introduced by it.

In the article *“We should not be saving Putin’s face”* (The Times, 2022) there are many examples of discourse deixis, which includes: *“So, on the one hand we say that Putin is a war criminal, but on the other we say he should be able to claim that war crime pays.”* - comparing structure *“on the one hand... on the other”* refers to the two previously introduced and conflicting viewpoints within the article, contrasting Western moral judgment with diplomatic pragmatism. It showcases the idea of the article’s ideological stance: not allowing Putin to have a “face-saving” option, as it contradicts the West’s moral condemnation. *“And that’s a good idea?”* (The Times, 2022) - a critical pointer of the immediately preceding claim (Simpson’s interpretation of Putin’s demands): the idea that Putin could present a modest concession as a major victory. *“It seems, as far as anyone can tell, that Putin does not yet have that odour in his nostrils...”* (The Times, 2022) - indirect deixis referring to Kozyrev’s earlier metaphor of Putin needing to *“smell defeat”* to build narrative continuity and coherence. *“That may never happen; and we could be in for years of (at best) “frozen conflict””* (The Times, 2022) - *that* - deictic marker that refers back to the preceding proposition about Putin being motivated by defeat; it helps have a flawless structure and argument go chronologically and conditionally. An important tool to give the author room for speculation and at the same time stay grounded in the progression of ideas.

The analysis of deixis across multiple news articles reveals that language is deeply tied to context, structure, and power. Personal deixis is used strategically by political figures to shift blame or align with others to create distance or draw moral lines and emphasize resilience. Spatial deixis in war reporting highlights Ukraine’s geographical vulnerability and conveys psychological urgency and national unity. Temporal deixis and tense choices across articles shape perceptions of the war as immediate, prolonged, or future-facing, giving emotional weight and narrative flow. Social deixis surfaces in how figures are referred to formally or informally, reflecting power dynamics and degrees of respect or criticism of discourse actors. Finally, discourse deixis is used to link and critique prior statements to guide readers through

contrasting viewpoints and reinforce ideological coherence. Across all types, deixis functions as a powerful linguistic tool to structure narrative, create alignment or distance, and embed judgment within language.

CONCLUSION TO CHAPTER 2

The linguistic analysis of media communication on the Russia-Ukraine war reveals the very performative and deliberate nature of language in shaping public opinion during wartime. Based on a corpus of 657 headlines from British and American mainstream newspapers, this research has shown that media language, particularly as used in headlines, is neither neutral nor simply descriptive, but rather is carefully chosen to claim authority, guide interpretation, and represent ideological positions. The prevalence of declarative sentence types highlights the media's effort to claim factuality and credibility, presenting the content as objective reality. Modality is crucial in expressing degrees of obligation, recommendation, or uncertainty, with epistemic adverbs adding cautious tones despite headline brevity. Instances of allegedly, reportedly, and possibly are linguistic tools that both protect journalistic credibility and preserve ideological positioning. The use of numerical information, whether exact or rounded, is not only to corroborate reports but also to summon emotional reactions, especially when the casualty figure or economic impact is being stated. Numbers thus serve a dual function: reinforcing factual credibility and justifying emotive appeal.

Evaluative means in the analysed media texts use various linguistic tools to express attitudes, judgments, and emotions about the Russia-Ukraine conflict. Explicit evaluation involves clear and direct statements that convey urgency or condemnation, while implicit evaluation relies on subtle language choices like metaphor and connotation to influence interpretation indirectly. Adjectives and adverbs help to intensify or soften these evaluations, and metaphorical language frames complex issues in emotionally resonant ways. Together, these strategies create nuanced narratives that shape public opinion and reflect underlying ideological positions.

Speech acts were analysed, revealing that assertive acts construct dominant frames of truth and legitimacy, and directives rather subtly shape public opinion and suggest proper courses of action. Expressives convey emotions such as empathy, outrage, or solidarity, and commissives project promises or intentions on the part of countries or institutions. Statements, however rare, are performatively charged, as when media reports define state actions or political turns as reality-altering facts. These speech acts demonstrate how media discourse operates not only to report events but to construct socio-political reality in readers' minds.

Equally significant is the linguistic representation of geopolitical players and diplomatic events, such as the Trump-Zelenskyy Oval Office meeting. The dramatic representation of the power dynamic, Trump as bullying and Ukraine as defying, illustrates how narrative and rhetorical structures are combined with emotional tone to support ideological messages. The use of metaphors, strategic quotation, and allusions to "toxic masculinity" or "humiliation theatrics" also play a crucial role in the representation of diplomacy as spectacle. Moreover, the contrastive picture of European leaders as a calm and morally grounded gesture towards a symbolic shift in global leadership, negotiated through subtle linguistic mechanisms.

The examination of deictic expressions in war reporting highlights the ways in which language places readers in spatial, temporal, personal, and social contexts. Personal deixis shifts responsibility and solidarity, while spatial deixis emphasizes Ukraine's vulnerability and national unity through psychological and physical proximity. Temporal deixis shapes the war's perceived immediacy and duration, enhancing emotional engagement. Social deixis reflects hierarchical relationships and power dynamics through formal and informal references, influencing tone and reader alignment. Discourse deixis connects and contrasts viewpoints within texts to reinforce ideological coherence.

CONCLUSION

The thesis is aimed to explore how political events, particularly the Russian invasion of Ukraine, are linguistically represented and ideologically framed in British and American media discourse between 2022 and 2025. Drawing on interdisciplinary theoretical foundations from media linguistics, critical discourse analysis (CDA), pragmatics, and framing theory, the study established a solid analytical framework to evaluate how language choices in media texts both reflect and shape public opinion and political realities. Through a critical linguistic analysis of 657 headlines and selected articles from British and American mainstream newspapers, this study has demonstrated that the coverage of the Russia – Ukraine war serves not only as a medium for information delivery but as an instrument for shaping ideological narratives, geopolitical perceptions, and public opinion.

In the theoretical part of the study, media discourse was conceptualized not merely as a passive tool of information transmission but as an active and strategic phenomena of ideological construction. The media's role in shaping social reality, legitimizing power structures, and reinforcing dominant narratives was investigated through the works and studies of critical researchers such as Fairclough, van Dijk, Wodak, and Foucault. Media language performs as a constitutive force in the virtual re-enactment of political reality, reproducing dominant ideologies and steering democratic engagement.

Methodologically, this study uses a qualitative approach centered on Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to examine how language, ideology, and power interact in media discourse. It views media texts as spaces where ideology is negotiated and incorporates pragmatic analysis to explore how context shapes meaning, especially in social media with its indirect language and politeness strategies. Additionally, Content

Analysis offers a systematic way to interpret communication, while Quantitative Analysis provides measurable data for statistical insights and broader applicability.

In the second part of the thesis, it is outlined that discourse is not neutral or descriptive, it is profoundly performative. The first analytical chapter concentrated on the structure of headlines, revealing how the dominance of declarative sentences establishes authority, while interrogatives raise uncertainty, and the rare use of imperatives and exclamations dramatizes urgency and emotional impact. Headlines serve as purposeful textual elements that condense, frame, and guide reader perception even before the full article is read.

The evaluative language in the analyzed media texts employs diverse linguistic tools to convey attitudes, judgments, and emotions regarding the Russia-Ukraine war. Explicit evaluation uses straightforward statements to express urgency or criticism, whereas implicit evaluation subtly shapes interpretation through devices like metaphor and connotation. Adjectives and adverbs modulate the strength of these evaluations, while metaphorical expressions provide emotionally impactful framing of complex issues.

The implementation of the division of speech acts further reveals how media texts perform various communicative functions. Assertives dominate as they aim to present facts or assessments of truth, shaping perceptions of legitimacy and framing narratives. Directives, while less overt, appear as policy suggestions, demands, and moral appeals, often addressed to Western actors, encouraging political or military action. Commissive, notably from political figures, express promises of continued support or threats of withdrawal, constructing strategic alliances and geopolitical commitments. Expressives, emotionally charged, articulate outrage, grief, irony, and hope, positioning readers within a moral community. Finally, declarations, though rare, symbolically or institutionally restructure political reality, particularly when spoken by authoritative figures (e.g., formal announcements of aid, candidacy, or sanctions).

Another key aspect of the study was the linguistic analysis of diplomatic encounters, especially the performative framing of the Trump-Zelenskyy Oval Office meeting. Here, linguistic stylization operates as both a rhetorical and ideological tool. Through metaphors of “humiliation”, “showdown”, or “toxic masculinity”, Trump is portrayed as performatively dominant, while Ukraine is framed as symbolically resilient yet vulnerable. European leaders, by contrast, are cast in a redemptive, morally grounded light. This contrast constructs a symbolic transfer of authority from Washington to Europe and highlights the media’s role in defining global leadership narratives.

The final analytical section focused on deictic language, specifically personal, spatial, temporal, social, and discourse deixis, which embeds readers into the narrative fabric of the conflict. Through subtle shifts in pronouns (we, they, you), speakers manipulate inclusion and exclusion, creating psychological proximity or distance. Spatial deixis (here, there, near the front) reorients audiences geographically and ideologically. Temporal deixis frames urgency or distance by anchoring events to now, then, or specific dates, influencing perception of momentum and duration. Social deixis, visible in titles, honorifics, and informal references, constructs hierarchy and respect or lack thereof. Discourse deixis, finally, threads narrative continuity and coherence, guiding the reader through argumentation and rhetorical progression. Altogether, deixis functions as a linguistic interface between text and context, reinforcing the power dynamics and ideological leanings of media discourse.

Crucially, the research positions media discourse within the broader framework of “symbolic politics”, where political events are filtered through mediated language and remediated as performative representations. Headlines, quotations, metaphors, modal structures, and deixis are not incidental, they are constitutive of the ideological message. The war in Ukraine, as depicted through Western media, becomes a battlefield not only of armies but of words: every utterance, every headline, every linguistic choice participates in the construction of a geopolitical script.

Overall, the study has shown that media discourse is deeply performative, ideologically saturated, and rhetorically constructed. Headlines, modal verbs, speech acts, linguistic framing, and deixis are not isolated linguistic features but interconnected tools that collectively shape the reader's understanding of war, following responsibilities, and manipulative tactics often employed by publishing houses. The research underscores the fundamental role language plays in shaping public consciousness during moments of crisis. In times of war, words are not neutral, they are strategic, symbolic, and profoundly impactful. They construct identities, direct emotions, shape narratives, and, most importantly, guide action. The Russia-Ukraine war, as seen through the lens of media linguistics, offers a case study in the power of language to mediate international understanding, legitimize policies, and mobilize communities. The thesis concludes that in the arena of modern conflict, linguistic weapons are no less significant than material ones. As such, scholars, journalists, and readers alike must remain critically aware of how language constructs the very world it claims to describe.

SUMMARY

In the contemporary information age, language plays an increasingly central role in shaping public perception, political ideology, and emotional alignment. Media discourse, particularly during times of war, becomes a strategic site where language is used not merely to inform but to influence, persuade, and ideologically present geopolitical events. This thesis explores how linguistic tools are deployed by British and American newspapers to construct and disseminate political meaning during the Russia-Ukraine war from 2022 to 2025.

The **topicality** of the research arises from the growing recognition that media discourse is never neutral. As societies become more saturated with real-time, emotive, and politically charged media messages, understanding how language operates in these texts is both urgent and essential. The Russia-Ukraine war, with its complex narratives and widespread global coverage, provides a timely and critical case study for analyzing the intersection of language, ideology, and media representation. The research thus contributes to broader conversations in political linguistics, media studies, critical discourse analysis, and sociopolitical communication.

The **object** of the study is media discourse in Western media, with a specific focus on how it represents the Russia-Ukraine war. The **subject** of the study is the set of linguistic features, such as modal verbs, speech acts, deixis, and stylistic framing that are used in British and American press to construct political narratives and influence perception.

The **purpose** of the thesis is to investigate how these linguistic tools function pragmatically and ideologically in shaping media narratives around the Russia-Ukraine conflict. It aims to uncover the dual role of language as both an informative and manipulative mechanism within political journalism. The research further seeks to improve critical media literacy by equipping readers with tools to analyze and question media narratives.

The thesis integrates perspectives from media linguistics, critical discourse analysis (CDA), content analysis, pragmatic analysis, and quantitative analysis.

The first provides the theoretical foundation, drawing on the works of leading scholars such as Teun van Dijk, Norman Fairclough, and Ruth Wodak, who explore the interrelations among language, power, and ideology. The second chapter presents a detailed linguistic analysis of 657 headlines and selected 69 full-length articles from major British and American newspapers, including *The Guardian*, *The Times*, *The Economist*, *The New York Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, and *Politico*.

The practical value of this thesis lies in its contribution to critical media literacy. By deconstructing the linguistic strategies used to shape narratives, the study empowers readers, scholars, and journalists to engage more critically with media content. The research has interdisciplinary relevance for political linguistics, journalism, media studies, translation, and sociolinguistics.

As for the study of **headlines** reveals how their syntactic and lexical structures perform ideological framing. The prevalence of declarative sentences establishes authority and credibility, while interrogatives introduce strategic ambiguity or drama. Imperatives and exclamations, though rare, heighten emotional urgency. Headlines are shown to function as condensed ideological texts that frame perception before the article is even read.

The media texts examined utilize a range of **evaluative means** to communicate attitudes, judgments, and emotions about the Russia-Ukraine conflict. Explicit evaluation presents clear and forceful expressions of urgency or disapproval, such as “*delays in American assistance are deepening the challenges*”, while implicit

evaluation subtly guides readers' understanding through metaphors and implied meanings such as *"little hope that an end to the fighting is in sight"*. The use of adjectives and adverbs either strengthens or softens these evaluations, and metaphorical language helps to emotionally frame complicated topics.

The research also reveals that media texts perform a range of **communicative acts**. Assertives dominate, presenting claims as truth and reinforcing ideological positions. Directives appear as policy suggestions or moral calls to action, especially addressed to Western governments. Commissives (promises, threats) shape political alignment and strategic positioning. Expressives convey emotions such as outrage or sympathy, engaging readers morally. Declarations, though rare, are powerful tools for restructuring political meaning, particularly when issued by authoritative figures.

Stylistic framing is another crucial focus, particularly in portrayals of political figures and diplomatic events. For instance, the media's depiction of Trump and Zelenskyy during their Oval Office meeting reveals a layered use of metaphor, evaluative language, and narrative construction. Trump is framed as dominant and controversial, often with connotations of aggression or theatricality like *"Diplomacy dies on live TV as Trump and Vance gang up to bully Ukraine leader"*, while Ukraine is portrayed as symbolically resilient yet dependent, representing Zelenskyy's failure as *"diplomatic Chernobyl"*. European leaders, by contrast, are cast in redemptive and morally upright roles. This contrast highlights how stylistic choices craft symbolic hierarchies and power dynamics.

A core part of the analysis involves **deixis** which includes linguistic indicators that ground speech in personal, spatial, temporal, and social contexts. Pronouns such as *we*, *they*, and *you*, as in the example of *"We should not be saving Putin's face"*, are used to construct in-groups and out-groups, influencing psychological proximity and ideological alignment. Spatial deixis (*here*, *there*, *at the front*) repositions readers geographically and ideologically, while temporal deixis (*now*, *then*, *recently*) establishes momentum and emotional framing. Social deixis (titles, honorifics,

informal references) encodes respect, hierarchy, or familiarity. Discourse deixis ensures textual cohesion and guides reader interpretation across the narrative.

At its core, this research positions media language within the broader framework of **symbolic politics** which outlines the idea that media does not simply report on political reality but actively constructs it. Through linguistic choices, media outlets create performative representations of war, which shape public understanding, influence policy narratives, and mobilize ideological communities. The Russia-Ukraine war, as represented in Western media, becomes a battlefield not only of arms but of words.

In conclusion, the thesis underscores the profound ideological and performative role of language in times of geopolitical crisis. Modal verbs, speech acts, stylistic framing, and deixis are shown to be interconnected tools that do far more than convey information, as they construct reality. In the context of war, words become strategic instruments of persuasion, control, and symbolic power. The Russia-Ukraine conflict offers a compelling case study of how language not only reflects events but shapes them. As such, a critically aware approach to media discourse is essential for understanding and engaging with the political realities of our time.

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APPENDIX
BRITISH PRESS

The Times

2022

1. Russia invades Ukraine: A dark day for Europe
2. A million flee Ukraine in shock in ‘fastest refugee exodus’
3. ‘We wrote the blood group of each child on their rucksack’
4. Ukraine’s resilience raises the stakes for Russian troops
5. Crimea bridge blast is an act of terrorism, says Putin
6. No one can say horrors in Ukraine were hidden
7. Blow to Putin as Crimea bridge damaged in huge explosion
8. The Times view on Russia’s missile strike on military base: Escalation
9. Staying neutral on Ukraine must come at a cost
10. US poised to send Patriot missiles in boost for Ukraine
11. Ukraine spent seven years begging three PMs for weapons — and no one listened
12. Are British weapons making a difference in Ukraine not
13. We should not be saving Putin’s face
14. Russian forces move to encircle Severodonetsk and sever supply lines
15. Give Ukraine fighter jets to counter Putin’s drone war, West urged
16. Weapons of war shaping Ukraine conflict
17. West struggles to send useful weaponry to Ukraine
18. Will Russia invade Ukraine and what does Putin want? (January 2022)

19. Invaders occupy fifth of our land, admits Ukraine's President Zelensky
20. Putin's threats are emptier than we think
21. Defence boost will force us to cut elsewhere
22. Ukraine has one million ready for fightback to recapture south
23. 'Battle of Britain moment' for Ukraine's outgunned fighter pilots
24. Ukraine's top guns keep the Russians at bay — for now
25. Why Putin dare not lose the battle for Donbas
26. Nato will act if Russia uses chemical weapons in Ukraine, says Joe Biden
27. Russia begins assault across Ukraine's eastern front
28. Russian missiles hit Ukraine's key port of Odesa
29. Planeloads of western weapons for Ukraine arrive in echo of Berlin airlift
30. 'Ukrainians are ready to tear apart Russians with their bare hands' (January 2022)

2023

1. Kremlin admits Ukraine's key river victory
2. Russian media deletes reports of forces 'regrouping' in Ukraine
3. Soldiers arrested after entire family killed
4. Attacks on Ukraine intensify while the world isn't looking
6. Europe 'helping Russia make hypersonic missiles'
7. The British soldier tortured by Putin — and rescued by Abramovich
8. War in Ukraine could be won or lost on Capitol Hill
9. Freedom's Front Line
10. Flag of freedom flies again in liberated village
11. We can't assume the world supports Zelensky's fight
12. Usyk: I've seen exploded tanks and people with no legs on front line
13. Ukraine war casualties 'near 500,000'
14. Stolen Lives
15. Ukraine's Fight

16. Ukraine must take the risks. All Russia needs to do is not lose
17. Protecting Ukraine
18. Russia is divided but not beaten. Ukraine still needs us
19. As Russia turns back from civil war, what does it mean for Ukraine?
20. Kyiv's Fightback
21. Now is the time for the West to give Zelensky what he needs
22. The Ukrainian air battle has begun: it may decide the entire war
23. Putin uses 'cheap' Victory Day parade to rail against the West
24. Russia destroys Red Cross warehouse packed with aid for Ukraine

2024

1. Is Russia using chemical weapons in Ukraine? On the ground with the team investigating -
2. Kyiv is ready to end war with Russia, says Trump –
3. Displaced Ukrainians 'returning to occupied hometowns'
4. Will fear of mutually assured destruction save us in new nuclear order?
5. Ukraine fires long-range western missiles into Russia for first time
6. How could long-range missiles affect the Ukraine war?
7. How Ukrainian troops are fighting to take back the Black Sea one oil rig at a time
8. Ukraine watches nervously as race for White House reaches climax
9. Will the Russia-Ukraine war escalate into a global conflict?
10. Join Nato and deploy deterrents — Zelensky unveils 'victory plan'
11. Russians are being sent to die in daily 'meat grinder'. The tactic works
12. Death in Donbas: frontline troops fight off defeat as Zelensky unveils victory plan
13. I'll get us out of Ukraine, vows Trump as Zelensky seeks meeting
14. Zelensky to press Biden for 'Trump-proof' security guarantees
15. Zelensky to present Ukraine peace plan to Biden
16. Are Russia and Ukraine edging towards an endgame?

17. US could allow Ukraine to fire missiles into Russia ‘within weeks’
18. ‘These deaths are for nothing’: Lviv attack turns anger on Zelensky
19. Dozens dead as Russian missiles strike central Ukraine
20. ‘It’s all falling apart’: fears of Putin victory in key battle’
21. Ukraine says western weapons are destroying Kursk bridges
22. Why has Ukraine invaded Russia?
23. After Kursk incursion, can Ukraine safely retreat?
24. Foreigners pay to visit the horrors of Bucha on Ukraine war tours
25. Ukraine ‘will not defeat Russia under Soviet-style generals’
26. ‘This is like Gallipoli’: inside Ukraine’s hardest battle yet
27. Russia moves air-defence system to Crimea as Ukraine steps up strikes
28. Putin raises taxes to prepare for ‘marathon’ war in Ukraine
29. Could Zelensky’s latest move hand victory to Russia?

2025

1. Putin’s ultimate goal in Ukraine is to reshape the world order
2. Trump fired Zelensky like he was a loser on The Apprentice
3. Slava Ukraini
4. Zelensky: I would give up presidency for peace in Ukraine
5. Fears Zelensky is playing into Putin’s hands by lashing out at Trump
6. Putin and Trump want one, but will Ukraine hold an election?
7. ‘Trump hates Ukraine’: inside the president’s obsession with Kyiv
8. US and Russia rewrite history as Ukraine sidelined
9. Trump can live without Ukraine’s rare metals. We can’t live without hope
10. What do Ukraine’s soldiers make of Trump’s peace deal?
11. Freedom’s Price
12. If we fall for this ‘peace plan’, not only Ukraine will lose
13. How could the Ukraine war end? Three possible scenarios explored
14. Ukraine launches barrage of drones and missiles inside Russia

15. 100 days to end the war: Trump's envoy to Ukraine sets new target
16. Behind Ukraine's desperate campaign to charm Trump
17. How JD Vance and an old Trump grudge led to disaster for Zelensky
18. Can Ukraine survive without US aid? The reality of going it alone
19. Meltdown in the Oval Office as Trump vents fury at Zelensky
20. Zelensky meets prime minister after Trump row
21. Trump fired Zelensky like he was a loser on The Apprentice

The Economist

2022

1. Our country of the year for 2022 can only be Ukraine
2. Russia's invasion of Ukraine
3. Russia invades Ukraine

2023

1. Time for a rethink: Helping Ukraine win a long war
2. Ukraine faces a long war. A change of course is needed
3. To endure a long war, Ukraine is remaking its army, economy and society
4. How to win the hot war in Ukraine and the cold war that will follow it
5. Ukraine's fate will determine the West's authority in the world
6. The West is struggling to forge a new arsenal of democracy
7. The war is making Ukraine a Western country

2024

1. How Ukraine uses cheap AI-guided drones to deadly effect against Russia
2. How many Ukrainian soldiers have died?
3. Fighting in Ukraine could wind down in 2025
4. Ukraine is winning the economic war against Russia
5. Volodymyr Zelensky faces a power struggle in 2025
6. Kremlin-occupied Ukraine is now a totalitarian hell
7. Hell, horror and heroism in Ukraine's battlefield hospitals

8. Ukraine is now struggling to cling on, not to win
9. The war is going badly. Ukraine and its allies must change course
10. Ukraine is on the defensive, militarily, economically and diplomatically
11. America keeps Ukraine fighting with its hands tied
12. Danger in Donbas as Ukraine's front line falters
13. Even as it humiliates Russia, Ukraine's line is crumbling in the Donbas
14. Has Ukraine's shock raid successfully diverted Russian forces?
16. What next after Ukraine's shock invasion of Russia
17. Ukraine surprises with a high-stakes raid into Russia
18. Russia's bloody summer offensive is hurting Ukraine
19. Ukraine's war has created millions of broken families
20. In Crimea, Ukraine is beating Russia
21. Ukraine's desperate struggle to defend Kharkiv
22. Ukraine's defenders anxiously dig in for a looming Russian assault
23. What happens if Ukraine loses?
24. Ukraine is in a race against time to fortify its front line
25. Ukraine has brought Nordic and Baltic countries together

2025

1. A disaster in the White House for Volodymyr Zelensky—and for Ukraine
2. Ukraine confronts a future without America, and perhaps Zelensky
3. Donald Trump makes Ukraine an offer it can't refuse
4. Ukraine has fended off Donald Trump, for the moment
5. Ukraine is scrambling to find fresh fighters
6. Team Trump wants to get rid of Volodymyr Zelensky
7. Ukraine fears being cut out of talks between America and Russia
8. Amid talk of a ceasefire, Ukraine's front line is crumbling
9. Ukraine's fears are becoming reality, after Trump talks to Putin

The Guardian

2022

1. Courage sums up the spirit of 2022. To honour the heroes among us, we must be brave too
2. The revenge of history in Ukraine: year of war has shaken up world order
3. Zelenskiy visits Ukrainian troops on frontline as Russia pushes them back
4. Russia-Ukraine war: Kyiv ‘preparing’ for Russia to invade from north, says commander
5. In the ‘Bakhmut meat grinder’, deadlocked enemy forces slog it out
6. Up to 13,000 Ukraine soldiers killed since Russian invasion, says Kyiv
7. 'Victory is not the only thing, we need justice': Olena Zelenska addresses UK parliament – video
8. Even amid murderous Russian raids, western apathy is Kyiv’s deadliest foe
9. Russia strikes are crime against humanity, Zelenskiy tells UN, as power cut in Ukraine and Moldova
10. The best path to peace is not talks with Putin, but helping Ukraine to win this war
11. Russia launches fresh missile strikes across Ukraine as G20 leaders meet
12. ‘I can’t stop smiling’: residents welcome Ukrainian troops in the frontline town of Snihurivka
13. Russia-Ukraine war live: Kyiv mayor tells residents to prepare for the worst – as it happened
14. Ukraine 'not afraid of dark', says Zelenskiy as Russian attacks trigger blackouts – video
15. ‘My heart is bleeding’: villagers flee as the battle for Kherson rages on
16. Ukraine declares full control of Lyman after Russian forces pull out
17. Ukrainian forces perform victory dance after liberating eastern city of Lyman
18. Missile strikes on Ukrainian cities as call-up causes chaos in Russia

19. 'I was born here and I'll die here': liberated Ukrainians tell of life under occupation
20. Ukraine says it has discovered mass burial site with 400 bodies in recaptured city – video
21. Ukraine has recaptured 6,000 sq km in counteroffensive, says Zelenskiy – video
22. Zelenskiy hails Ukraine territorial gains in surprise north-east counteroffensive
23. Russia sends reinforcements to Kharkiv to repel Ukraine counterattack
24. Ukraine independence day overshadowed by fear of Russian attacks
25. Ukraine is 'fully prepared' to resume exporting grain, says Zelenskiy – video
26. Zelenskiy urges civilians to leave Donetsk as city of Bakhmut comes under attack – as it happened
27. Russian forces 'preparing new offensive' – as it happened
28. 'Is anyone alive?': footage captures immediate aftermath of Ukrainian mall strike – video
29. At least 16 dead as Russian missile hits shopping centre in Ukraine
31. Ukraine's forces suffering 'painful losses' in Donbas, Zelenskiy says – as it happened
32. Ukraine fears western support will fade as media loses interest in the war
33. 'Millions could starve': Zelenskiy warns of global impact from Russian blockade in Black Sea – video
34. Ukraine counterattack recaptures parts of Sievierodonetsk in Donbas
35. 'Victory will be ours': Zelenskiy marks 100th day of war – video
36. Questions over future of evacuated Azovstal fighters – as it happened
37. 'Any victory is important, so let's cheer': Ukraine wins Eurovision 2022 – video report
38. Zelenskiy hails Ukraine's Eurovision win and plans to 'one day' host final in Mariupol

39. 'Ukraine will be free,' Boris Johnson tells country's parliament
40. War in Ukraine 'an absurdity in the 21st century', says UN chief – video
41. Russia-Ukraine war: Fate of Europe and global security being decided in Ukraine, Zelenskiy says– live
42. The United Nations refugee agency says 4,869,019 Ukrainians had left the country since Russia invaded – as it happened
43. The United Nations refugee agency says 4,869,019 Ukrainians had left the country since Russia invaded – as it happened
44. Ukraine vows Mariupol troops will 'fight to the end' as surrender deadline passes
45. Up to 3,000 Ukraine troops killed since Russia invaded, says Zelenskiy, as battle rages in Mariupol
46. Civilians flee eastern Ukraine ahead of new Russian offensive
47. 'It was like a movie': recaptured Bucha recounts violence of Russian invasion
48. 150,000 people stuck in besieged city of Chernihiv – as it happened
49. 100,000 civilians trapped in Mariupol amid Russia's 'constant bombing', says Zelenskiy
50. 'The time has come to meet, to talk': Ukraine's Zelenskiy calls for peace talks – video
51. Russia-Ukraine war: early morning strikes hit Kyiv hours before peace talks
52. 'We all want to return': residents fleeing Kyiv mourn a deserted city
53. Zelenskiy says 'Europe must wake up' after assault sparks nuclear plant fire
54. Armed with hammers and pistols, Ukrainians wait at barricades for the Russians
55. 'We will defend ourselves' from Russia, says Ukraine president Volodymyr Zelenskiy in speech– video

2023

1. I'm a writer and soldier in Ukraine – here's my diary of 24 hours in a war we cannot lose
2. Zelenskiy hails downing of Russian jets in upbeat Christmas message
3. Ukraine's fight for funds to keep Russia at bay -IDIOM
4. Russia-Ukraine war: Ukraine hit by one of the worst cyber attacks of the war, says UK – as it happened
5. Yes, tiredness is ravaging the Ukrainian soldiers I meet. But they never think of giving up
6. Russia-Ukraine war: Olena Zelenska warns Ukraine in 'mortal danger' without foreign aid – as it happened
7. Russian strikes on Ukraine kill at least one as attacks on Kyiv resume
8. Russian troops continue attempts to advance near Avdiivka in effort to encircle city – as it happened
9. Snow in Kyiv raises fears Russia will attack Ukraine's energy infrastructure
10. More than 10,000 civilians killed in Ukraine in war, UN says; Berlin unveils £1.1bn military aid package – as it happened
11. Zelenskiy warns Ukrainians to prepare for Russian attacks on infrastructure
12. Zelenskiy denies he is under pressure to enter peace talks with Russia
13. 'He was born for this moment': Sean Penn on his film with Zelenskiy
14. Russia-Ukraine war: critics of counteroffensive are 'spitting in the faces of soldiers', says Kyiv – as it happened
15. At least seven killed in Russian strike on theatre in centre of Chernihiv
16. Ukraine: fatalities in Kryvyi Rih and Kherson as Russia plays down drone attack on Moscow
17. Zelenskiy fails in effort to secure invitation to join Nato at Vilnius summit
18. Defeat for Ukraine would be a global disaster. Nato must finally step in to stop Russia
19. As well as fighting Russia, Ukrainians are battling corruption at home

20. Zelenskiy says counteroffensive actions under way in Ukraine – video
21. Devastation from Kakhovka dam collapse could take decades to heal
22. ‘We will succeed’: Zelenskiy says Ukraine ready to launch counteroffensive
23. Ukraine can defeat Russia by end of year with western help, Zelenskiy says
24. Two Russian jets and two helicopters reportedly shot down – as it happened
25. ‘We’ll show just how weak they are’: Ukraine primed for crucial offensive
26. Pentagon investigates reported leak of top-secret Ukraine documents
27. US ‘will stand with Ukraine as long as it takes’, says Treasury secretary on visit to Kyiv – as it happened
28. 'Ukraine is alive': Zelenskiy speaks at ceremony on anniversary of war – video
29. Putin’s war has reinvigorated the west’s defence of liberty. That unity must not crack now
30. Ukraine will join the EU, says Zelenskiy during speech to European parliament – video
31. Russia-Ukraine war: more than 100 soldiers returned to Kyiv in prisoner exchange
32. 'Tragedies outpacing life': Zelenskiy urges world to speed up response to Russian aggression – video
33. Hundreds of civilians trapped in Soledar, says Ukraine, as fierce fighting continues – video report

2024

1. Russia-Ukraine war: Zelenskyy calls Putin a ‘fantasiser’ over peace talks claim and says he wanted to ‘annihilate’ Ukraine’s army – as it happened
2. Ukraine war escalates as Biden sends \$20bn loan before Trump presidency
3. Zelenskyy says Ukrainian territory should be under ‘Nato umbrella’ to stop war

4. Ukraine war briefing: Zelenskyy says massive attack by Russia is ‘despicable escalation’
5. Russia strikes Kyiv in huge drone attack hours after Trump win
6. Zelenskyy presents 'victory plan' to EU, saying it could end Ukraine war by 2025 – video
7. Ukraine war briefing: Zelenskyy says Ukraine needs to achieve faster results on the battlefield
8. Russia-Ukraine war: Zelenskyy condemns Russian attack on hospital as death toll rises – as it happened
9. ‘Ukraine must defend itself’: Washington leaders dismiss Putin’s war talk
10. Russia-Ukraine war: Red Cross confirms three of its staff killed as Zelenskiy blames Russia – as it happened
11. Russian attack in Ukrainian city of Poltava kills at least 50 people
12. Ukraine war briefing: Biden and Zelenskiy talk as Ukraine prepares to mark independence day
13. Russia-Ukraine war: Zelenskiy says Ukraine ‘achieving our goals’ in Kursk as third bridge is hit – as it happened
14. Russia-Ukraine war: key bridges destroyed in Kursk as Ukraine ‘leaves trail of destruction’ – as it happened
15. Russia-Ukraine war: Zelenskiy says Ukraine’s troops have full control of Sudzha in Kursk – as it happened
16. Zelenskiy praises Ukraine’s strikes on military targets inside Russia
17. ‘I was sleepwalking through a horror’: Kyiv left reeling by deadly Russian attack on hospital
18. Ukraine war briefing: Russia launches attacks on Kharkiv and Kyiv as Zelenskiy appeals for help
19. Ukraine’s air defence missiles are running out, Zelenskiy warns
20. Ukraine military draft age lowered to boost fighting force
21. Russian strikes hit Ukraine's largest dam – video

22. 31,000 Ukrainian soldiers killed since Russia invaded, Zelenskiy says – as it happened -

23. Russia-Ukraine war at a glance: what we know on day 728

24. Russia-Ukraine war at a glance: what we know on day 692

25. Zelenskiy lobbies for support and investment to reconstruct Ukraine

26. ‘Time is our life’: Volodymyr Zelenskiy on balancing urgency with diplomacy in the war against Russia

27. Zelenskiy on his stamina: 'It is not fair to have any weakness' – video

2025

1. ‘A spectacle to horrify the world’: what the papers say about Trump and Vance’s meeting with Zelenskyy

2. Trump administration briefing: clash with Zelenskyy shakes Washington – and the world

3. Ukraine ‘gambling with world war three’, Trump tells Zelenskyy in fiery meeting

4. The Trump-Zelenskyy slugfest was shocking. What does Ukraine do now?

5. 'Make a deal or we are out': the worst of Trump and Zelenskyy’s clash – video

6. A humiliation at the White House and what does it tell us? Trump would make a colony of my country

7. Trump tried to extort Zelenskyy and was impeached – now he may succeed

8. Russia could reinvade Ukraine without US security guarantees, Starmer warns

9. Trump has changed Ukraine debate ‘for the better’, says Downing Street

10. Russia launches largest drone attack on eve of third anniversary of invasion – as it happened

11. Trump blames Ukraine over war with Russia, saying it could have made a deal
12. ‘Everybody is tired. The mood has changed’: the Ukrainian army’s desertion crisis
13. Hope and scepticism in Ukraine as Zelenskyy says Trump can bring about ‘just peace’
14. Drones and firing over Kyiv as Starmer arrives to meet Zelenskyy – video
15. Defiant but tactful Zelenskyy seeks to move on from White House fiasco
16. Ukraine war briefing: Zelenskyy – clear that Europe supports us, grateful for US help
17. Zelenskyy greeted by cheering crowds in UK after Trump clash – video
18. Starmer hosts Zelenskyy for ‘meaningful and warm’ talks
19. The Observer view on the Trump-Zelenskyy clash: a moment of dark reckoning
20. UK gives royal welcome to Zelenskyy after White House meltdown
21. Trump officials fume at Zelenskyy for disregarding advice before meeting
22. ‘You have full backing across the UK’: Zelenskyy leaves Downing Street after meeting with Starmer – as it happened
23. Trump’s style of petty domination was in full display with Zelenskyy
24. ‘He defended our honour’: Ukraine reacts to Zelenskyy’s clash with Trump
25. Diplomacy dies on live TV as Trump and Vance gang up to bully Ukraine leader
26. ‘Dummies for Putin’: Democrats defend Zelenskyy after ‘shameful’ Trump meeting
27. The Guardian view on Zelenskyy in Washington: Trump turns his fire on the beleaguered president
28. In full: Zelenskyy and Trump meeting descends into heated argument in front of the press – video

29. 'You're all dressed up today': Trump greets Zelenskyy at the White House – video
30. 'Did I say that?': Donald Trump denies calling Zelenskyy a dictator even though he did – video
31. Zelenskyy insists on guarantees ahead of Trump meeting after US president says Ukraine can 'forget about' joining Nato – live – before meeting
32. No ceasefire without security guarantees for Ukraine, says Zelenskyy – video
33. Zelenskyy hails 'absolute heroism' of Ukraine as world leaders visit KyiV
34. Trump calls Zelenskyy a dictator amid fears of irreconcilable rift
35. Zelenskyy says he would 'quit for peace' as he refuses US demand for Ukraine minerals
36. Zelenskyy says Trump lives in 'disinformation bubble' after claim Ukraine started war – video
37. Ukraine will not accept results of any US-Russia talks held without them, Zelenskyy says – video
38. Zelenskyy's week from hell: shock in Ukraine as Trump abandons Kyiv
39. Zelenskyy demands 'real security guarantees' before peace talks; Vance accused of 'trying to pick a fight' with EU – as it happened
40. Trump says he believes Putin 'wants peace' with Ukraine as Zelenskyy warns not to trust Russian leader's claims – as it happened
41. TV tonight: Volodymyr Zelenskiy's remarkable pivot from comedian to president

The New York Times

2022

1. Calling Off Steel Plant Assault, Putin Prematurely Claims Victory in Mariupol
2. Russia's Thrust in Eastern Ukraine Combines Firepower and New Caution

3. Warning Ukraine's Friends to 'Think Twice,' Putin Tests Advanced Missile

4. More Cautious, Russia Embarks on New Phase of Ukraine War

5. Putin's Ukraine Gamble Pivots to a Very Different Battlefield

6. Putin's War in Ukraine Shatters an Illusion in Russia

7. The U.S. Races to Arm Ukraine With Heavier, More Advanced Weaponry

8. To Push Back Russians, Ukrainians Hit a Village With Cluster Munitions

9. Despair in Mariupol's last stronghold: 'They're bombing us with everything'

10. Ukraine's War Efforts Gain an Unlikely Source of Funding: Memes

11. Thousands of civilians are holed up with Ukrainian troops in Mariupol, officials say.

12. About 300 people died in the Mariupol theater attack, local officials say.

13. 'You would think it's a safe place': A nurse recounts an attack on a Mariupol hospital.

14. Russians Seize 42 Towns in Eastern Ukraine as Fighting Intensifies

15. One Ukrainian War Casualty: The World's Largest Airplane

16. Dug in on the front lines, Ukrainian soldiers fight to repel the Russian onslaught.

17. Ukraine News: Kyiv Intensifies Attacks on Russian Positions in South

2023

1. Russia Launches Widespread Air Attack on Ukrainian Cities

2. Ukraine Says It Downed 5 Russian Planes, as Moscow Claims It Seized a Town

3. He Was Ready to Die, but Not to Surrender

4. Zelensky, After Tough Year on Battlefield, Insists Ukraine Will Prevail

5. More Drones, Fewer Parks. Ukrainians Urge Spending Shift as War Drags On.

6. In a Tough Year on Land, Drones Give Ukraine Some Success at Sea
7. Ukraine's Counteroffensive Fizzled. U.S. Funding May Be Next.
8. Ukraine Heads Into Winter With a Fragile Power Grid
9. 'I Am Dreaming It Will Stop': A Deadlocked War Tests Ukrainian Morale
10. Frustrated Zelensky Says Ukraine's War Effort Is Being Underestimated
11. Both Sides Pay a Bloody Price for Coveted Ukrainian City
12. Has Support for Ukraine Peaked? Some Fear So.
13. Four Seconds to Impact: On the Front Line With Ukraine's Snipers
14. Who's Gaining Ground in Ukraine? This Year, No One.
15. Biden and Zelensky Try to Rally the World Behind Ukraine
16. 'Where Is the Money?' Military Graft Becomes a Headache for Ukraine
17. The Never-Ending Nightmare of Ukraine's Dam Disaster
18. With a Village Recaptured, Ukraine Takes the Next Step in Its

Counteroffensive

19. How the War in Ukraine Turned Tennis Into a Battlefield
20. A Brutal Path Forward, Village by Village

2024

1. Russia and Ukraine Swap More Than 300 Prisoners Ahead of U.S.

Transition

2. Russia Unleashes Another Wave of Attacks on Ukraine
3. With Trump Ascendant, Even Ukraine's Allies in Congress Rethink Aid
4. The End Game in Ukraine
5. 43,000 Ukrainian Soldiers Killed Since Russia Invaded, Zelensky Says
6. A Sudden Escalation in Ukraine Before Trump Takes Office
7. Ukraine Cancels Parliament Session, Citing a Warning Over a Missile

Attack

8. Russia Intensifies Assaults on an Exhausted Ukraine
9. Ukraine Has a Window to Strike Within Russia, but Trump May Close It
10. Ukraine Prioritizes Security, Not Territory, as Trump Pushes Truce Talks

11. How My War Came Home
12. Civilian Terror: Russia Hits Ukrainian Cities With Waves of Drones
13. With Limited Options, Zelensky Seeks a Path Forward for Ukraine
14. Zelensky Pitches His ‘Victory Plan’ to Ukrainian Lawmakers
15. In a Shattered Ukrainian Town, a Long Battle Nears a Sudden End
16. Zelensky Addresses the Security Council, Calling for Attention to Stay on Ukraine
17. After Key Town Falls in Ukraine’s East, Russian Forces Push Into Another
18. U.S. May Approve Ukrainian Strikes Deep in Russia, and Early Voting Begins
19. Russia Launches Deadly Missile and Drone Attacks on Ukraine
20. Missile and Drone Attacks Across Ukraine Kill at Least 7 in Lviv
21. Scenes of Carnage After Russian Attack on Ukrainian Military Academy and Hospital
22. Russia Hits Ukraine With Wave of Strikes as School Year Opens
23. Russians Bomb Kharkiv, Ukraine Says, After Russia Reports Wave of Attacks
24. On Ukraine’s Independence Day, Zelensky Celebrates Push Into Russia
25. Inside Ukraine’s Invasion of Russia
26. War Is Draining Ukraine’s Male-Dominated Work Force. Enter the Women.
27. Ukraine’s Surprise Attack Forces Russia to Divert Forces in Response
28. Ukraine Has Received F-16 Fighter Jets, Zelensky Says
29. After Furious Battles, Ukraine Loses a Pair of Hard-Won Villages
30. At Ukraine’s Largest Children’s Hospital, a Horrific Scene of Destruction
31. Russia Strikes Children’s Hospital in Deadly Barrage Across Ukraine
32. Devastation in Ukraine
33. Ukraine Warns of Deepening Russian Threat in the North
34. Russia Bombs Hardware Superstore in Kharkiv, Killing 12, Ukraine Says

35. Ukraine Starts Freeing Some Prisoners to Join Its Military
36. ‘What’s the Problem?’ Zelensky Challenges West Over Hesitations.
37. A Boxing Victory Offers Hope to War-Wearied Ukrainians
38. Zelensky Visits Embattled North as Russia Presses Broad Assaults
39. Russia Hits Ukrainian Power Plants, Further Straining Energy System
40. Russian Attacks Crush Factories and Way of Life in Ukrainian Villages
41. Ukraine’s Big Vulnerabilities: Ammunition, Soldiers and Air Defense
42. Russian Attack Leaves Over a Million in Ukraine Without Electricity
43. In Ukraine, Russia Is Inching Forward Death by Death
44. 31,000 Ukrainian Soldiers Killed in Two Years of War, Zelensky Says
45. Ukraine’s Deepening Fog of War
46. Hard Lessons Make for Hard Choices 2 Years Into the War in Ukraine
47. Ukraine’s Creative Use of Weapons Carries Promise and Risk
48. Ukraine Worries About Losing Its Biggest Weapon: U.S. Military Aid
49. War or No War, Many Older Ukrainians Want to Stay Put
50. Exhausted, on the Defensive and at ‘Hell’s Gate’ in Ukraine
51. Russia Hammers Kyiv With Missiles in Large-Scale Attack
52. Ukraine Has a New Military Commander but the Problems Haven’t

Changed

2025

1. Shocked by Trump, Zelensky and Ukraine Try to Forge a Path Forward
 2. Zelensky, Seeking a Diplomatic Victory With Trump, Leaves With a
- Debate
3. Zelensky Turns to Diplomacy in a War With ‘a Long Way to Go’
 4. The Fallout From Zelensky and Trump’s Oval Office Meltdown
 5. A Thousand Snipers in the Sky: The New War in Ukraine
 6. How Zelensky’s Oval Office Meeting Turned into a Showdown With

Trump

7. Europe Rallies Around Zelensky After Explosive White House Meeting
8. Zelensky Leaves White House After Clash With Trump
9. Zelensky Sets Somber Tone as Ukraine Marks War Anniversary
1. Ukraine Nears a Deal to Give U.S. a Share of Its Mineral Wealth
2. Fair or Not, Zelensky Is Angering Trump. Is His Style Hurting Ukraine?
3. Russia Talks Peace While Troops Threaten New Region in Ukraine
4. Trump Falsely Says Ukraine Started the War With Russia. Here Is What to

Know.

5. Ukraine's Equation
6. Zelensky Says Ukraine Unlikely to Survive Its War Without U.S. Support
7. Ukraine Will Not Be Sidelined in Peace Talks With Russia, Trump Says
8. Ukraine Says at Least 18 Civilians Are Killed in Strikes
9. Ukraine Is Losing Fewer Soldiers Than Russia — but It's Still Losing the

War

10. Russia Attacks Kyiv With Ballistic Missiles, Ukraine Says
11. Ukraine Launches 'Massive' Drone Attacks Inside Russia, Officials Say
12. Russian Strike Kills 13 in Zaporizhzhia, Ukraine
13. Zelensky Expresses Hope for 2025, but Russia Presses On With Attacks

Politico

2022

1. Ukraine: A battle over the future of Europe
2. Zelenskyy comes to Washington and pulls neither his punches nor his demands
3. Water shut off in Kyiv as Russia bombs several Ukrainian cities
4. Kyiv repels Russian drone attack
5. Ukrainians aren't delighted about sharing their Nobel peace prize
6. Europe's war lessons
7. Russian missile strikes take out power, water in Ukraine

8. Ukraine bracing for ‘massive’ missile strikes, Kyiv defense official says
9. The West’s consensus for a Ukraine Marshall plan is wrong
10. Target Crimea
11. Dispatch from Ukraine’s front lines: Here, casualties have faces
Time for Ukraine to talk to Russia? ‘Nuts!’
12. Russia threatens hundreds of thousands of people by mining dam, Zelenskyy warns
13. Ukraine war dims hopes for a global biodiversity cash injection
14. European Commission to pledge billions in Ukraine aid package, but key details remain unclear
15. Zelenskyy: Russia has destroyed 30 percent of Ukraine’s power stations
16. Ukraine reworks its weapons wish list as winter approaches
17. Zelenskyy says Europe cannot be stable with Putin in power
18. Mass burial sites found in liberated Izyum, Ukraine says
19. UK, the West mustn’t succumb to Ukraine war fatigue
20. Ukraine wants more Russia sanctions but Brussels can’t help
21. EU wants to train Ukraine’s army — eventually
22. Zelenskyy says ‘we will return’ to Crimea after blasts rock Russian base
23. Zelenskyy begs West for total ban on Russian travelers
24. Ukraine loses its best friend Boris. What happens next?
25. Funding Ukraine’s recovery with Russian riches causes legal headache
26. Last major Ukraine-controlled city in Luhansk region falls to Russia
27. We’re not all Ukrainians now
28. It’s time to be bolder to help Ukraine
29. Russia targets Ukrainian railway stations
30. Zelenskyy: ‘This is not a movie. This is real life.’
31. ‘Why isn’t the world helping?’ Ukrainians plead for more weapons from the West
32. Commission: €3.4B to help with Ukraine refugee crisis

33. The war in Ukraine is not ‘a picnic’
 34. 5 reasons war in Ukraine is a gut punch to the global food system
 35. 40-mile Russian military convoy nears Kyiv
 36. Zelenskyy’s emotional appeal to European Parliament: We are paying the ultimate price
 37. Escaping Ukraine: One man’s mission to rescue his family and help others
 38. As war rages, Russia and Ukraine agree to talks
 39. Lviv: Ukraine’s haven in the west
 40. Ukraine pleads with NATO, EU for arms, equipment in face of Russian attack
 41. The ‘soul’ of Ukraine hunkers down for war
 42. Battles flare across Ukraine after Putin declares war
 43. ‘Keep an alarm suitcase ready’: Scenes from a Kyiv facing Russian invasion
- 2023**

1. 21 killed in Ukrainian strikes on border regions, Russia says
2. Russia bombs cities across Ukraine in ‘massive’ overnight assault
3. Zelenskyy wants more details before authorizing half a million new troops
4. The fall of a Ukrainian hero
5. Ukraine needs a government of national unity
6. Ukraine’s tensions at the top spill into the open
7. NATO should be ready for ‘bad news’ from Ukraine, Stoltenberg warns
8. Ukraine’s top general: War with Russia has reached stalemate
9. Russia attacks Ukraine’s Danube ports with drones
10. Ukrainian attacks force Russia to relocate Black Sea fleet
11. With US shutdown averted, White House prepares to fight for Ukraine aid
12. Ukraine makes clear it won’t accept second-class EU membership
13. Ukraine walks telecoms tightrope between China and the West
14. As Ukraine counteroffensive gets bogged down, it’s back to the drawing board

15. Ukraine liberates another key village in southeast
16. Russia strikes Ukraine with Kinzhal missiles, damaging hospital in Kyiv
17. No cease-fire while Ukraine is on the offensive, Putin declares
18. Ukrainian troops liberate southern village, while Russia shoots down drone attack on Moscow
19. Make Ukraine a porcupine rather than a protectorate
20. Ukraine must show ‘gratitude’ to the West to keep support, UK defense minister warns
21. Zelenskyy brings home Azov fighters from Turkey, angering Moscow
22. Security for Ukraine — but how?
23. Why Ukraine should get an invitation to NATO
24. Kyiv counteroffensive inches ahead; Putin dismisses prospects of peace talks
25. Ukraine’s ‘rightful place’ is in NATO, says Rishi Sunak
26. Staying human in a time of war
27. Russia’s Ukraine invasion must end in failure like Afghanistan, says Estonian PM
28. Look out, Putin: Ukraine says it’s ‘ready’ to attack
29. Russia kills at least 19, including toddler, in massive rocket attack on Ukraine
30. Russian soldiers are ‘beasts,’ Zelenskyy says over beheading video
31. Ammo for Ukraine? EU might not be up to the task
32. To ensure a short war in Ukraine, we must prepare for a long one

2024

1. Zelenskyy calls Putin a ‘dumbass’
2. Ukraine lacks might to retake occupied territories, Zelenskyy concedes
3. World War III is already underway. In Ukraine.

4. Ukraine peace plans galore: Lots of ideas to end the fighting but the sides remain far apart
5. 7 weeks until Trump: Russia and Ukraine fight for advantage before peace talks are imposed
6. Zelenskyy accuses Russia of firing first intercontinental ballistic missile at Ukraine
7. Biden allows Ukraine to strike inside Russia
8. Kyiv 'unaware' of Trump-Putin call
9. October was worst month for Russia since start of Ukraine war, UK official says
10. Kyiv strains to see Trump's true plan for Ukraine
11. Ukraine faces toughest winter yet as energy shortages loom
12. Zelenskyy blasts White House for leaking secret missile plan to the New York Times
13. Russia hits hospitals, iconic Kharkiv skyscraper in overnight barrage
14. Zelenskyy outlines a vision for ending the 'hot stage' of the war
15. Trump suggests Zelenskyy is to blame for the Russia-Ukraine war
16. 'Winter is coming,' Zelenskyy warns as Putin threatens Ukraine's power grid
17. Poland and Ukraine's bloody past overshadows their anti-Russia alliance
18. Russia launches drone attacks on Kyiv and Odesa
19. Ukraine's 4-month countdown
20. Facing GOP attacks, Zelenskyy looks to sell White House on victory
21. Are we asking enough hard questions about Ukraine?
22. Zelenskyy's power grab is bad for Ukraine
23. Russian bombing kills 3 children in Lviv, Ukraine says
24. Zelenskyy suffers huge backlash as reshuffle triggers power-grab accusations

25. ‘We behave like humans’: How Ukraine frames its fighting and the laws of war

26. Russia kills over 50 in huge strike that hit hospital, Ukraine says

27. Russian missiles rain down on Kyiv the night before schools restart

28. Ukraine successfully tests its first ballistic missile

29. Ukraine claims launch of home-made ‘Palyanytsia’ drone missile at Russia

30. Kyiv’s offensive gets a greenish light from its allies

31. Ukraine ready to work with Trump if he wins, says Zelenskyy

32. Ukraine ‘urgently’ needs more air defenses, says German foreign minister

33. Situation in east Ukraine has ‘deteriorated significantly,’ Kyiv commander says

2025

1. Zelenskyy says Trump support ‘crucial’ after bruising Oval Office clash

2. ‘The insolent pig finally got a proper slap’: Russia celebrates Trump’s Zelenskyy takedown

3. ‘Free world needs a new leader’: Europe defends Zelenskyy after Trump attack

4. Zelenskyy offers to resign in exchange for peace, NATO entry

5. Ukrainian hopes fading as Trump and Putin embrace

6. Zelenskyy says Trump is ‘surrounded by disinformation’

7. Zelenskyy: I want to show Trump’s Ukraine-Russia envoy the front line

8. Ukraine will not participate in Russia-US talks, Zelenskyy says from UAE

9. ‘Freezing’ Ukraine war would allow Russia to threaten NATO, Latvian intelligence warns

10. Ukraine balks at signing Trump deal to hand over its mineral wealth

11. Ukrainian PM: The EU might not survive without us

12. Fear and loathing in Kyiv as Trump and Putin shut Ukraine out of peace talks

13. Russia hammers Ukraine with huge drone attack hours after Putin-Trump call

14. Ukraine lures new young soldiers with big money sparking anger from old guard

15. Zelenskyy proposes to trade land with Putin, offers to return Kursk

16. War of attrition strains Ukraine's army

17. Ukraine peace talks without Kyiv would send 'very dangerous' signal: Zelenskyy

18. Ukraine is pinning hopes on Putin exasperating Trump

19. Will Europe send troops to postwar Ukraine?

20. Kyiv air defense squad battles Russia's relentless drone attacks

21. Ukraine is trying to get its refugees back from Germany

22. Russia strikes Kyiv as UK's Starmer arrives to sign 100-year treaty with Zelenskyy

23. Zelenskyy warns Europe: You guys are doomed without us

Zelenskyy's image

1. Zelenskyy Forgot the First Rule of Dealing With Trump

2. UK's Starmer embraces Zelenskyy after Ukraine leader's Oval Office showdown

3. Trump envoy calls Zelenskyy 'courageous,' breaking from recent US criticism

4. Ukraine rallies around Zelenskyy after Trump's vicious attack

The Wall Street Journal

2022

1. Russia Begins Military Operation in Ukraine

2. Ukraine Shifts the War With a Surprise Attack

3. Russia Withdraws More Forces From Northeast Ukraine as Kyiv Presses

Advance

4. Russia Strikes Zelensky's Hometown as Ukrainian President Visits Recaptured Territory

5. In Major Advance, Ukraine Drives Russians Out of Key Front-Line Cities

6. Russia's War on Ukraine at 100 Days Has No End in Sight, Threatening Global Costs

7. 100 Days of Death and Devastation in Ukraine

8. Refugee Crisis Aggravates Ukraine's Demographic Collapse

9. Zelensky Says 'Victory Will Be Ours' as War Stretches for 100 Days

10. Thousands Flee Front-Line Towns in Ukraine as Russian Forces Advance

11. 100 Days In, Russia's Claims of Success in Ukraine Face Hard Test of Reality

12. Aboard the Last Train Service Evacuating Front-Line Ukrainian Towns in Donbas

13. Russian Forces Push Into Pivotal City in Eastern Ukraine

14. Official Body Count in Kyiv Region Passes 1,300

15. Dangerous Mission of Clearing Unexploded Ordnance

16. Ukraine Security Services Hunt for Russia Supporters and Agents in Their Midst

2023

1. Ukrainians Try to Keep Spirits Up at Christmas After Difficult Year

2. Zelensky Plea for Ukraine Aid Draws Sympathy but Doesn't Break Washington Impasse

3. Ukraine Braces for Another Winter of Missile Attacks, Blackouts

4. Russia Goes on the Offensive in Ukraine—and Suffers Heavy Losses

5. Ukraine, Partners Fight to Avoid Stalemate as Headwinds Grow

6. Zelensky Asks Europe for More Help as Missile Strike Kills 50

7. Inside Ukraine's Fight to Retake Bakhmut: 'The Ground Was Covered in Bodies'

8. Zelensky's Blunt Talk Wins Support but Also Irks Friends – IMAGE
9. Zelensky, Ukraine's War Messenger, Confronts a More Wary Washington
10. Russian Strike on Ukrainian City Kills 16
11. Ukraine Wants to Break Through Russian Defenses. That's Only the First Step.
12. Why Russia's War in Ukraine Could Run for Years
13. Russian Strike on Ukrainian City Kills Seven, Injures More Than 100
14. In Ukraine, Amputations Already Evoke Scale of World War I
15. Ukraine's Lack of Weaponry and Training Risks Stalemate in Fight With Russia
16. West Can't Afford to Drop the Ball on Ukraine, U.K. Foreign Secretary Says
17. Why the Ukraine Counteroffensive Is Such Slow Going
18. Deepening Poverty Grips Ukraine, Spurs Resilience
19. Ukraine Counterattack Is Heavy Going, West Says
20. Ukraine's Zelensky Says He Will Beat Russia by Holding On to His Humanity
21. How Medical Treatment Is Giving Ukraine a Quiet Edge Over Russia
22. Russian Missile Attack Kills Two at Busy Restaurant in East Ukraine
23. Ukraine's Offensive Slows Down, Zelensky Says, as Kyiv Rethinks Approach
24. Russia Strikes Ukrainian Cities With Drones as Fighting Rages in the South
25. 'Mines Everywhere': Ukraine's Offensive Is Proving a Hard Slog
26. Russian Strikes Kill Six in Ukraine as Moscow Looks to Undermine Kyiv's Counteroffensive
27. 'Just the Beginning': Hardened Ukrainian Units Go on Attack in Country's East
28. Ukraine's Offensive Begins With Ground Gained, Tanks Lost
29. Burst Ukraine Dam Alters Battlefield as Floodwaters Rise

30. Ukraine Launched Biggest Attacks in Months, Moscow Says
31. A Month of Russian Missile Attacks Leaves Kyiv Residents on Edge
32. Missiles Kill Three in Kyiv as Russia Claims to Thwart New Border Incursion
33. Russia Launches Largest Drone Attack on Kyiv Since Start of War
34. Ukraine Races to Forge New Army Ahead of Offensive
35. The Offensive Before the Offensive: Ukraine Strikes Behind Russian Lines
36. ‘Bakhmut Trap’: Ukrainian Advances Vindicate Defense of Besieged City
37. Trump’s Indifference on Ukraine War Sets Stark Choice for U.S. Voters in 2024
38. Ukraine Downs Dozens of Drones Over Kyiv in Russian Air Assault
- 2024**
1. Killing of Top Russian General Is a Message From Ukraine: You Aren’t Safe—Even at Home
 2. Trump to Europe: Overseeing a Ukraine Cease-Fire Would Be Your Job
 3. Europe Can’t Make Ukraine Enough Weapons—So It’s Paying Kyiv to Do It
 4. Ukraine Clings to Shrinking Sliver of Russia, Expecting Trump to Push for Peace Talks
 5. Ukraine’s Western Missiles Threaten Big Russian Assets
 6. Ukraine Uses U.S.-Provided Long-Range Missiles in Russia for First Time
 7. Long-Range Missiles Are in Play for Ukraine—but Are They Too Late?
 8. American Drone Startup Notches Rare Victory in Ukraine
 9. Ukraine Is Striking Deeper Inside Russia—and Reshaping the War
 10. Pentagon Chief, in Surprise Visit to Ukraine, Announces New Aid but Not Kyiv’s Main Asks
 11. Ukraine Has Resisted Russia in One Key Town for Months. Its Hold Is Starting to Break.

12. Ukraine Faces Bleak Winter as Russia Ramps Up Assaults, U.S. Support Trickles In
13. Ukraine Loses an Eastern Stronghold as Russia Grinds Forward
14. Zelensky Visited U.S. to Seek War Boost. His Most Important Ally Shrugged.
15. On Ukraine's Snake Island, the Heart of the Battle for the Black Sea
16. More Ukrainians Want to Negotiate an End to the War. Soldiers Don't Agree.
17. In Russia's Kursk, Ukraine Takes On a New Role: Occupier
18. Deadliest Russian Missile Strike This Year Highlights Ukraine's Air-Defense Shortage
19. As Ukraine Invades Russia, Kyiv's Troops Are in Trouble on the Eastern Front
20. Ukrainian Forces Push Deeper Into Russian Territory Following Surprise Incursion
21. For Ukraine and Russia, a Deadly Summer Lies Ahead With Little Hope of Big Gains
22. Zelensky's Formidable Task: Keeping the West and His Citizens On Board
23. Ukraine's Global Diplomatic Flurry Fails to Outflank Russia
24. Russia's Devastating Attacks on Ukraine's Grid Spark Fears of Brutal Winter
25. Russia Aims to Make Life Unlivable in Ukraine's Second City
26. Ukraine Rushes in Reinforcements to Stem New Russian Advance
27. Trump Is Unlikely to Abandon Ukraine—and Might Dangerously Escalate the War
28. U.S. Aid Is a Lifeline for Ukraine's Struggle to Hold Off Defeat
29. Ukraine, in Need of Troops, Lowers Age of Conscription
30. Ukraine's Impossible Choice: Conceding Territory or Lives
31. Zelensky Says 31,000 Ukrainian Troops Killed in Two Years of War

32. Ukraine's Bloody Decade: A Visual History of 10 Years at War
33. Zelensky's Military Shake-Up Ties Him to Battlefield Performance
34. Ukraine's Zelensky, Facing Rising Challenges, Touts Leadership Overhaul

– IMAGE

35. 'The Showman' Review: Zelensky's Wartime Transformation – IMAGE
36. Ukraine's War Effort Is Stuck. This Heroic Battlefield Failure Shows Why.
2025

1. U.S. Suspends Intelligence Sharing With Ukraine
2. Zelensky Calls Heated Meeting With Trump 'Regrettable' in Bid to Mend

Ties

3. Opinion: Zelensky Issues a Tacit Apology
4. Trump-Zelensky Meeting Implodes, Threatening Hopes for Peace
5. Trump halts U.S. aid to Ukraine after Oval Office dustup with Zelensky
6. Ukrainians Are Weary but Determined to End War on Just Terms
7. Ukraine Growth Forecast Cut as Russia Targets Electricity Network
8. How Much Has the U.S. Spent on Ukraine?
9. Without U.S. Aid, Ukraine Would Lose Some of Its Most Sophisticated

Weapons

10. U.S. Tells Ukraine It Has a Seat at Negotiating Table With Russia
11. Putin's Torturers Couldn't Break These Ukrainian Prisoners
12. Ukraine Advances Killer Robot Drones With More Automation, Efficiency
13. Zelensky, Who Stood Up to Putin, Now Refuses to Bow to Trump
14. Trump and Zelensky Both Suffer Setbacks After Oval Office Blowup
15. Ukraine's Zelensky, Left Out of U.S.-Russia Talks, Sees Little Chance for

Progress

16. Trump Calls Zelensky Dictator in Escalating Row Over Ukraine Peace

Talks

17. How Trump's Polite Meeting With Zelensky Descended Into Acrimony

