Metaphoric consideration of the UKRAINE concept significance in the non-Ukrainian journalistic discourse and its influence on social and linguistic consciousness – A corpus research of the 2022-2025 wartime period

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Abstract. The article studies associations of the Ukrainian topic in non-Ukrainian journalistic sources of the 2022-2025 wartime period to define how importance of Ukrainian support is regarded from the worldwide safety perspective. The research relies on heritage of the Ukrainian cognitive linguistics where concept is treated as a dynamic layer unity of notion, image and values, which develops in the constantly evolving discourse as social and linguistic consciousness with a changeable public attitude to its essence. The research is conducted via corpus as a mini-model of discourse. The News on the Web (NOW) Corpus is selected as the most authentic base of permanently updating resources since 2010 till today. 122 journalistic sources are taken from the NOW Corpus to produce a 230-context sample of Ukrainian metaphoric associations in the non-Ukrainian press. The sample is processed via the Lakoff-Johnson conceptual metaphor methodology to provide a list of images non-Ukrainians associate Ukraine with. All 421 detected cases of metaphoric associations are sorted by decreasing frequency in mental clusters (law, biology, structure, labor, psychology, science, economics, art and leisure, interpersonal communication). It produces a metaphoric spectrum from the most to least relevant images of the UKRAINE concept within the non-Ukrainian community. Consequently, UKRAINE is associated as ORGANISM; HUMAN; BUILDING; WARRIOR; LEGAL STATUS. Moderate considerations are reflected via metaphors UKRAINE as GAME; VICTIM; MACHINE; PHYSICAL BODY; OWNER; PARTNER; TARGET; OFFENDER; PRODUCT. The least frequent metaphors are UKRAINE is TEAM; FRAGMENTED OBJECT; COMPLEX OBJECT; SINGLE OBJECT; PROPERTY; IDEA; AUTHORITY; JESUS CHRIST; ANIMAL; PLANT; VEHICLE; FAMILY; CONSUMER; RESOURCE; LIQUID; SOLID; DEBTOR; ACCUSER; LEGAL SUBJECT; FLAME; LESSON; WRITTEN TEXT; PASSENGER; SCALES; GARMENT; GLASSWARE; PICTURE; RESEARCHER; EQUATION; RIVAL; BOMB. The results

are open for specification (new samples of the UKRAINE concept may be processed because the war is not over and future non-Ukrainian associations may differ, respectively).

Keywords: Ukraine, wartime, concept, layer model, image, conceptual metaphor.

Степанов Віталій, Ємельянова Олена, Баранова Світлана, Набок Марина. Метафоричне осмислення значущості концепту УКРАЇНА в неукраїнському публіцистичному дискурсі та його вплив на суспільну й мовну свідомість – корпусне дослідження воєнного періоду 2022-2025 років.

Анотація. У статті досліджено асоціації української тематики в неукраїнських публіцистичних джерелах воєнного періоду 2022-2025 років з метою з'ясувати, як саме подається важливість підтримки України з точки зору світової безпеки. Дослідження спирається на науковий доробок української когнітивної лінгвістики, де концепт розглядається як динамічна шарова єдність поняття, образу та цінностей, що еволюціонує в дискурсі, який постійно розвивається як суспільна і мовна свідомість із мінливим ставленням громадськості до сутності концепту. Студія проводиться за допомогою корпусу як міні-моделі дискурсу. Зокрема, автори обрали корпус News on the Web (NOW) як найбільш автентичну базу ресурсів, що постійно оновлюється з 2010 року до сьогодні. З корпусу NOW було відібрано 122 публіцистичні джерела, з яких було сформовано 230-контекстну вибірку метафоричних асоціацій України у неукраїнській пресі. Вибірку опрацьовано за методикою концептуальної метафори Лакоффа-Джонсона для отримання переліку образів, за якими неукраїнці асоціюють українців. 421 виявлений випадок метафоричних асоціацій відсортовано за зменшенням частотної реалізації в ментальних кластерах (право, біологія, структура, праця, психологія, наука, економіка, мистецтво та дозвілля, міжособистісні стосунки). Це створює метафоричний спектр від найбільш до найменш релевантних образів концепту УКРАЇНА у свідомості неукраїнської спільноти. Отже, УКРАЇНА переважно асоціюється як ОРГАНІЗМ; ЛЮДИНА; БУДИНОК; ВОЇН; ПРАВОВИЙ СТАТУС. Помірне осмислення здійснюється через метафори УКРАЇНА як ГРА; ЖЕРТВА; МАШИНА; ФІЗИЧНЕ ТІЛО; ВЛАСНИК; ПАРТНЕР; ЦІЛЬ; ПОРУШНИК; ПРОДУКТ. Найменш частотними є метафори УКРАЇНА як КОЛЕКТИВ; ФРАГМЕНТОВАНИЙ ОБ'ЄКТ; КОМПЛЕКСНИЙ ОБ'ЄКТ; ЦІЛІСНИЙ ОБ'ЄКТ; ВЛАСНІСТЬ; ІДЕЯ; ВЛАДА; ІСУС ХРИСТОС; ТВАРИНА; РОСЛИНА; ТРАНСПОРТНИЙ ЗАСІБ; СІМ'Я; СПОЖИВАЧ; РЕСУРС; РІДИНА; ТВЕРДЕ ТІЛО; БОРЖНИК; ОБВИНУВАЧ; СУБ'ЄКТ ПРАВА; ПОЛУМ'Я; УРОК; ПИСЬМОВИЙ ТЕКСТ; ПАСАЖИР; ВАГИ; ОДЯГ; СКЛЯНИЙ ПОСУД; КАРТИНА; ДОСЛІДНИК; РІВНЯННЯ; СУПЕРНИК; БОМБА. Результати відкриті для подальшої конкретизації в нових дослідженнях (можуть бути опрацьовані нові дискурсивні вибірки концепту УКРАЇНА, оскільки війна не закінчилася і майбутні асоціації можуть відрізнятися).

Ключові слова: Україна, воєнний час, концепт, шарова модель, образ, концептуальна метафора.

Introduction

It goes without saying that people are social rather than purely natural beings. Since the moment of emergence, the humanity has been developing with a constant experience reconsideration in mind. The accumulated knowledge is represented mentally as separate units – concepts.

The modern concept perspective has formed as long-lasting improvement of cognitive theories. A prominent place among them is occupied by Ukrainian researchers from Kharkiv, Sumy, Kyiv, Kherson, Zhytomyr, Lviv, Odessa, Mariupol, Cherkasy, Zaporizhzhia.

The Kharkiv cognitive school (Martyniuk, 2012; Shevchenko, 2013; Bondarenko et al., 2017) has a peculiar attitude to the medium of concept existence. Concepts are believed to emerge, change and improve in the constantly evolving communicative space. This medium as social and linguistic consciousness is called discourse. In contrast to its previous idea as a stable communication in certain circumstances, today's discourse is treated as a permanently reconsiderable mind and speech process. In other words, when speaking, people imagine their previous experience of interaction with the world and reconsider it instantly after acquiring new knowledge about the essence in the moment of speech. Such an improved mental picture is stored in new meanings of words as concept names. Consequently, concepts evolve permanently along with the discourse itself.

The Sumy cognitive school (Zhulavska, 2011; Tatsenko, 2017; Stepanov et al., 2023) provides a comprehensive idea of the concept realization in human mind. Functioning in the discourse, the concept is manifested as a perceptive, cognitive, affective and volitional entity. As a mental dynamic unit about a certain world phenomenon, it represents permanent emotional reconsideration of individual and collective experience of interaction with the world phenomenon. Thus, people perceive the environment and regard it emotionally with a peculiar unstable attitude – positive and negative. Such a changeable assessing process is called valorization. This feature is the main distinction between the concept (a cognitive essence) and the notion (a logical essence).

The Kyiv cognitive school (Vorobiova, 2004; Nikonova, 2005) offers distinction between two types of consciousness: ordinary and artistic. Based on the same cognitive processes, the former provides a neutral consideration of humanity experience while the latter produces a specifically aesthetic treatment of the concept essence. In other words, the concept of ordinary consciousness refers to phenomena objectively regarded by the whole humanity whereas the concept of artistic consciousness implies extra subjective interpretations of the previously neutral essence by a writer. He may do it to intentionally underline significance of the ordinary concept within a certain human community. Therefore, artistic thinking may mislead from objective reality. Modifying the concept essence in literature, the author can distort it with own goals (positive or negative), which emotionally impacts on readers.

The artistic considerations of concepts were widely explored by scholars from Kyiv (Nikonova, 2005), Kherson (Bieliekhova, 2002), Zhytomyr (Borysov, 2005), Lviv (Starko, 2004), etc.

When concepts are reconstructed, it is necessary to define a set of units that reveal its inner essence. According to the Odessa cognitive school (Kolegaieva, 2018), there can be five principal stages to select an appropriate empirical basis of verbal names in researching the concept essence. Firstly, nominative units semantically adjacent to the key concept name are taken from explanatory dictionaries: words, phraseologisms and paroemias with their respective definitions. Secondly, semes of nominative units are defined. Thirdly, semes are arranged by meaning and word formation potential. Fourthly, the set of semes is grouped into the core, medial and peripheral zones. Fifthly, the etymological analysis of semes is conducted.

Among Ukrainian scholars, there is no single idea what units can be regarded strictly as concept names. Zhabotynska (2013), a Cherkasy researcher, regards multiple-level units as possible means to study the concept essence: morphemes, words, word combinations, sentences, texts. This idea was also previously supported by Pocheptsov (1996), a Mariupol linguist. Such an approach adjoins ideas of Bekhta & Bekhta (2019), Lviv experts, who regard a single literary text as a tool to reconstruct concepts. Simultaneously, Lomonosova (2013) and Taranenko (2014), scholars from Kyiv, propose resorting to texts of small form like proverbs, fables, tales, jokes, songs, etc., where concept is also vividly reflected as a reconsidered experience of humanity existence.

Besides, the concept nominativeness is not only limited to verbal units. Specific concept associations may be also derived from non-verbal means. For example, no looking into eyes implies LIE, laughter concerns FUN, red light relates to PROHIBITION, etc. Sometimes, concepts are studied via a simultaneous combination of verbal and non-verbal means. Such cases are called creolized texts (Bondarenko, 2017). As a combination of verbal and visual means, there can be various creolized texts for study of a certain concept: postcard, comic strip, meme, Internet post, advertisement, etc.

The Cherkasy cognitive school (Selivanova, 2008; Zhabotynska, 2013) proposes own approaches to reconstruction of concepts via lexemes and other means as their names. Accepting valorization as the main concept feature, the researchers distinguish between the notion as mental information or denotative meaning of the word and the concept itself as an assessed meaning of the word. Respectively, the former is regarded as a conceptual model while the latter as a cognitive model. Therefore, the single conceptual model (non-valorized mental information or denotative meaning) is processed via different

cognitive operations, which may produce various cognitive models of the same concept (valorized mental information or denotative meaning). These cognitive models can be manifested in the field, modus, layer and other forms.

Among Ukrainian scholars, it the layer cognitive model that is mostly applied to reconstruct the full nature of a certain concept. The layer model was offered by the Zaporizhzhia cognitive school (Prykhodko, 2008). Such a model is manifested as a unity of three layers: notion, image and value. The notion and image produce a conceptual model as denotative information and associations about a certain essence. Above them, the value layer is put. It shows how relevant the essence is for people who consider it and what respective attitude they have.

There are conventional approaches to determining the notion, image and value layers. According to Prykhodko (2008), the notion as denotative meaning is given in explanatory dictionaries. The image is defined via the conceptual metaphor or association test methodologies. The value is calculation how often people associate concept with peculiar images, how frequent they use concept names in discourse. That shows the concept relevance for the community (valorization). Additionally, the value may be determined via assessing components in the concept name meanings and their emotional combinability with other words in speech. Other assessing techniques may be also engaged.

It is the image layer that is usually most difficult to define because various language communities may differ in associating the same concept essence. Researchers often rely on the conceptual metaphor methodology to reveal mental associations of the concept ontology.

As a process of reconsidering the concept essence via image of other concepts (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Kövecses, 2020), the conceptual metaphor methodology has been widely applied to conduct studies of peculiar socially important concepts. According to overview of the Scopus / Web of Science articles, scholars often use conceptual metaphors to research political communication (Oliynyk & Shevchenko, 2016; Morozova, 2017; Stojan & Mijić, 2019). Besides, experts are interested in metaphorization of sharp worldwide problems like COVID-19 (Abdel-Qader & Al-Khanji, 2022; Lahlou & Rahim, 2022; Jamal & Zhang, 2025). It is interesting that the pandemic is often metaphorized within a war context as a dangerous enemy to defeat (Benzi & Novarese, 2022; Jiang, 2023; Truc, 2024).

Within the Ukrainian state topic, home and foreign scholars have been applying conceptual metaphors to study socially relevant phenomena. In particular, linguists investigated metaphorization peculiarities of such concepts as the Dignity Revolution (Yehorova & Rohoza, 2015), the Donbas conflict and its

prehistory (Šeškauskienė & Ostanina-Olszewska, 2016; Diedkova & de Landtsheer, 2018).

Simultaneously, a wave of research interest awakened after beginning of the Russian full-scale invasion on 24 February 2022. There were conceptual metaphor studies of the Russian-Ukrainian War in various non-Ukrainian journalistic sources, for example American, British, Polish and Russian (Nytspol & Kobuta, 2022; Kiklewicz, 2024; Pawliszko, 2025). Each source produces different associations of the same war concept, which influences the audience attitude to Ukrainians.

On the one hand, we see a firm trust of scholars to conceptual metaphor as a methodology to define associations of the image layer in the concept ontology. On the other hand, the topic of Ukraine makes a public concern among non-Ukrainians. Respective communities should understand the importance of Ukrainian support to prevent any other military aggressions in future. Therefore, the mental consideration of Ukraine is critical. It underlines the topicality of our research.

For Europe and the world in general, the topic of Ukraine is of special significance. Since many non-Ukrainians have already forgotten about any wars, believing in their absolute safety under the NATO umbrella or within other military blocs, it is extremely important to make the strongest efforts in containing and eliminating any peace threat in any part of the planet. Otherwise, no blocs will rescue nations and consequently the humanity from destruction. Therefore, it is necessary to consolidate common efforts in stopping the Russian-Ukrainian War for preventing any other military conflicts of local or global scale. A specific barrier in this sphere may be the peculiar way how journalists represent the topic of Ukraine in non-Ukrainian sources. It can both strengthen and weaken the attitude to the Ukrainian topic among authorities and common people of foreign states, which impacts on international support of Ukraine in resisting the Russian aggression. Thus, new studies should be conducted to comprehend how non-Ukrainians are currently concerned about the Ukrainian support in stopping the war and establishing all-European peace.

As the aim of our study in this article, we will investigate the UKRAINE concept consideration in the non-Ukrainian press during the wartime period since the Russian full-scale invasion. Its association potential is realized as image within the layer cognitive model. Sorted by decreasing frequency, the conceptual metaphors as images will show non-Ukrainian attitude to the topic of Ukraine against prevention of further war escalation and peace establishment in the world. The methodology and research tasks are given in the next section.

Methods

Study of the UKRAINE concept metaphorization as associations of the image layer requires applying an appropriate research methodology. Since discourse is regarded as a constantly updating communication space (as a medium of the UKRAINE concept actualization as well as its social and linguistic consciousness), it is reasonable to use refreshable mini-models of communication where conceptual metaphors occur. Such a mini-model is generally called corpus.

In simple words, corpus is a compact set of authentic texts reflecting a certain speech phenomenon as close to reality as possible (Baker et al., 2006). Via representativeness, electronic format, annotation and software support as their key features, various corpora may be generated. Among the most famous and reliable corpora, we can find national ones that cover realization of almost any concept in all possible speech genres. For example, such corpora are the British National Corpus (BNC, 2025) or the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA, 2025).

Although authentic and trustworthy, the BNC and COCA corpora may not be suitable for research of the UKRAINE concept metaphorization features. The reason is the research implementation time: the wartime period comprises years 2022 to 2025 while the COCA and BNC inventory usually covers the English language of the 1990s-2010s. Also, these corpora cover only the English consideration of phenomena (in the United Kingdom and the USA) rather than consideration by other communities. Therefore, alternative and more updatable bases are required. One of them is the News on the Web Corpus (NOW, 2025).

The NOW Corpus covers speech contexts created since 2010 till today. It includes authoritative English-language periodicals as sources originating from various countries of different parts of the world. It can provide a complete picture of how non-Ukrainians metaphorically consider the UKRAINE concept in their press. Therefore, we select the NOW Corpus to conduct our research.

The sampling procedure is initiated via search queries (keywords) in the NOW Corpus to find contexts of the UKRAINE metaphorization examples. Respectively, we select such units as "Ukrainian state", "Ukrainian nation", "Ukrainians" to find appropriate contexts. Only contexts of the 2021-2025 year range are suitable for our study: from rumors about and beginning of the full-scale Russian aggression on 24 February 2022 till today. To ensure the research objectivity, contexts are selected randomly. Finally, we collect 230 contexts of

the NOW Corpus with examples of non-Ukrainian metaphoric consideration of the UKRAINE concept.

Table 1 below represents the full list of 122 electronic periodicals as sources the corpus sample contexts about UKRAINE (230 cases) originate from. The number in square brackets means how many times the corpus sample contexts were taken from the respective source.

Table 1

Sources of the UKRAINE Concept Metaphorization from the NOW Corpus

Region	Source
Europe (30 of 122 sources – 24.5%)	*The Guardian* [11]; *The Irish Times* [6]; *Reuters* [4]; *Politico Europe* [4]; *The Telegraph* [3]; *The Sunday Times* [3]; *The Daily Express* [3]; *BNE Intellinews* [3]; *BBC* [2]; *The Times* [2]; *The Irish Examiner* [2]; *The Daily Mirror* [2]; *The Week* [2]; *The Spectator* [2]; *The I Paper* [2]; *The Daily Mail* [1]; *The Irish Independent* [1]; *Sky News* [1]; *The Daily Herald* [1]; *TheJournal.ie* [1]; *Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty* [1]; *The Screen Daily* [1]; *The New European* [1]; *The Catholic Herald* [1]; *Christian Forums* [1]; *Tech Xplore* [1]; *The Economist* [1]; *The York Press* [1]; *The Metro* [1]; *Politics Home* [1] Total: 66 of 230 cases (29%)
Asia (30 of 122 sources – 24.5%)	*The Asia Times* [9]; *The Indian Express* [2]; *The Financial Express* [2]; *Al Jazeera* [2]; *The Times of Israel* [2]; *ZAWYA* [2]; *The Daily Pioneer* [2]; *ARY News* [1]; *The Malay Mail* [1]; *The Times of India* [1]; *The Northlines* [1]; *The Nation* [1]; *The Business Times* [1]; *The Wire* [1]; *The Daily Mirror* [1]; *The Hindustan Times* [1]; *Countercurrents.org* [1]; *The Jerusalem Post* [1]; *The News International* [1]; *The Daily Times* [1]; *Scroll.in* [1]; *The Daily Excelsior* [1]; *News18.com* [1]; *The Sunday Observer* [1]; *Devdiscourse News* [1]; *Ucanews.com* [1]; *Outlook India* [1]; *The Quint* [1]; *Philstar.com* [1]; *NewsClick* [1] Total: 44 of 230 cases (19%)
America (49 of 122 sources – 40%)	*The Atlantic* [15]; *CNN* [11]; *The Washington Post* [5]; *The New Yorker* [5]; *The Globe and Mail* [4]; *Yahoo! News* [4]; *The Conversation* [3]; *The Associated Press* [2]; *The Washington Examiner* [2]; *The Los Angeles Times* [2]; *NBC News* [2]; *ABC* [2]; *PBS News Hour* [2]; *The Mercury News* [2]; *Slate* [2]; *Hotair.com* [2]; *War on the Rocks* [2]; *National Public Radio* [2]; *The*

	HuffPost [1]; *CBS News* [1]; *The New York Daily News* [1]; *Jacobin* [1]; *World Socialist Website* [1]; *The Thompson Citizen* [1]; *The Wired* [1]; *The Nation* [1]; *The Hill* [1]; *Foreign Affairs* [1]; *The Chicago Tribune* [1]; *The Advocate* [1]; *The Medicine Hat News* [1]; *Voice of America* [1]; *The Hartford Courant* [1]; *The Mining Journal* [1]; *Twin Cities.com – Pioneer Press* [1]; *The American Conservative* [1]; *The Free Press* [1]; *The Christian Science Monitor* [1]; *Poynter.org* [1]; *Time* [1]; *Tech Church* [1]; *The New York Times* [1]; *The New York Post* [1]; *Canada.com* [1]; *National Review* [1]; *The National Post* [1]; *The Prince George Citizen* [1]; *The Washington Times* [1]; *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* [1] Total: 100 of 230 cases (43%)
Africa, Australia and New Zealand (13 of 122 sources – 11%)	*The Citizen* [4]; *The ASPI Strategist* [3]; *News.com.au* [2]; *The Premium Nigeria Times* [2]; *The Daily Dispatch* [1]; *The Independent Nigeria* [1]; *PM News Nigeria* [1]; *My Joy Online – Ghana News* [1]; *KBC* [1]; *Sahara Reporters* [1]; *The Independent Australia* [1]; *The Sydney Morning Herald* [1]; *Interest.co.nz* [1] Total: 20 of 230 cases (9%)

230 contexts about UKRAINE are analyzed via the conceptual metaphor methodology by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). The obtained metaphors are sorted by the decreasing frequency to identify comprehensive non-Ukrainian preferences in imagining UKRAINE as a separate humanity concept in the wartime frame. It is quantitatively established what values non-Ukrainians put into associating consideration of UKRAINE during the 2022-2025 wartime period.

Results

Analysis of 230 corpus contexts identifies two vectors of the UKRAINE metaphoric consideration: biological and social.

1. The biological metaphorization vector regards UKRAINE as ORGANISM, which can be assessed in terms of evolution, anatomy and physiology.

Evolutionally, UKRAINE as ORGANISM is born and exists. It develops in a good and bad way, e.g.:

> It is now clear that the **Ukrainian nation** has been **born**. It was being **birthed** for many decades or centuries in torment, now it has united and has been **born** (Yahoo! News, 28.04.22).
>
> Blinken quoted extensively from Vladimir Putin's long catalog of statements denying the **existence of the Ukrainian state and people** (The Asia Times, 12.12.24).
>
> The success of the Ukrainian military over the past few months, along with the **evolution of the Ukrainian state itself toward a more tolerant, more liberal norm**, reveals what makes a better army in the modern world (The Atlantic, 28.09.22).
>
> The armed forces under Kyiv's control had huge stocks of weapons, military equipment and ammunition left in the region from the Soviet Union, but much of this equipment was either very outdated or in poor condition due to decades of **degradation of the Ukrainian state and army** (KBC, 26.02.24).

UKRAINE as ORGANISM tries to survive among other organisms, with ability on inability to propagate, e.g.:

> The **Ukrainian nation**, a European nation, is fighting for its **survival** (ZAWYA, 24.02.23).
>
> Yet, politicians were willing to come together and present a unified front against Russia's aggression and against Russia's attempts to destabilize Ukraine. And that's very important. And I think it shows **the maturity of the Ukrainian state** (National Public Radio, 18.02.22).
>
> Russians want the **Ukrainian state erased and neutered**, while the latter want Russians to pull out of all Ukrainian territory, including Crimea, pay war reparations and face war crimes tribunals (The Wire, 11.11.22).

Finally, UKRAINE as ORGANISM may die and get extinct, e.g.:

> He needed to persuade Americans, Europeans, and Ukrainians that victory was impossible, that the only alternative was surrender, and that the **Ukrainian state would disappear** in due course (The Atlantic, 21.04.24).

Anatomically, UKRAINE as ORGANISM has a certain body structure. Its parts may be present or absent, e.g.:

> Even if that were to happen, though, the fact remains that Putin's original war aim of bringing **a rump Ukrainian state** back firmly within the Russian orbit remains intact (The Irish Times, 13.11.24).
>
> Instead of the planned lightning strike, Putin's forces have become bogged down, leading to the abandonment of his hinted-at strategic objective of **decapitating the Kyiv government** and **dismembering the Ukrainian state** (The Spectator, 26.03.22).

Some features of the UKRAINE as ORGANISM anatomy may be inborn, e.g.:

> Five years after the catastrophe, Ukrainians voted themselves out of the Soviet Union. The independence of the modern **Ukrainian state has a nuclear birthmark** (CNN, 02.09.22).

Existing in the world, certain organs of UKRAINE as ORGANISM may function properly or improperly because of problems, e.g.:

> The intent of such an action, like the Holodomor of 1932-1933, would be to **break the back of the Ukrainian nation** (The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, 09.03.22).
> These images will be difficult to **stomach for the authorities in Kyiv**, who are watching Russians slowly gaining ground and removing all trace of the Ukrainian state (PBS News Hour, 30.05.22).

Physiologically, UKRAINE as ORGANISM may sleep and wake up, e.g.:

> Sibir said there is now a joke that Putin has done more to **awaken the Ukrainian nation** than Stepan Bandera, a famous Ukrainian nationalist (NBC News, 18.05.22).

UKRAINE as ORGANISM interacts with the environment. Its vital energy may increase or decrease, e.g.:

> The Euromaidan Revolution, also known as the Revolution of Dignity, and past Russian threats and aggressions have already done much to **strengthen Ukrainian state identity** (War on the Rocks, 13.04.22).
> Putin is trying to **weaken Ukraine** as much as he can to reduce its value to the Western world it is trying to join (The Asia Times, 19.06.22).

UKRAINE as ORGANISM vitality may be affected via diseases. The reasons are weather, chemical, bacterial or other factors, e.g.:

> Russia tried to **freeze to death the entire Ukrainian nation** by attacking its power and heat generation during the winter of 2022-2023 (The Hill, 15.03.23).
> Endemic corruption has acted as a **bane for the Ukrainian nation** (The Daily Pioneer, 26.11.23).
> Russian state media has used the existence of the regiment as proof of its false claim that **the Ukrainian state has been infected** with nazism, as Russia's president Vladimir Putin vowed to denazify the country (The Guardian, 29.06.22).

Besides, UKRAINE as ORGANISM may be wounded via beating or gunshots with a possible disability, e.g.:

> Thus, the same Western power bloc that maintains a genocidal Israeli state now must also subsidize **a battered Ukrainian state and society** (The Sunday Observer, 24.02.24).
> In 2014, when Russia's "little green men" made fast work of Crimea, **the Ukrainian state was riddled** with corruption and barely democratic (The Atlantic, 01.07.24).
> Objectives may eventually shift once more, to the creation of a frozen conflict that will **cripple the Ukrainian state** (The Atlantic, 11.05.22).

The ill or wounded UKRAINE as ORGANISM must be treated. Otherwise, consequences may be lethal, e.g.:

> The agreement represents one pillar of a complex strategy to share the burden of **keeping the Ukrainian state alive**, after Russian President Vladimir Putin launched the biggest land war in Europe (Politico Europe, 22.07.24).
> Russian control over the Dnipro would also prevent the Ukrainians from launching an ill-advised assault on Crimea. The **slow and painful death of the Ukrainian state** is at hand (The Asia Times, 07.03.23).

Simultaneously, ORGANISM is reconsidered in terms of species' classification. Therefore, UKRAINE is regarded as ANIMAL or PLANT.

UKRAINE as ANIMAL may acquire features typical for peculiar species. For example, UKRAINE may be interpreted as a bird that is getting ready to fly, e.g.:

> Prime Minister Justin Trudeau and Mr. Zelenskyi were also due to speak by phone on Thursday to mark the anniversary of Canada's becoming the second country in the world, after Poland, to recognize **the fledgling Ukrainian state** (The Globe and Mail, 02.12.21).

Ukrainian behavior may be alleged as that of a cruel ANIMAL seeking for prey, e.g.:

> Putin, whose obsession with protecting Russian-speakers from the alleged **predations of the Ukrainian state** is central to his grievances, will resist surrendering the territorial foothold Russian-backed separatists have helped establish for him in those places over the past eight years (CNN, 03.03.22).

Also, UKRAINE as ANIMAL can be killed for processing or extermination, e.g.:

> Putin wanted any deal to "lead to long-term peace" and "eliminate the original causes of this crisis", suggesting he was unwilling to relent on his **evisceration of the Ukrainian state** (The Telegraph, 13.03.25).

A revanchist Russia seeks the **extermination of the Ukrainian state**, and the Ukrainian people are in the mood to fight to the last ditch for their nation (National Review, 29.03.22).

UKRAINE as PLANT emerges from seeds. Growing, it blooms, e.g.:

We saved the most valuable thing – the Ukrainian future. Because our children are the **seeds of the Ukrainian nation saved** (The Irish Examiner, 25.05.22).
This is our history. It seems inevitable that a **thriving Ukrainian state** couldn't be allowed to continue next to Russia, that the old pattern of past centuries would reassert itself (The York Press, 07.01.23).

Vice versa, UKRAINE as PLANT may be defined as a weed, which requires removing, e.g.:

The Kremlin is brutally honest: it intends to **extirpate the Ukrainian state**, returning it to a subjugated province of a restored Russian empire (The Atlantic, 10.04.24).
The Kremlin is not interested in any settlement short of the complete **eradication of the Ukrainian state** (The ASPI Strategist, 01.03.24).

2. The social metaphorization vector is multi-faceted. There are several consideration clusters: psychology, labor, structure, art and leisure, science, interpersonal communication, economics, law. Let us represent these clusters in detail.

The psychology cluster regards UKRAINE as HUMAN who has certain desires, fears and resolve in achieving its aims, e.g.:

Ukraine wants security guarantees not only from Europe but also from the US, while the initial US framework said that robust security guarantees for Ukraine would only come from Europe (CNN, 25.04.25).
After the Orange Revolution turned Ukraine toward Europe in 2014, he responded by invading and seizing Crimea. That strengthened **Ukraine's fear** of Russia and its **resolve** to cast its lot with the West (The Atlantic, 01.07.24).
The Ukrainian delegation brought to Germany the **courage and resilience of the Ukrainian nation**. And confidence in future, even though we are a country at war (The Irish Times, 16.02.25).

In settling problems, UKRAINE as HUMAN uses peculiar approaches and endures possible difficulties, e.g.:

This **approach by the Ukrainian state** obviously makes it quite impossible to make any sort of appeal to the population of Crimea and the eastern Donbas to support a return to Ukrainian rule (The Nation, 17.04.23).

The school curriculum emphasized this personal tragedy as well as **suffering of the Ukrainian nation** so powerfully depicted by Shevchenko (CNN, 11.05.22).

Against UKRAINE as HUMAN, there can be a strong and cruel opponent, who is difficult to cope with, e.g.:

Although likely disappointed with his military's slow advance, Mr. Putin has shown **no mercy toward the Ukrainian people** (The Washington Times, 15.03.22).

On the other hand, UKRAINE may be reconsidered as IDEA. It may be alleged as true or false with further approval or disapproval, e.g.:

Vladimir Putin believes that the **Ukrainian state is a fiction** (The Mercury News, 31.05.24).
Zelenksyi was perfect to demonstrate how Russian-speaking Ukrainians, including those in the east, could fully **identify with the Ukrainian state** and express their patriotism (The Guardian, 26.12.22).

Besides, people resort to spiritual thinking in the process of the UKRAINE metaphoric consideration. For example, IDEA is reconsidered as JESUS CHRIST: the country is crucified and buried, arises, resurrects, e.g.:

In the wake of this holocaust what remains of the modern **Ukrainian state will be buried**. But do not think this represents any final solution to the Ukrainian question. For just as surely as **Ukraine's crucifixion** is upon us, so too will **Ukraine arise** from its Russian-dug tomb. With that **Ukrainian resurrection** there will be a reckoning. Those who drew Ukraine's blood, and those abandoned Ukraine, will not escape a judgment. Know, too, that **Ukraine's second coming** will not be a herald of the West's salvation. Putin, and all who permitted his predations, are tomorrow's damned. One day they will drink of the juices oozing from these grapes of wrath (The National Post, 18.03.22).

The labor cluster represents UKRAINE as HUMAN who works in achieving results with a possible active use of tools, e.g.:

After talks with Trump in Washington, Mark Rutte said on Thursday **Kyiv was working** hard for a deal (The Daily Dispatch, 25.04.25).
But by 2022, under President Volodymyr Zelenskyi, **Ukraine was tackling corruption**, Westernizing, and consolidating democratic rule (The Atlantic, 01.07.24).
The Americans and **Ukrainians have been hammering out** in Washington a viable way forward from a dense and corporate rare-earth minerals contract, which seems, according to the last draft seen by CNN, to be almost entirely in the White House's favor (CNN, 15.04.25).

The working process makes another reconsideration of UKRAINE. It is understood as a certain labor equipment or tool, for example SCALES, e.g.:

> Your assistance is crucial because it's **weighed** towards military assistance, which is what **Ukraine** needs most (National Public Radio, 30.09.24).

Moreover, UKRAINE is regarded as MACHINE whose parts are adjusted for operating, e.g.:

> He alleged that the **Ukrainian state in its current configuration** with the Nazi political regime will continue to pose a permanent, direct and clear threat to Russia (The Guardian, 10.10.22).
> Britain will provide 75.6 million pounds to Ukraine through the World Bank, seeking to **keep core state functions running** and mitigate financial pressures caused by Russia's invasion (Reuters, 07.03.22).

Like an industrial equipment, UKRAINE as MACHINE acquires or loses a certain performance index, e.g.:

> Andrei Kots, a war correspondent for Komsomolskaya Pravda, the top Russian tabloid, voiced hope that Monday's strikes were a new mode of action to the entire depth of the **Ukrainian state until it loses its capacity to function** (The Associated Press, 11.10.22).

UKRAINE as MACHINE is operated via peculiar controls (levers, buttons), e.g.:

> The sanctions announced so far will take months and years to cause real pain to Russia, so there is little the West has done or is doing that reduces the very high probability that within days Putin will look as though he has taken control of the **levers of the Ukrainian state** (The Spectator, 25.02.22).

As any equipment, UKRAINE as MACHINE can wear down. For repair or upgrade, it is disassembled. Otherwise, an accident may occur, e.g.:

> A deadlocked war of attrition could drag on for years and **wear down the Ukrainian state** (The Washington Post, 07.12.23).
> If you take that attack and others alongside statements from Russian President that Ukraine as a nation does not exist – and his stated ambition that **Ukrainian state be disassembled** – then the concept of genocide, that is elimination of a national group, does come into play (The Irish Examiner, 09.04.22).
> Moscow is betting on the physical exhaustion of the Ukrainian armed forces and the **Ukrainian state's meltdown**, Poletaev wrote recently (The Daily Pioneer, 18.01.25).

Another conceptual metaphor is UKRAINE as VEHICLE. It is driven to reach or leave peculiar places (including restricted areas or dead ends), e.g.:

> Short of a miracle on the Potomac, Washington's uncompromising globalist political ideology founded on fear – fear of alleged enemies abroad and fear of free thinking and free speech at home – **will drive the Ukrainian nation** to its total destruction (The American Conservative, 04.10.23).
> Russia also confirmed for the first time that North Korean soldiers have been fighting alongside Russian troops in Kursk, with the chief of the military General Staff praising their "heroism" in helping to **drive out the Ukrainians** (The Citizen, 26.04.25).
> The notion that America could lay out a seven-point plan and put Crimea at the heart of it, the **ultimate red line – so red it's almost purple for the Ukrainians** – that was never going to fly in Kyiv (Sky News, 23.04.25).
> Zaluzhnyi said **Ukraine** needs tech breakthroughs, which he likened to China's invention of gunpowder, to **overcome this impasse** (The Washington Post, 07.12.23).

On the contrary, UKRAINE is reconsidered as PASSENGER within a moving vehicle, e.g.:

> With his attacks on civilians in Kyiv, Putin is going full-throttle. He also noted the Russians walked away from a "reasonable" 30-day ceasefire, whereas the **Ukrainians were on board** (The HuffPost, 25.04.25).

UKRAINE can not only be a worker or machinery in achieving goals. It is also interpreted as PRODUCT generated as labor result, e.g.:

> Unable to force regime change in Kyiv and install a Russian puppet, **creating a Ukrainian state** similar to that of Belarus, tightly linked to Russia, its aims may now be to secure a land corridor from Russia to Crimea, essentially encircling the Sea of Azov (Canada.com, 21.03.22).
> For Ukraine, Putin's poor decision-making continues to **forge a new Ukrainian state**, and it is a state that continues to stand up to a country that was once considered to be a superpower (The Asia Times, 11.10.22).
> In a TV address on Monday, Putin rambled across centuries of history to characterize the **Ukrainian state as an artificial construct wrongly carved out** of Russia by its enemies (Al Jazeera, 09.03.22).

UKRAINE as PRODUCT may be embedded with extra components for specific needs, e.g.:

> The civil war in Donbas was seen only in military terms. It attempted no program of popular politics against anti-Russian minority policies of the **Ukrainian state and its embedded Nazi elements** (NewsClick, 20.03.22).

It goes without saying, UKRAINE as PRODUCT may decompose. To prevent it, PRODUCT is preserved, e.g.:

> Russians appreciated strength in 1999 when Putin invaded Chechnya. They appreciated it again in 2014 when he snatched Crimea from a **decaying Ukrainian state** (The Asia Times, 17.05.22).
> Working together, they have not only **preserved the Ukrainian state**, but stood up to a bully whose nihilism harms the entire world (The Atlantic, 10.11.23).

Having peculiar practical qualities, PRODUCT is reconsidered as peculiar items. Therefore, UKRAINE is metaphorized as GARMENT or GLASSWARE, e.g.:

> If that were to happen, the **Ukrainian state would shrink** to include only the central and western regions of the country (News18.com, 01.07.23).
> It's risky, bad for the country and senseless from a political point of view. It would undermine the very **fragile political resilience of the Ukrainian state** (The Washington Post, 24.09.23).

The structure cluster comprises the UKRAINE consideration as a place with limits where interconnection of inner components may vary. Therefore, UKRAINE is SINGLE, COMPLEX or FRAGMENTED OBJECT.

UKRAINE as SINGLE OBJECT has integrity within peculiar borders, e.g.:

> Mr. Tkachenko said the UOC-MP had been behaving inappropriately during the war – including a refusal by some in that branch to recognize the **territorial integrity of Ukraine** (ABC, 27.04.23).
> In the east and south, where there was always a stronger connection to Russia, people are fighting back to protect their existence and their existence **within the borders of Ukrainian nation** (ABC News, 23.02.23).
> In Germany, four occupying powers administered the areas they were in control of, but with the **Ukrainian state still intact**, it is difficult to see the connection (The Times, 11.04.25).

UKRAINE as COMPLEX OBJECT possesses the multi-element structure. There can be the core and other components. Also, the inner structure may vary: there are sections, elements, parts, e.g.:

> In February 2022, 400 elite Wagner and Kadyrovite operatives infiltrated Kyiv, armed with detailed intelligence and orders to destabilize the **Ukrainian state** by striking at **its core** (The Citizen, 20.02.25).

> The renewal of the Sevastopol lease in 2010 was extremely unpopular among the **sections of Ukrainians** who had overthrown Yanukovych and taken control of the country (The Indian Express, 26.04.25).
> Whenever you read the results of sociological surveys in Ukraine about ordinary Ukrainians' hopes of victory, wonder in which **part of Ukraine** the survey was conducted (The New European, 12.02.25).

UKRAINE as FRAGMENTED OBJECT is instable. It disintegrates because of certain reasons or exists as a set of multiple units, e.g.:

> Two Russian-speaking republics sought to **break away from the Ukrainian state** in 2014, sparking combat that has continued until now (The Asia Times, 09.05.22).
> The maps showed no more Ukrainian state, and the **bulk of the country** had been turned into regions of Russia (Twin Cities.com – Pioneer Press, 09.07.24).
> Russian arch-nationalist Alexander Dugin, whose daughter Darya was murdered outside Moscow in August in what Russia says was a Ukrainian state assassination, has piled more pressure on Surovikin, saying Kherson was the **last chunk of Ukrainian territory** that Russia could afford to give up (ZAWYA, 21.11.22).

The structure cluster gives another direction of metaphorization. UKRAINE is considered as BUILDING whose structure is imagined as foundation, floors and roof, e.g.:

> We call on the Russian Federation to stop this war. To stop destabilizing the **democratic foundations of the Ukrainian state** (TheJournal.ie, 05.04.22).
> Russia's campaign of infiltration did, however, stir suspicion and mistrust at some **levels of the Ukrainian state**, which hampered its ability to govern, especially in the first few days after the invasion (Reuters, 11.08.22).
> We had very, very strong unity on the **top of the Ukrainian state** at the beginning of the invasion, when everybody was united, everybody was protecting Ukraine (The Washington Post, 01.02.24).

As time goes by and if not maintained, UKRAINE as BUILDING may crumble and collapse, e.g.:

> Putin was dead wrong to presume that **Ukraine would crumble** in the aftermath of his invasion (The Hartford Courant, 22.02.25).
> World leaders offered to arrange his escape, anticipating a **swift collapse of the Ukrainian state** (The Irish Times, 26.02.25).

Besides, UKRAINE as BUILDING can be deliberately demolished or restored for specific reasons, e.g.:

> Every 100 years attempts are made by Russia to destroy Ukrainian culture, and **destroy the Ukrainian state** (Screen Daily, 20.02.25).

They (Putin and company) want to **deconstruct** not just buildings, not just infrastructure, not just the **Ukrainian state**. They want to **deconstruct** us, the **Ukrainian people** (Philstar.com, 27.03.22).

Towards that end, it will need global support for its territorial integrity, fair compensation and justice for Russian aggression, and a huge effort to **rebuild Ukraine** (The Times of India, 31.12.24).

Into UKRAINE as BUILDING, undesirable persons may try to enter. BUILDING may be locked, e.g.:

Now, a Reuters investigation has found that Russia's success at Chornobyl was no accident, but part of a long-standing Kremlin operation to **infiltrate the Ukrainian state** with secret agents (Reuters, 11.08.22).

What would defeat look like? Put simply, anything that results in a long-term simmering conflict that **locks Ukraine** in a grey zone of instability (The Guardian, 02.05.22).

As any place, UKRAINE as BUILDING may be dirty. It requires cleaning, e.g.:

He came to power to **clean out the corruption of the Ukrainian state** and take on the oligarchs who had robbed the people (The Times of Israel, 28.02.22).

The art and leisure cluster includes two ways of the UKRAINE metaphorization.

Firstly, UKRAINE is considered via generating works as a result of creative thinking. Here, UKRAINE is regarded as PICTURE or WRITTEN TEXT. They can be made or erased, e.g.:

Throughout their exchange, Carlson and Macgregor **painted a grim picture of a rogue Ukrainian state** operating outside of US control, lashing out violently as it faces a looming defeat on the battlefield (The Daily Mail, 15.03.25).

The Russian leadership has likely realized by this point that Putin's intention to **erase the Ukrainian state** will not be realized (Dailyexcelsior.com, 11.07.23).

Secondly, UKRAINE is interpreted via gambling and sport activity. In particular, it is GAME.

In terms of gambling, UKRAINE is GAME where people use cards and play for stakes, e.g.:

It can now use that to expand its global connections, reinvigorate the Ukrainian state, and build solid chains of cooperation and trade so that everyone has a **stake in Ukraine's future** (The Times of India, 31.12.24).

The Russian leadership seems to have believed that **Ukraine's national character was little more than a house of cards** that just needed a little shove (War on the Rocks, 28.04.22).

In terms of sports, UKRAINE as GAME is regarded via football, boxing, horse racing, chess, marathon, e.g.:

> After talks with Trump in Washington, Mark Rutte said on Thursday Kyiv was working hard for a deal. There is something on the table, where **Ukrainians** are really **playing ball**, and the ball is clearly in the Russian court (The Daily Dispatch, 25.04.25).
> Added up, one might suspect this is a **one-two punch the Ukrainian nation cannot sustain** (The Jerusalem Post, 07.03.25).
> Recognizing Russian de facto sovereignty in Crimea is **a non-starter for the Ukrainians**, as is forbidding Ukraine from joining NATO (The New York Daily News, 24.04.25).
> They are now trying to **pawn off on the Ukrainians** (The Medicine Hat News, 16.04.25).
> We are going to see if the Europeans, the Russians and the **Ukrainians are ultimately able to get this thing over the finish line** (The Daily Herald, 23.04.25).

Playing such a GAME, UKRAINE has a risk to lose. It can give or does not give something up, e.g.:

> It's a **lose-lose situation for Ukrainians**. While they are dying to defend their land, financial institutions are insidiously supporting the consolidation of farmland by oligarchs and Western financial interests (Countercurrents.org, 19.04.25).
> Throughout their exchange, Carlson and Macgregor painted a grim picture of a rogue **Ukrainian state** operating outside of US control, lashing out violently as it **faces a looming defeat** on the battlefield (The Daily Mail, 15.003.25).
> **Ukraine** has long said it **will not give up** Crimea, a southern peninsula illegally annexed by Russia in 2014 (BBC, 24.04.25).

Alternatively, UKRAINE as GAME can be considered as children's fun (teetering), e.g.:

> This is important, as the **Ukrainian state is teetering** on the brink of default and is struggling with a 5 billion per month financing gap, which Kyiv believes could undermine the government's ability to sustain the war (Politico Europe, 22.08.22).

The science cluster shows that UKRAINE is treated as a training activity. For example, it is realized as LESSON held in a certain place, e.g.:

> The strategy also allows NATO countries to use **Ukraine as a testing ground** for developing weapons, such as drones, in which they do not have as much experience, the official said (The Irish Independent, 22.04.25).

Simultaneously, UKRAINE can perform a peculiar research activity. UKRAINE is RESEARCHER who formulates mathematical equations. On the other hand, UKRAINE itself may be considered as EQUATION, e.g.:

The objective last week was for the **Americans, Europeans and Ukrainians to formulate a joint position** by trying to move Washington closer to the European and Ukrainian position (The Malay Mail, 23.04.25).

Given the severity of Putin's manipulations, it is encouraging that some of the most accomplished and celebrated scholars of World War, Nazism, genocide, and the Holocaust have united to condemn this cynical abuse of the term genocide, the memory of World War Two, and the **equation of the Ukrainian state with the Nazi regime** to justify its unprovoked aggression (Politics Home, 16.03.22).

Along with mathematical interpretations, UKRAINE is considered as PHYSICAL BODY. Moving, UKRAINE may mechanically interact or not interact with other bodies. So, UKRAINE is exposed to deformation, e.g.:

The Ukrainian nation is not static. Since independence in 1991, it is constantly forming, and the language laws were a natural reaction to the invasion of the Donbas and Crimea in 2014 (Al Jazeera, 18.10.22).

The president campaigned on ending the conflict in 24 hours, a boast that might always have been ridiculous but underlined his urgency to do what he thought Joe Biden should have done long ago: **pressure the Russians and Ukrainians into a peace settlement** (The Telegraph, 24.04.25).

At the same time, if adopted and implemented, the new approach to mobilization will also add significant strain for the already **stretched Ukrainian state** (The Conversation, 04.01.24).

Mr. Putin's effort to **shatter the Ukrainian state** dramatically increases the chances of another avoidable disaster. Russian forces captured the territory around Zaporizhzhia on 02 March 2022 (Hotair.com, 07.03.22).

Like any physical phenomenon, UKRAINE may acquire a peculiar state of matter. For example, it can be regarded as SOLID or LIQUID:

The war has **congealed Ukrainian society** and **crystallized the Ukrainian state** (The Chicago Tribune, 01.11.22).

The witnesses suggested the Russians were increasingly resorting to chemical weapons to **flush out Ukrainians** from defensive strongholds or to immobilize and leave them vulnerable to conventional attacks (The Sunday Times, 18.04.25).

This was a clear indication that Putin's intent after **absorbing the Ukrainian state** was cultural and linguistic genocide (Free Press, 18.07.23).

The way he has conducted the war, with no thought for Ukrainian life, even in the East of the country, has made it clear to Ukrainians that Russian rule would **wipe out their identity** (BNE Intellinews, 24.02.23).

Finally, UKRAINE can interact with oxygen. It burns as FLAME that can be extinguished, e.g.:

Polish president said Russia's goal is to **extinguish the Ukrainian nation** (NBC News, 07.04.22).

> The tragedy discovered amid the rubble of Bucha and Borodianka overshadowed any jubilation that Kyiv had defeated Russian forces that had spent a month trying to envelop the capital and **snuff out the Ukrainian nation** (The Guardian, 09.04.22).

The interpersonal communication cluster defines UKRAINE via close relations between people. UKRAINE is FAMILY with a long origin. It has parents taking care of children. Also, the family may break up, e.g.:

> Zelenskyi previously refused to agree to a deal that **10 generations of Ukrainians** will have to pay back (Politico Europe, 18.04.25).
> The war is also measured in flowers: the daffodils that dappled street sides in Bucha after Russian soldiers left behind the corpses of tortured civilians; the tulips that flourished as bombs fell across the country; and the yellow and blue pansies that surrounded Kharkiv's monument to Taras Shevchenko, the poet revered as a **father of the Ukrainian nation**, with the colors of the national flag (The Globe and Mail, 22.05.22).
> The Yale researchers identified two Russian facilities involved in the deportation of infants who were **under care of the Ukrainian state** before the invasion (The Economist, 14.04.23).
> In effect, the United States are **abandoning Ukrainians** regardless of which option Zelenskyi chooses (The Atlantic, 23.04.25).

On the contrary, UKRAINE is considered as TEAM where people actively cooperate for a certain goal, e.g.:

> Zelenskyi said he had asked Zaluzhnyi to remain as part "of the **team of the future Ukrainian state**" (The Washington Post, 08.02.24).
> Nor did Russian leaders expect the **Ukrainian state and society to hold together** under the sudden onslaught of violence (Los Angeles Times, 28.08.22).
> It can use that to **expand global connections, reinvigorate the Ukrainian state, and build solid chains of cooperation and trade** so that everyone has a stake in Ukraine's future (The Times of India, 31.12.24).

New members can join UKRAINE as TEAM. At the same time, other teams attempt to draw them, e.g.:

> Then, the **Ukrainian state joins** this work. Some guys from our museum had experience with the Second World War archaeological exhumations. So, they went to the frontline. This mission was our first experience. We were well prepared for the full-scale invasion (Outlook India, 16.12.22).
> They call themselves volontery, and their organizations, their crowdfunding campaigns, and their activism help explain why the Ukrainian army has fought so hard and so well, why a decade-long Russian attempt to **co-opt the Ukrainian state** mostly failed, even in Russian-speaking Odesa (The Atlantic, 10.08.22).

The economics cluster considers UKRAINE as a person who wants to get goods. As CONSUMER with a varying sum of cash, UKRAINE can afford or not afford something, e.g.:

> For all their courage, **Ukrainians cannot afford** to fight for another three years and nine months without America's backing (The Sunday Times, 26.04.25).
> **The Ukrainian state is nearly broke**. Ukrainian hospitals, overwhelmed with complex injuries, are dealing with problematic amputations that only have costly solutions (The Premium Nigeria Times, 15.09.24).

With a lack of money, UKRAINE borrows cash and becomes DEBTOR. If enable to pay back, UKRAINE is getting bankrupt, e.g.:

> Zelenskyi previously refused to agree to a deal that 10 generations of **Ukrainians will have to pay back** (Politico Europe, 18.04.25).
> The goal is to kill people, to destroy equipment, to suck in resources, to **bankrupt the Ukrainian state** and to break its will to fight (CNN World, 09.04.25).

Apart from money, UKRAINE as CONSUMER is considered via use of resources. They may be consumed properly or improperly. Also, they run out, e.g.:

> From our side, the **Ukrainian state is not wasting time** and we are working on various ways of railway and river ports for the export of our grain, and we are increasing this export every day (CNN, 05.07.22).
> It is **Ukrainians who are running out of patience**, because it is us who are under attack, and no one else, he added (BBC, 24.04.25).

Meanwhile, UKRAINE itself may be understood as RESOURCE for specific needs. There can be access or no access to such a resource. Also, it can be depleted, e.g.:

> A draft of the minerals deal that was under discussion earlier this month would give the U.S. privileged **access to Ukraine's mineral deposits** and require Kyiv to place in a joint investment fund all income from the exploitation of natural resources by Ukrainian state and private firms, according to a source with knowledge of the matter (The Citizen, 18.04.25).
> As the world deliberates on three years of Russia's assault on Ukraine, the **Ukrainian nation is depleted**, yet persistently determined to end the conflict on terms that will allow its future generations to live in peace (The Hartford Courant, 22.02.25).

Finally, UKRAINE may participate in economic relations to collect money for specific needs, trade or outsource something. Therefore, UKRAINE is PARTNER, e.g.:

Britain will **provide 75.6 million pounds to Ukraine** through the World Bank, seeking to keep core state functions running and mitigate financial pressures caused by Russia's invasion (Reuters, 07.03.22).

Back in February, just days before Russia attacked Ukraine, **the EU agreed to issue Ukraine 1.2 billion** in loans as macro-financial assistance (PM News Nigeria, 12.07.22).

Trump thinks he can get the **Ukrainians to trade land for peace** (The Telegraph, 23.04.25).

In the era of social media, the **Ukrainian state can outsource** much of the humor content to private citizens (Slate, 03.05.22).

The law cluster considers UKRAINE from different law perspectives (civil, administrative, criminal, diplomatic, humanitarian). These sections produce various conceptual metaphors for UKRAINE.Civilly, UKRAINE is regarded as subject or object of ownership relations. Respectively, UKRAINE is regarded as OWNER or PROPERTY. In the first case, UKRAINE owns and manages something. It decides how to dispose of the property. Also, it tries to regain something previously stolen, e.g.:

Ukraine has the second highest number of state-owned enterprises in the world, many of which are **being managed**, or some are **being mismanaged, by the Ukrainian state** (Voice of America, 26.02.25).

The **Ukrainian state retains ownership** of all mineral rights. It could theoretically **hand over the rights** to rare earth projects to the US in exchange for military support (The Mining Journal, 14.02.25).

In any case, do not see Putin under any circumstances **handing back Crimea to the Ukrainians** (The ASPI Strategist, 01.03.24).

In the second case, somebody possesses and disposes of UKRAINE. Such PROPERTY is considered as a single or multi-component item. It can be given to or stolen from somebody, e.g.:

Although Donald Trump has claimed Putin wants to stop fighting and does not want **control over the entirety of Ukraine**, US and western intelligence officials believe Putin remains fixated on either **subsuming the country into Russia** or ensuring a small, weak Ukrainian state that is dependent on Moscow (CNN, 20.02.25).

The **Ukrainian state would have been taken over** by the collaborators who had already chosen their Kyiv apartments (The Atlantic, 22.12.22).

These comments portray the **Ukrainian state** as an illegitimate creation: an **act of theft from Russia** and Ukrainians who should still be under Moscow's rule (The New York Times, 23.02.22).

Administratively, UKRAINE is AUTHORITY. It takes measures for or against something, e.g.:

Novinskyi, who has Ukrainian citizenship, was **sanctioned by the Ukrainian state** in December for supporting Russia – a move he said is illegal because of his citizenship (The Guardian, 25.04.23).

The most terrifying thing is perhaps what happens to the young men: the **Ukrainian state has forbidden** any military-age male, from 18 to 60, from leaving the country (The New York Post, 25.02.22).

Criminally, UKRAINE is alleged as ACCUSER or OFFENDER within a committed act of violence, e.g.:

Kirillov was murdered a day after **Ukrainian state prosecutors charged** him in absentia with the alleged use of banned chemical weapons, the Kyiv Independent cited the SBU as saying (Yahoo! News, 17.12.24).

The **Ukrainian state has been riven with meddling** by western powers, has been highly **repressive, corrupt, and guilty** of human right abuses including suppression of Russian-speakers (Interest.co.nz, 24.11.24).

But Shchyhol is keen to make it clear that's his personal opinion – wanting to avoid any suggestion of **collusion or organization by the Ukrainian state** (Wired, 14.09.22).

Besides, UKRAINE is often regarded as VICTIM of violence who is assaulted in a different way, e.g.:

For this, Ukraine gets basically nothing, except a vaporous security guarantee from an American president who has made clear his hostility to Ukraine and its leaders, an animus that became especially clear when Trump and Vance **ambushed Volodymyr Zelenskyi** during a White House meeting (The Atlantic, 23.04.25).

But in the following days, there was a growing sense that the U.S. negotiators were being pressured to make headway on a deal, they said. This, they said, made them concerned that **Ukrainians** and Europeans could be **backed into a corner** and rushed into an agreement (ARY News, 25.04.25).

His defiance has caused Trump to **lash out at Ukrainians** for defying his wishes (The Atlantic, 23.04.25).

Diplomatically, UKRAINE is defined as internationally recognized LEGAL STATUS (actual or desirable). Otherwise, it is regarded as LEGAL SUBJECT who offers or declares something on the international arena, e.g.:

Until the 20th century, the goal of Ukrainian activists was **autonomy**, not **independence**. Then, in the 20th century, we had five attempts to declare an **independent Ukrainian state**. The fifth succeeded in 1991 (The Week, 06.02.25).

The conditions of the peace agreement naturally include a **nuclear-free**, **neutral status for Ukraine**, **demilitarization** and **denazification of the Ukrainian state**, and abolition of all discriminatory laws passed after the 2014 coup (The Premium Nigeria Times, 16.04.25).

> The **Ukrainian state that declared independence** in the aftermath of the 1917 Revolutions, envisioned a Ukraine for all ethnicities and religious groups living within its territory (PBS News Hour, 28.02.22).

Humanitarianly, UKRAINE is considered as a part of war conflict. Therefore, UKRAINE is regarded as TARGET. Enemies aim at UKRAINE. They invade, try to conquer and defeat the target, e.g.:

> These have put Ukraine into a geopolitical position where the **country remains in the crosshairs** of rival great powers and has limited agency of its own (The Conversation, 20.01.22).
> Rather it is Putin's statements when he **invaded Ukraine** that there is not such thing as a Ukraine or a Ukrainian culture or language (Free Press, 18.07.23).
> The Ukrainian state and army have been forced to become far more efficient and capable to meet the tremendous threat facing them, and the Ukrainian people have rallied strongly in defense of their **beleaguered nation** (The Chicago Tribune, 01.11.22).
> From the first days of the 2022 Russian invasion, President Vladimir Putin has been trying to **conquer Ukraine** through psychological games as well as military force (The Atlantic, 21.04.24).

UKRAINE is treated as WARRIOR that is ready to resist, fight for liberty and defeat the enemy, e.g.:

> The truth is that even with the best of intentions, the **embattled Ukrainian state would likely struggle** to handle and effectively deploy such a large quantity of money in a short period of time (The I Paper, 18.03.25).
> If all goes well, and it will with time, the **Ukrainian nation will stand firm and prevail** against the Russian thug (The Thompson Citizen, 31.03.22).
> When **Ukrainians fought back**, the official Kremlin line shifted to something even more sinister (The Guardian, 10.03.23).

As a weapon to defeat enemies, UKRAINE uses not only guns but also other tools (funds, laughter), e.g.:

> The truth is that even with the best of intentions, the embattled Ukrainian state would likely struggle to **handle and effectively deploy such a large quantity of money** in a short period of time (The I Paper, 18.03.25).
> The **Ukrainian state is consciously deploying laughter** to define its position on the correct side of a just war (Slate, 03.05.22).

On the other hand, UKRAINE is treated as RIVAL that prevents somebody from achieving goals, e.g.:

> Russia accepts the existence of a sovereign, independent Ukraine. We **oppose a Ukraine** that's an anti-Russia Western client state (The Christian Science Monitor, 17.01.25).

Apart from RIVAL, UKRAINE is also understood as BOMB that poses threat to
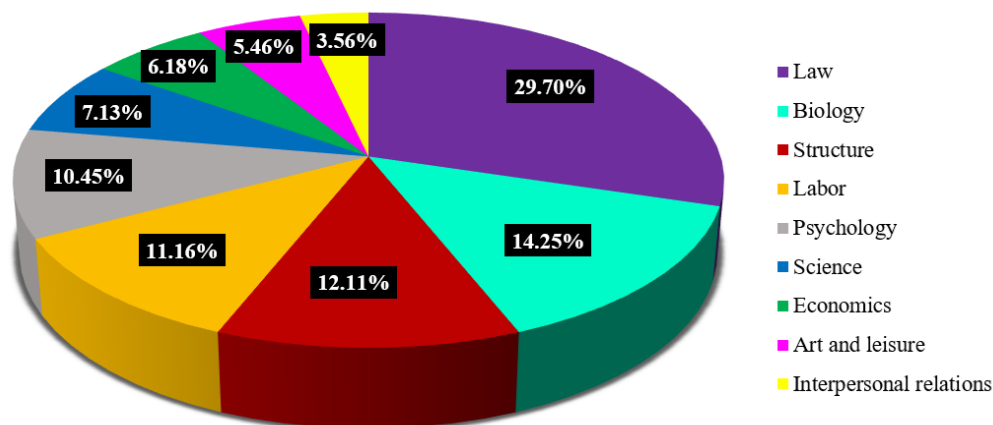security, e.g.:

> The new thinking, as Putin's remarks in Kaliningrad suggest, tends to regard any
> **Ukrainian state as a ticking bomb** right on Russia's borders not far from its capital (The
> Citizen, 13.09.22).

Discussion

The conducted analysis shows the quantitative frequency of the UKRAINE
metaphorization among non-Ukrainians via respective clusters (see Fig. 2).

Figure 2
*Clusters of the UKRAINE Metaphoric Consideration in the Non-Ukrainian
Journalistic Discourse*

Full list of identified conceptual metaphors for UKRAINE is indicated below
(see Table 3).

Table 3
*Full List of the UKRAINE Conceptual Metaphors in the Non-Ukrainian
Journalistic Discourse (Sorted by Decreasing Frequency in the Corpus Sample)*

Cluster	Conceptual metaphors	Quantity	
Law	**Humanitarian law:** UKRAINE as WARRIOR [22]; TARGET [15]; RIVAL [1]; BOMB [1]	125 (29.70%)	39 (9.3%)
	Criminal law: UKRAINE as VICTIM [18]; OFFENDER		34 (8%)

	[13]; ACCUSER [3];	
	Diplomatic law: UKRAINE as LEGAL STATUS [21]; LEGAL SUBJECT [3]	24 (5.7%)
	Civil law: UKRAINE as OWNER [16]; PROPERTY [7]	23 (5.5%)
	Administrative law: UKRAINE as AUTHORITY [5]	5 (1.2%)
Biology	UKRAINE as ORGANISM [50]; ANIMAL [5]; PLANT [5]	60 (14.25%)
Structure	UKRAINE as BUILDING [27]; FRAGMENTED OBJECT [9]; COMPLEX OBJECT [8]; SINGLE OBJECT [7]	51 (12.11%)
Labor	UKRAINE as MACHINE [17]; PRODUCT [11]; HUMAN [10]; VEHICLE [5]; PASSENGER [1]; SCALES [1]; GARMENT [1]; GLASSWARE [1]	47 (11.16%)
Psychology	UKRAINE as HUMAN [33]; IDEA [6]; JESUS CHRIST [5]	44 (10.45%)
Science	UKRAINE as PHYSICAL BODY [17]; LIQUID [4]; SOLID [3]; FLAME [2]; LESSON [2]; RESEARCHER [1]; EQUATION [1]	30 (7.13%)
Economics	UKRAINE is PARTNER [15]; CONSUMER [4]; RESOURCE [4]; DEBTOR [3]	26 (6.18%)
Art and leisure	UKRAINE as GAME [20]; WRITTEN TEXT [2]; PICTURE [1]	23 (5.46%)
Interpersonal relations	UKRAINE as TEAM [10]; FAMILY [5]	15 (3.56%)
Total		421 (100%)

According to the above-mentioned data, the most frequently used unit is actualized 50 times, the least frequently – 1 time. We admit the 21 to 50 frequency shows the highest preferences of the UKRAINE consideration in the non-Ukrainian press. The 11-20 frequency means the moderate preferences. The 1-10 frequency comprises the lowest preferences in the UKRAINE metaphorization.

The highest associating preferences are represented via the conceptual metaphors UKRAINE is ORGANISM [50]; HUMAN [43]; BUILDING [27]; WARRIOR [22]; LEGAL STATUS [21] – 163 of 421 cases (38.7%). It indicates that

UKRAINE tends to be understood as a true sovereign entity that is trying to survive regardless of wartime challenges. Like a human, it acts reasonably to solve wartime problems, although difficult obstacles must be overcome. Also, the entire wartime country resilience is revealed in the building image when all Ukrainians maintain it to prevent the collapse (in other words, the country will cease to exist if Ukrainians do not defend it). The latter is additionally underlined via metaphors of WARRIOR and LEGAL STATUS: Ukrainians defend their motherland to save their independent country, restore peace and recover.

The moderate assessment comprises the conceptual metaphors UKRAINE is GAME [20]; VICTIM [18]; MACHINE [17]; PHYSICAL BODY [17]; OWNER [16]; PARTNER [15]; TARGET [15]; OFFENDER [13]; PRODUCT [11] – 142 of 421 cases (33.7%). During wartime, the enemy collides with Ukraine in clashes destabilizing the state (PHYSICAL BODY). Diplomatic, economic, military and other efforts to stop the war are difficult to realize as a wartime game victory, a failing situation is also possible. As an operating machine, the Ukrainian state must function correctly during wartime with compulsory maintenance (coordinated work of government and population). Otherwise, a failure (state destruction) may occur. The latter is confirmed via hostile efforts to impose his influence on the Ukrainian society (TARGET), which leads to human suffering (VICTIM). Ukrainians as residents of their state (OWNER) may not accept it because their country has been developed by them for many centuries as a sovereign entity (PRODUCT). Therefore, they ask for assistance from other countries (PARTNER) although this activity can be abused if not controlled (OFFENDER).

The least frequently used metaphors are UKRAINE is TEAM [10]; FRAGMENTED OBJECT [9]; COMPLEX OBJECT [8]; SINGLE OBJECT [7]; PROPERTY [7]; IDEA [6]; AUTHORITY [5]; JESUS CHRIST [5]; ANIMAL [5]; PLANT [5]; VEHICLE [5]; FAMILY [5]; CONSUMER [4]; RESOURCE [4]; LIQUID [4]; SOLID [3]; DEBTOR [3]; ACCUSER [3]; LEGAL SUBJECT [3]; FLAME [2]; LESSON [2]; WRITTEN TEXT [2]; PASSENGER [1]; SCALES [1]; GARMENT [1]; GLASSWARE [1]; PICTURE [1]; RESEARCHER [1]; EQUATION [1]; RIVAL [1]; BOMB [1]. It comprises 116 of 421 cases (27.6%). The most used metaphors in this category show that non-Ukrainians usually perceive Ukrainians as a coordinated nation who work to keep their country alive regardless of war circumstances. Often, uneasy measures are taken: many resources are borrowed for state defense although it is difficult to return them. Ukrainians strengthen their state despite hostile attacks are painful to sustain. Despite the huge enemy aggression not recognizing Ukraine, Ukrainians believe they will not lose the war and their state will recover. Other countries can take a page from the Russian-Ukrainian War book.

Conclusions

The conducted research that focuses on study of the UKRAINE concept metaphorization as associations of the image layer represented in the non-Ukrainian journalistic discourse, proves to be highly effective. It demonstrates the broad spectrum of UKRAINE conceptual metaphors actively employed by the non-Ukrainian press to structure the image of Ukraine in the addressee's mind and produce a respective attitude to Ukrainians as a separate nation.

Metaphorically UKRAINE is treated as ORGANISM; HUMAN; BUILDING; WARRIOR; LEGAL STATUS – 163 of 421 cases (38.7%). These metaphors are of the highest frequency and reveal main mental images that figurate about Ukraine in non-Ukrainians' mind from the wartime perspective.

Metaphorical consideration of UKRAINE as GAME; VICTIM; MACHINE; PHYSICAL BODY; OWNER; PARTNER; TARGET; OFFENDER; PRODUCT comprises 142 of 421 cases (33.7%). It constitutes the moderate frequency of mental associations about the combating Ukraine in the non-Ukrainian consciousness.

Analysis of the lowest frequency metaphors foregrounds that UKRAINE is perceived as TEAM; FRAGMENTED OBJECT; COMPLEX OBJECT; SINGLE OBJECT; PROPERTY; IDEA; AUTHORITY; JESUS CHRIST; ANIMAL; PLANT; VEHICLE; FAMILY; CONSUMER; RESOURCE; LIQUID; SOLID; DEBTOR; ACCUSER; LEGAL SUBJECT; FLAME; LESSON; WRITTEN TEXT; PASSENGER; SCALES; GARMENT; GLASSWARE; PICTURE; RESEARCHER; EQUATION; RIVAL; BOMB. Totally, 116 of 421 cases (27.6%).

The metaphor use in the non-Ukrainian journalistic discourse is meant to raise people's concern all around the world as to the ongoing war in Ukraine. The prospect of the research lies in the thorough comparative study of the UKRAINE metaphoric representation by Ukrainian citizens who currently reside in the country and those who had to leave the country because of the full-scale invasion. Also, research of mental consideration of socially significant concept like WAR or PEACE may be conducted to define their importance for humanity.

Besides, results of the current study may be supplemented with additional research. In particular, valorization of the UKRAINE concept can be specified via quantitative calculations of how often names of the UKRAINE concept are used in the non-Ukrainian press.

After the war is over, we can also initiate another research to compare the current and future considerations of Ukraine in the non-Ukrainian consciousness. The difference between war and post-war images will be obvious. It must be also included in attempts to prevent any military conflicts in future.

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