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Distress narratives in media discourse during the full-scale Russia and Ukraine war in 2022

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Abstract: The paper addresses conceptualization of the war in Ukraine from two geopolitical perspectives – of the combatant country (Ukraine) and the non-combatant European Union. While media coverage of the war is widespread, there remains a gap in understanding how narratives differ in their framing of distress experiencers (directly affected) and non-experiencers (external observers) across these contexts. A corpus-based verbal framing analysis of the European Union and Ukrainian (English-speaking) media outlets during the first four months of the full-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine in 2022 included: 1) a linguistic approach by identifying conceptual metaphors, and 2) a computer-assisted approach by extracting latent word clusters that constitute frames. The range and scope of conceptual metaphors reveal the framing of distress as an emotion, distress experience, and experiencers during the war, alongside divulging metaphorical frames connected to the economy, politics, or society. Language as a conduit, integrity and its loss, and mental event metaphors stand out in two corpora, uncovering positioning and values. In its turn, Topic Modelling enabled the identification of five frames (“international reaction to the war”, “refugees”, “economy”, “military actions”, and “food crisis”) that intersect in two corpora with a specific focus shift that has evaluative and attitudinal meaning. Computer-assisted frame identification in a broader context, in which distress narratives occur, helps us understand noticeable differences and striking similarities in conceptualizing the war in Ukraine from two perspectives.

Keywords: conceptual metaphor, distress, framing, narrative, Topic Modelling

Zusammenfassung: Die Arbeit befasst sich mit der Konzeptualisierung des Krieges in der Ukraine aus zwei geopolitischen Perspektiven: der des Kriegsbeteiligten (Uk-

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raine) und der des nichtbeteiligten Akteurs, der Europäischen Union. Obwohl die mediale Berichterstattung über den Krieg weit verbreitet ist, besteht weiterhin eine Lücke im Verständnis, wie sich Narrative in ihrer Rahmung der Distresserfahrenden (direkt Betroffenen) und Nicht-Erfahrenden (Außenstehenden) in diesen Kontexten unterscheiden. Eine korpusbasierte verbale Rahmenanalyse europäischer und ukrainischer (englischsprachiger) Medien in den ersten vier Monaten der großangelegten russischen Invasion 2022 umfasste: 1) einen linguistischen Ansatz zur Identifikation konzeptueller Metaphern und 2) einen computerunterstützten Ansatz zur Extraktion latenter Wortcluster, die Rahmen bilden. Die Vielfalt und Reichweite der konzeptuellen Metaphern verdeutlichen die Rahmung von Distress / Leid als Emotion, Erfahrung und Erfahrenden während des Krieges sowie metaphorische Rahmen, die mit Wirtschaft, Politik oder Gesellschaft verknüpft sind. Sprache als Medium, Integrität und deren Verlust sowie mentale Ereignismetaphern treten in beiden Korpora hervor und offenbaren Positionierungen und Werte. Topic Modelling oder Themenmodellierung ermöglichte zudem die Identifikation von fünf Rahmen („internationale Reaktion auf den Krieg“, „Flüchtlinge“, „Wirtschaft“, „militärische Handlungen“ und „Ernährungskrise“), die sich in beiden Korpora überschneiden und eine evaluative Bedeutungsverschiebung erkennen lassen. Die computerunterstützte Rahmungsidentifikation im weiteren Kontext der Distress-Narrative trägt zum Verständnis bemerkenswerter Unterschiede und auffälliger Ähnlichkeiten in der Konzeptualisierung des Krieges aus zwei Perspektiven bei.

Schlüsselwörter: konzeptuelle Metapher, Distress / Leid, Rahmung, Narrativ, Themenmodellierung

Resumen: El artículo aborda la conceptualización de la guerra en Ucrania desde dos perspectivas geopolíticas: la del país combatiente (Ucrania) y la de la Unión Europea, no combatiente. Aunque la cobertura mediática del conflicto es amplia, persiste una brecha en la comprensión de cómo difieren las narrativas en su encuadre de los experimentadores del sufrimiento (directamente afectados) y de los no experimentadores (externos) en estos contextos. El análisis de encuadres verbales basado en corpus de medios de comunicación de la Unión Europea y de Ucrania (de habla inglesa) durante los primeros cuatro meses de la invasión rusa a gran escala de 2022 incluyó: 1) un enfoque lingüístico para identificar metáforas conceptuales, y 2) un enfoque asistido por computadora para extraer agrupaciones latentes de palabras que conforman los marcos. El rango y alcance de las metáforas conceptuales revelan la representación del distrés / de la angustia como emoción, experiencia y sujeto, junto con marcos metafóricos vinculados a la economía, la política o la sociedad. El lenguaje como medio, la integridad y su pérdida, así como las metáforas de

eventos mentales, destacan en ambos corpus, mostrando posicionamientos y valores. A su vez, el modelado de temas permitió identificar cinco marcos (“reacción internacional ante la guerra”, “refugiados”, “economía”, “acciones militares” y “crisis alimentaria”), que se entrecruzan en los dos corpus con un cambio de enfoque evaluativo y actitudinal. La identificación asistida por computadora de los marcos en el contexto más amplio de los relatos de distrés ayuda a comprender las diferencias y similitudes en la conceptualización de la guerra en Ucrania desde ambas perspectivas.

Palabras clave: metáfora conceptual, distrés / angustia, encuadre, narrativa, modelado de temas

1 Introduction

The full-scale Russian invasion produced a “macro-level shock” that, consequently, caused a wave of negative feelings and received extensive media coverage globally. The war escalated the collective emotion of fear that comes before the shock and anger followed by sadness and fear after the shock (Rossouw and Greyling 2022). Journalists worldwide framed the war in different ways by giving definitions to a situation that prompted us to investigate framing in more detail. This research *aims* at analysing the commonalities and divergences in how the war is conceptualized by the combatant country (Ukraine) and non-combatant nations (EU) in English-speaking news coverage, in particular, in narratives of the directly affected parties referred to as distress experiencers and external observers – distress non-experiencers. Distress functions as both a mediator and moderator of framing effects as distress is a mind-, context-, society-, and language-bound phenomenon; a concept verbalized by a considerable array of lexical expressions and conceptual metaphors (Verbytska 2017; Verbytska & Krysanova 2020). Un-/balanced views journalism and even “neutralistic” news journalism tend to have emotional journalistic storytelling. This tendency towards increasingly emotionalized reality transmission is called the “emotional turn” in journalism (Wahl-Jorgensen 2019), where emotions shape conventional hard news genres, thus, provoking more media reception by audiences. The researcher calls for the necessity to include emotions into the research agenda of politics and media, because of their capability to cultivate authenticity and compassion, and provoke higher levels of engagement in politics (2019: 166). Discrete emotions, or in other terms, fundamental or basic emotions such as happiness, anger, or distress (Izard 1991) play both differential roles as mediators of news framing (Lerner and Kiltner 2001) and as moderators of framing effects (Lecheler 2018; Schuck & Feinholdt 2015). Distress is recognized as a negative type of stress that leads to negative emotions, and an im-

paired physical state by a range of stressors. Negativity, as claimed by Bell (1991), is the basic news value and beside involving such concepts as damage, death, injury, conflict, or other disasters, war is the one that causes all the previous. War is a stressor and a major piece of hard news with the features of conflict and recency of general local, regional, national, or international significance in its core. Britannica distinguishes hard news from soft news by topics: politics, economics, international relations, welfare, and scientific developments in hard news and human-interest stories and celebrity in soft news (Deng, 24 Jun. 2023). By including both, we can gain a broader picture of distress narratives, how they shape the emotion people are experiencing, and the event itself through the prism of the emotion in Ukrainian and European Union media outlets for a global audience.

The concepts of narrative and framing are interrelated in their definitions and functionality. In its essence, “narrative” is the showing or the telling of the events and the mode selected for that (Cobley 2001: 6). The narrative deals with the theory of representation (Hall 1997) allowing some things to be represented and others hidden and the selection process is crucial for it. One of the key constituents of narrative is a voice (Genette 1980). Every media product contains multiplicity and combination of “voices” of different people (witnesses, official statements from governments of institutions, editorial voice of the journalists), and this mix is referred to as intertextuality or heteroglossia (Bakhtin 1981; Jones, Jaworska and Aslan 2021: 29). “Voice” correlates with positioning or identity construction (individual as well as large-scale identities such as nations (Cobley 2001: 37–38), another concept related to framing. Ways of representing these voices by direct or indirect attribution, choice of reporting verbs, and labels for words as particular speech acts show the position of media producers in relation to these voices and create foregrounding and framing (Jones, Jaworska & Aslan 2021: 29). Framing emerged from sociology referring to people giving definitions to a situation (Goffman 1974: 10). In discourse analysis, framing is used to explore the construction of meaning-making of social experience and alignments between people and between what is said and themselves (Goffman 1981; Gordon 2015: 325).

The paper constitutes interdisciplinary research by introducing journalistic and linguistic views on framing of distress narratives in news coverages, which follows the established tradition of studying language and media in synergy (Jones, Jaworska and Aslan 2021; Vonderau 2018). In journalism, framing is a powerful tool to promote the importance or raise salience of particular ideas “activating schemas that encourage target audiences to *think*, *feel*, and *decide* in a particular way” as Entman puts it (2010: 336, emphasis mine). Framing is a relevant framework to analyse distress narratives in the context of war as emotions are prominent in many types of frames (generic, episodic, human interest frames (Schuck and Feinholdt 2015), conflict framing (Lecheler and de Vreese 2015) and these frames pertain to

multiple topics (generic [de Vreese 2010]), e.g. political issues tied to specific events (episodic [Iyengar 1996]). In linguistics, the term “frame” is seen as a conceptual structure (Minsky [2006] – AI; Fillmore [1982] – Frame Semantics; Kövecses [2020], Musolf [2019], Lakoff [2004] – Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT)). Frames represent “distillation from repeated experiences” mediated by language (Hart 2010: 108; Werth 1999: 111), cultural experience, including cultural categories, norms, values, narratives, practices and routines (Hampe and Grady 2005; Lakoff and Johnson 1999). Language “activates frames” (Lakoff 2004: xv), including metaphorical instantiations (Musolf 2019). Framing is “a particular set of frames as the dominant one in the public political debate, thus setting its agenda as well as target topics and values, and influencing its outcome” (Musolf 2019: 3). Thus, frames and framing being an essential category in the theory of meaning making and a constitutive part for cognition, represent a key part of the current research and serve to uncover ideologies that reverberate through media discourse with distress narratives about the beginning of the full-scale war in Ukraine 2022.

Framing of wars continues being on the increase (Lebanon war [Al-Sayed 2016], the 2d Gulf War [Maalej 2019], Asian conflicts and the Iraq War [Lee, Crispin and Kim 2006]) with the recent outbreak of the Russia and Ukraine war (framing analysis of the full-scale and hybrid Russian war in Ukraine [Haddad, Araujo, Rocha and Sass 2022; Rossouw and Greyling 2022]). Framing the war through the Ukrainian and European Union media lenses of the negative emotion distress is a unique research objective presented in the current paper. Distress metaphors and framing have been previously studied in mental health (Demjén et al. 2019) or religious (King 2012) discourses. However, this research offers a distinguished interdisciplinary approach on the topic of war with a strong focus on framing the event in distress narratives of Western and Eastern news media.

2 Materials and Methods

2.1 Data collection

Data comprises two corpora of articles retrieved from a European television news network Euronews¹ (EU corpus) and two national Ukrainian English-speaking newspapers the Kyiv Post² and the Kyiv Independent³ (UA corpus). The study spans a

1 Euronews: <https://www.euronews.com/>

2 The Kyiv Post: <https://www.kyivpost.com/>

3 The Kyiv Independent: <https://kyivindependent.com/>

timeframe from the first day of the full-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine, 24 February 2022, until the day of the European Parliament resolution when The European Council decided to grant the status of candidate country to Ukraine, 23 June 2022. The search elicited 170 articles, amounting to over 132 230 words in the EU corpus with 365 strings selected for the metaphor analysis. The UA corpus assembles 83 articles retrieved from the Kyiv Independent and 300 articles retrieved from the Kyiv Post with a total number of over 338 520 words and selected 808 strings.

The query used to retrieve articles on the topic of war in Ukraine was the word *distress* with its derivatives *distressing* and *distressed*, the distribution of which in UA corpus is almost twice lower than in EU corpus with 2,52% and 4,82% correspondingly (see Table 1 below). Two other lexical items to query were identified in previous studies (Verbytska & Krysanova 2020) as those that constitute the nucleus of the semantic field that objectivizes the concept DISTRESS in English media. These are two core emotion words that name two nuclear microfields: *suffering* with its derivatives *sufferings*, *suffer*, *suffered*, *suffers*, *long-suffering*, *insufferable*, the ratio of which is even in both corpora (67,98%) and *pain* (psychological/mental and physical) with its derivatives *painful*, *painfully*, *pains*, *painstaking*, *pain-relieving*, *pained*, *painless*, *painlessly*, *painstaking*, *painstakingly*, that constitute insignificantly larger proportion in UA corpus (29,57%) than in EU corpus (27,19%).

Table 1: Word/lemma frequency in the analyzed corpora

| Lemma ⁴ | EU corpus | UA corpus |
|--------------------|--------------|--------------|
| <i>distress</i> * | 11 (4,82%) | 13 (2,52%) |
| <i>suffer</i> * | 155 (67,98%) | 349 (67,89%) |
| <i>pain</i> * | 62 (27,19%) | 152 (29,57%) |
| Total | 228 (100%) | 514 (100%) |

The strings with *distress* lexicon enriched further metaphorical analysis. The UCREL (University Centre for Computer Corpus Research on Language) semantic analysis system (USAS)⁵ built in Wmatrix 5⁶ (Rayson 2008) was used to annotate the text and allocate semantic tags to every word (see Table 1 in Appendices). The tagset is a hierarchical system with 21 major discourse fields and 232 category labels. The semantic tags represent semantic fields that group together word senses being con-

⁴ ‚Lemma is the basic form of a word, typically the form found in dictionaries‘ – https://www.sketchengine.eu/my_keywords/lemma/

⁵ UCREL Semantic Analysis System (USAS). <https://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/usas/>

⁶ Wmatrix 5: <https://ucrel-wmatrix5.lancaster.ac.uk/>

nected to a mental concept at different levels of generality. After having selected all the words in EU and UA corpora with a semantic tag “E” for “Emotional actions, states & processes” and sifted them through three thesauri Collins Thesaurus⁷, Merriam-Webster Thesaurus⁸, and Macmillan Thesaurus⁹ and received a full list of words that objectivize the DISTRESS concept in two corpora. The table shows that two corpora have a fairly similar distribution of distress lexicon across various semantic fields. The best represented are semantic tags with negative sentiment E6 Worry, concern, E5 Fear, E4.1 Sad, E3 Violent/Angry, and E2 Liking whose word senses most frequently connect to a mental concept DISTRESS.

2.2 Methodology

The research has been carried out from the rich framing theoretical framework used to investigate the everyday interactions encompassing social, psychological, and linguistic aspects. This research paper examines the linguistic repertoire of distress narratives in media outlets about the full-scale Russia and Ukraine war by conducting Conceptual Metaphor Analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) with the application of methodology from Corpus Linguistics and Artificial Intelligence (Natural Language Processing). The link between media texts and society is mediated by cognition. Thus, interpreting the texts with distress narratives involves constructing cognitive metarepresentations of the linguistic representations in text following Hart (2010: 16). The distinction of textual, cognitive, and social structures (Dijk 2009) echoes the three-stage approach to the CDA involving description, interpretation and explanation stages (Fairclough 1995). We start our research journey from the microlevel of identifying conceptual metaphors with their corresponding metaphorical instantiations. The study of distress narratives relies on the CMT (Gibbs 2017; Lakoff and Johnson 1980), extended by schematicity hierarchy (Kövecses 2020) to explain different levels of structuring, restructuring, and creating media reality with metaphors. The classic definition says that a conceptual metaphor is a systematic set of correspondences (or mappings) between two domains of experience (typically one of them is abstract and another is concrete). We understand one domain in terms of another by mapping certain elements and relations from one domain (source domain) onto another one (target domain), e.g. ANGER IS FIRE. However, following Kövecses’ theory that conceptual structures (image sche-

7 Collins Thesaurus: <https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english-thesaurus>

8 Merriam-Webster Thesaurus: <https://www.merriam-webster.com/thesaurus>

9 The website of the electronic Macmillan dictionary and thesaurus was closed on 30 June 2023.

mas, domains, frames, and mental spaces) are organized into hierarchies at various levels (superordinate, basic, and subordinate levels) (2020: 52), we adopt a similar approach to structure the analysis of distress metaphors in two types of narratives and, in our turn, forward the idea of looking at the frame level deriving them from contexts in which the aforementioned domain matrices occur by applying Topic Modelling technique. It will pave the way to the macrolevel by analyzing socially situated cognitive structures like attitudes, ideologies, opinions, prejudices, discourses, or member sources (Dijk 1993: 257) with the assistance of Topic Modelling – an NLP technique using Python with SpaCy¹⁰ and Gensim¹¹ libraries to uncover latent topics by clustering the words based on their co-occurrence in the media texts. Such topics are recognized as “proxies for frames” (Ylä-Anttila, Eranti and Kukkonen 2022) and will be interpreted in relation to the prior identified conceptual metaphors.

2.3 Corpus-based identification of metaphors

Beside identifying the distress lexicon on the stage of data compilation, the corpus-based approach assisted in clarifying the procedure for the identification of target and source domains in distress metaphors. Relevance of corpus linguistics methodology to the identification and study of metaphor and metaphorical conceptualization of emotions has proven productive in a number of studies, for example, the search for specific concordanced words or phrases like *journey* and *path* to study JOURNEY metaphors in cancer discourse (Semino 2017), or a set of emotion terms that realize target domains to search for particular mappings (Stefanowitsch 2006). In our case, identification and disambiguation of target domains for metaphorical mappings in a range of distress metaphors (the range of application of a particular target domain to particular source domains) was carried out:

1) **semantically**, to search for concordanced specific words of distress lexicon, and define focalization (a term was introduced by Genette [1980]), another key constituent of narrative that relates to the experience and knowledge of the narrator, or a point of view (PoV): *I felt very **distressed*** (DISTRESS EXPERIENCE IS CONTACT WITH PHYSICAL SELF); *I cannot but bear witness to Ukraine’s **agony*** (UA corpus) (DISTRESS SYMPATHY IS VISION and DISTRESS IS OBJECT (POSSESSION) (*Ukraine’s agony*)). In metaphorical expressions of mappings with the target domain DISTRESS SYMPATHY, the journalist or another source of “voice” expresses their personal

¹⁰ SpaCy library: <https://spacy.io/models#design>

¹¹ Gensim library: <https://pypi.org/project/gensim/>

stance or position including distress lexicon to the third-person narrative which exemplifies or intensifies the journalist's PoV: *I cannot even imagine how painful it is to be a Ukrainian right now* (IPC President Andrew Parsons' voice) (UA corpus) / *This is very unbelievable <...>. People from Ukraine are suffering in the deportation camps <...>.* (EU corpus). Additionally, focalization is important to disambiguate distress experience from an experiencer as in the examples: *we are alarmed* (DISTRESS EXPERIENCE IS SOUND) / *they have been really traumatised* / *victims are scarred* (DISTRESS EXPERIENCE IS PHYSICAL INJURY). In these expressions, it is the encounter of traumatic, scarring, or alarming event metaphorically associated with the physical injury that causes bodily harm or as sound, not the experiencer: *trauma I have carried in me* (DISTRESS EXPERIENCER IS CONTAINER WITH AN EMOTION).

2) and, **syntactically**, to look at their word classes in the context. Target domains were identified with a part-of-speech (POS) tagging software for English text, CLAWS (the Constituent Likelihood Automatic Word-tagging System)¹², developed by UCREL at the Lancaster University. It is an in-built corpus annotation tool in Wmatrix 5. Wordclass tagging by CLAWS helped to disambiguate distress lexicon to build more precise metaphorical mappings. Overall, singular and plural common nouns (NN1, NN2) signal for target domain DISTRESS realized by a number of emotion terms objectivising the concept, e.g. *distress* / *pain* / *suffering* / *agony* / *concern* / *trauma* (NN1), *pains/sufferings/concerns* (NN2). Target domain DISTRESS EXPERIENCE reveals a reference to an event rather than an emotion through the syntactical structures of a base form of lexical verb (VV0) + singular common noun (NN1), e.g. *to feel* / *experience pain*, base form of lexical verb (VV0) + general adjective (JJ), e.g. *to feel distressed* / *agitated* / *concerned* / *scared*, general adjective, e.g. *it's painful* / *distressing* / *desperate* / *devastating* / *traumatic* / *scary* / *disappointing* / *desperate* / *daunting*, or *devastated (lives)*, general adverb, e.g. *painfully* / *angrily*, the -ing form of lexical verbs (VVG), e.g. *avoid worrying his wife*, the past participle form of lexical verbs (VVN), e.g. *had/has/have suffered*, the past tense form of lexical verbs (VVD), e.g. *they cared deeply*, the infinitive form of lexical verbs (VVI), e.g. *starting to panic*, etc. Target domain DISTRESS EXPERIENCER conceptualises "the person(s) whose mental faculties are involved in the psychological state denoted by an emotive predicate" (Utrecht Lexicon of Linguistics¹³) by general adjectives (JJ), e.g. *I'm/we're worried* / *distressed* / *troubled* / *concerned* / *disturbed* / *perturbed*; *I'm anxious* / *sad* / *nervous* / *upset*; *heartbreaking (stories)*, *heartbroken* / *shattered* / *shaken*, *vulnerable*, *long-suffering*, that can also describe a personified distress experiencer, e.g. *the*

12 CLAWS part-of-speech tagger for English. <https://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/claws/>; <https://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/claws8tags.pdf>

13 Utrecht Lexicon of Linguistics: <https://lexicon.hum.uu.nl/>

long-suffering city Mariupol / *my long-suffering* Ukraine choking with blood (UA corpus).

Disambiguation of the source domains in a scope of distress metaphors, that is, the range of the application of a particular source domain to particular target domains¹⁹, was performed **semantically**. Source domains were mapped onto the nucleus parts of DISTRESS concept, that is, “physical suffering” or “emotional suffering” (Verbytska & Krysanova 2020) being annotated as PHYSICAL INJURY and EMOTIONAL HARM (terms – Lakoff, Espenson and Goldberg 1991). Correspondences for the source domain PHYSICAL INJURY include the examples of distress lexicon (e.g. *pain* / *painful* / *painfully* / *to suffer* / (*has* / *have*) *suffered* / (*am* / *is* / *are*) *suffering* / *suffered* / *sufferings*), the basic meaning of which coincides with the name of the domain, e.g. *pain* – “highly unpleasant physical sensation caused by illness or injury” (Cambridge dictionary): *the penalties [sanctions] will be quite painful* (ECONOMIC HARM IS PHYSICAL INJURY). The same is about the source domain EMOTIONAL HARM, the variety of distress lexicon that initiates the source domain is much bigger, though (*concerned* / *concerns* / *spooked* / *discontent* / *upsetting* / *disappointing* / *sad* / *tensions*, etc.), basic meanings of which pertain to the emotional harm rather than physical, e.g. *concern* (v) – “to cause worry to someone” (Cambridge dictionary¹⁴): *Ukrainians and Poles not remain enslaved by sad memories of the past* (MENTAL EVENT IS EMOTIONAL HARM).

The strings that contained multiple elements simultaneously were annotated for every metaphorical expression. For example, the string *offensive actions bringing even more suffering [to Kyiv]* includes the metaphor frame DISTRESS IS OBJECT (SOLID) instantiated by the phrase *bringing suffering* (VVG (-ing form of lexical verb) + AJ0 (adjective)) and DISTRESS IS OBJECT (QUANTITY) objectivized by the phrase *even more suffering* (AV0 (adverb) + AV0 + AJ0).

3 Results

3.1 Distress experienter’s and distress non-experienter’s narrative

It is fair to say that in the context of the war in Ukraine, distress narrators align themselves with the distress experiencers taking a position of a neutral observer of a situation, sympathize with the distress experiencers taking the supportive stance in the form of shared feelings and opinions, thus, integrating themselves with the

¹⁴ Cambridge dictionary: <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/>

distress experiencers and a situation, or distress narrators align with the emotion itself representing the voices of the war victims or journalists' op-eds. In this regard, two concepts, framing and positioning, are interconnected. As Kendall puts it: "positions [discursive construction of identity] are mutually constitutive components of frames. Participants create frames by taking up and making certain positions available to others; and conversely, participants make certain positions available through the frames they create and maintain" (2008: 548). The conceptual analysis of distress metaphors in media discourse has been carried out from two points of view (PoVs) in relation to the emotion – distress experiencers and non-experiencers. Semino (2008) connects metaphor and representation via Halliday's ideational function of language that represents reality and expresses meaning based on the speaker's personal experience and that of the community they belong to (Halliday 1973). Metaphor plays a notable role in mapping a speaker's (and community's) experience from a source domain onto a target domain.

Distress experiencer's narrative is represented by such linguistic cues as direct attribution, i.e. personal narratives of war witnesses, survivors, relatives of murdered or tortured soldiers, soldiers themselves, refugees, those who talk about distress they experienced or are experiencing due to the war in Ukraine or other wars. Direct attribution is mainly revealed by the pronouns I, us, we, our, myself, me and others: e.g. *I felt very **distressed** and **agitated** for the life of me / one hundred days of unimaginable **pain** and **suffering** for myself / we are going **to suffer** more losses (UA corpus) / We are deeply **concerned** / It's a spirit I will encounter <> A spirit that will be shrouded in tears and **pain** (EU corpus). DEN is also represented as a personal PoV of a journalist who uses the distress lexicon to evaluate the war experience or politics by the usage of such linguistic cues as adjectives, Participle I in fragments: *many **distressing** features of the war in Ukraine / **insufferable** dictatorship (UA corpus) / Mariupol story is **hurtful** (EU corpus). In cases where two or more voices are present, the narrative was annotated either as distress experiencer's narrative (DEN) or distress non-experiencer's narrative (DNEN) regarding the author's relation to the emotion, i.e. if he directly experiences it or just reports on it: e.g. *It is with **sadness** that they **will suffer** for the actions of the leaders of the Russian regime (UA corpus). The fragment is annotated as DEN by its first part – "it is with sadness" that belongs to the author of the article. The fragments with overlaps when the DNEN becomes DEN were annotated as DEN: e.g. *my **heart ached** and my **soul was torn** <> I owe these **suffering** animals to give a happy life / We are deeply **concerned** <> and stand with all those who **are suffering** (EU corpus) / This pain is also *ours* (UA corpus). Here in both cases the narrators made reference to distress experiencers (animals in the first case and Ukrainians in the second one), though, it is they whose sympathy turned to distress that shows virality and contagious nature of the emotion. DNENs include subtle implicit or explicit evaluation****

of support or criticism of policies. DNENs generally come from the authoritative voice-over rather than vox populi (“ordinary” people), involving voices of journalists, editors, politicians, religious personalities (e.g. Pope Francis), governmental representatives, volunteers, those who talk about distress of others with direct and indirect attribution, showing different level of sympathy or evaluation to either side of the full-scale war in Ukraine caused by Russian invasion. In the following fragment as an example of DNEN – “*The freedoms of totalitarianism have within them the seeds of unimaginable sufferings*” (UA corpus) – referential intertextuality leads a reader into the work of a Holocaust survivor Hannah Arendt “The Origins of Totalitarianism” published in 1951, in which she highlights the paradox of freedom of submission, that is, “unimaginable sufferings” people can inflict on others if they believe that higher minds are responsible for the result. Thus, the author makes reference to the suffering without its experience and expresses the attitude to the actions of soldiers who unleashed terror in the name of freedom by intensification of distress (*unimaginable suffering*).

Distress moderates and mediates distress experiencer’s as well as non-experiencer’s narratives prompting the use of a range of metaphorical frames. It is remarkable that out of 365 strings in the UE corpus, 17,8% are non-metaphorical, 69,86% contain distress non-experiencer’s narratives with 369 metaphors identified and just 12,32% contain distress experiencer’s narratives with 69 metaphors detected. Quantitative data obtained from the UA corpus show that out of 808 strings, 27,72% are non-metaphorical, 59,65% contain distress non-experiencer’s narratives with 713 metaphors identified and 12,62% contain distress experiencer’s narratives with 184 metaphors detected. Overall, it is that the UA corpus of newspaper articles on the Russia and Ukraine war contains fewer distress metaphors to frame the situation that the EU corpus of articles from the European Union media outlet Euronews. However, if to compare the UA and the EU corpora, in a smaller amount of DNEN strings there were almost twice more metaphorical frames and in a fairly same amount of DEN strings there were about three times more metaphorical frames correspondingly.

3.2 The range of distress metaphors in distress experiencer’s and non-experiencer’s narratives

This section provides an overview of the frequent (above 2 occurrences) metaphorical frames with the target and source domains of distress in the EU and UA corpora in distress experiencer’s and distress non-experiencer’s narratives. The tables 2–5 in Appendices display how distress, distress experience, distress experiencer, and distress sympathy were conceptualised with metaphor frames to represent a

range of abstract associations in terms of more concrete domains in Western and Eastern news coverage of the Russian invasion in Ukraine.

3.2.1 Distress experiencer's narratives (DENS)

Distress experiencer's narratives in a range of metaphors (Table 2 in Appendices) in both corpora share the mappings of distress onto bounded space seen more specifically as a container that the experiencer *goes through* or is located *in*; onto the solid object that makes it real and something personal that you *carry* or perceive with your senses (*palpable*).

Additionally, in Ukrainian media distress is presented as an entity, possession and a contact with physical self; less frequent are images of distress as bounded time, quantity and object in a container. Image of the object that you possess enables you to allocate it to an individual (*your/my pain*) or share with someone (*mutual care, this pain is also ours*) that shows personalised experiences. Distress is also framed through an ontological entity metaphor that emphasises the existence of the emotion (*there is pain*) and leads to its recognition. Perception of distress as a contact with physical self personalises it, directs the focus on the experiencer and proves the emotion is real because you *feel* it.

Distress experience in both corpora, however, with more emphasis in UA corpus, is framed in its turn as a cognitive problem, a force that blocks you from normal mental functioning, leads to mental impairments and dims the sound judgment of the events (*dumbstruck trying to process the events, inconceivable*). Disintegration into parts is another frequent image onto which distress experience is mapped. Experiencers locate the emotion in only one part of their bodies (*touched a painful nerve, my heart and my soul hurts*), get emotionally detached (*I felt dead inside*) or vice versa, align themselves with the emotion (*I'm nothing but heartfelt grief*).

In Ukrainian media, distress experiencer's narratives are enriched by verbal images within universal categories of bounded time and space when sufferers refer to certain periods (*those periods <> were already very stressful*) or emphasise the duration (*endure a suffering*). Other categories of an entity to describe a scary experience (*it is not so scary*) or a quantity category to measure their experience (*people out there who are suffering more than us*) and compare it to the experience of others to express their compassion were revealed in the UA corpus. Furthermore, the function of the latter is rendered by mapping distress experience onto speaking problems (*cannot say in a single word how painful this cry was*). Visibility source domain reveals that perception of distress triggers leads to its experience (*It's painful for me to see how my home city is being destroyed*). This metaphor directs us to the economy domain to display the glaringly evident reality as in the UA corpus

string that causes distress and implies a sense of urgency regarding the issue at hand: “It is painfully obvious that the exemptions granted to Nord Stream have irreparably eroded our shared security in the energy realm and beyond” (The Kyiv Independent, June 6, 2022).

Notably, distress experiencer is mapped onto bounded space in two corpora to conceptualise the sufferer in Down category (*We are deeply concerned*) (more in EU media) and Container (*I bury this deep inside me*) (more in UA media) to show in one case the scope of distress the experiencer is suffering (*the video <...> is deeply distressing*), and the place where they store the emotion. Moreover, the UA media emphasise intensity/degree (*We are very disappointed in today’s announcement*) and brittleness (*I am heartbroken*) of the object to characterise the distress experiencer.

It’s an unexpected finding that only UA outlets put an emphasis on metaphorisation of distress sympathy in distress experiencer’s narratives through integrity (*This pain is also ours*), whereas there are some infrequent occurrences of integrity and physical injury associations in EU corpus of articles.

3.2.2 Distress non-experiencer’s narratives (DNENS)

In distress non-experiencer’s narratives (Table 3 in Appendices), conceptualisation of distress has high similarity in two corpora. Representing distress through OBJECT category with elaborations POSSESSION, SOLID, INTENSITY/DEGREE, and SIZE has high frequency, especially in UA corpus. Unlike the distress experiencer’s narratives, here the feelings of the affected parties are being reported to the audience by allocating distress to a group of individuals (*human/Ukrainians’/civilian suffering, the suffering of (innocent) Ukrainians/of anyone/[of] our enemies, U.S. and NATO/its [China’s]/Russia’s/international/general concern(s), civilian distress is severe*) that describes attitudes on a local level of an organisation or a more global, and promotes general responsibilities (*the ordeal they had shared*). The categories of intensity/degree and size help understand the gravity of the event that evoked the emotion (*alleviate/ease/cope with/deal with the trauma; intense/extreme/severe/tremendous/ultimate/unbearable pain, inconsolable grief; – INTENSITY, immense/great/biggest pain – SIZE*) on a personal level as conventional metaphors (*to alleviate her distress*), or stepping into the domain of economy (*ease the pain of rising fuel prices for Americans* (UA corpus) – INTENSITY/DEGREE; *companies are a little nervous* (EU corpus) – SIZE), politics (*It raised “serious concerns for the entire NATO alliance <...>* (EU corpus)), or society (*enormous social turmoil* (EU corpus)) in a new role. DNENS are expanded by unanimous representations of distress within the spacial and temporal concepts – 1) BOUNDED SPACE with extensions CONTAINER and CENTRE (*went through unspeakable ordeals; amid hunger concerns* (EU corpus)) and addi-

tionally CONTAINER WITH LIQUID and DOWN in UA corpus (*to sink into depression; the pain of war must be lived through*) to report on the witnesses' emotions or refer to global problems of food crisis (*US backs Russian grain and fertilizer exports amid hunger concerns* (EU corpus)); or political malfunctioning (*His [Nicolae Ceaucescu's] Securitate have been dragging your country and people down to suffering* (UA corpus)); 2) BOUNDED TIME pointing at misfortunes of the economic sector (*painful period of stagflation in the West* (EU corpus)), or consequences of the war (*lifelong trauma* (UA corpus)). ENTITY and VISIBILITY domains highlight the proof that distress exists because you can see or overlook/ignore it and point at the offenders that cause/inflict it, make it real, or phantom, extending far beyond the conceptualisation of personal experiences into the economic (*to inflict real pain on Russias already shaky economy* (UA corpus); *signs of distress, such as higher inflation* (EU corpus)), or political (*Polish tensions with the EU and the U.S. are real* (UA corpus); *with no pain to break energy ties with the aggressor* (EU corpus)). These and the next two domains such as OFFENSIVE WEAPON (*intentional infliction of severe suffering*) and PHYSICAL INJURY (*grievous bodily harm; Our patients' wounds*) deem high importance to represent distress, especially in UA media. As much as an offensive weapon can harm its target, distress has the power to affect and cause pain, damage, or impairment, the impact of which is tangible as a physical injury. It also metaphorises the strategic military and economic actions during the war (*inflict enough pain on the Russian army; inflict real pain on Russias already shaky economy*). In the EU corpus, the offensive weapon metaphor frame extends to the expression of sympathy and co-experience of distress (*sadness and pain coming from Ukraine just hit all of us*). Metaphorisation of distress as JOURNEY reveals the wish *to end the suffering*. It is a path (*At the end of this ordeal*), a destination (*to create a path to <> remorse*), or a tourist place (*The Torture Camp*) in the worst sense. This metaphor frames political decisions in a fragment "*the founding fathers went to great pains to avoid creating a democracy*" (UA corpus). MOTION is related to a journey metaphor that denotes more pain which is *one the way*. Mostly in UA corpus, it is UPWARD MOTION to show the increase (*there is a steady build-up of tension*) or appearance (*Tensions have also risen in Transnistria*) of distress. The metaphor frame denotes the changing moods of Russian citizens in a fragment "*rising domestic discontent*" (UA corpus). WATER CONTROLLING MOTION (*wave of sadness and pain*) in EU corpus displays the overwhelming dynamic, and has a profound impact on an individual. LIVING BEING metaphor reflects a life cycle of an emotion as a plant or an animal pointing out its capability to grow (*growing tension* (UA corpus), *concerns for safety of refugees grow* (EU corpus)) or develop (*develop trauma*), be reproduced (*The freedoms of totalitarianism have within them the seeds of unimaginable sufferings* (UA corpus)), or reborn as a bird phoenix (*Ukraine would rise from the ashes* (EU corpus)), be referred to human / (uncontrolled) animal actions as curbing/grip-

ping/creeping (*curbing panic*, *gripped by panic*, *crept under my skin*), or body parts (*the latest sanctions underscore the pain that Russia faces* (EU corpus)). We see that this distress metaphor is very important to frame the situation with refugees, politics, or economy. Distress behaves as much as NATURAL PHENOMENON having uncontrolled or destructive force and being pervasive (*the town of Borodyanka permeated with pain and suffering* – LIQUID/GAS/SMELL IN A CONTAINER; *tension is in the air* (UA) / *the air was thick with fumes and sorrow* (EU) – GAS; *genocide has sparked tensions* – FIRE; *the overwhelming trauma* (UA) / *Aliona couldn't hold back her tears anymore* (EU) – LIQUID IN A CONTAINER), which frames the scenes of the war and casualties, and societal changes. In DNENs, distress perceived as a CONTACT WITH PHYSICAL SELF personifies countries or systems that feel/experience it financially (*member states would feel the pain in an instantaneous and painful way*; *countries are experiencing distress* (EU); *the Russian economy will feel the pain* (UA)).

The corpora differ at the point that: 1) UA media frame the event in DNENs metaphorising distress as ACTION, DISEASE, and COGNITIVE PROBLEMS, which is, firstly, explained by the very dynamic nature of the emotion to find the way out of it and solve the issue triggering distress (*to work out the trauma of losing their home*; *the anger of the world <...> would be repeated*; *the suffering <...> needs a maximum effort*), secondly, by the contagious nature of distress that *spreads/affects* others, and, thirdly, is associated with or directly connected to mental impairment (*the trouble of thought*; *unimaginable suffering*); 2) EU media frame the war with distress metaphors of OBJECT IN A CONTAINER (*The family embodies the anxieties*), MACHINE (*The crisis has fuelled discontent*), and BURDEN (*They [Russian pensioners] are under stress*) to depict the war casualties, energy crisis, and financial difficulties of another side of the conflict after imposing sanctions.

Conceptualisation of distress experience is much more diverse within two corpora. It is mapped onto source domains that help us perceive it as OBJECT that can be quantified, JOURNEY, MOTION, a PHYSICAL INJURY, BOUNDED TIME, and BOUNDED SPACE. The OBJECT metaphor frames to a great extent military actions, food crisis, and economy (*The residential areas <> suffer the most*; *to suffer most from a global food shortage*; *the economy has so far suffered less than expected*) as well as politics in EU media (*who have suffered a lot from his policies*). JOURNEY metaphor reveals an important standpoint in UA media that “Russia must *go through* the pain of acknowledging a century of grievous sins against millions of innocent lives”, whereas EU media describe the experiencers of the war, in particular, in Bucha (*It's a distressing way to live for those who are still trying to stay*). ACTION metaphor frames political attitudes of Russia towards Ukrainian pursuits of a membership in the Euro-Atlantic structures (*Russia's desperate attempts to block it*), military actions (*the Kremlin is desperate to turn the tide against a ferocious Ukrainian resistance*), or refugees (*In a desperate attempt to flee*). In EU media

the action metaphor reveals together with the refugee issue in Ukraine financial difficulties in Russia (*in a desperate attempt to retrieve their savings*). Physical injury speaks of “*traumatic after-effects*” of the Russian invasion with reference to the refugees too (*But crossing the border was traumatic* (UA corpus)). BOUNDED TIME metaphor to explain distress experience is crucial in UA media (25 occurrences) referring to its duration (*Volnovakha <> has suffered days of bombardment*), recency (*Ukrainians suffering now*), or past (*a painful past*) / repetitiveness of events (*I see my long-suffering Ukraine choking with blood once again* (UA corpus)). Distress experience is conceptualised in terms of BOUNDED SPACE target domain as an isolated place.

Apart from that, the EU corpus uses BREATHING PROBLEMS metaphor to reveal the distress experience of those who witnessed war crimes and reported on them (*Alberto recounted, choking up*). In UA media, this is COGNITIVE PROBLEMS that the events were still *unbelievable/tough mentally* and the sufferers had mental impairments. Primary metaphors of LIGHT and SOUND in UA media reveal associations of darkness, absence of sound (*whispering her husband’s name*), or the reference to the political attitudes of Beijing that repeated Kremlin’s propaganda on NATO’s expansion being a reason to start invasion (*echoing the Kremlin’s prime security grievance*). Visibility metaphor refers to the signs of distress experience (*the family noticed how anxious and stressed he was*), flaws of political regimes and structures (*Putin’s regime <...> has also exposed weaknesses and gaps in the international order <...>. The hollowness and rottenness of the relevant institutions have been painfully exposed <...>*). OBJECT with a certain INTENSITY/DEGREE shapes the distress experience of Ukrainian civilians after a Russian attack (*the memory was too painful*), attitudes towards Wimbledon ban on Russian and Belarusian players (*branded the move unfair and very disappointing*), social services that help raped women (*deal with the traumatic experience*). INTEGRITY metaphor that conceptualises distress experience goes far beyond reporting on the sufferers into the context of unraveling propaganda in the remarks of politicians as in the fragment about brotherly ties of Ukraine and Russia mentioned by Macron (*Macron <...> touched a particularly painful nerve in Ukraine. Talk of brotherly ties between Russia and Ukraine is misguided*). EMOTIONAL INSTABILITY metaphor reveals the loss of balance when experiencing distress, which is mapped onto the war events such military actions (*Why Ukraine’s Already A Winner Shuddering from the explosions outside*) or the international relations as in the example between Russia and China (*Putin is trying to shake up the world. China does not want that*).

The target domain DISTRESS EXPERIENCER is mapped onto BOUNDED SPACE (DOWN) (*deeply perturbed*) in the EU corpus in two types of distress narratives with an almost equal number of mappings to frame the scenes of the war (*Bellofiore witnessed scenes that left him profoundly distressed*). The UA media, in their turn,

put emphasis on intensity/degree and brittleness than the spacial category referring to the personal experiences (*He was especially worried* – INTENSITY/DEGREE; *the most vulnerable who suffered the most during times of war* – BRITTLE), as well as politics (*The holders of authority are only too anxious*), or direct addresses about the military actions to call for action (*Aren't you a mite troubled by mass killings?*).

DISTRESS SYMPATHY is represented in both corpora as speaking problems and INTEGRITY, with INTEGRITY playing an immense role in UA media with five times higher frequency (15) than in the EU corpus. When sympathising with Ukrainian sufferers, the speakers encounter loss for words (*There are no words to describe what it felt like to watch him go*; *We are running out of adjectives to describe the horrors* (UA)), incapability to talk (*I can't even talk about how in these eastern cities of Ukraine and Kyiv they suffer now* (UA); *I followed my journey through the unspeakable* (EU corpus)), or difficulties articulating words (*Her voice choked as she described the scene* (EU)). In many cases, these are the words of those who visited badly affected cities by the Russian attacks – Eastern cities, Kyiv, Mariupol, Borydyanka, or Irpin. The UA media additionally metaphorise distress sympathy through the domain COGNITIVE PROBLEMS (*The torments of the world, which is bleeding, suffering, burning – they rack my conscience*). Expressing sympathy through disintegration or loss of INTEGRITY manifests itself through the will to *share thoughts* and *heart* with distress sufferers, *hold* them in the heart, desire to understand their feelings and pain. Integration is manifested in *collective suffering / trauma*, or being *united by grief*. This metaphor enters the domain of international reaction framing the European Union's support (*Moldova and Europe: shared values, shared power and solidarity*).

Metaphors with high frequency are conventional, however, even conventional metaphors can give a new meaning in a new context. In the context of the war, the conceptualisation of distress gives insights into how global communities and individuals react to the unfolding events, to which decisions they come and what meanings they transmit. Rare or novel metaphors concentrate the attention on one particular aspect of the situation, putting some of its qualities into a spotlight, such as SACRAMENTAL FOOD metaphor (*Ukraine's tortures have become my daily bread, I eat its distress*) to speak about the emotional aspect of the war during the Easter holidays through allusion to Christ's tortures and suffering, and Ukraine's distress is associated with symbolic Christ's body or bread, or LIVING BEING metaphor with an extension phoenix bird that symbolises hope for the rebirth.

3.3 The scope of distress metaphors in distress experiencer's and non-experiencer's narratives

3.3.1 Distress experiencer's narratives (DENS)

The scope of the source domains of metaphors in distress experiencer's narratives (Table 4 in Appendices) involves unequal representation of VISUAL, WRITTEN/SPOKEN and SPOKEN only modes of LANGUAGE. VISUAL mode is very important for UA media conceptualising the war events as A CONDUIT FOR DISTRESS (*one of the many distressing features of the war*), making them real to others through art (*painful art*), or media (*the scariest picture*), serving as a means to release distress (*stencilling his daughter's portrait to channel my depression*). SPOKEN/WRITTEN and only SPOKEN modes are scarce in EU media in DENSs, but are present in UA media, especially SPOKEN mode, to address issues of religion and other conflicts such as those by Islamist terrorists (*the phrase Allahu akbhar! (God is great!) has sadly become most familiar to non-Christian*), news coverage on social media (*reports, if true, are deeply concerning*), or survivors' stories (*heartbreaking testimonies*). SPOKEN mode metaphorises distress through the speaker-listener communication model (*It's embarrassing to talk about it; the Prince listened to our people's concerns*), phonetic system (*tortured souls <> We hear Never again differently. It sounds painful*), lexical system (*But I was struck by how often, in my conversations, that same word recurred*) to frame war crimes (*The dry blood <...> speaks volumes*), political choices during the food crisis (*why bother tabling the idea – meaning “to delay discussion of a subject”¹⁵*). Mappings, in which POLITICS and MENTAL EVENTS are understood through the concept of PHYSICAL INJURY in distress experiencer's narratives are present in UA media and almost absent in EU media. PHYSICAL INJURY domain expresses attitudes towards a Putin's regime as *insufferable dictatorship*, or Polish policy (*I have never encountered anything like phantom pains in the actual country of Poland*), sympathy with the Russian players whose participation was banned (*it is with sadness that they will suffer for the actions of the leaders of the Russian regime*). MENTAL EVENT domain reveals historical connections with the past as of Ukrainians and Poles (*they exploit painful strains from our mutual past*), explains decisions on not intervening in the Ukrainian defense (*If we did that, we'll end up with something that could end in a full-fledged war in Europe <...> So that's the reason why we make this painful decision*), or on possible military invasion (*they [Belarusians] will surely suffer the same fate as the Russians*).

15 Cambridge dictionary: <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/taled>

3.3.2 Distress non-experiencer's narratives (DNENs)

In distress non-experiencer's narratives (Table 5 in Appendices), language is seen as A CONDUIT FOR DISTRESS where VISUAL mode plays an important role in channeling the fascist and the Miloevi regimes and events in the past and the present (*Ukraine is drawing parallels between the horrors brought on Europe by the Nazis and Russia's invasion; All those images revive in Croatia painful memories of the Miloevi regimes* (UA corpus)), displaying current political systems (*Putin has become a symbol* (UA corpus)), economic decisions (*the latest sanctions underscore the pain that Russia faces* (EU corpus)), or metaphors that reveal WRITTEN/SPOKEN mode (meaning it can be interchangeable) manifest themselves in *condemning/denying/blaming/disregarding (disregard painful questions)/reporting on* in the sphere of politics (*Are these still not strong enough arguments for the most powerful defensive Alliance to offer anything more than words of concern?* (UA corpus)), news coverage (*the news <...> is raising the anxiety* (EU corpus)), propaganda spread (*The tensions within Poland and between Poland and its partners would seem to offer an opportunity for skillful Russian propaganda* (UA corpus)), and international reaction (*Beijing <...> taking the Russian line in blaming the United States and NATO for European tensions* (UA corpus)). SPOKEN mode is again much more preferred in UA media to frame international reaction for e.g. trapped civilians in Mariupol (*a global outcry over the suffering of civilians/untold suffering/sounds of pain*), political moves and attitudes as e.g. Biden's reluctance to call weapons defensive at a certain time (*the Biden administration has taken pains to call the weapons it is providing to Ukraine defensive; Zelensky's pleas for NATO to intervene have grown increasingly desperate*), the refugees' mental state and transport conditions (*the rafters with refugees, I will never forget the goosebump-inducing wailing* (UA); *We talk about refugees as if they're packages to transport from one place to another, Bellofiore lamented* (EU)), worrying situation in economy and finance sectors as e.g. a Ukraine's debt that prevents from becoming a member-state of EU or gloomy prospects for businesses (*All the above sounds depressing for Ukraine* (UA); *Some European industry players have already sounded the alarm*). SPOKEN/GESTURAL mode is called upon to show the concerns of the governmental and religious representatives over *Ukraine fatigue* that influenced the international support, the safety of nuclear sites, use of chemical weapons by Russians, etc. (*British Prime Minister Boris Johnson has expressed concerns "that a bit of Ukraine fatigue is starting to set in around the world <...>* (EU); *The UN nuclear watchdog has expressed grave concern* (UA)). WRITTEN mode stands out in EU media to frame international relations and regrouping of alliances during the war time (*The UK <...> is taking great pains to underline that this new strategy will in no way replace the transatlantic alliance but in fact strengthen it*), situation with residents in Mariupol (*harrowing accounts*), unequal attention to other communities in

distress (*communities whose suffering rarely makes international headlines*), and cultural heritage destructions (*sad statistics*).

EMOTIONAL HARM source domain is mapped onto the domains of ECONOMIC HARM, ADVERSARY, and POLITICS in two corpora. ECONOMIC HARM such as inflations, energy costs, Western sanctions, storage capacity, fuel prices, a total embargo is mapped onto EMOTIONAL HARM manifested in China's/swing voters'/Ukrainian farmers'/Putin's/Russian oligarch's *concerns/discontent/fatigue* or *getting upset/unhappy/scared* (*the conflict is also upsetting supplies*; *It [The wait-and-see approach] has also raised concerns about sanctions fatigue* (EU)). Metaphors with ADVERSARY target domain reveal security issues in terms of citizens living under Russian occupation or the recounts of the Nazi invasion victims (*harrowing war experience*), or international relations (*Turkey's security concerns* (EU); *wars to upset the current world order* (UA)). POLITICS target domain is associated with EMOTIONAL HARM in respect to foreign policies, Russia and Germany international relations, Moldova's EU membership and Finland's NATO plans, or absence of Europe's strategies towards Russia, Nord Stream2 pipeline, SWIFT ban (*greater geopolitical tensions*).

In Ukrainian media, MENTAL EVENT metaphor frames political opinions about Ukraine as a legitimate free democratic country (*It troubles Medvedev that Poles might have their own opinion*), refers to the memories of the past international relations between Ukraine and Poland (*sad memories of the past*). LOSS metaphor frames news from the southern frontline (*The loss put a human face on the shared grief of Ukrainians*) and personalised stories of those who lost family members. In the EU corpus, TRADE metaphor refers to *panic buying of drugs in Russia* due to fear of shortages after Western sanctions had been applied.

ECONOMIC HARM, MOTION, ADVERSARY, LOSS and MENTAL EVENT are associated with PHYSICAL INJURY that makes someone feel real *pain/suffering*, have a *trauma*, being *hurt*. The events framed by these metaphors are: *global food shortage/a lack of Ukrainian grain/sanctions/severe contraction in economy sector/recession and stagnation/rising fuel prices/inflation/ drug shortages amid sanctions/disrupted supply of chains/the supply squeeze*, etc. *suffered by the business/citizens/the economy/[Russia]/agricultural facilities/high-importing countries/ Russia/Georgians/ the Middle East and Africa/poor countries/countries/the country/people in countries such as France and Germany/Chanel/the US production/companies*, etc. (*citizens [Russians] begin to suffer the tightening screws of Western sanctions; really painful package of sanctions against Russia; It [sanctions] needs to hurt on the other side*). MOTION metaphor frames refugees who need volunteers' help *to prevent the fall into the unknown or at least to make this transition smooth and painless* (UA corpus), taking sides in international relations of Russia, Kazakhstan, and Ukraine (*considering taking further steps that might make Moscow angry*), political decisions introducing a moratorium that *would be a painful step* (EU corpus), *military advancements*

that are *painful*, Russian economy where *the steps taken to support the rouble are themselves painful* (EU corpus). Although ADVERSARY and LOSS metaphors are manifested by highly conventional phrases that don't feel metaphorical and don't carry the same emotional weight as others, in the context of war they play a no less important role framing in case of ADVERSARY metaphor such events as *setbacks/an unexpected major setback/a disastrous defeat/an overwhelming defeat/a crippling defeat/horrendous hardships/ more than Russia as a result of the reprisals/ vandalism/ looting/the worst humanitarian catastrophe of the war/faulty equipment/retaliation/severe food insecurity/strong Ukrainian resistance suffered by Ukrainian troops/He [Putin]/militarily his forces/the RF/the civilian population/Europe and the United States/each [museums and places of worship]/Mariupol*, reporting on the advancements of and obstacles for military actions and what they mean on a global political level (*potential defeats in Ukraine may be especially painful for his [Putin's] dictatorship* (UA corpus)). Another metaphor that frames refugees and military actions is LOSS perceived as PHYSICAL INJURY revealing *suffering of loss(es) in manpower and equipment/in heavy fighting/in both soldiers and equipment/in humanity/in infrastructure/to RF artillery/in Ukraine/by the occupiers/of 50 percent/in its bid to conquer all of Ukraine/during a failed March attempt to capture Kyiv/during the Nazi invasion/as a result of Russian aggression/in its [RF] war with Ukraine/at the hands of russia/due to restrictions, or traumatic experience/pain of the loss of fellow officers/leaving the city/of what they had to leave behind*. MENTAL EVENT metaphor as much as in distress experienter's narratives brings about the historical reflections that connect the Russian invasion in Ukraine with other conflicts and wars throughout the world, *sad memories/painful experience/painful strains/a painful realisation or the same fate/a fate similar to that of Mariupol*.

Interestingly, in UA media, POLITICS metaphor mapped onto PHYSICAL INJURY is very distinct with a high frequency of 19 occurrences. It leads us alongside the MENTAL EVENT metaphor to the past, present and future political regimes that caused *unimaginable suffering*. Reference to the past involves *Nazism, Tsar Nicholas II's oppressive regime*, to the present – *imbalanced and over-powerful Russian executive*, to the future – *the painful territorial decisions that Ukraine will have to/should make*. In the EU corpus, environmental and technological harm conceptualised as physical injury comes forth framing climate change and its consequences for wheat harvest, nuclear plants with radioactive materials, cyber-attacks/hacking attempts suffered by state websites, companies and news organisations.

3.4 Topic Modelling

This section introduces NLP technique Topic Modelling in Python with Gensim and spaCy libraries based on Latent Dirichlet Allocation model (Blei, Ng and Jordan 2003) to derive topics as approximations/traces/proxies of frames in media discourse about the full-scale Russia and Ukraine war in 2022. Linguistics and NLP are two disciplines that focus on topics and topic boundaries in particular (Todd 2016: 32). Linguistic approach is looking for signals of topic shift through the use of discourse markers and phrases. NLP deals with identification of discourse content in topic segments, which is manifested in the lexis. In this research, automatic segmentation for topic identification is supported by the fine-grained linguistic interpretation of the gained results and synthesising the top salient keywords for each topic into the names of frames. Latent Dirichlet Model identifies word clusters as operationalized frames or schemata of interpretation. Calculated coherence values enabled us to pick five topics for each corpus, the optimal number for making meaning and interpretation when it marks the end of the rapid growth of topic coherence. The findings comprise sets of top 10 salient keywords for each topic obtained on the 21st of March 2023 (see Table 6 in Appendices). Before each keyword, there is a probability that this word belongs to this particular topic (e.g. 0.009*“kyiv“ – a 0.9% probability that the word “kyiv” is associated with the topic 1 in the EU corpus). These probabilities are based on the distribution of words across the corpus and topics learned during the training of the LDA model. The sum of probabilities for all words in a given topic should equal 1.

In the EU corpus, topic 1 is represented by a set of words that comprise 14% of tokens in a Bag-of-Words (BoW), a text as a multiset of words disregarding grammar and word order, yet defines the largest number of texts in the corpus – 63. If to expand the number of salient words to 30, we receive the verbs *go, call, live, stop, end, experience, think, try, condemn*, nouns *francis, conflict, weapon, refugee, way, europe, party, situation, group*. “**International reaction to the war**” frame reveals global outcry to the Russian invasion, yet also attempts to define the events in terms of conflict or situation without naming it the war, calling for peace, providing support, condemning the aggressor, finding ways to help/support military and refugees. The frame involves such entities as locations (*city, kyiv*), political and religious representatives (*putin, zelenskyy, francis, party*). A set of words for topic 2 (15,1% of tokens, 48 texts) instigates the frame “**Refugees**” that reveals the need for people to leave/flee from their homes and families (*leave, flee, feel, march, border*) and start/adapt to new life abroad (*need, able, work, start, know, find, live, school, company*), discloses the age groups (*child, old*), help they receive (*help*) and media coverage (*film, euronews*). The frame “**Economy**” with a set of words (29,8% of tokens in 31 texts) reveals major players (agents and patients), on financial market (*eu, eur-*

opean, member, putin, president, foreign, moscow, minister, union, leader, commission), decisions taken (*need, ban, include, support, impose*), economic sectors (*gas, energy, oil*), duration (*long*), economic punishment for an aggressor (*sanctions*). The frame “**Military actions**” with a set of words (27,3% of tokens in 19 texts) includes such entities as place (with instances *city, kyiv, moscow, region, mariupol, sievierodonetsk, donbas, area, eastern*), types of military actions (*attack, crime, kill, damage, fire, defence*), persons or groups (*soldier, troop, army, putin, president, military, civilian*), activities (*claim, know, video call, control, report, plan*). The least represented in the EU corpus is topic 5 (8 texts) with a set of words constituting 13,7% of tokens in BoW that instantiate the frame “**Food crisis**”. Topic 5 is semantically similar to topic 3 with the frame “Economy” (share common keywords), their circles in pyLDAvis chart overlap, yet only to some extent, that gives us reasons to differentiate a separate frame, not a sub-frame. The frame “Food crisis” specifies the economic sector which undergoes the crisis (*food, price, export, grain, wheat, increase, shortage, cost, sanction, rise, cent, cost, price, cent*), place (*port, sea, black, flight, europe, uneuropean, global*), the reasons for it (*sanction, blockade, affect, cause, impact*), consequences (*crisis, impact, inflation, increase, rise*), and time span (*month*).

In the UA corpus, topic 1 (with 21,3% of tokens) defines a major number of texts (201) and instigates the frame “**Refugee**” (*leave, life, help, go, work, family, friend, home, live, march*) with a strong focus on aggressors, their crimes that made people flee their country, and victims (*soldier, come, russians, take, kill, body, woman, resident*), crime scenes (*mariupol, bucha*), age group (*child, old*). Topic 2 with 17,2% of tokens is another one that defines 100 texts in the corpus and motivates the frame “**Military actions**” that is specified by weapon types (*artillery, missile, tank, armed*), military forces (*uaf, army, unit, troop, general*), actions (*combat, battle, defense, attack, loss, strike, continue, fighting, control, report, statement, claim*), place (*rf, region, kharkiv, donbas, kremlin, south, oblast*). Topics 3 (25,1% of tokens, 55 texts) and 4 (15% of tokens, 15 texts) share even greater degree of similarity that topic 3 and 5 in the EU corpus with unequal distribution in the corpus. The sets of words are similar in defining the frame name “International reaction to the war”, e.g. by referring to nationalities, places, and organisations (*nation, germany, ukrainians, russians, poland, world, international, european, eu, kremlin, soviet, government, state, community*), and time (*year, today*). However, they differ in stance-taking, e.g. the frame “**International reaction to the war: policy-oriented stance**” is revealed by keywords that denote political actions (*support, think, sanction, go, want, take, fight, come, need, end, know, try, happen, win*), and the frame “**International reaction to the war: value-oriented stance**” appeals more to the values (*peace, freedom, democracy, right, security, thank, free, life, power*) to be fought for / protected (*need, support, work, help, destroy, stop*). “**Food crisis**” in the UA corpus motivated by the topic 5 with 21,4% of tokens and distribution in only 11 texts is framed not as a part

of economic sector which is undergoing crisis, but rather as another war crime (*food, defence, sanction, weapon, attack, troop, strike, warn, grain*), with such entities as places (*moscow, mariupol, port, region, western, foreign, world, eastern*), organisations (*nato, eu, unofficial*), people (*zelensky, civilian, putin, minister*), and time (*week*).

4 Discussion

Distress metaphors that conceptualize diverse aspects of the first four months of the war within large topics or frames from the points of view of distress non-/experiencers suggest, though not staggering, differences in what lies in the focus of media attention in Ukraine and the EU. Moderated by distress, narratives in the Euronews try to give the definition for the event on global economic, political, and societal level, cautiously expressing attitude and rather reporting on than blaming the military actions, putting the focus on new life perspectives and support for the refugees. Whereas, in the Ukrainian English-speaking newspapers the Kyiv Post and the Kyiv Independent, there is a strong emphasis on the offenders who made Ukrainians refugees, amplifying focus on adversaries in the economic sector as one more victim of war crimes or a weapon in the hands of the aggressor. Media coverage of value- and policy-oriented international reaction to the war is strategically important to highlight in Ukraine to attract global attention to the core reasons for defence, that is, life, freedom, democracy, peace, security, family and others on the global level. The evidence from the empirical study suggests that language and integrity play a major part in metaphorisation in both corpora. Various modes of language are conceptualized as a conduit for distress to describe (*Mariupol story is hurtful*), report on (*reported a tense situation*), collect the war crimes (*the video highlights the painful situation*), show the attitude (*to listen to the dissatisfied speeches, simpering Western view*) on the domain matrix as well as on frame level (e.g. *report, statement, claim* – Topic 2 of the UA corpus).

Narratives help to bind certain people into a certain community. Integrity is another concept metaphorically represented in both corpora with some predominance in the UA corpus as an international reaction to the war. Togetherness and wholeness (integrity), or separateness and disintegration (loss of integrity) are two polar states that metaphorize trauma (trauma-related metaphors – Wilson and Lindy 2013) of distress experience and sympathy in distress experiencer's narratives to show fractured and unstable self (e.g. *my heart ached*) or vice versa, show understanding and support (e.g. *you will understand most of all our pain from the war*). In distress non-experiencer's narratives integrity emphasizes the sense of belonging to a group, in other words, in-group discursive construction as a referential strategy

that refers to nationalisation/collectivisation (Reisigl and Wodak 2001: 48–52) (e.g. *we want to share some kind of hope*). In this case, individual distress becomes collective (e.g. *the shared grief, collective suffering/trauma, they were united by their grief and pain of war*). In this respect, novel association of distress with food, in particular, with sacred bread during the Easter holidays has been introduced in the UA media to facilitate the integrity of distress experiencers (e.g. *Ukraine's tortures have become my daily bread. I eat its distress*).

Equally important are metaphorical associations of politics and economic harm with emotional harm, and economic harm, adversary and loss with physical injury, with adversary predominant in the EU corpus and loss – in the UA corpus. These metaphors are conceptualized on the higher level of schematicity – frames of economy, food crisis, and military actions. International reaction to the war and distress brought with it is reflected in journalists' or other official representatives' narratives to characterise the emotion or its experience in categories of size, possession, intensity/degree, quantity showing their attitude or defining the belongingness. In the UA corpus, the categories of possession and quantity are particularly bright, ascribing distress to the war victims and highlighting its scope. The EU's view is descriptive by bringing up journey metaphors to conceptualize distress experience (e.g. *It's a distressing way to live for those who are still trying to stay, continue to suffer, etc.*). The strong cause-consequence focus of the UA media is revealed by the frequent physical injury metaphor that underlines the war effect on body and soul (e.g. *cannot heal their trauma, severe suffering, grievous bodily harm*), economic system of the whole world including the aggressor country within the frames economy and food crisis (e.g. *These are the same countries that are already suffering from price increases, a strong and effective bill that will increase the pain on Putin's Russia*), describing multiple adversaries (e.g. *catastrophic humanitarian suffering*) or the course of the war (e.g. *the offensive has gradually stalled, potential defeats in Ukraine may be especially painful for his [Putin's] dictatorship*), losses, military as well as personal, or political (e.g. *Russian troops suffer such losses, to work out the trauma of losing their home, his party suffered a historic loss in a state election*), within the frame military actions.

The most noticeable difference lies in the frequent presence of the mental event metaphor conceptualising emotional harm and physical injury in the UA media, unlike the EU media. Interesting enough is the embodiment of memory into narrative that forms and maintains the self-image of people. Narrative preserves certain memories that help to connect to certain communities. (Cobley 2001: 37–39). In distress narratives of two types, people recollect their memories of past wars in personal narratives or journalists refer to the other wars in the past or present or to destructive political regimes, e.g. in Syria, Chechnya, Afghanistan, Iraq, WWII, Soviet regime, Nazism, Holodomor, the massacre at Halabia, Iraq, Croatia's Homeland

War and many others. The purpose is to compare the scope of war crimes and losses, intensify causal-consequential relations, draw parallels (e.g. *Chechnya's capital <> suffered a fate similar to that of Mariupol*), increase mutuality of the war and distress experience (e.g. *Ukrainians and Poles not remain enslaved by sad memories of the past*), take sides, or extract lessons (e.g. *to learn from this painful experience*).

5 Conclusions

Media representation of one and the same event – the full-scale Russia and Ukraine war in 2022 – through the perspective of the country directly involved in the war and the EU as an observer, though, not impartial, bears similarities in metaphoric conceptualisation of distress, its experience, experiencers, sympathy and the important aspects of life as language, economy, trade, environment, society, technology, politics, military actions and losses, and connection to other wars through memories or important decisions to be taken in two types of narratives: from the point of view of distress experiencer and non-experiencer. The methodological choice of revealing frames through the conceptual metaphor theory and Topic Modelling as a highest level of schematicity enabled us to further look at the similarities, though, compare differences as well. Unequal distribution of the majority of conventional metaphors, introduction of striking novel metaphors that differ in every corpus, distribution of keywords in topics that brings about specifications in every corpus as well, all signal about the shift of the focus and methods of approaching this by no means globally affecting war. Another possible area of future research would be to investigate the change of narrative and frames through the course of the time and trace visual framing of the war in media discourse.

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Appendices

Table 1: Identification of distress lexicon by the UCREL semantic analysis system

| Semantic tag | EU corpus | | UA corpus | |
|-------------------------------------|--|-----|---|-----|
| | Words (frequency of instances) | | | |
| E6 Worry, concern, confident | concern/-s/-ed/-ed_with (62), tension/-s (15), worry/worries/ worried (12), stress/-ful (10), nervous (6), care/-d (6), ordeal/-s (3), anxiety/-ties (3), anguish/-ed (3), trouble/-d (2), agonising (1), afflicted (1), apprehension (1), desperation (1), perturbed (1), unnerving (1) | 128 | stress/-ful (8), scourged (1), dismayed (1), anxiety (1), care/-s/ ed/-free (28), concern/-ing/-ed/-s (35), tension/-s/tense (18), worry (21), anxiety/-ious (15), trouble/-s/ ed (14), desperation (3), ordeal/-s (3), nervous/-ly (3), disturbed (2), bother/-ed (3) | 156 |
| E5 Fear/bravery/shock | scar (13), panic (10), alarm (8), chill (3), daunt (1), traumatized (1) | 36 | scare/-y/-ier/-ed/scare_off (33), panic/panicked (11), daunting (2), alarm/-ed (4), spooked (1), shake_up (1) | 52 |
| E4.1 Happy/sad: Happy | sorrow/-s (6), cry/-ing/cried/cries (13), lamented (5), trauma/-s/-tic (9), harrowing (3), grief/grieving (5), regrets/regrettable (3), heartbreaking (2), depression (2), upset (1), torn_apart (1), misery (1), hurt (1), devastated (1), alas (1), desperate (7), sad/-ly/-ness (11) | 72 | desperate (17), sad/-ly/-ness/ saddened/saddest (25), grief/ ving/-vious (13), cry/-ing/cried (20), trauma/-tic (22), torn_apart (6), misery/-able (7), upset (5), /heartbroken (9), broken_hearts (2), sorrow (5), remorse (4), regret/regrettable (6), depresses/ ing/-ed/-ion/ (9), despair (4), alas (3), heartache (2), harrow/-ing (3), unhappy (2), embarrassed/-ment (3), desolation (1), lamentations (1) | 169 |
| E4.2 Happy/sad: Contentment | discontent (1), disappointing (1) | 2 | disappointing/-ment/-ed (12), discontent/-s (6), dissatisfied/ dissatisfaction (7), displeasure (1) | 26 |
| E3 Calm/Violent/Angry | anger/angry (6), torture/-s/-d (7), knocked_/knocking_out (4), turmoil (2) | 19 | torture/-s/-ed/_chamber (50), wound/-ing (5), angry /-ily/ anger (12), turmoil (3), tormenting (6), knock_out (1), irritation (1), agitated (1) | 79 |
| E2 Liking | grievances (1) | 1 | grievance (1) | 1 |
| E1 General | – | 0 | – | 0 |
| Total count | n/a | 258 | n/a | 483 |

Table 2: The range of distress metaphor frames in distress experiencer's narratives (DENS) in UA and EU corpora

| Metaphor frame | EU | UA | Samples |
|--|--------|--------|---|
| | corpus | corpus | |
| | DEN | DEN | |
| DISTRESS IS BOUNDED SPACE (incl. CONTAINER) (image schemas CONTAINER) | 7 | 5 | EU: <i>a spirit that will be shrouded <u>in</u> tears and pain</i> ; UA: <i>Tears of fear and pain are what every resident of our city [Mariupol] <u>goes through</u></i> |
| DISTRESS IS OBJECT (SOLID) | 5 | 5 | EU: <i>the tension is <u>palpable</u> / <u>with</u> deep sadness</i> ; UA: <i>a past trauma I <u>have carried</u> in me</i> |
| DISTRESS IS OBJECT (POSSESSION) | 0 | 12 | UA: <i>we feel <u>your</u> pain</i> |
| DISTRESS IS OBJECT (QUANTITY) | 1 | 3 | EU: <i><u>reduce</u> the stress</i> ; UA: <i><u>So much</u> pain in my heart</i> ; |
| DISTRESS IS OBJECT (IN A CONTAINER) | 0 | 3 | UA: <i>I have so much pain <u>in</u> my heart seeing now how many cities destroyed</i> |
| DISTRESS IS ENTITY | 2 | 5 | EU: <i>It is <u>really</u> regrettable</i> ; UA: <i><u>There is</u> no drama here, just pain</i> |
| DISTRESS IS CONTACT WITH PHYSICAL SELF | 1 | 5 | EU: <i>People <u>feel</u> the pain because we're going through it every day</i> ; UA: <i>I <u>feel</u> pain</i> |
| DISTRESS IS BOUNDED TIME (image schema CYCLE) | 0 | 3 | UA: <i>The war in Ukraine has triggered the pain of a <u>past</u> trauma</i> |
| DISTRESS EXPERIENCE IS COGNITIVE PROBLEMS (image schema BLOCKAGE) | 5 | 8 | EU: <i>the <u>inconceivable</u> human cost of wars</i> ; UA: <i>I am heartbroken and <u>dumbstruck</u> trying to process the events</i> |
| DISTRESS EXPERIENCE IS INTEGRITY (incl. LOSS) (image schema PART-WHOLE) | 5 | 12 | EU: <i>It makes my <u>heart</u> sad</i> ; UA: <i>I'm <u>nothing but heartfelt</u> grief</i> |
| DISTRESS EXPERIENCE IS SPEAKING PROBLEMS (image schema BLOCKAGE) | 1 | 3 | EU: <i>It was <u>indescribable</u></i> ; UA: <i>I <u>cannot say in a single word</u> how painful this cry was</i> |
| DISTRESS EXPERIENCE IS ENTITY | 0 | 9 | UA: <i><u>Is it</u> sad?</i> |
| DISTRESS EXPERIENCE IS OBJECT (QUANTITY) | 0 | 3 | UA: <i>people out there who are suffering <u>more</u> than us</i> |
| DISTRESS EXPERIENCE IS BOUNDED TIME (image schemas CONTAINMENT, CYCLE) | 1 | 7 | EU: <i>those <u>periods</u> <> were already very stressful</i> ; UA: <i><u>to endure</u> a suffering</i> ; |
| DISTRESS EXPERIENCE IS BOUNDED SPACE (incl. CONTAINER, DOWN) (image schemas CONTAINER/CONTAINMENT) | 2 | 4 | EU: <i>It hits emotional a lot because we <u>went through</u> that</i> ; UA: <i>It's a depressing scene <u>under overcast skies</u></i> |

Table 2: (continued)

| Metaphor frame | EU | UA | Samples |
|---|--------|--------|--|
| | corpus | corpus | |
| | DEN | DEN | |
| DISTRESS EXPERIENCE IS VISIBILITY | 0 | 5 | UA: <i>It's painful for me <u>to see</u> how my home city is being destroyed; It is <u>painfully obvious</u></i> |
| DISTRESS EXPERIENCER IS BOUNDED SPACE (CONTAINER, DOWN) (image schemas CONTAINMENT, VERTICALITY) | 3 | 5 | EU (DOWN): <i>We are <u>deeply</u> concerned</i> ; UA (CONTAINER): <i>It's all painful, I'm a human being but I <u>bury this deep inside me</u></i> |
| DISTRESS EXPERIENCER IS OBJECT (INTENSITY/DEGREE) | 2 | 3 | EU: <i>we're <u>very</u> nervous</i> ; UA: <i>We are <u>very</u> disappointed</i> |
| DISTRESS EXPERIENCER IS OBJECT (BRITTLE) | 1 | 5 | EU: <i>The contents of the suitcases of mothers fleeing Ukraine tell a <u>heartbreaking</u> story</i> ; UA: <i><u>heartbreaking</u> stories of stolen lands and stolen lives</i> |
| DISTRESS SYMPATHY IS INTEGRITY (incl. LOSS) (image schema PART-WHOLE) | 1 | 3 | EU: <i>my heart ached and my soul was <u>torn</u></i> ; UA: <i>This <u>pain is also ours</u></i> |

Table 3: The range of distress metaphor frames in distress non-experiencer's narratives (DNENs) in EU and UA corpora

| Metaphor frame | EU | UA | Samples |
|---|--------|--------|--|
| | corpus | corpus | |
| | DNEN | DNEN | |
| DISTRESS IS BOUNDED SPACE (incl. CONTAINER (incl. WITH LIQUID), CENTRE, DOWN) (image schemas CONTAINER, CENTRE-PERIPHERY, VERTICALITY) | 10 | 34 | EU (CONTAINER, CENTRE): <i>went <u>through</u> unspeakable ordeals; <u>amid</u> hunger concerns</i> ; UA (CONTAINER (WITH LIQUID, DOWN): <i><u>to sink into</u> depression</i> ; the pain of war must <i><u>be lived through</u></i> |
| DISTRESS IS BOUNDED TIME (image schema CYCLE) | 6 | 8 | EU: <i><u>painful period</u> of stagflation in the West</i> ; UA: <i><u>lasting</u> trauma</i> |
| DISTRESS IS OBJECT (POSSESSION) | 16 | 57 | EU: <i><u>their</u> grief and pain</i> ; UA: <i><u>ease their</u> suffering</i> |
| DISTRESS IS OBJECT (SOLID) | 25 | 30 | EU: <i><u>piling</u> further suffering</i> ; UA: <i><u>offensive actions bringing</u> even more suffering [to Kyiv]</i> |
| DISTRESS IS OBJECT (INTENSITY/DEGREE) | 20 | 31 | EU: <i><u>deal with</u> the emotional distress</i> ; UA: <i><u>ease</u> their suffering</i> |

Table 3: (continued)

| Metaphor frame | EU | UA | Samples |
|---|--------|--------|--|
| | corpus | corpus | |
| | DNEN | DNEN | |
| DISTRESS IS OBJECT (SIZE) | 4 | 12 | EU: <i>immense</i> / <i>great</i> tortures / pain; UA: <i>the immeasurable</i> suffering |
| DISTRESS IS OBJECT (QUANTITY) | 5 | 20 | EU: <i>how much</i> economic pain is Putin willing to take; UA: <i>offensive actions bringing even more</i> suffering [to Kyiv] |
| DISTRESS IS VISIBILITY (incl. ABSENCE) | 6 | 16 | EU: <i>we cannot ignore</i> the needless human suffering unfolding in Ukraine; UA (ABSENCE): <i>averting eyes from</i> <...> torture |
| DISTRESS IS JOURNEY (incl. DESTINATION) (image schema SOURCE-PATH-GOAL) | 3 | 6 | EU: <i>to end</i> the suffering; UA: <i>to create a path to</i> <...> remorse |
| DISTRESS IS MOTION (incl. UPWARD, WATER CONTROLLING) | 7 | 9 | EU (WATER CONTROLLING): <i>wave</i> of sadness and pain; UA: <i>More pain is on the way</i> ; (UPWARD) <i>to provoke</i> tension |
| DISTRESS IS ENTITY (incl. RELIGIOUS) | 12 | 22 | EU: <i>signs</i> of distress; UA (incl. RELIGIOUS): <i>It is</i> the cross, and therefore the pain of these two peoples |
| DISTRESS IS CONTACT WITH PHYSICAL SELF | 3 | 7 | EU: <i>countries are experiencing</i> distress; UA: <i>the sense</i> of discontent |
| DISTRESS IS OFFENSIVE WEAPON (image schema FORCE) | 8 | 12 | EU: <i>sadness and pain coming from Ukraine just hit</i> all of us; UA: <i>to inflict</i> ultimate pain and discomfort |
| DISTRESS IS LIVING BEING (incl. PLANT, ANIMAL (UNCONTROLLED)) (image schema OBJECT) | 6 | 9 | EU: <i>the gravity of what had just befallen Ukraine crept</i> under my skin; UA: <i>growing</i> tension |
| DISTRESS IS NATURAL PHENOMENON (LIQUID/GAS/SMELL, LIQUID IN A CONTAINER, FIRE) (image schemas CONTAINER, MOTION, FORCE) | 5 | 9 | EU (GAS): <i>the air heavy with</i> fumes and silent sorrow; UA (FIRE): <i>The war has sparked</i> turmoil; (LIQUID/GAS/SMELL) <i>the area [the town of Borodyanka] permeated</i> with pain and suffering; (LIQUID) <i>tears flow for the Ukrainian nation</i> |
| DISTRESS IS PHYSICAL INJURY (incl. INJURED HEART) (image schema FORCE) | 3 | 11 | EU: <i>to testify trauma</i> ; UA (INJURED HEART): <i>how the heart of Ukraine feels. Pain</i> |
| DISTRESS IS OBJECT (IN A CONTAINER) | 3 | 1 | EU: <i>The family embodies</i> anxieties that the neighbouring war is creating; UA: <i>I have so much pain in</i> my heart seeing now <i>how many cities destroyed</i> |

Table 3: (continued)

| Metaphor frame | EU | UA | Samples |
|--|--------|--------|--|
| | corpus | corpus | |
| | DNEN | DNEN | |
| DISTRESS IS MACHINE (image schema OBJECT) | 3 | 1 | EU: <i>tensions <u>ratcheted up</u></i> along the Ukraine border; UA: <i>tensions <> <u>serve</u></i> |
| DISTRESS IS BURDEN | 3 | 0 | EU: <i><u>under</u></i> combat alarm |
| DISTRESS IS ACTION | 2 | 5 | EU: <i><u>celebrates</u></i> suffering; UA: <i>to <u>work out</u></i> the trauma of losing their home |
| DISTRESS IS DISEASE (incl. CONTAGIOUS) (image schema FORCE) | 1 | 5 | EU (CONTAGIOUS): <i>The tensions <u>plaguing</u></i> EU-China relations; UA: <i>the trauma of war will <u>affect</u></i> Ukraine's children |
| DISTRESS IS COGNITIVE PROBLEMS (image schema BLOCKAGE) | 2 | 3 | EU: <i><u>unimaginable</u></i> human suffering; UA: <i>the trouble of <u>thought</u></i> |
| DISTRESS EXPERIENCE IS JOURNEY (image schema SOURCE-PATH-GOAL) | 6 | 4 | EU: <i>children will <u>continue</u></i> to suffer; UA: <i>how deeply the trauma of war will <u>affect</u></i> Ukraine's children |
| DISTRESS EXPERIENCE IS OBJECT (QUANTITY) | 7 | 14 | EU: <i>who have suffered <u>a lot</u></i> from his policies; UA: <i>Europe and the United States are suffering <u>more</u></i> than Russia; |
| DISTRESS EXPERIENCE IS BOUNDED TIME (image schemas CONTAINMENT, CYCLE) | 3 | 25 | EU: <i>suffering <u>years</u></i> of frozen conflict; UA: <i>the pain that his family is feeling <u>at the moment</u></i> |
| DISTRESS EXPERIENCE IS BOUNDED SPACE (incl. CONTAINER, DOWN) (image schemas CONTAINER/CONTAINMENT) | 3 | 5 | EU: <i><u>during</u></i> the greatest suffering; UA: <i>Two major cities are <u>no longer</u></i> suffering from Russian attempts to isolate them |
| DISTRESS EXPERIENCE IS ACTION | 3 | 8 | EU: <i>scenes of desperate Ukrainians <u>fleeing</u></i> their homes; in a desperate <i><u>attempt</u></i> ; UA: <i>the daunting <u>prospect</u></i> |
| DISTRESS EXPERIENCE IS PHYSICAL INJURY (incl. INJURED HEART) (image schema FORCE) | 6 | 6 | EU: <i>the situation is so <u>traumatic</u></i> ; UA: <i>to live with the <u>traumatic</u></i> after-effects |
| DISTRESS EXPERIENCE IS BREATHING PROBLEMS (image schema BLOCKAGE) | 3 | 1 | EU: <i>She <u>breathed in</u></i> deeply; UA: <i>to <u>mask</u></i> the <i><u>suffocating</u></i> anxiety |
| DISTRESS EXPERIENCE IS COGNITIVE PROBLEMS (image schema BLOCKAGE) | 2 | 6 | EU: <i>This is very <u>unbelievable</u></i> <...>. People from Ukraine are suffering in the deportation camps <...>; UA: <i>he <u>couldn't remember</u></i> feeling any pain |
| DISTRESS EXPERIENCE IS OBJECT (INTENSITY/DEGREE) | 1 | 5 | EU: <i>suffer <u>severely</u></i> from sanctions; UA: <i>the memory was <u>too</u></i> painful |

Table 3: (continued)

| Metaphor frame | EU | UA | Samples |
|---|--------|--------|--|
| | corpus | corpus | |
| | DNEN | DNEN | |
| DISTRESS EXPERIENCE IS INTEGRITY (incl. LOSS) (image schema PART-WHOLE) | 2 | 8 | EU: <i>For many, Moscow 's invasion of Ukraine has brought heartbreaking consequences</i> ; UA: <i>country is currently <u>being torn apart</u> by war</i> |
| DISTRESS EXPERIENCE IS EMOTIONAL INSTABILITY (image schema BALANCE) | 2 | 3 | EU: <i>Ukrainians <u>did not lose their heads</u> over this</i> ; UA: <i>Why Ukraine's Already A Winner <u>Shuddering</u> from the explosions outside, leaving home, despair</i> |
| DISTRESS EXPERIENCE IS LIGHT (ABSENCE) | 0 | 3 | UA: <i>In these <u>dark</u> hours</i> |
| DISTRESS EXPERIENCE IS SOUND (incl. ABSENCE) | 1 | 3 | EU: <i>stayed <u>silent</u> on issues they cared</i> ; UA: <i>a heartbroken look on her face, gently stroking the edge of the coffin and <u>whispering</u> her husbands name</i> |
| DISTRESS EXPERIENCE IS VISIBILITY | 0 | 5 | UA: <i><u>Pictures and video show</u> the misery of the wounded</i> |
| DISTRESS EXPERIENCER IS BOUNDED SPACE (CONTAINER, DOWN) (image schemas CONTAINMENT, VERTICALITY) | 5 | 2 | EU (DOWN): <i><u>deeply</u> perturbed</i> ; UA: <i>The killer is very young, <u>deeply</u> disturbed</i> |
| DISTRESS EXPERIENCER IS OBJECT (INTENSITY/DEGREE) | 0 | 4 | UA: <i>He was <u>especially</u> worried</i> |
| DISTRESS EXPERIENCER IS OBJECT (BRITTLE) | 2 | 6 | EU: <i>who will <u>crack</u> first</i> ; UA: <i>the most <u>vulnerable</u> who suffered the most during times of war</i> |
| DISTRESS SYMPATHY IS SPEAKING PROBLEMS (image schema BLOCKAGE) | 3 | 5 | EU: <i>I followed my journey through <u>the unspeakable</u></i> ; UA: <i>We <u>are running out of adjectives to describe</u> the horrors</i> |
| DISTRESS SYMPATHY IS INTEGRITY (incl. LOSS) (image schema PART-WHOLE) | 3 | 15 | EU: <i>he felt „the pain of all the Ukrainian people“</i> ; UA: <i><u>collective</u> suffering</i> |
| DISTRESS SYMPATHY IS COGNITIVE PROBLEMS (image schema BLOCKAGE) | 2 | 5 | EU: <i>I <u>can't imagine</u> how much they must be suffering right now</i> ; UA: <i>The torments of the world, which is bleeding, suffering, burning – <u>they rack my conscience</u></i> |

Table 4: The scope of distress metaphor frames in distress experienter's narratives (DENS) in UA and EU corpora

| Metaphor frame | EU | UA | Samples |
|---|--------|--------|--|
| | corpus | corpus | |
| | DEN | DEN | |
| LANGUAGE (SPOKEN/WRITTEN) IS A CONDUIT FOR DISTRESS (image schema PATH) | 2 | 4 | EU: <i>Mariupol story</i> is hurtful; UA: <i>reports</i> , if true, are deeply concerning |
| LANGUAGE (SPOKEN) IS A CONDUIT FOR DISTRESS (image schema PATH) | 2 | 10 | EU: <i>when I say</i> this, it pains me; UA: <i>It's scary to say</i> |
| LANGUAGE (VISUAL) IS A CONDUIT FOR DISTRESS (image schema PATH) | 1 | 4 | EU: <i>the video</i> <...> is deeply distressing; UA: <i>the scariest picture</i> |
| POLITICS IS PHYSICAL INJURY (incl. INJURED HEART) (image schemas CONTAINMENT, FORCE) | 1 | 3 | EU: <i>we are suffering from the consequences of exactly such ideas [Authoritarian]</i> ; UA: <i>explanation for Polish policy</i> today. I have never encountered anything like phantom pains in the actual country of Poland |
| MENTAL EVENT IS PHYSICAL INJURY (image schemas MOTION, FORCE) | 0 | 8 | UA: <i>suffering was caused mainly by misunderstanding</i> |

Table 5: The scope of distress metaphor frames in distress non-experienter's narratives (DNENs) in EU and UA corpora

| Metaphor frame | EU | UA | Samples |
|---|--------|--------|---|
| | corpus | corpus | |
| | DNEN | DNEN | |
| LANGUAGE (VISUAL) IS A CONDUIT FOR DISTRESS (image schema PATH) | 5 | 9 | EU: <i>His images tell of</i> <> their grief; UA: <i>images</i> revive in Croatia painful memories |
| LANGUAGE (SPOKEN/WRITTEN) IS A CONDUIT FOR DISTRESS (image schema PATH) | 12 | 18 | EU: <i>the most harrowing story</i> ; UA: <i>EU leaders condemned</i> the unspeakable suffering |
| LANGUAGE (SPOKEN) IS A CONDUIT FOR DISTRESS (image schema PATH) | 14 | 22 | EU: <i>Pope Francis</i> <...> <i>voiced</i> worry about the risk of nuclear warfare; UA: <i>discussed</i> Putin's dissatisfaction |

Table 5: (continued)

| Metaphor frame | EU | UA | Samples |
|--|--------|--------|--|
| | corpus | corpus | |
| | DNEN | DNEN | |
| LANGUAGE (SPOKEN/GESTURAL) IS A CONDUIT FOR DISTRESS (image schema PATH) | 4 | 4 | EU: <i>Boris Johnson</i> <u>has expressed</u> concerns; UA: <i>The UN nuclear watchdog</i> <u>has expressed</u> grave concern |
| LANGUAGE (WRITTEN) IS A CONDUIT FOR DISTRESS (image schema PATH) | 4 | 2 | EU: <i>communities whose suffering rarely</i> <u>makes</u> international <u>headlines</u> ; UA: <i>A veiled</i> <u>manifesto</u> of appeasement <> has disappointed many |
| ECONOMIC HARM IS EMOTIONAL HARM (image schema FORCE) | 11 | 11 | EU: <u>economic</u> turmoil; UA: <i>How scared is Putin of the effects of</i> <u>sanctions</u> |
| ADVERSARY IS EMOTIONAL HARM ((image schema CONFLICT, sub-schemas such as FORCE (COUNTERFORCE), MOTION, and OBSTRUCTION), image schema FORCE) | 8 | 11 | EU: <i>Turkey's</i> <u>security</u> concerns; UA: <u>wars</u> to upset the current world order |
| POLITICS IS EMOTIONAL HARM (image schemas CONTAINMENT, FORCE) | 5 | 6 | EU: <i>the</i> <u>SWIFT ban</u> was considered disappointing; UA: <i>makes</i> <u>China's</u> growing <u>global power</u> so concerning |
| TRADE IS EMOTIONAL HARM (image schemas ACTION, FORCE) | 3 | 1 | EU, UA: <i>panic</i> <u>buying</u> |
| MENTAL EVENT IS EMOTIONAL HARM (image schemas MOTION, FORCE) | 0 | 3 | UA: <i>sad</i> <u>memories</u> of the past |
| LOSS IS EMOTIONAL HARM (image schemas CONTAINMENT or SOURCE-PATH-GOAL, FORCE) | 2 | 4 | EU: <i>scenes of desperate Ukrainians</i> <u>fleeing their homes</u> ; UA: <i>a grieving father who</i> <u>has lost</u> his whole family |
| ECONOMIC HARM IS PHYSICAL INJURY (image schema FORCE) | 25 | 25 | EU: <i>suffer severely from</i> <u>sanctions</u> ; UA: <i>citizens begin to suffer</i> <u>the tightening screws of Western sanctions</u> |
| MOTION IS PHYSICAL INJURY (image schema FORCE) | 3 | 3 | EU: <i>The</i> <u>steps taken</u> to support the rouble are themselves painful; UA: <i>The</i> <u>advancement</u> , slow and painful |
| ADVERSARY IS PHYSICAL INJURY (incl. WALKING PROBLEMS) (image schema FORCE, BLOCKAGE) | 11 | 19 | EU: <i>suffering from severe</i> <u>food insecurity</u> ; UA: <i>the RF had suffered a</i> <u>crippling defeat</u> |
| LOSS IS PHYSICAL INJURY (image schemas CONTAINMENT or SOURCE-PATH-GOAL, FORCE) | 13 | 62 | EU: <i>Russian forces suffering</i> <u>losses</u> ; UA: <i>crippling losses</i> suffered by RF units |

Table 5: (continued)

| Metaphor frame | EU | UA | Samples |
|--|--------|--------|--|
| | corpus | corpus | |
| | DNEN | DNEN | |
| MENTAL EVENT IS PHYSICAL INJURY (image schemas MOTION, FORCE) | 6 | 12 | EU: <i>brought up painful <u>memories</u></i> ; UA: <i>Russia must go through the pain of <u>acknowledging</u></i> |
| ENVIRONMENTAL HARM IS PHYSICAL INJURY (image schema FORCE) | 3 | 0 | EU: <i><u>climate change</u> <...> areas that will suffer most from these risks</i> |
| TECHNOLOGICAL HARM IS PHYSICAL INJURY (image schema FORCE) | 4 | 1 | EU: <i>state-owned companies and news organisations suffered <u>hacking</u> attempts</i> ; UA: <i>Some areas still suffer from <u>no electricity supply</u></i> |
| POLITICS IS PHYSICAL INJURY (incl. INJURED HEART) (image schemas CONTAINMENT, FORCE) | 2 | 19 | EU: <i>who have suffered a lot from his <u>policies</u></i> ; UA: <i>Ukraine should <u>make a</u> painful <u>compromise</u></i> ; <i>Democrats are suffering heartache</i> |

Table 6: Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA) model outputs and interpreted frames (high semantic similarity hue)

| Topic 1 | Topic 2 | Topic 3 | Topic 4 | Topic 5 |
|--|-----------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|---------------------------------|
| Top-10 keywords in the EU corpus | | | | |
| 0.009*“kyiv | 0.012*“help“ | 0.026*“eu“ | 0.011*“city“ | 0.031*“food“ |
| 0.008*“city“ | 0.010*“leave“ | 0.017*“sanction“ | 0.008*“military“ | 0.021*“price“ |
| 0.007*“ukrainians“ | 0.010*“refugee“ | 0.012*“european“ | 0.008*“civilian“ | 0.013*“crisis“ |
| 0.007*“time“ | 0.008*“child“ | 0.011*“gas“ | 0.007*“kyiv“ | 0.013*“export“ |
| 0.006*“help“ | 0.006*“life“ | 0.010*“state“ | 0.007*“soldier“ | 0.013*“grain“ |
| 0.006*“putin“ | 0.006*“work“ | 0.010*“energy“ | 0.007*“moscow“ | 0.010*“supply“ |
| 0.006*“peace“ | 0.006*“home“ | 0.010*“oil“ | 0.007*“troop“ | 0.010*“global“ |
| 0.006*“zelenskyy“ | 0.006*“film“ | 0.007*“member“ | 0.007*“putin“ | 0.009*“wheat“ |
| 0.006*“fight“ | 0.006*“start“ | 0.006*“europe“ | 0.006*“attack“ | 0.008*“high“ |
| 0.006*“support | 0.006*“know | 0.006*“putin | 0.006*“region | 0.007*“port“ |
| Distribution of tokens / a topic in texts | | | | |
| 14 % / 63 texts | 15,1 % / 48 texts | 29,8 % / 31 texts | 27,3 % / 19 texts | 13,7 % / 8 texts |
| Frame 1 | Frame 2 | Frame 3 | Frame 4 | Frame 5 |
| International reaction to the war: giving the definition | Refugees: focus on new life | Economy | Military actions | Food crisis as financial crisis |

Table 6: (continued)

| Top-10 keywords in the UA corpus | | | | |
|---|--------------------|---|--|----------------------------|
| 0.009*“leave“ | 0.025*“rf“ | 0.027*“putin“ | 0.015*“state“ | 0.012*“moscow“ |
| 0.008*“life“ | 0.013*“uaf“ | 0.010*“world“ | 0.014*“world“ | 0.010*“zelensky“ |
| 0.008*“soldier“ | 0.012*“defense“ | 0.009*“year“ | 0.010*“need“ | 0.009*“civilian“ |
| 0.008*“come“ | 0.011*“report“ | 0.008*“support“ | 0.008*“today“ | 0.008*“mariupol“ |
| 0.008*“child“ | 0.011*“attack“ | 0.007*“germany“ | 0.008*“european“ | 0.008*“putin“ |
| 0.008*“tell“ | 0.010*“unit“ | 0.006*“ukrainians“ | 0.008*“support“ | 0.007*“minister“ |
| 0.008*“help“ | 0.009*“region“ | 0.006*“think“ | 0.007*“peace“ | 0.006*“nato“ |
| 0.007*“go“ | 0.008*“statement“ | 0.005*“political“ | 0.007*“international“ | 0.006*“food“ |
| 0.007*“family“ | 0.008*“artillery“ | 0.005*“sanction“ | al“ 0.007*“free- dom“ 0.007*“eur- ope“ | 0.006*“defence“ |
| 0.007*“russians“ | 0.008*“accord“ | 0.005*“state“ | | 0.006*“sanction“ |
| Distribution of tokens / a topic in texts | | | | |
| 21,3 % / 201 texts | 17,2 % / 100 texts | 25,1 % / 55 texts | 15 % / 15 texts | 21,4 % / 11 texts |
| Frame 1 | Frame 2 | Frame 3 | Frame 4 | Frame 5 |
| Refugees: focus on reasons to flee | Military actions | International reaction to the war: policy-oriented stance | International reaction to the war: value-oriented stance | Food crisis as a war crime |