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THE INFLUENCE OF CONTEXT ON THE METAPHORIC FRAMING OF THE EUROPEAN UNION IN UKRAINIAN MASS MEDIA

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Olena Morozova. The influence of context on the metaphoric framing of the European Union in Ukrainian mass media. This paper aims to explore how conceptual metaphors that underlie metaphoric expressions used by Ukrainian newspapers frame the image of the European Union in Ukraine. The study is informed by conceptual metaphor theory [Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 1999], discourse metaphor theory [Musolff 2004; Cameron & Deignan 2006; Semino 2008; Musolff & Zinken 2009] and interactional narratology [Bruner 2002, 2004]. In the focus of attention are metaphoric expressions that refer to the European Union. It is argued that the metaphors under study have a powerful framing potential realized in discourse. In particular, it is maintained that in their discourse use the metaphors suggest specific metaphoric scenarios [Musolff 2006, 2016a, 2017] and in such a way articulate narratives with a certain stance. Accordingly, framing the European Union through metaphoric scenarios depends on the stance that media product creator (Ukrainian print media) takes towards the European Union, imposing it on the readership. Framing through "domesticated" metaphors provides for their better fit with the narratives circulating in the Ukrainian society in January-June 2016.

Key words: conceptual metaphor, narrative, metaphoric scenario, the image of the European Union, Ukrainian print media.

Олена Морозова. Вплив контексту на метафоричний фреймінг Європейського Союзу в українських ЗМІ. Метою статті є виявлення того, як концептуальні метафори, що є підгрунтям значення метафоричних мовних одиниць, уживаних українськими газетами, формують імідж Європейського Союзу в Україні. Дослідження базується на положеннях теорії концептуальної метафори [Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 1999], дискурсивної теорії метафори [Musolff 2004; Cameron & Deignan 2006; Semino 2008; Musolff & Zinken 2009] та інтеракційної наратології [Bruner 2002, 2004]. Увагу зосереджено на метафоричних одиницях, референтом яких є Європейський Союз. Продемонстровано, що аналізовані метафори мають значний фреймотвірний потенціал, який реалізується під час їхнього дискурсивного функціонування. Зокрема, підтверджено, що у дискурсі ці метафори відсилають до певних метафоричних сценаріїв [Musolff 2006, 2016a, 2017], актуалізуючи у такий спосіб наративи, що виражають позицію суб'єкта дискурсивної діяльності. Відповідно, фреймотворення за посередництва метафоричних сценаріїв відбиває ставлення виробника медійного продукту (українські друковані ЗМІ) до Європейського Союзу, яке передається читачеві. Фреймотворення за допомогою "культурно адаптованих" метафор дозволяє краще пристосувати концептуальні метафори до наративів, поширених в українському суспільстві у досліджуваний проміжок часу (січень-червень 2016 р.)

Ключові слова: концептуальна метафора, наратив, метафоричний сценарій, образ Європейського Союзу, українські друковані ЗМІ.

Елена Морозова. Влияние контекста на метафорический фрейминг Европейского Союза в украинских СМИ. Цель статьи состоит в выявлении того, как концептуальные метафоры, лежащие в основе значения метафорических единиц, функционирующих в текстах украинских газет, формируют образ Европейского Союза в Украине. Основу исследования составляют положения теории концептуальной метафоры [Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 1999], дискурсивной теории метафоры [Musolff 2004; Cameron & Deignan 2006; Semino 2008; Musolff & Zinken 2009] и интеракционной нарратологии [Bruner 2002, 2004]. Внимание сосредоточено на метафорических единицах, референтом которых является Европейский Союз. Показано, что анализируемым метафорам присущ высокий фреймообразующий

потенциал, который реализуется в дискурсе. В частности, подтверждено, что в дискурсе эти метафоры отсылают к определенным метафорическим сценариям [Musolff 2006, 2016a, 2017], актуализируя таким образом нарративы, которые выражают определенную позицию субъекта дискурсивной деятельности. Соответственно, фрейминг Европейского Союза при помощи метафорических сценариев отражает отношение производителя медийного продукта (украинские печатные СМИ) к Европейскому Союзу, которое передается читателю. Фреймообразование посредством "культурно адаптированных" метафор позволяет обеспечить оптимальное соответствие концептуальных метафор нарративам, актуальным для украинского общества в анализируемый период (январь-июнь 2016 г.)

Ключевые слова: концептуальная метафора, нарратив, метафорический сценарий, образ Европейского Союза, украинские печатные СМИ.

1. Introduction

This paper investigates how Ukrainian newspapers shape their stance towards the European Union (the EU) by using metaphoric expressions contextually – in their own right, as mini-narratives [Gibbs 2011a: 122] or as components of newspaper accounts of 'tellable' [Ryan 2005] events. In order to achieve this end, the study synergizes methods of cognitive linguistics (cognitive metaphor theory [Lakoff & Johnson 1980; 1999], in particular, one of its modern versions – discourse metaphor theory [Musolff 2004, 2018; Cameron & Deignan 2006; Semino 2008; Musolff & Zinken 2009]) and narratology, more specifically, its dynamic version ([Bruner 2002; 2004]).

Scholarly research into metaphor in use is rather representative (to name but a few [Arutiunova 1990; Charteris-Black 2004; Kövecses 2004, 2018; Musolff 2004, 2006, 2016a, 2016b; 2017; Semino 2008; Zinken, Hellsten, & Nerlich 2008; Musolff & Zinken 2009; Ritchie 2010; Gibbs 2011; Hanne 2014; Deignan 2017]). Metaphors referential to the EU have also been extensively researched [Musolff, 2000, 2004, 2017; Danilet, 2017; Morozova 2017; Zhabotynska 2018, etc.]. Yet, no attempt has been made so far to consider from the cognitive-discursive perspective how metaphors referring to the EU and functioning in Ukrainian newspapers imply microstories that merge into coherent wholes, thus revealing the writers' political dispositions and preferences. This paper argues that integration of discursive and narrative strains of inquiry into conceptual metaphor is epistemologically feasible and can be fruitful, in particular, for the study of metaphors used in media texts. This accounts for the innovative contribution this paper makes to theorisation and empirical study of media discourse metaphors referential to the EU.

Theoretically, the paper departs from the concept of frame as defined by Goffman [1980] and maintains that framing refers not so much to the propositional content of the utterance, but to its perception by discourse participants, which is known as stance, evaluation, attitude, viewpoint, etc. Further, the paper elaborates the discourse-metaphorical theoretical model by bringing in the narrative perspective. The resulting cognitive-discursive framework is applied to investigate how conceptual metaphors referential to the EU imply microstories woven into coherent scenarios which, in their turn, consolidate into memorable frames.

Structurally, the paper consists of six parts: (1) introduction, (2) theoretical prerequisites, (3) data and methods, (4) results, (5) discussion and (6) conclusion. The introductory part provides an overview of the paper, specifying the theoretical context of the research, its aim and giving arguments for its relevance. The theoretical part dwells on the key concepts used in the paper (framing, conceptual metaphor, discourse metaphor, narrative). The methodological part describes the data and methods of studying discourse metaphors of the EU. Part four presents the results, part five discusses methodological and theoretical implications and part six sums up the results and outlines prospects for further research.

The results of this study can be of interest not only to linguists, but also to specialists working in the neighbouring disciplines as well as for practitioners concerned with the EU's perception in the world.

2. Theoretical prerequisites

The main theoretical concepts used in this study are a frame, metaphor, discourse and narrative. We start this section with Goffman's [1980] definition of a frame, moving on to Lakoff and Johnson's [1980; 1999] cognitive metaphor theory and characterizing one of the directions in which it is being developed today – discourse metaphor theory [Musolff 2004, 2006, 2016a, 2016b; Cameron & Deignan 2006; Semino 2008; Musolff & Zinken 2009; Hampe 2017; Hanne 2014, etc.]. Further, we consider the ways the conception of narrative is interpreted in the XXIst century humanities. Finally, with the aim of providing an adequate explanatory framework for investigating figurative scenarios of the EU, we consider the shared and distinctive features of metaphor and narrative and come up with some generalizations on the issue.

The term "**frame**" appeared as a metaphoric extension of the non-terminological meaning of the word *frame* (a border that surrounds and supports a picture, door, window, etc.). Google search gives over 2 billion hits for the word *frame*. It is obvious that it would be hard to differentiate its terminological and non-terminological uses "manually". Yet it is important to note that the frequency of its terminological use increased about 200 times in the 1970s [The Wordnik Online Dictionary], which was the time when seminal works of two notable American scientists were published. These scientists are Marvin Minsky [1974], a mathematician concerned with the problem of knowledge representation in artificial intelligence systems, and Ervin Goffman [1974], a sociologist who endeavoured to explain society by considering everyday interactions of people.

Today the sphere of usage of the term "frame" covers an impressive number of approaches and methods. However, all of them root in the distinction between the "ground" (the existential environment of an object) and the "figure" (the object itself). As an instrument of cognition, a frame structures reality as perceived by the observer, making some of its fragments more prominent than others. For a cognitive linguist, the ability of a frame to structure mental spaces is of particular importance.

A frame can structure not only the perceived object proper (the ontological function of a frame), but also the way the object is viewed by the observer (its gnoseological function). This distinction results in different understanding of the term "frame" by cognitive linguists and communication researchers. The former, proceeding from Minsky's understanding of a frame, focus on the stable meanings of linguistic expressions that belong to the system of language (see, for example, [Zhabotynskaya 2013a, 2013b]). Scholars concerned with communication processes (see, for example, [Chaban & Bain 2014]), in contrast, rely on Goffman's views, treating a frame as a structure of experience that an individual has at a particular moment of his life. It is not a "universal" mental picture of a fragment of reality, a stable entity, but the structure of "a particular person's current world" [Goffman 1986: 3] – fluid and variable.

These approaches to understanding the content of the term "frame" correlate with the static (representational) and dynamic (constructionist) styles of scientific thinking. In the representational paradigm, frames are treated as knowledge structures according to which utterances are built, i.e. they are taken to precede discourse production. From the constructionist point of view, frames emerge in discourse as patterns of language use, i.e. they are constructed in discourse. In other words, from the constructionist point of view, framing is a function of context. Accordingly, if a situation is framed differently by different people, "the facts are the same and remain clear, but emotional resonances differ" [Cataldo 2017: 7].

Static and dynamic styles of thinking manifest themselves in variable understanding of quite a number of operative terms of present-day linguistics, the most vivid example here being **discourse**. In East-European linguistics, discourse is usually treated in a representational vein – as an array of texts characterized by some common features, for example, belonging to one and the same thematic field, having the same communicative intention, possessing similar formal features, etc. Understanding the nature of discourse in this way goes back to the functional style theory. A different approach to discourse regards it a contextualized speech event, which may be

considered as a type or token. This approach is pursued by the French school of discourse studies. In this paper, discourse is understood both as an array of texts sharing some features and as contextualized speech, depending on the purpose the term serves. Thus, discourse is considered as an array of texts when the print media environment of metaphors is meant; discourse is regarded as contextualized speech when the term refers to text fragments in context, the latter including co-text, intertextual links, cultural and political context, etc.

Another concept that demonstrates variation in its interpretation is **conceptual metaphor**, which in its "classic" version is defined as understanding one conceptual entity (called "the target") in terms of another (called "the source") [Lakoff & Johnson 1980]. Due to their ability to present abstract and complex phenomena as concrete and simple, conceptual metaphors play a central role in defining people's everyday realities [Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 3].

The mental entities brought together in a conceptual metaphor can be of different kind: concepts, image schemas or domains. Langacker [1987: 488] defines a **domain** as a coherent area of conceptualization (JOURNEY, BODY, and BUILDING illustrate the case) relative to which **concepts** are characterized. **Image schemas** are directly meaningful preconceptual structures, analogue patterns that have an internal structure that is not very complex, for example, PATH, CONTAINER, OBJECT [Johnson 1987; Lakoff 1987]. Unlike image schemas, domains are propositional structures. In comparison with concepts, they are quite abstract, though more information-rich than image schemas.

Conceptual structures of the source domain are mapped onto conceptual structures of the target domain, bringing with them a range of metaphoric **entailments** [Lakoff & Johnson 1999: 47], or inferences, additional rich knowledge about the source that is mapped onto the target. Introducing new conceptual elements into the source domain is also known as extending a conceptual metaphor [Kövecses 2010: 47]).

In the XXIst century, scholars [Semino 2008; El Rifaie 2014; Hanne 2014; Hampe 2017, etc.] started to point out that conceptual metaphor theory in its original version presents a static picture of the world, which suggests "a universality and permanency that does not exist" [Deignan 2017: 203]. An alternative – **discursive** – approach to the study of metaphor in real-life contexts is still in the process of its formation, yet its basic postulates have already been established. In the framework of discourse approach, metaphors are considered to be not as enduring as cognitive metaphor theory takes them to be: metaphor is quite a dynamic phenomenon, "soft-assembled" [Gibbs & Cameron 2008: 70; Gibbs 2011a: 122] in discourse situations. Metaphor "assemblage" is influenced by such factors of social context as gender, age, culture [El Rafai 2014], genre and register [Deignan 2013], etc. The contextual variables characteristic of this research are the discourse type, which is media discourse, and the nationality of the author and reader, which is Ukrainian.

In order to capture the specificity of metaphor-in-use, its adjustment to discourse it is immersed into and the socio-cultural norms and values it suggests, Musolff introduces the term "metaphor scenario" [Musolff 2006, 2016a, 2017], which is an analogue of entailment in cognitive metaphor theory. The scholar justifies the necessity of introducing this term by practical considerations:

While the categorization of conceptual specifications [...] as "extensions" of general mappings that underlie a whole domain may be unproblematic from the point of view of theoretical coherence, it raises important questions for the analysis of discourse data, that is, metaphors in (documented) use. Are all conceivable aspects of a source domain to be thought of as being implicit in all uses or only a specific subset? If the latter is the case, how can its scope be delimited? How rich is the ontological structure of the subset of source concepts? Can one domain include contrastive conceptualizations? [Musolff 2006: 25]

Deignan [2017: 22] shares Musolff's presumption that metaphors in use manifest their evaluative properties more eloquently in series of thematically bound metaphors than in single

metaphors in context. The conceptual entity that underlies such series is called a metaphor scenario, which Musolff defines in the following way:

[...] a set of assumptions made by competent members of a discourse community about “typical” aspects of a source-situation, for example, its participants and their roles, the “dramatic” storylines and outcomes, and conventional evaluations of whether they count as successful or unsuccessful, normal or abnormal, permissible or illegitimate, etc. [Musolff 2006: 28]

As can be deduced from this definition, a scenario is an "enriched" set of conceptual mappings that includes "narrative-cum-normative" assumptions [ibid.]. This links the study of discourse metaphor with narratology since the notion of metaphor scenario is based on the premise that metaphors can impose a narrative sequence on a topic [ibid.] (in cognitive-linguistic terms, a domain or concept).

In order to clarify this statement, it is necessary to specify the content of the term "**narrative**", which can be viewed through different theoretical and methodological optics. Some scholars draw a distinction between "stories" (what people actually tell) and "narratives" (or ways of structuring stories). For the purposes of this study, we do not differentiate between the terms "story", "narrative" and "account", using them interchangeably in a broad sense as "spates of talk [and text] that are taken to describe or explain matters of concern to participants" [Gubruim & Holstein 2009: xviii].

Importantly, when viewed from the constructionist perspective, narrative is a specific way of perceiving and describing reality by people: it stands in contrast to capturing the world scientifically with the aim of discovering general laws that regulate telling stories. Appealing not only to reason, but also to emotions and the subconscious, narratives connect the referent situation to numerous contexts that form a nation's culture and history. Hence, a narrative includes not only representation of a series of events, but also senses associated with them (an evaluative, subjective component, or a stance).

An important distinction that we follow in this paper is the one between structural narrative analysis, the proponents of which analyze texts in order to bring to light their compositional features, and discursive narrative analysis which focuses on how discourse participants construe and employ mental entities (in particular, metaphors) in their talk [Bruner 2002, 2004]. In line with the above theoretical premises, we take the discursive narrative position.

Metaphor and narrative considered from a constructionist perspective are in complex relationship. Both of them are interpretive tools used to frame people's views, attitudes, intentions, pictures of the world, etc. Both of them involve a subjective, relative understanding, and in this, they stand in contrast to logical reasoning. Both of them take a certain amount of cognitive effort to process the information they convey, and in this, they contrast with visual images.

Yet there are significant differences between them, which are best captured by the following metaphoric comparison of a visual image, a metaphor and a narrative. All the three can be treated as different ways of perceiving the same "object" (referent): visually – as a gestalt, at a momentary glance, metaphorically – as if changing one's location in space in order to have a look at the object at a different angle, narratively – as if moving through a situation that develops in time (the latter distinction has been investigated by Ricoeur [1979]).

Thus, within the framework of discursive approach to the study of metaphor and narrative, both are viewed as cognitive tools by which people structure their experience, giving sense to it. The present study lies within this research line, focusing on discourse metaphors as mini-narratives.

3. Data and methods

The sample (514 tokens) has been obtained from 27 articles selected from 23 issues of the newspaper *Dzerkalo Tyzhnia* (January-June 2016) according to the following criterion: the article should contain at least two linguistic expressions referring to the European Union. They were such

expressions as "the European Union", "the EU", "Europe", "Brussels", names of the EU institutions and political actors, the EU Member-States, their capitals, institutions and officials.

Most of the tokens are used by journalists as primary authors, while about one eighth of the tokens belong to those used by public persons or by other media. The stance expressed by quotes, as a rule, is clearly positive or negative; stancetaking means are contained in the co-text. Together with the non-quotative uses of metaphor, they "constitute a dense, intertextual ensemble that builds up to a "virtual conversation" [Musolff 2017: 27].

Dzerkalo Tyzhnia targets at Ukrainian- and/or Russian-speaking audience since the newspaper is published both in Ukrainian and in Russian. The results of six-month monitoring of the newspaper coverage done in the framework of the project "Crisis, Conflict and Critical Diplomacy: EU Perceptions in Ukraine, Israel and Palestine" show that the outlet takes a middle position between the most European-friendly newspaper *Holos Ukrainy* (a governmental edition) and the most European-unfriendly newspaper *Komentarii* (a pro-Russian/pro-Soviet outlet) [C³EU].

The methodology combines conceptual metaphor theory [Lakoff & Johnson 1980; 1999] with the metaphor-in-use theory [Musolff 2000, 2004, 2016b; Gibbs & Cameron 2008; Semino 2008; Zinken, Hellsten & Nerlich 2008; Musolff & Zinken 2009; Gibbs 2011a, 2011b; Deignan, Littlemore & Semino 2013; El Rafaie 2014; Deignan 2017; Hampe 2017; Kövecses 2018]. This means employment of both the domain correspondences and metaphoric scenarios [Musolff 2006; 2016a, 2017], which provides for reconstruction of both the EU's schematic perception of Ukraine, and the context of this perception.

4. Results

Relations between metaphor and narrative, which could be quite complex, are provisionally classified into three types: (1) a story contains a few unrelated metaphors; (2) a story contains a few metaphors underpinned with a common image schema; (3) a story is built around an unconventional metaphor.

1) A story contains a few metaphors with different source concepts. This type of relationship is compatible with such functional type of metaphors as combining [Kövecses 2010: 49]. As a rule, such metaphors are entrenched in the narrative and thus are perceived as clichés. Metaphors of this type in our sample are register and genre specific, and thus they constitute a feature of media discourse or of a particular journalist's idiosyncrasy. What makes them work together with other axiologically tinted linguistic expressions contained in the co-text is the author's stance towards the situation described in the story. The stance can be neutral, positive or negative.

In the extract below, the **positive** stance of the journalist towards Brexit is rendered quotatively, by giving half of the metaphoric expressions in quotation marks. This suggests that the stance of the person whose words are quoted does not necessarily coincide with the stance of the journalist. In this case, one can suspect the journalist's desire not to be held responsible for the truth of the respective propositions.

(1) *Майбутнє [Великої Британії – О.М.] буде прекрасним: звільнена від влади Брюсселя країна знову стане «маяком свободи» у світі, бізнес бурхливо зростатиме, лондонський Сіті процвітатиме, а британці «ніколи більше не будуть рабами ЄС».* (Zahoruyko 2016)

[The future [of the UK – O.M.] is going to be wonderful: liberated from the power of Brussels, the country is going to regain its status of “the beacon of freedom” in the world, business is going to thrive, the City of London is going to flourish, and the British “shall never again be the EU's slaves”] (here and further on the translation is mine – O.M.)

In our sample, the **negative** stance is most representative in comparison with the positive and the neutral ones. Though this research stage does not apply quantitative analysis, a rough estimate shows that the proportion of the negative stance in metaphoric stories that contain metaphors with unrelated source domains makes about two thirds of all tokens analyzed.

- (2) *Британський референдум 23 червня може мати досить неприємні наслідки для України. Але нічого критичного ні завтра, ні післязавтра не станеться. [...] Критичним є можливий кумулятивний ефект накопичуваних у Європі проблем. Результати референдуму про Brexit є, швидше, індикатором того, наскільки глибокі ці проблеми і чи можуть вони бути подолані тактичними рішеннями – чи необхідний стратегічний перегляд моделей інтеграції.* (Yizhak 2016)

[The British referendum on June 23 may have rather unpleasant implications for Ukraine. Yet nothing critical is going to happen either tomorrow or the day after. [...] Only the cumulative effect of the problems piling up in Europe may be critical. Rather, the results of the Brexit referendum are indicative of the depth of the problems and whether it is possible to overcome them by tactical decisions or whether a strategic reconsideration of the models of integration is needed.

The **neutral / balanced / ambiguous** stance of metaphoric stories is a "mixed bag" where all the cases where the journalist's stance is neither clearly positive nor negative belong. It is illustrated by the text fragment to follow.

- (3) *Але динаміка змін поширюється на негативні для України чинники так само, як і на позитивні. Тому нинішні проблеми європейської інтеграції не слід сприймати як статичні. Інакше можна не помітити нових можливостей, здатних відкритися навіть під впливом таких негативних чинників, як Brexit.* (Yizhak 2016)

[However, the dynamics of change expands onto the factors that may be either negative or positive for Ukraine. This is why the present-day problems of European integration should not be taken as static. Otherwise, one may overlook new opportunities that may open even under the influence of such negative factors as Brexit.]

2) A newspaper account contains a few metaphors underpinned with a common image schema. The constituent metaphors of such stories lend themselves to complex reasoning. They form a metaphoric scenario that unites extended, enriched metaphors into a figurative narrative.

To become part of such a narrative, each constituent metaphor is to interact with some other metaphor(s) based on the same logic. Fragments (4) and (5) adopt the logic of the PERSON image schema.

- (4) (a) *Мабуть, недооціненим в Україні виявився внутрішній страх європейських країн перед міграцією, причому не обов'язково пов'язаною із сирійською кризою. (b) Трудова міграція в рамках ЄС також викликає значну напругу в багатших країнах. (c) Бажання зупинити проникнення мігрантів стало одним із основних мотивів для Brexit.* (Yizhak 2016)

[(a) The European countries' inner fear of migration may have turned out to be underestimated in Ukraine, and not only the one connected with the Syrian crisis. (b) Labor migration in the EU also causes great tension in richer countries. (c) The desire to stop migrants' penetration has become one of the main motives for Brexit]

Each of the sentences in this fragment provides an appropriate "static" extension of the conceptual metaphor A NATION/STATE is A PERSON: sentence (a) – THE PERSON experiences FEAR; sentence (b) – THE PERSON feels TENSION; sentence (c) – THE PERSON has A DESIRE (to stop migrants' penetration).

- (5) (a) *Україна пожертвувала багато чим задля європейської перспективи, (b) але тепер може нашкодитися на те, що під тягарем власних проблем ЄС відкладатиме виконання даних раніше обіцянок, (c) посилюючись при цьому на проблеми України.* (Yizhak 2016)

[(a) Ukraine has sacrificed a lot for the European prospect, (b) but now it may face the situation that the EU, burdened with its own problems, will be postponing the fulfillment of the promises it has earlier given, (c) using the problems of Ukraine as a pretext]

In this extract, propositions underlying (a-c) present "dynamic" extensions of the conceptual metaphor A NATION/STATE is A PERSON, namely, where THE PERSON by their own will is engaged in PERFORMING the following ACTIONS: (a) (Ukraine) has sacrificed many things for the European prospect; (b) (the EU) will be postponing the fulfillment of the promises it has given earlier; (c) (the EU) will be using pretexts.

Example (6) is underpinned with the image schemas PERSON, PATH and CONTAINER, which combine into the following metaphoric scenario: CHANGE OF A PERSON'S STATE is MOVING ALONG A PATH into A CONTAINER (a); DIFFICULTIES THAT THE PERSON EXPERIENCES are OBSTACLES ON THE PATH (b, c, d)

(6) (a) *Поки що Україна сприймається як країна, громадяни якої готові ринути в ЄС, (b) щойно буде прибрано перепони на шляху безвізового режиму. (c) Режим цей, здавалося б, уже вийшов на фінішну пряму, але можуть з'явитися нові, несподівані перешкоди. [...] (d) Пригальмовуючи безвізовий режим, ЄС захищається не так від України, як від власних проблем.* (Yizhak 2016)

[(a) So far Ukraine has been perceived as a country, the citizens of which are ready to rush into the EU (b) as soon as the obstacles on the way to the visa-free regime are removed. (c) This regime seems to have entered the home stretch, yet new and unexpected obstacles may appear. [...] (d) Slowing down on visa liberalization, the EU is protecting itself not so much from Ukraine as from its own problems]

Fragment (7) is based on the OBJECT image schema extended into a rather elaborate figurative scenario. THE EU is AN OBJECT which is BIG / HEAVY and thus it has A GREAT MASS; conventionally, A BIG / HEAVY OBJECT has GREAT INERTIA (a), thus THE BIG / HEAVY OBJECT, which is the EU, cannot change its TRAJECTORY OF DEVELOPMENT, which is its POLICY, FAST ENOUGH, even in case it is influenced by ANOTHER BIG / HEAVY OBJECT, which is BREXIT.

(7) (a) *Європейська політика має досить велику інерцію, (b) що не дозволяє моментально змінити траєкторію розвитку (c) навіть під впливом такої великої події, як Brexit.* (Yizhak 2016)

[(a) European policy's inertia is great enough, (b) which does not allow it to change the trajectory of its development in an instant (c) even under the influence of such a great event as Brexit]

Our sample also contains metaphoric scenarios that stand in contrast to the static one considered above. Thus, THE EU may be conceptualized as A DYNAMIC/ TURBULENT CURRENT (8).

(8) [...] *ЄС динамічний, навіть турбулентний. Українська політика, яка за довгі роки ввібрала ідею євроінтеграції як константу, часто неусвідомлену, далеко не завжди встигає за європейською динамікою.* (Yizhak 2016)

[... The EU is dynamic, even turbulent. Ukrainian politics, which for years has been absorbing the idea – often subconscious – of eurointegration as a constant, by no means always keeps pace with the European dynamics]

3) A story is built around a situational metaphor. The latter is a variety of a structural metaphor that involves complex reasoning in several correspondences (Ruiz de Mendosa Ibáñez & Pérez Hernández 2011: 11). The situational metaphor is not woven into the story (as the image-schematic metaphor is): it is an analogue of the narrative "coda" (an expository interpretive comment, which is "outside" the story). It may precede a story (9) or conclude it (10).

The passage below (9) illustrates the former case.

(9) **Вони зійшлися – хвиля й камінь...**

[...] *за посаду президента (a) боролися два євроскептики – один (b) колишній і один вічний. [...] переможцем першого туру став Хофер – з відривом, якого не передбачав жоден соціолог. (c) "Фактурою" (свиною, досвідом) 72-річний Ван дер Беллен, звісно ж, більше підходив на посаду президента, ніж 45-річний Хофер.*

Президент – це (d) батько нації, людина поза політикою й кон'юктурою. Однак часи змінюються. Очільник Партії свободи Хайнц-Крістіан Штрахе ризикнув і (e) пустив у гонку відносно молодого кандидата – і (f) (з погляду виборів) (g) не прогадав. Та ось (h) із погляду внутріпартійного життя, можливо, (i) створив собі конкурента. (Shcherba, 2016)

They got together – wave and stone...

[...] two eurosceptics (a) fought for the presidential post – (b) the former one and the enduring one. [...] Hofer came winner in the first round – with a margin that no sociologist could have foreseen. Obviously, due to his (c) "texture" (grey hair, experience), the 72-year-old Van der Bellen, was better suited for the presidential post than the 45-year-old Hofer. The president is (d) the father of the nation, a person beyond politics or situation. Yet times change. Heinz Christian Strache, leader of the Freedom Party of Austria, took a risk and (e) put a relatively young candidate on the electoral race – and (f) (electionwise) his (g) calculations were right. Yet maybe (h) from the point of view of the inner-party life, he (i) created a competitor for himself]

The metaphoric expression that serves as a coda of the narrative is contained in the title "They got together – wave and stone", which is a well-known quote from Pushkin's verse novel "Eugene Onegin", a classical piece of Russian literature. Its meaning is based on antithesis. The quote itself is widely used in the East-European culture to render contrasts figuratively. Such contrasting lines are drawn in the extract under consideration in (a), (b), (c), (d-e), (f-h), (g-i), and the quote as it brings these diverse threads together in the story's united whole.

The metaphoric coda that precedes a narrative may be underpinned with a single scenario, as in the following fragment.

(10) **Гірко!**

[...] *Ми зі своїм єврооптимізмом для них – наче гості, що спізналися на весілля. Дуже спізналися. Молодята вже ледь не розлучаються, а ми кричимо "гірко". Молодята ділять майно, а ми говоримо про любов та взаємодопомогу. (Shcherba, 2016)*

[Bitter!]

... with our euro-optimism, for them we are all like guests who have been late for the wedding. Very late. The newlyweds are already on the verge of divorce, and we are shouting "Bitter!" The newlyweds are dividing their property, and we are talking about love and mutual support]

This extract is underpinned with the real scenario of a typical Slavic wedding, a traditional element of which is for the guests to shout "Bitter!" at the festive dinner and for the newlyweds to kiss in front of the guests. The tradition looks quirky to foreigners, and yet the author of the article chooses it in order to render some "domestic" colouring in this way, making the contrast clearer to Ukrainian readership – and probably, imparting a sarcastic tonality to the situation.

A metaphoric coda at the end of a story serves not so much to organize it (though this function may also be present), but rather to draw a moralizing conclusion, as in the following fragment.

(11) *Нещодавно Сенат Франції проголосував за резолюцію про (a) поступове послаблення санкцій [проти Росії – О.М.]. Подібне рішення прийняла одна з провінцій Італії. Росія, зрозуміло, самими лише заявами не обходиться. (b) Тут пущено в хід щупальця, які (c) приводять в рух механізми, що стимулюють подібні заяви та рішення, озвучені голосами європейських політиків і парламентарів. Витрати ж на ці зусилля йдуть такі, що їх вже варто порівнювати з втратами від санкцій. І все це (d) оповито піар-політичними міфами. Тим часом статистика вже дає достатньо даних, аби з'ясувати характер впливу цих санкцій та зрештою (e) відділити, як кажуть, "зерна від плевел" (Gaidutskiy 2016).*

[Not long ago, the French Senate voted for the resolution on (a) gradual lifting of the sanctions (against Russia – O.M.). One of Italian provinces took a similar decision. It is obvious that Russia does not limit itself to declarations of the kind. It (b) has pulled out its tentacles that (c) activate the mechanisms stimulating declarations of the kind and decisions voiced by European politicians and parliamentarians. The expenses to stimulate such efforts are so great that they are comparable with the losses from sanctions. And all that is in (d) enveloped by PR-political myths. Meanwhile, statistics is already giving enough data to clarify the nature of the sanctions' impact and further on (e) to separate, as they say, the wheat from the chaff.]

The story presents Russia as an octopus spreading its tentacles (b) in order to activate the mechanisms (c) that stimulate the EU member states to voice the opinion that sanctions against Russia are to be lifted (a). This metaphor with its obvious negative connotations expresses an affective stance, which does not exhaust the message of the story. The "octopus" metaphor is further counterbalanced with the metaphoric coda (e) *to separate wheat from chaff*. Yet the moral contained in it is not only rational: it also allows the reader to draw inferences about the negative affective colouring of the story as well.

As can be seen in extract (11), the types of metaphor-narrative correlation in newspaper accounts can combine: here we see a combination of types 1 and 3. Yet all three types of correlation between metaphors and stories may also come together, as in fragment (12) below, where linguistic expression relating to type 1 are underscored with a dashed line, of type 2 – with a straight line, and type 3 – with a bold line.

(12) *Саме в ході проекту (a) розширення ЄС (b) Австрії вдалося те, (c) про що Україна тільки мріє, – вона стала (d) справжнім мостом між Сходом і Заходом. (e) Бути мостом – це (f) правильна мрія, якщо (g) твердо знаєш, хто ти такий і чого прагнеш у житті. (h) Австрія знала. З одного боку, (i) ця країна знала, що вона (j) плоть від плоті найсправжнісінька "європейська Європа". Західний комфорт, краса, культура. З другого – (k) австрійський нейтралітет, зручне розташування (Відень географічно розташований значно ближче до сходу, ніж та ж Прага) і (l) природна торговельна жилка роблять Австрію (m) привабливим партнером для Сходу. Передусім для нас, слов'ян. Перефразовуючи Гребенщикова, (n) Австрія готова (o) "приймає форму того, с кем она". (Shcherba, 2016)*

[It is in the course of the project of (a) the EU expansion that (b) Austria managed to do what (c) Ukraine is only dreaming of – it (d) became a real bridge between the East and the West. (e) Being a bridge is the right kind of (f) dream, (g) if one knows for sure who they are and what they really want in life. (h) Austria knew it. On the one hand, (i) the country knew that it truly is (j) Europe's flesh and blood, the "European Europe". Western comfort, beauty, culture. On the other hand, it is (k) Austrian neutrality, convenient location (geographically, Vienna is located much closer to the East than that same Prague) and (l) a natural commercial vein make Austria (m) an attractive partner for the East. In the first place, for us, Slavic people. Paraphrasing Grebenshchikov, (n) Austria is ready (o) "to take the shape of the one who she's with"]

The main device that holds the metaphoricity of this extract together is the image schema A NATION/STATE (Austria, Ukraine) is A PERSON. However, the extract contains a few metaphors that are not related to it, forming a "side-scenario" THE EU is AN OBJECT that EXPANDS (a, d, e). The rest of metaphors are divided between two figurative sub-scenarios of the metaphor A NATION/STATE is A PERSON: "the physical body scenario" which is instantiated in (j, l, o) and "the thinking/social being scenario" (c, f, g, h, i, k, m, n). The metaphor scenario in (o) A NATION/STATE (Austria) is A PERSON who IS READY TO TAKE THE SHAPE OF WHATEVER PARTNER IT HAS is triggered by a quote (in Russian) from Grebenshchikov's song "Who are you now?". Boris Grebenshchikov is the frontman of a Russian rock-group "Aquarium",

which has been popular on the Soviet and post-Soviet space since 1970s. The metaphoric scenario that the quote triggers serves as a conclusion to the story about the place that Austria occupies in Europe. Yet the stance of the writer cannot be said to be definitely positive: on the one hand, it is good for a country to be adaptable to changing circumstances, on the other hand, the metaphoric scenario suggests promiscuity (it is important to stress that the author of the article mentions that the quote is "paraphrased" (we might say "reframed" since it is used in the context which is somewhat different from that of the song).

5. Discussion

Combining conceptual metaphor theory in its dynamic version with the narrative theory has proved to be productive since it helps to bring to light the mechanisms of framing the image of the EU in a Ukrainian newspaper (*Dzerkalo Tyzhnia*). The analysis that was carried out is qualitatively oriented; it helped us to trace some tendencies in using metaphors in media discourse.

We depart from the traditional conceptual metaphor analytical scheme, attempting to find structural correlations between the source and target domains and taking into account the types of mapped conceptual entities and entrenchment of metaphoric tokens in the English language.

According to their influence on the architecture of the semantic/conceptual space of the story, metaphors are not all of the same kind. There are three major types of framing the EU with the help of metaphors in use, and each of the types presupposes metaphors of a specific type and a specific way of using them. The first type is represented by a number of metaphors with different source domains; such metaphors share only the writer's stance. The second type embraces cases when a series of metaphors in use are underpinned with the same image schema expanded into a metaphoric scenario. The third type includes cases when a narrative is built around a situational metaphor.

A situational metaphor is capable of serving a 'center of gravity' for a number of other metaphors, attracting them and thus bending the conceptual/semantic space of the text like Einstein's proverbial 'marble on a trampoline'. Distinct from the case of the image-schematic metaphors, situational metaphors are based on rich images capable of evoking an emotional response from the reader, which testifies to the metaphor's strong 'gravitational pull'.

The three types of metaphor-narrative correlation can combine within a single story, creating an intricate, unique conceptual space which is not "even", but stretched in some places and curved to a different degree in others.

6. Conclusion

This study is a part of the transnational research project "Crisis, conflict and critical diplomacy: EU perceptions in Ukraine and Israel/Palestine (C³EU)" (2015-2018) supported by Jean Monnet Programme of the European Commission [C³EU]. According to the project's results, Ukraine has a tendency to look at the world through the prism of its own interests, and this has conditioned the specificity of its perception of the EU. This image is not wholly positive, and yet it is altogether sensible.

The evidence obtained in this study is consistent with the general findings. For the EU, the time span under study (January-June 2016) was crowded with events, Brexit being the most significant among them. This accounts for the attention *Dzerkalo Tyzhnia* paid to covering different aspects of the EU's life. In their descriptions of the EU, Ukrainian journalists tend to quote verbatim when commenting on the events the outcome of which is uncertain. Reframing Umberto Eco's saying that "quotes are like testimony in a trial" [Eco 2015: 162], we can presume that Ukrainian journalists tend "to be on the safe side" in their predictions. Their accounts of events in the past demonstrate a clearer stance. In order to make the events in the EU more explicable to Ukrainian readers, journalists, while using metaphoric language, are prone to utilizing the tactic of

"domestication", which is demonstrated primarily by situational metaphors used as a coda to a newspaper story.

Understanding the framings of the EU provided by the Ukrainian media outlet could be of use in informing foreign political actors and serve as a reasonable starting point for improving their communication efforts with Ukrainian audiences. The prospects for further research lie in applying quantitative methods that emphasize mathematical analysis of data collection.

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