

Cognition, communication, discourse. 2022, 25: 89-118.

<http://sites.google.com/site/cognitiondiscourse/home>

<https://doi.org/10.26565/2218-2926-2022-25-07>

Received 24.09.2022; revised and accepted 25.11.2022

UDC 811.112.2

## EMOTIVE LEXICON OF THE POLITICAL NARRATIVE: UKRAINE AND THE WEST IN CHINESE MEDIA

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**Article citation:** Zhabotynska, S., & Brynko, A. (2022). Emotive lexicon of the political narrative: Ukraine and the West in Chinese media. *Cognition, communication, discourse*, 25, 89-118; <https://doi.org/10.26565/2218-2926-2022-25-07>.

### Abstract

This study, done within the framework of political and cognitive linguistics, discusses emotively loaded language of political media narratives that serve as the major manipulative tool with which propaganda exerts ideological impact on the public. Among various linguistic devices employed in molding the political narrative, a conspicuous role is played by emotively loaded lexicon that is in focus of this inquiry. It aims to expose the contribution of emotively loaded words into featuring a media image of the war launched by Russia against Ukraine in February, 2022. As a result of ideological confrontation between the adversaries and between their allies, this image, targeting home audiences in Russia and Ukraine, as well as foreign audiences, is framed as either pro-Ukrainian and pro-Russian, with the respective emotive assessments being mostly contrastive. Our study considers a pro-Russian image of the war shaped by the English version of *The Global Times* popular tabloid that belongs to Chinese state media. The dataset includes the articles depicting the Russia-Ukraine war in the context of international relations. The articles were published during June, 2022, three months after the beginning of Russia's military assault. In the study, the analysis of emotive lexicon grounds on a cognitive ontology of the RUSSIA-UKRAINE WAR image. Such ontology, defined as event-focused, allows for structuring information about the event proper and its participants. Their verbally crafted 'portraits' are made salient through the scope of employed emotive expressions, which facilitates priming and entrenchment of the intended biased image in the reader's mind.

**Key words:** emotive lexicon, political narrative, image of the Russia-Ukraine war, cognitive ontology, Chinese media, international audience.

### 1. Introduction

The last two decades have witnessed the 'emotional turn' in international relations and political science scholarship, where previously emotions were at the periphery of attention (Chaban et al., 2019-2020, p. 147; see also Redlawsk 2006; Clément & Sangar, 2017). A number of studies concerned with emotions in politics track them in the language of political narratives as 'stories'

shaping the public worldview (Patterson & Monroe 1998; Groth, 2019; Zhabotynska and Velivchenko 2019; Drăgan, 2020 among others). Seeking to understand how political narratives are made to influence the public, scholars identify various manipulative techniques (Dijk, 2006; Wadi & Ahmed, 2015; Babak et al. 2017) including content-based devices (content formation, authorization, and contextualization), form-based devices (verbal and non-verbal semiotic modes), and function-based devices (related to the properties of the narrator, recipient, and the way of narratives transmission) (Zhabotynska, 2022, p. 32–33). Our study analyses the verbal semiotic mode of narrative's implementation, with the research target being emotively charged lexicon that features the narrator's bias. *Topicality* of the research is accounted for by the role which political narratives, especially aggressive ones, play in the life of contemporary world where propaganda has become an inherent constituent of hybrid warfare. To understand how propaganda works and how to devise counter-propaganda, one has to address the workings of verbally furnished emotions. This study *aims* to expose the role of emotively connoted expressions applied in the pro-Russia narrative creating an image of the Russia-Ukraine war unleashed by Russia in February, 2022. We analyze this narrative as it is represented in the mainstream media of China, one of Russia's main international partners.

The research data – the articles published in the English edition of *The Global Times* Chinese media outlet – are analyzed from a *cognitive-semiotic methodological perspective*. The cognitive aspect is concerned with structuring the image of the Russia-Ukraine war portrayed in the media narratives, or building a cognitive ontology of this image. The semiotic aspect highlights the types of emotively connoted verbal expressions that both depict and create this ontology, thus molding, or 'framing', the information and manipulating the audience's ideological perception.

In the article, we first address such issues as the political narrative and its emotive lexicon, which are relevant for the theoretical framework of this study. The description of emotive lexicon, along with its types, includes considerations as to their interrelations. Next, we describe the data and the methodology of their analysis. The latter is presented in the further section, followed by the discussion of the obtained results, and the conclusions which summarize these results and outline the further research.

## 2. Theoretical background. Emotive lexicon of the political narrative

"Language is the neurochemistry of the 'huge cooperative nervous system' called society". With this precise definition MacNeil (1990) introduces the brilliant book by Hayakawa and Hayakawa (1990) on language in thought and action. Written before World War II, this book has no time boundaries, as the topics it highlights are eternal for the human species. As Hayakawa and Hayakawa (1990) note, most of our knowledge is received verbally – that is, in words. The *verbal world* that comes to us through words is opposed to the *extensional world* which we know or are capable of knowing through our own experience. The verbal world ought to stand in relation to the extensional world as a *map* does to the *territory* (pp. 19-20). By means of "imaginary or false reports or by false inferences from good reports or by mere rhetorical exercise, we can manufacture at will, with language, 'maps' that have no reference to the extensional world". Here "no harm will be done unless someone makes the mistake of regarding such 'maps' as representing real territories" (p. 21). Meanwhile, it is exactly what is being done with manipulative political narratives, where words create a virtual world served to the audience as real.

### 2.1. Political narrative as a manipulative tool

Politics, or the activities aimed at the governance of a country or area, includes a struggle waged between the people willing to gain and maintain power (Chilton & Schäffner, 2002, p. 5; Schäffner & Bassnett, 2010, p. 2). This struggle, conducted by social groups and individuals, is ordained through acts of threat, persuasion, reasoning, etc. (Dunmire, 2012, p. 737) performed with narratives – the stories or descriptions of events. In its broad, sociological, sense, adopted throughout social sciences, political studies in particular, the term *narrative* highlights arrangement of the meaning evoked by

a verbal text (Zhabotynska & Velivchenko. 2019, p. 365). So interpreted, narratives become constitutive of the way people experience the world. Narratives are special tools for managing human life, as people try to fit their reality into existing stories which make sense of the world around them. Narratives allow people to look through different future scenarios and choose one of them (Adams, 2008, p. 176). By synthesizing stories about of miscellaneous events taking place in different space and time locations, people make sense of the universe and their identities. As a result, humans are existing in a storied reality, where the latter's perception and understanding is influenced by the narrative (Graef et al., 2020, pp. 432-433). The narrative's sense-making capacity is accounted for by its arrangement characterized by a particular order of events, the sequence of which is construed by the teller. The events may be real or fictitious. Their participants are actors or characters whose performance implies an emotional binding, an action or conflict, behavior and tools used to address it, a special setting, scene or environment, and a conflict resolution (Denning, 2005, p. 23). The way the narrative is constructed influences our perception of processes happening in various fields, politics included (Patterson & Monroe, 1998, pp. 315-316).

*Political narrative*, understood as both a text whose structure represents the teller's image of the world, and a textually arranged image of the world imposed upon the audience (Zhabotynska & Velivchenko, 2019, p. 365), features the current political affairs rendered primarily through media. Therefore, this narrative exists at the intersection of political and media discourses. The political narrative, which describes the activities of political agents, focuses on political topics, such as collective decision-making, power relations, political beliefs, conflicts of interest, compromise, struggles for predominance, personal manifestos, troubles with cooperation between various social groups, etc. (Groth, 2019, pp. 3-4). Citizens need narratives to make sense of the political world. The narratives which they create or which are supplied to them respond to the questions *What has happened? What is happening? How do I fit into this story? What might / should happen?* And such narratives should also fit into the grander narratives with which their social lives are framed (Hanne, 2014, p. 23). Political narratives are crucially important for inducement of social changes and managing civic actions. Having a persuasive and mediational potential, this type of narratives is frequently used strategically to enhance a collective identity and create a coherent community (Miskimmon et al., 2013; Groth, 2019, pp. 3-4; Drăgan, 2020, pp. 72-73; Chaban et al., 2023). Political strategic narratives are stories about states and their political systems, the citizens' identity and the world order they need. They are tools for constructing shared meanings in international politics and molding the actions of international and domestic agents (Groth 2019, pp. 8-9). Such tools should have an impactful power, or pursue the communicative goals of persuasion and manipulation.

Intended to mediate messages, to persuade, and to garner support of the public, political narratives, are 'controlled' by the narrator, which means that if stories are told in the right way and at the right time, stressing the appropriate aspects and addressing the appropriate audiences, they are effective and can be used to frame political positions as favorable (Groth 2019, p. 8). In such a way, political narratives realize execution of power (Bayram, 2010, p. 26) defined as the "ability of its holders to exact compliance or obedience of other individuals to their will" (Bulloke et al., 1999, p. 678). The discursive power exposed in political communication is concerned with decision making, persuasion of the audience, controlling of human values and behavior. As a result, the narrator's choice of appropriate wording influences human attitudes and perception of the reality (Bayram, 2010, pp. 27-28), or frames political mindsets of the recipients (Groth, 2019, pp. 8-9).

Reality, represented in the form of a narrative created by a gifted politician, responds to the general public and individuals' personal preferences. To create an effective political narrative, the teller has to inbuild explanatory power in it, provide its coherence with the feelings and thoughts of the addressees, suggest solutions of various problems (Drăgan, 2020, pp. 72-73). How people choose and use language systems depends on who the speakers are, how they perceive themselves, what identity they want to project, what audience and in what context they address (Bayram, 2010, pp. 27-28). These factors get traction in the manipulative techniques employed in political narratives.

Manipulation is defined as an interactional and communicative practice which involves domination and intends to control people against their will by means of discourse, pictures, movies or other media (Dijk, 2006, pp. 360-361). Socially speaking, manipulation is a discursive form of producing elite power in different spheres, which demonstrates social inequality and which is against the interests of representatives of various social groups. Manipulation focuses on the modification of ideologies, beliefs and attitudes to significant social issues, such as immigration, terrorism, repressions, etc. (Dijk, 2006, pp. 365-369; Wadi & Ahmed, 2016, p. 17). Once the audience's attitudes are influenced, little further manipulation is required to make people behave according to such attitudes (Dijk, 2006, p. 369). To manipulate people, social actors rely on specific psychological principles and discursive devices. Psychological principles of manipulation consider the properties of the human mind / brain. Discursive devices, focused on the information featured by the political narrative, are related to its factual and emotive content.

The narrative's *factual content* is manipulated via framing the overall information, foregrounding key concepts, fact substitution, supply of information sources, false equivalence, change of thematic lines, use of statistics, etc. The narrative's *emotive content* is created via targeting human affects – either positive or negative. Positive attitudes are usually projected upon the 'Self', while negative attitudes are attributed to the 'Other'. Emotions are credited a special role in how people are contemplating complex and disputed social and political realities. In politics, emotions are used to gain support, sway opinion, degrade others (such as a political campaign), gain a political foothold or push an agenda. Emotive language is also considered to be a brainwashing instrument (Kittelstad, n.d.). Political narratives may appeal to our emotions with little references to realities, and with significant misdirection. Therefore, emotions, especially negative ones, play a pivotal role in formation and projection of politically relevant narratives (Chaban et al., 2023). Appealing to the emotional register suppresses the rational analysis, which is primarily demonstrated by the public reactions to negativity. Manipulators use fear to scare audience and offer a simple solution to get rid of the threat. Various manipulative discursive techniques targeted at affective domains are to create 'fellow feelings' as a result of 'shared outrage' within one social group opposing another. Such techniques aim to trigger the ingrained fear and abhorrence of atrocities committed by the 'Other', and, in a way, maybe even expected from the 'Other'. The atrocities of the 'Other', who is opposed to the 'Self', serve as bogeys – gender bogeys (human sexuality), racism (phobias as bogeys), fear of the horrible past to be back, which entails psychologically archetypal and therefore scary matches (Perianova, 2019, p. 166).

In the political narrative, emotive content is featured with lexical, descriptive, and text-structuring means (Zhabotynska, 2022, pp. 32-33). Together, they are referred to as 'emotive', or 'high-inference' language including words, phrases, and overall verbal and written communication eliciting a strong emotional response from the reader or listener (Kittelstad, n.d.). Our study focuses on the emotive lexicon.

## 2.2. Emotive lexicon

Emotions that penetrate all kinds of human activity are primarily rendered by language. Among the linguistic expressions, are referential and emotive ones. While referential language aims to denote, emotive language intends to express or arouse emotional reactions towards the subject matter or the addressee. Emotive language has an independent emotive meaning that sways the emotions of the audience either for or against the presented view (Fadhil, 2021, p. 599). Language appeals to emotion both in everyday conversation and in delivering political messages addressed to the public by politicians, public figures or advertisers (Kittelstad, n.d.). Moreover, political psychologists often argue that "politics is about feeling" (Redlawsk, 2006) as much as it is about thinking. Now, the study of emotions in politics is an exponentially growing field, where in most instances researchers track them through verbal and non-verbal representations available in political narratives, media narratives in particular (Chaban et al., 2019-2020, pp. 150-151).

*Emotive words* that trigger an emotional response in the audience and influence its perception of reality are also called *emotionally-charged words*, *emotion laden words*, *loaded words*, or *loaded lexicon* (Macagno & Walton, 2014, p. 2; Bourse, 2019, p. 5). All realizations of emotive language express a certain stance (negative, positive, or evaluative) inferred from the use of a lexical item that is usually a noun, adjective (predicative and attributive), main verb, or adverb (Fadhil, 2021, p. 600). Emotive words exploit the positive and negative emotional value (or charge) which constitutes their literal emotive meaning proper or which is added to their literal factual meaning. Such words are used by speakers / writers in an attempt to create a favorable or unfavorable impression on the listener's / reader's mind and to influence the latter's attitude, either positively or negatively. Respectively, emotive words may be positive (*plus words*) and negative (*minus words*) (Guilleux, 2020).

The positive and negative connotative associations of emotively loaded words make them highly sensitive elements of political discourse (Guilleux, 2020). In political narratives, loaded lexicon may become a substitute for other words or phrases, one more negative or positive than the other depending on the context. An emotively loaded word is chosen because the speaker or writer believes it will be more persuasive than an alternate neutral word; e.g., *atrocious* vs. *bad*, *damaging* vs. *hurtful*, *dreadful* vs. *bad*, *propaganda* vs. *message*, etc. (Kittelstad, n.d.). Words are thus seen as possessing an implicit argumentative value which is used by the speaker to influence the addressee: the words conceal an implicit change of our interlocutor's knowledge or a silent alteration of his / her system of values (Macagno & Walton, 2014, p.1; Bourse, 2019, p. 5). Emotive language, strategically used by journalists, public figures, politicians and ordinary citizens, possesses numerous persuasive techniques. Emotive words function as both persuasive and manipulative means. Emotional manipulation asks for an emotional response of the listener – a response which will be later exploited by the speaker (Guilleux, 2020).

Scholars distinguish between emotionally 'dependent' and 'independent' loaded words. A loaded word is '*dependent*' if its emotive charge depends on the word's factual meaning associated with its referent. For instance, the words *war* and *peace* have a negative and positive emotive charge respectively. In contrast, an emotive word is '*independent*' if its emotive charge does not depend on the emotional effect of the word's factual meaning. 'Independent' loaded words take on an emotive value when they are used. For example, the negative emotive charge of *beast* is independent of its literal meaning of animal. However, the distinction between dependent and independent emotive words is somewhat vague (since it is context-dependent), and few if any words are purely one or the other (Macagno & Walton, 2014, p. 38; Bourse, 2019, p. 5). The terms 'dependent' and 'independent' loaded words semantically agree with the terms *value-loaded/-laden* and *emotionally-loaded/-laden* words (cf. Guilleux, 2020). Fadhil (2021, p. 600) notes that the term *value-laden* was introduced by Biber (2006, p. 88) to express a stance that involves only a single evaluative proposition associated with a specific value judgement, moral judgement as an instance; e.g., *murder* (murder, by definition, is wrongful killing). *Emotionally-laden words* do not exclude existence of another proposition. They are easier to counter: the interlocutor may suggest a different, even contrastive description of the facts (Macagno & Walton, 2014, p. 12).

In our study, we divide the emotive words of political narratives into value-loaded and emotively-loaded. While *value-loaded words* name the entities (things and their properties) that are typically viewed by the entire speech community as either inherently positive or negative, *emotively-loaded words* depict the entities (things and their properties) which are positively or negatively assessed by a particular speaker. Therefore, the assessment rendered by value-loaded and emotively-loaded words may be roughly defined as 'objective' and 'subjective'. Among the emotively-loaded words, we distinguish (a) *emotives* as the names of emotional assessment per se (the terms *good* and *bad* with their numerous synonymous expressions), and the names of humans' emotional states (e.g., *afraid*, *alarmed*, *appalled*, *fear*, *anger*, *fury*); (b) *connotives* as names of emotively assessed entities, with such names bearing emotive connotations that are either systemic (e.g. *populism*, *isolationism*, *coercion*, *obstacles*) or contextual (e.g. *to dominate*, *continuously*, *to serve somebody's interests*).

Along with connotives proper, we distinguish their specific groups, such as the cases of labeling, exaggeration and minimalization, euphemism and dysphemism, analogy and metaphor.

**Labeling**, or name-calling, is a particular kind of categorization employed to identify the types of objects or experience. Categorization involves highlighting certain properties, downplaying others, and hiding still others (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 10). Labeling employs this trait of categorization in a specific way. Being an “attribution of a name to a fragment of reality” (Macagno & Walton, 2014, p. 12), labeling means that the given name intentionally refers the target to the category which arouses prejudices or makes an association with stereotypes (Chang et al., 2021, p. 2). A stereotype, as an extreme simplification of group traits and a complex social reality, is characterized by massive positive or negative distortions. Stereotypes exist within storylines and include emotive language and condensation symbols that encapsulate that storyline (Garfinkle, 2021). Hence, by simply selecting the appropriate term the speaker depicts the same reality in very different ways, either presenting it as truly positive or, on the contrary, offering a quite negative perspective (Bourse, 2019, p. 13).

**Exaggeration and minimization** as verbal manipulative techniques mean “overly amplifying or reducing the importance of something” (Chang et al., p. 2). They represent the broad linguistic (stylistic) phenomena of hyperbole and litotes rendered by words that belong to different parts of speech, and by longer linguistic expressions. *Hyperbole* is “the figure of speech characterized by bold overstatement, or the extravagant exaggeration of fact or possibility used for an effect” (Braim, 2014, p. 50). In political texts, hyperbole may “give voice to otherwise unarticulated emotions, to intensify them, to push aside doubts and hesitations, and then to turn feelings into action”. While using hyperbole, people “exalt and intensify what they see as truth” (Connor, 2015, p. 15). *Litotes* is a figure of speech where quantity of a statement or its intensity are understated for rhetorical effect. Litotes is applied for making something or someone look less important or smaller by negating the statement (Braim 2014, pp. 53-54). Litotes is widely applied in politics, where it makes the readers uncertain about a definite statement, and creates the underestimated image of the opponents. It also adds to the impressiveness and expressiveness of a political narrative (Mokhlosa & Mukheeb, 2020, p. 6).

**Euphemism and dysphemism** perform the opposite roles of ‘improving’ and ‘worsening’ the attitudinal stance. As a stylistic device, *euphemism* is a replacement of ordinary expressions with propitious or exaggerated ones (Zhao & Dong, 2010, p. 118). Euphemizing is “the process whereby a distasteful concept is stripped of its most inappropriate or offensive overtones, providing thus a ‘safe’ way to deal with certain embarrassing topics without being politically incorrect or breaking a social convention” (Crespo-Fernandez, 2014, pp. 5-6). The political euphemism is a tool for political participants to control information transmission, hide scandals, disguise the truth, guide public thoughts when discussing social issues or events (Zhao & Dong, 2010, p. 118). The major functions performed by political euphemisms are disguising, cheating, persuasion, and face-saving. *Dysphemism* is a disagreeable, offensive, or disparaging expression that substitutes an agreeable or inoffensive one (Dysphemism, n.d.). Dysphemism “makes references more harsh or rude, often using language that is direct or blunt, less formal or polite, and sometimes offensive” (Felt & Riloff 2020, p. 136). Application of dysphemisms in the political narrative includes hate speech.

**Analogy and metaphor** are defined as the cognitive operations of comparison distinguished from one another by the nature of compared entities. In *analogy*, the compared entities – the target and source – belong to one and the same conceptual category (e.g., humans are compared with humans, or places are compared with places), and are related by the link ‘*is as*’ which, in particular, is illustrated by a wide use of paragons denoted with precedential proper names (Zhabotynskaya, 2013, p. 59). Paragons are well-known individual members of a category that represent an ideal of the category. When used in political discourse, paragon names may “bear a negative axiological value and are utilized as derogatory terms or ‘political insults’ (Paszenda & Góralczyk, 2018, p. 212). Employed politically, paragon names may trigger not only negative emotions (*Hitler*), but also positive ones (*Churchill*). Analogy is similar to labeling, because both are based on comparison. In analogy, the source of comparison is a particular individual of the same class, in labeling it is an

abstract representative of the same class. In *metaphor*, the compared entities – the target and source – belong to different conceptual classes (e.g., humans are compared with animals), and are related by the link ‘*is as if*’ (Zhabotyenskaya, 2013, p. 59). Metaphor offers a way of viewing the target (often an abstract concept) in terms of the source (often a concrete concept), with their comparison being partial: it involves only particular properties of the source, while the other properties are not considered (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, p. 158). In political discourse, metaphor becomes an effective argumentative device, since that which is at issue is not actually the truth or falsity of a metaphor but the perceptions and inferences that follow from it and the actions that are sanctioned by it (Hanne, 2014, p. 5; Bourse, 2019, p. 4).

We presume that the above types of emotive words can be defined and particularized with regard to the named referents relevant for political discourse. The referential distinction between the types of emotive words can be illustrated with the Greimas semiotic square (Greimas & Courtés, 1983), used here to oppose FACT and OPINION. A fact is that which really exists and can be proven through observation or experimentation; a fact is true regardless of what someone personally thinks about it. An opinion is something you believe, think or feel; it is that which cannot be proven, and someone can have the exact opposite opinion from yours (Otis 2020, pp. 177-178). Therefore, the opposition of facts and opinions is the opposition of the factual and virtual. In the Greimas semiotic square, the primary opposition ‘FACT (factual) – OPINION (virtual)’ is complemented by the secondary oppositions ‘FACT (factual) – NOT-FACT (virtualized fact)’, and ‘OPINION (virtual) – NOT-OPINION (factualized opinion)’ (Figure 1).

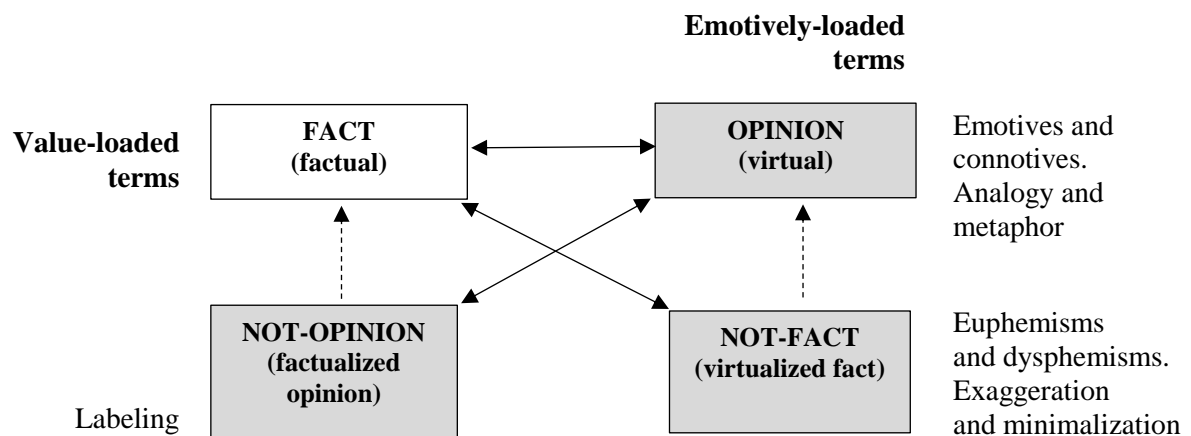


Figure 1. Relations between the referential types of emotive words

In Figure 1, *value-loaded terms* are considered as the names of facts, opposed to *emotives and connotives* as the names of opinions that have not been proven or cannot be proven as facts. The names of opinions also include analogy and metaphor, which, as figurative expressions, are not expected to be proven whatsoever. *Labeling*, by its nature, is an opinion which tends to become stereotyped. As a stereotype, an opinion ‘pretends’ to be a fact, and, as a ‘factualized opinion’, links to value-loaded terms, or the names of facts proper. The referential difference between value-loaded terms and the cases of labeling may be arguable (especially under the circumstances of political confrontation), because that, which is considered by one party to be a proof of the fact, may not be recognized as a proof by another party. *Euphemisms and dysphemisms*, as well as *exaggeration and minimalization* describe ‘virtualized’ facts which, being real, are attributed inadequate virtual properties and thus link to the names of opinion – emotives, connotives, analogy and metaphor. In our research, these referential types of emotive words have been tracked in the empirical data obtained from political media narratives.

### 3. Data and methodology

The data come from *The Global Times* Chinese daily tabloid. This news outlet, as a satellite of *The People's Daily*, Chinese Communist Party's flagship newspaper, often reflects those views of party officials which they cannot openly express. Besides, it is referred to as the source of various incidents, including fabrications, conspiracy theories, and disinformation (Zhabotynska & Ryzhova, 2022, p. 120). Like other major state-run Chinese news media, *The Global Times* has been largely echoing Russian state media stories or information from Russian officials. With the increasingly close relations between China and Russia in recent years, their strategic partnership has been strengthened, in part, by shared friction with the West. *The Global Times*' Russia-leaning coverage of the events is also exhibited in its narrative on the Russia-Ukraine war (McCathy et al., 2022).

Our research material includes 46 articles published by *The Global Times* on the 1<sup>st</sup> – 30<sup>th</sup> of June, 2022, three months after Russia had launched its aggression against Ukraine on February 24, 2022. The articles, obtained via contiguous sampling, mention Russia-Ukraine conflict in the title and / or the text body. Among the articles, 15 were identified as those without emotive language (which corresponds to an objective news delivery pattern). The other 31 articles possess emotively loaded expressions of different types. The number of such expressions that constitute the analyzed dataset is 1451. By their type, they are *value loaded* and emotively-loaded terms, with the latter being *emotives* and *connotives*. Along with connotives proper, we have registered *labeling*, *exaggeration* and *minimalization*, *euphemisms* and *dysphemisms*, *analogy* and *metaphor*.

According to the principles formulated in (Zhabotynska & Velivchenko 2019, p. 367), the information furnished by the emotive lexicon in 31 articles was viewed as the RUSSIA-UKRANE WAR narrative-based political concept (NBPC). The latter evolves into a 'metatext' that has its referential and relational coherence: the 'metatext' has a limited number of iterated referents ('actors') linked by particular relations exposed within the conceptual space bounded by the NBPC. An NBPC has a cognitive ontology constructed by the hierarchy of thematic chunks which evolve in-depth. These chunks are: *thematic domains* as the major foci of an NBPC; *thematic parcels* as the foci of the domains; thematic sub-parcels as the foci of the parcels, and *thematic quanta* as the foci of the sub-parcels. Thematic quanta generalize the meanings of the empirical emotive words. Since the RUSSIA-UKRANE WAR narrative-based concept represents an event, its thematic domains and parcels are formed with regard to the referents ('actors') as participants of this event: each parcel features information about the referent in its relation to this event, and the parcels concerned with thematically close referents are integrated into domains (Zhabotynska, 2020, p. 20).

The thematic chunks of an NBPC's cognitive ontology may have different factual and emotive salience which depends on the quantity of textual descriptions that feature these chunks. Greater *factual salience* attests to greater importance of the respective information for the narrator who wants to render this importance to the recipient. Greater *emotive salience* of the information exposes the narrator's intention to prime the intended assessment (positive /+/ or negative /-/) in the recipient's attitudes (Zhabotynska & Velivchenko, 2019, p. 367). In our study, factual and emotive salience of the textual referent is established through the number of emotive linguistic expressions that describe it throughout the bulk of data.

At the *first stage* of our enquiry, we analyse the meanings of expressions from the dataset and build a cognitive ontology of the the RUSSIA-UKRANE WAR media image (NBPC) constituted by the referent-centred parcels grouped into thematic domains. At the *second stage*, we process each newspaper text to register: the referents (the ontology's parcels), the topics concerned with them (the ontology's sub-parcels), the generalised descriptions of these topics (the ontology's thematic quanta), and the emotive expressions (according to their types) subsumed by these descriptions. At the *third stage*, the findings are summarized to define: (a) the factual and emotive salience of the referents, (b) the types of emotive expressions employed for their description, and (c) the narrator's preference of particular types of emotive terms. Application of this research procedure is presented below.



#### 4. Analysis

The study shows that the cognitive ontology of the RUSSIA-UKRAINE WAR image tailored by *The Global Times* articles includes four domains: **(A) WAR** (parcels: WAR, UKRAINE, and RUSSIA); **(B) WESTERN WORLD** (parcels: US, NATO, EUROPE, and WEST); **(C) NON-WESTERN WORLD** (parcels: CHINA, NON-WESTERN WORLD); **(D) WORLD** (parcel WORLD) (Figure 2).

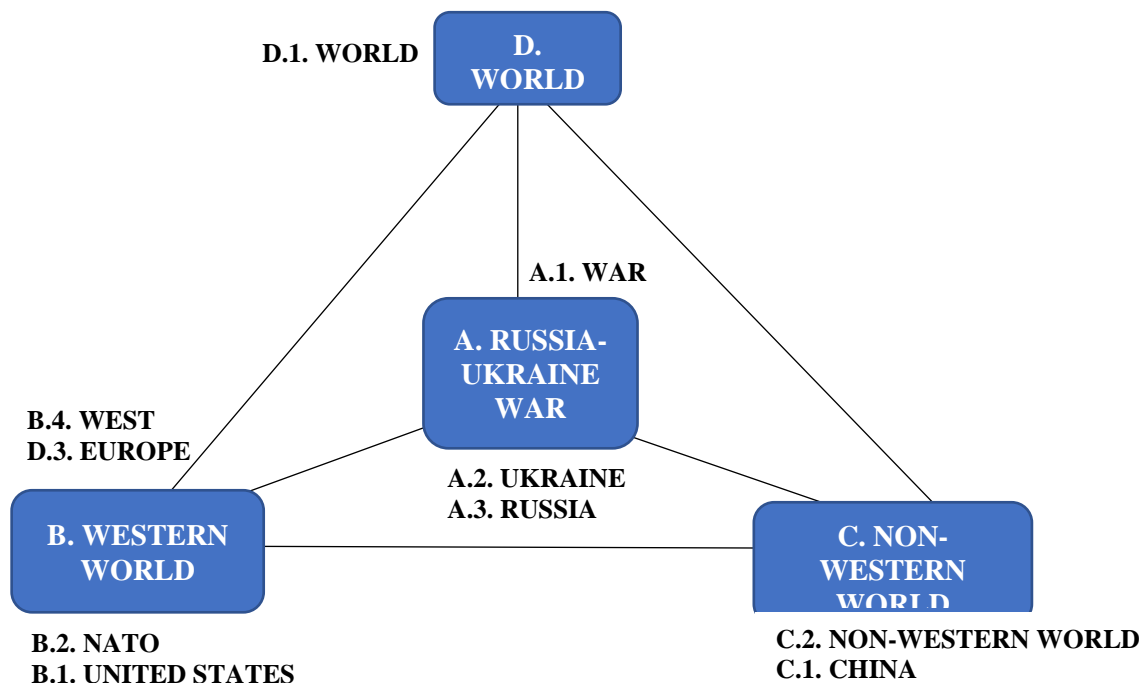


Figure 2. The RUSSIA-UKRAINE WAR image in *The Global Times* media outlet:

The domains, their parcels, sub-parcels, and thematic quanta have factual and emotive salience that depends on the number of emotive expressions with which they are featured. The emotive salience exhibits positive /+ and negative -/ assessments. The neutral /0/ assessment is considered only in the cases which result from ‘cancelling negativity’ in euphemisms. In the further summary of the analysis, the numbers in square brackets show the quantity of emotive words. Their types are illustrated by single examples followed by the numbers in round brackets referring to the sources from which the examples come. A numbered list of sources is provided at the end of this article.

#### A. Emotivity of the domain RUSSIA-UKRAINE WAR

The RUSSIA-UKRAINE WAR domain is portrayed with 389 emotive expressions unequally distributed between the parcels WAR, UKRAINE, and RUSSIA. The most salient parcel is WAR.

**A.1. Parcel WAR [256: 6/0; 4/+; 256/-/]: 96.10%. negative.** The emotive words: **euphemisms** [126: 6/0; 120/-/]; **value-loaded terms** [100: 3/+; 97/-/], connotives [13/-/], metaphor [8/-/], emotives [7/-/], and labeling [2/-/]. The sub-parcels and thematic quanta:

- ✓ **WAR [161: 155/-; 6/0].** While the value-loaded term *war / warfare* is used 34 times, its euphemisms are abundant (127 expressions). Among them are those that mitigate negativity: *conflict* (86/-), *crisis* (33/-), *confrontation* (1/-), *fighting* (1/-), and those that eliminate negativity: *military operation* [3/0/], *an issue between Russia and Ukraine* [1 /0/], and *situation in Ukraine* [1/0/]. Besides, the Russian militaries’ killing of civilians in the Ukrainian city of

Bucha is termed *Bucha incident* [1/0/]. The war is occasionally labelled as a *proxy war* [1 -/-] and a *geopolitical and block confrontation* [1/-/].

- ✓ **WAR DEVELOPMENT** [7/-/] – *Escalation* [3/-/]: value-loaded terms [3/-/]: *escalation* (3); a *drastic boost* (14). *Dragged out conflict* [4/-/]: connotives [3/-/]: a *dragged-out* military conflict (16); metaphor [1/-/]: a long-term *stalemate* in Ukraine, Russia, and the whole Europe (13).
- ✓ **WAR CALAMITIES** [34/-/] – *Crime, violence* [25/-/]: value-loaded terms [23/-/]: *sexual violence* (5); the *trauma* for women and children (5; 7); emotives [2/-/]: the security risks faced by women and children are particularly *worrisome* (7). *Disaster, damage, mess* [9/-/]: value-loaded terms [5/-/]: *disaster* (9); *direct damage* (3); *mess* (13); emotives [1/-/]: a big, *horrible* disaster is sprawling in the Russia-Ukraine conflict (9); metaphor [3/-/]: the war in Ukraine is like a *bottomless pit* that keeps requesting more input while giving nothing back (16).
- ✓ **DAMAGES FOR UKRAINE** [46/-/] – *Threats to civilians* [5/-/]: value-loaded terms [3/-/]: the *security risks* faced by women and children (5); emotives [2/-/]: the security risks faced by women and children are *worrisome* (7). *Refugee crisis* [26/-/]: value-loaded terms [22/-/]: *Ukrainian refugees* (7); connotives [2/-/]: asylum seekers are entitled to virtually *no benefits* (19); metaphor [2/-/]: the *influx* of refugees (9). *Deprivation, tragedy* [3/-/]: value-loaded terms [1/-/]: Ukraine is a huge *tragedy* (13); emotives [1/-/]: hundreds of arms...*desperately* grabbing at food thrown from the humanitarian trucks (13); connotives [1/-/]: (Ukrainians) *deprived* of many things (13). *A heavy toll on the Ukrainian people* [12/-/]: value-loaded terms [7/-/]: *human costs* (12); *land loss* (3); emotives [1/-/]: the human costs are *staggering* (12); connotives [2/-/]: people in Ukraine *pay the price* for geopolitical and bloc confrontations (7); metaphor [2/-/]: the *war-torn* Ukraine (22).
- ✓ **DAMAGES FOR RUSSIA** [3/-/] – *Weakening of Russia* [3/-/]: connotives [3/-/]: (4); will eventually *weaken* Russia (16); can *stall* Russia (16).
- ✓ **CEASE-FIRE, PEACE** [5: 1/-/; 4+/] – *Cease-fire and peace* [3+/]: value-loaded terms [3+/]: *cease-fire* (5); the restoration of *peace* (5). *Ukraine's territorial concessions* [1+/]: connotives [1+/]: Kiev "will have to make some *territorial concessions* to Moscow to end the current conflict" (30). *The warring parties do not reconcile* [1/-/]: connotives [1/-/]: Russia and Ukraine *do not reach reconciliation* (4).

**A.2. Parcel UKRAINE** [86: 3+/; 83/-/]: 96.51% **negative**. The emotive words: **connotives** [26: 3+/; 23/-/], **labeling** [25/-/], **value-loaded terms** [18/-/], metaphors [10/-/], emotives [5/-/] and minimalization [2/-/]. The sub-parcels and thematic quanta:

- ✓ **UKRAINE** [61: 59/-/; 2+/] – *Is a small country* [2/-/]: minimalization [2/-/]: a *small* country (18). *Is beset by problems* [5/-/]: value-loaded terms [5/-/]: a country beset by *problems* (29). *Has corruption and oligarchs* [4/-/]: value-loaded terms [4/-/]: severe problems of *corruption* (25); the *oligarchical* politics and economy (25). *Has an unsatisfactory performance* [4/-/]: emotives [2/-/]: *unsatisfactory* performance (3); connotives [2/-/]: the heavy Cold War legacy that *constrained* its own reforms (29). *Has extremists and fascists* [15/-/]: value-loaded terms [2/-/]: *Ukrainian nationalist group* (13); labeling [10/-/]: *neo-Nazism* (13); *fascist* ideology (13); stirring up *chaos* (13); metaphor [3/-/]: *neo-Nazism runs rampant* on the battlefield (13). *Persecutes the opponents* [8/-/]: value-loaded terms [5/-/]: two pro-Russian figures were *shot dead* in Kiev (13); *digital blacklist* (13); connotives [2/-/]: *undesirable* (journalists) (13); *threatening* letter (13); metaphor [1/-/]: *online crusade* (13). *Is ruled by external forces* [1/-/]: labeling: [1/-/]: involvement of *external forces* that affected the reconstruction of its political structure (29). *Has to choose between the EU and Russia* [3/-/]: value-loaded terms [1/-/]:

geopolitical *risks* (29); connotives [1/-/]: any kind of *political choice* for Ukraine today has to be made between EU integration and Russian integration due to the sharp confrontation between the two powerful neighbors (29); metaphor [1/-/]: even if the war ends, the split (between the pro-Europe and pro-Russian factions in Ukraine) *will not be healed* in the near future (29). **Failed to join NATO** [1/-/]: connotives [1/-/]: *failure* to join NATO (22). **Can benefit from being a candidate of the EU** [2/+ /]: connotives [2/+ /]: being a candidate of the EU will help Ukraine seek *more support* from the bloc (24). **Has an uncertain perspective of the EU membership** [10/-/]: connotives [6/-/]: *uncertainties* for Ukraine to get in the EU (24); metaphor [4/-/]: there is *a long way* for Ukraine from getting the candidate status to getting membership (25). **Will hardly be treated equally in the EU** [2/-/]: labeling: [2/-/]: and it is *unclear* if Ukraine will be *treated equally* (22). **Is guilty for Russia's intervention** [2/-/]: labeling: [2/-/]: the *guilty* party (13). **Ukraine is not a victim, but a villain** [2/-/]: labeling: [2/-/]: to play the *victim* while acting like a *villain*.

- ✓ **UKRAINIAN MILITARY** [14/-/] – **Involves dreadful mercenaries** [3/-/]: value-loaded terms [1/-/]: *mercenaries* (who) fight in Ukraine and take part in sabotage operations against Russian forces (9); emotives [1/-/]: heartless terrorists turned *dreadful* mercenaries (9); labeling [1/-/]: *heartless terrorists* turned *dreadful* mercenaries (9). **Has problems** [1/-/]: connotives [1/-/]: in the Ukrainian army, the situation is more *complicated* (9). **Is unable to fight without Western support** [1/-/]: connotives [1/-/]: the Ukrainian military alone has *no capability* to engage in a dragged-out military conflict (16). **Will not benefit from the supply of Western weapons** [3/-/]: connotives [3/-/]: HIMARS is *unlikely* to help Ukraine turn the tide on the battlefield (3). **Is unable to arrange the management of weapons** [4/-/]: labeling: [4/-/]: the management of weapons on the Russian-Ukrainian battlefield is in a very *chaotic state* (9); the whereabouts of these weapons *cannot be traced at all* (9). **May abuse the weaponry** [2/-/]: connotives [2/-/]: weaponry, once in the hands of one side in a war, will be *abused* in every way possible (3).
- ✓ **UKRAINIAN GOVERNMENT** [7: 6-/; 1+/] – **Is unable to build a national consensus** [4/-/]: connotives [4/-/]: the government also *lacks the capacity* to deal with minority issues (29). **Is frustrated by the Western allies** [2/-/]: emotives [2/-/]: Ukraine had received only 10 percent of the promised weapons from the West, which has *frustrated* Ukrainian officials (18). **Works hard to prevent a global food crisis** [1+/]: connotives [1+/]: is investing all *efforts* in the *unblocking* of Ukrainian seaports to *prevent* a global food crisis (8).
- ✓ **UKRAINIAN MEDIA** [4/-/] – **Disseminate propaganda fakes** [3/-/]: labeling: [3/-/]: *fake news* dissemination (13). **Conceal truth** [1/-/]: metaphor [1/-/]: the Bucha incident is *shrouded in mystery* (13).

**A.3. Parcel RUSSIA** [47: 43+/; 4/-/]: 91.50% **positive**. The emotive words: **labelling** [28+/], connotives [11+/], value-loaded terms [5: 3+/; 2-/], emotives [2-/], and metaphor [1+/]. The sub-parcels and thematic quanta:

- ✓ **RUSSIA** [22: 18+/; 4/-/] – **Is a law-abiding country adhering to cooperation** [4+/]: connotives [1+/]: Russia tried to *improve relations* with Europe after the collapse of the Soviet Union (9); labeling [3+/]: Russia is pursuing *constructive goals* in the framework of three spheres, namely economic, political and security, and humanitarian areas (14). **Contributed with its energy resources to economic integrity of Europe and Eurasia** [2+/]: connotives [2 /+ /]: Russian energy resources integrating with the German manufacturing has *helped reindustrialize* Europe (17). **Insecure for its neighbors** [4/-/]: value-loaded terms [2/-/]: *takeover of Crimea* (30); its *action against Georgia* (30); emotives [2/-/]: its action against Georgia is *unsettling* for its neighbors (30). **Aims to end the US hegemonic dominance in the world** [6+/]: labeling [4+/]: Moscow

launched the special military operation against Ukraine with a major aim to *end US hegemony* in Europe (6); connotives [1/+/-]: Washington needs to take seriously Putin's *warning* (4). ***Is not Ukraine's enemy*** [2/+/-]: labeling [2/+/-]: (Russians are not) "*enemies of Ukraine*" (13). ***Poses no security threat*** [3/+/-]: labeling [3/+/-]: (no) "*security threat posed by Russia*," as promoted by NATO (30); the *hype* of the "Russia threat" (31). ***A victim, not a villain in this war*** [1/+/-]: labeling [1/+/-]: it is worth thinking about who the *victim* and *villain* are (13).

- ✓ **RUSSIAN MILITARY** [12/+/-] – ***Is strong, qualified, not expected to be defeated*** [4/+/-]: value-loaded terms [2/+/-]: the Russian army will keep *increasing its retaliation* against the Ukrainian side (3); connotives [2/+/-]: the Russian military is *not* expected to be *defeated* (3). ***Saves civilians' lives*** [1/+/-]: labeling [1/+/-]: Russian army *prevented* certain armed forces from attempting to *attack* it with missiles, *saving people's lives* (13). ***Has not committed the crimes in which it is unjustly accused*** [7/+/-]: labeling [7/+/-]: *alleged* sexual assaults by Russians in Ukraine (13); *alleged* war crimes committed by Russian forces (13).
- ✓ **RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT** [5/+/-] – ***Strengthens the role of non-Western countries in the world*** [4/+/-]: connotives [4/+/-]: will do its best to *bolster involvement* of developing countries into the global decision-making (14). ***Reacted to NATO expansion with a security initiative*** [1/+/-]: labeling [1/+/-]: facing the *looming squeeze*, the Russian government was forced to draw its final "red line" in a draft *security initiative* submitted to NATO and the US (27).
- ✓ **RUSSIAN MEDIA** [8/+/-] – ***Highly professional*** [1/+/-]: value-loaded terms [1/+/-]: Russian media have won numerous *accolades and awards* (13). ***Provides objective information*** [6/+/-]: labeling [6/+/-]: *first-hand* accounts of witnesses (13); *documented* (13). ***Exposes the lies of Western system*** [1/+/-]: metaphor [1/+/-]: (Russian media) *dismantle the Western system* that is based on *lies and war* (13).

## B. Emotivity of the domain WESTERN WORLD

The WESTERN WORLD domain is portrayed with 995 emotive terms naming the parcels US, NATO, EUROPE, and WEST. The parcels exhibiting the highest salience are NATO, US, and WEST.

**B.1. Parcel US** [214: 7/+/-; 214/-/-]: 96.73% **negative**. The emotive words: **labelling** [88/-/-], connotives [44/-: 7/+/-; 37/-/-], value-loaded terms [37/-/-], metaphors [37/-/-], emotives [6/-/-], and minimalization [2/-/-]. The sub-parcels and thematic quanta:

- ✓ **US** [27/-/-] – ***Is hypocritical, selfish, and deceitful*** [5/-/-]: labeling [5/-/-]: *hypocrisy* (21); *double standards* (21). ***Has domestic political and economic problems*** [10/-/-]: value-loaded terms [2/-/-]: *damage* to the US economy (16); emotives [2/-/-]: the US public feels more *pessimistic* about their standard of living (26); connotives [3/-/-]: Biden administration is already in *trouble* (26); labeling [1/-/-]: the US' domestic situation is a *mess* (18); metaphor [2/-/-]: *inflation has eroded public support* for the war (16). ***Has domestic violence and far-right white supremacists*** [12/-/-]: value-loaded terms [12/-/-]: *mass shootings* (9); *proliferation of guns* (9); the far-right "*white supremacists*" (9).
- ✓ **US: DIPLOMACY** [115/-/-] – ***Has cohesive and dangerous diplomacy*** [15/-/-]: emotives [2/-/-]: the *ugliness* of the US' foreign policy (21); connotives [9/-/-]: *coercive* diplomacy (15); *coercive* measures (15); labeling [1/-/-]: brings *turbulence* to the world (4); metaphor [3/-/-]: *pushes forward* its foreign policy (4). ***Is aggressive and war-oriented*** [44/-/-]: value-loaded terms [22/-/-]: the *Cold War* (28); the *Iraq war* (6); its *debacle in Afghanistan* (4); *bombing missions* (15); connotives [1/-/-]: *triggering regime changes* in other countries and regions (28); labeling [10/-/-]: *bloodthirsty* (9); creating *crises* (19); metaphor [11/-/-]: world *policeman* (4); the US forced world

countries "to toe the US line" (15). **Uses the false banner of "values"** [2/-/]: metaphor [2/-/]: one of the main banners he (Joe Biden) waved being "values" (6). **Divides the world into friends and foes** [3/-/]: labeling [2/-/]: to divide countries into friends and foes (21); metaphor [1/-/]: the geopolitical lines drawn by the US to divide countries into friends and foes (21). **Disregards other countries' interests** [4/-/]: labeling [4/-/]: ignores the security concerns of other countries (4). **Violates the norms and rules of international relations** [8/-/]: connotives [1/-/]: bypassed the UN to wage the war (6); labeling [7/-/]: bluntly challenged the UN's dominant role in international security (6). **Supports terrorists** [6/-/]: value-loaded terms [1/-/]: Al Qaeda, which was responsible for the 9/11 attacks, was created with US funding (9); labeling [5/-/]: the US is a country that supports terrorists (9). **Aspires to world hegemony** [18/-/]: connotives [2/-/]: aims to dominate the global energy market (17); financial hegemony (17); labeling [16/-/]: ambition to maintain its global hegemony (28). **The US's global leadership role is defective** [11/-/]: labeling [9/-/]: the defect of US hegemony (4); minimalization [1/-/]: makes itself less and less trusted (4); metaphor [1/-/]: dragged down from the altar of global hegemony it once placed itself on (4). **Will fall victim to its aggressiveness** [4/-/]: labeling [4/-/]: brings turbulence to the world and falls victim to it (4); doomed to be backlashed (9).

- ✓ **US – UKRAINE [55: 51-/; 4+/]** – **Has provoked the crisis and acts as its on-looker** [4/-/]: metaphor [4/-/]: the root and solution to the crisis lies in the US (18); wants to behave like an "onlooker" during the crisis (4). **Helps Ukraine to stall Russian offensive** [4+/]: connotives [4+/]: to show their full support for Ukraine (3). **Provides military assistance to Ukraine** [6/-/]: connotives [4/-/]: US upgrading arms to Ukraine (4); labeling [2/-/]: a direct provocation (3). **Recruits foreign terrorist mercenaries for Ukraine** [7/-/]: labeling [5/-/]: (the US) recruits members of international terrorist groups, including extremist organizations, as mercenaries to fight in Ukraine (9); emotives [1/-/]: bloodthirsty criminals (9); metaphor [1/-/]: sending a mixed bag of mercenaries into the battlefield seems like the last piece of the puzzle to fully implement the whole plan (9). **Escalates the conflict** [8/-/]: connotives [2/-/]: escalating the situation (4); labeling [2/-/]: creating more obstacles to a peaceful settlement (4); metaphor [4/-/]: fueling up the Russia-Ukraine conflict (17). **Provides insufficient assistance to Ukraine** [4/-/]: minimalization [1/-/]: offering up a single weapon (3); connotives [3/-/]: the lack of US military assistance (3). **Involves the West in military action** [3/-/]: connotives [3/-/]: drawing countries into their proposals on hybrid war (30). **Uses the conflict in its own interests** [19/-/]: connotives [7/-/]: a prolonged conflict between Russia and Ukraine serves its interests (4); labeling [10/-/]: self-interests in mind (4); trying to take advantage of the Ukraine crisis to maintain its hegemony in the world (4); metaphor [2/-/]: the US is using the Ukraine crisis as a lever (30).
- ✓ **US – RUSSIA [17: 14-/; 3+/]** – **Views Russia as an enemy who must be defeated** [8/-/]: emotives [1/-/]: strong dissatisfaction with Russia (3); connotives [1/-/]: both countries (China and Russia) regarded by Washington as its adversaries (21); labeling [1/-/]: really adheres to the policy of fighting Russia "to the last Ukrainian" (1); metaphor [5/-/]: to choke off the Russian economy (15); Washington has become addicted to sanctions like a five-year-old is addicted to candy (15). **Turns Ukraine against Russia** [2/-/]: labeling [2/-/]: intensifying contradictions between Russia and Ukraine (17). **Instigates tension between the West and Russia** [4/-/]: connotives [1/-/]: the US is calling on all NATO countries to make a common cause against Russia (31); labeling [2/-/]: the US instigates and aggravates tensed relations between Europe and Russia (17); metaphor [1/-/]: undermining the relationship between Russia and the Europe (17). **Says that it does not seek a war between NATO and Russia** [3+/]: connotives [3+/]: the United States does not seek "a war" between NATO and Russia, Biden said (2).

- ✓ **US – CHINA [28/-]** – **Provokes China and views it as an adversary [20/-]**: value-loaded terms [3/-]: imposing *sanctions* on Chinese businesses and products (21); connotives [13/-]: the aim of *containing* China's development (21); metaphor [4/-]: to *stall* the development of the Chinese technology giant (15). **Aims to disrupt China-Russia cooperation [4/-]**: connotives [3/-]: to *disrupt* China-Russia trade (21); metaphor [1/-]: to *undermine* China-Russia economic and trade relations (21). **Creates tension between China and Ukraine [4/-]**: connotives [4/-]: *create tension* between China and Ukraine (12).
- ✓ **US – EUROPE [18/-]** – **Controls Europe [9/-]**: connotives [7/-]: whenever Europe has tried to achieve security autonomy, the US has caused trouble to *block* the process (9); metaphor [2/-]: completely *hijacked* the EU (22). **Ignores Europe's interests [8/-]**: minimalization [1/-]: (US's) 15 billion cubic meters is a '*tiny*' number considering Europe's energy imports from Russia (17); labeling [3/-]: "*paid lip services*" to the EU (17); metaphor [4/-]: US is *pushing Europe into* further *economic distress* (17). **Prevents improvement of relations between Europe and Russia [1/-]**: connotives [1/-]: in the US' view, such an improvement (of Russian relations with Europe) could be a *threat* to its global hegemony (9).

**B.2. Parcel NATO [295: 7/+; 214/-]**: 94.92% **negative**. The emotive words: **connotives** [100: 6/+; 94/-], **labelling** [91: 7/+; 84/-], metaphors [59: 1/+; 58/-], value-loaded terms [33/-], emotives [9: 1/+; 8/-], analogy [1/-], exaggeration [1/-], and dysphemism [1/-]. The sub-parcels and thematic quanta:

- ✓ **NATO [189/-]** – **Is an aggressive militant institution with Cold War mentality [98/-]**: value-loaded terms [30/-]: *Cold War* (27); *military actions* (28); launched an *attack* against Yugoslavia (27); emotives [3/-]: all these military actions have brought lasting *tragedy* to the countries concerned (28); connotives [15/-]: *bloody legacy* (28); labeling [31/-]: an *offensive* military bloc (20); "*obsolete*" (26); an *outdated* Cold War organization (31); dysphemism [1/-]: a *clique* (27); metaphor [18/-]: has decidedly been *the military arm* of a privileged club of Western capitalist democracies (28); a *poisoner* of world peace (28). **Has internal contradictions, is disunited, and falls into decay [29/-]**: connotives [4/-]: *differences* within NATO (30); labeling [19/-]: *contradictions and divisions* within NATO (23); metaphor [6/-]: with its cohesiveness and stability *falling into a chronic decay* (26); NATO is *like a house built on sand* – it will ultimately collapse (27). **Has doubtful significance [8/-]**: labeling [8/-]: NATO's estimated strength *has not been turned into real power* (23). **Goes beyond the scope of military defense, is authoritarian and cohesive [5/-]**: connotives [5/-]: turning military counterattacks into *economic counterattacks* (20); this goes *beyond the scope* of NATO's prescribed *military defense* (20). **Is hegemonistic and hypocritical [10/-]**: labeling [9/-]: *hegemonism* and power politics (27); the "*security*" is based on others' "*insecurity*" (27); metaphor [1/-]: "*resurrected*" itself with the so-called humanitarian banner (28). **Violates international laws [4/-]**: connotives [2/-]: deployed forces *without the approval* of the UN Security Council (28). **Ignores the interests of non-Western countries [3/-]**: connotives [3/-]: *did not address* the question of the non-Western world's concerns (28). **Expands and threatens the world [30/-]**: emotives [2/-]: *reckless expansion* (13); connotives [27/-]: *expansionist agenda* (28); labeling [1/-]: NATO's *aggressive expansion* (23). **NATO membership is not a no-cost benefit [2/-]**: connotives [1/-]: joining NATO is *not a no-cost benefit* (31); metaphor [1/-]: joining NATO is like *buying medical insurance* for serious illnesses, which is a comfort for many European countries; the insurance may be useful, but everyone wants to avoid it coming in handy; countries may be "*extorted*" by NATO, the "insurance company" (31).

- ✓ NATO – US / WEST [31: 16/-; 15/+ ] – *Is controlled by the US which uses it as a geopolitical tool* [15/-/]: connotives [3/-/]: the strategic *dominance* of the US can be clearly seen (28); analogy [1/-/]: the bloc seems to have become *an extension of the US State Department* (18); metaphor [11/-/]: NATO's *steering wheel in the wrong hands* of Washington (30). *Is costly for the US* [1/-/]: exaggeration [1/-/]: (the US's) cost of alliances is *enormous* (26). *Is viewed with skepticism by the Republicans* [15/+ ]: emotives [1/+ ]: US conservatives have a more *negative attitude* toward the transatlantic military alliance than the US as a whole (26); connotives [6/+ ]: some *doubted* if Washington's *support for NATO* should be unconditional (26); labeling [7/+ ]: share a *deep skepticism* about the value of the transatlantic alliance (26); metaphor [1/+ ]: the Republican Party's "remarkable *drift away*" from NATO (26).
- ✓ NATO – EUROPE [5/-/] – *Deprived Europe of its autonomy* [3/-/]: metaphor [3/-/]: a US *tool to control* EU and enhance hegemonic manipulation capacity (28). *Has made troubles for Europe* [2/-/]: labeling [2/-/]: has already made *troubles* for Europe (27).
- ✓ NATO – UKRAINE [30/-/] – *Has triggered the Russia-Ukraine conflict, deteriorates it, and may stop it* [10/-/]: labeling [6/-/]: NATO as a key *culprit* (9); metaphor [4/-/]: has been *adding fuel* to the (Russia-Ukraine) conflict (28). *Takes advantage of the conflict* [3/-/]: connotives [3/-/]: *can profit* from the prolonged war in Ukraine (16). *Is trapped in the conflict* [4/-/]: metaphor [4/-/]: increasingly *trapped in* a predicament that it may feel difficult to escape (23); the Russia-Ukraine conflict *is not going according to NATO's playbook* (23). *Has to pay a high cost for it* [4/-/]: connotives [4/-/]: is pushing the West, mainly Europe, to even *greater suffering* in terms of economy and society (16). *Is not ready to unanimously support it* [2/-/]: connotives [2/-/]: *naive* for Stoltenberg to *expect all NATO members to help* Ukraine against Russia (16). *Has Ukraine fatigue* [1/-/]: emotives [1/-/]: most NATO members supporting Ukraine have already felt *exhausted* and *frustrated* (16). *Cannot help to solve the crisis in Ukraine* [6/-/]: connotives [1/-/]: NATO *cannot solve* the crisis in Ukraine (31); labeling [5/-/]: *no way for NATO to form a joint effort* to prepare for a prolonged war with Russia (16).
- ✓ NATO – RUSSIA [20/-/] – *Has always viewed Russia as an enemy* [5/-/]: emotives [1/-/]: relations with Russia have been even *worse* (23); connotives [4/-/]: *keeping a close eye* on Russia's every step (27). *Via expansion, disregards Russia's security concerns* [6/-/]: emotives [1/-/]: two Nordic countries' joining NATO is a provocation and *humiliation* to Russia (31); connotives [4/-/]: the US-led NATO expanded eastward *without any regard* for Russia's security concerns (19); metaphor [1/-/]: Russia will have to *swallow the bitter fruit* – NATO's further expansion (31). *Increases pressure on Russia over its conflict with Ukraine* [2/-/]: connotives [2/-/]: works to *increase pressure* on Russia over its conflict with Ukraine (27). *Severely sanctions Russia, which may put the country in trouble* [6/-/]: value-loaded terms [2/-/]: severe *sanctions* have been imposed by NATO members against Russia (23). *Wants to break Russia down and submit it to American dominance* [2/-/]: labeling [1/-/]: wants to make Russia *submit* to American dominance of the global political and economic system (28); metaphor [1/-/]: *to break Russia down* so that it can no longer fight back (28).
- ✓ NATO – CHINA AND THE ASIA-PACIFIC [19/-/] – *Is continually concerned with China and wants to drag it down* [6/-/]: connotives [6/-/]: China as a "systemic *challenge*" to NATO (30); *drag China down* (30). *May expand into Asia-Pacific region* [11/-/]: connotives [3/-/]: NATO has also *accelerated* its "Asia-Pacific" process (27); metaphor [8/-/]: plans to *extend its tentacles* to the Asia-Pacific region (23). *May replicate the Ukraine crisis in the Asia-Pacific* [2/-/]: value-loaded terms [1/-/]: NATO members taking part in *military exercises* with the UK, France and Germany sending *warships* into the South China Sea (30); connotives [1/-/]: NATO will *replicate* the Ukraine *crisis* in the Asia-Pacific region (30).

**B.3. Parcel EUROPE [173: 13/+; 160/-]:** 92.49% **negative**. The emotive words: **value-loaded terms** [54: 8/+; 46/-], **connotives** [44: 2/+; 42/-], labelling [38/-], metaphors [24: 2/+; 22/-], emotives [8: 1/+; 7/-], dysphemisms [2/-], minimalization [2/-], and analogy [1/-]. The sub-parcels and thematic quanta:

- ✓ **EUROPE [108: 106/-; 2/+]** – *Is deprived of its strategic and security autonomy by the US and NATO [21/-]:* connotives [2/-]: Europe *should strengthen strategic autonomy* and transfer its security concepts (9); labeling [15/-]: whenever Europe has tried to achieve security autonomy, the US has caused trouble *to block* the process (9); European countries *are not politically independent* genuinely (18); analogy [1/-]: every speech by its (Europe's) leaders sounds *as if it were drafted by the NATO secretariat* (18); metaphor [3/-]: *blindly follows the pace* of the US (9). **Has no serious foreign policy [1/-]:** labeling [1/-]: *abnegated* any serious foreign policy beyond economic relations (30). **Has Cold War political strategy covered by false values of peace, freedom and human rights [5/-]:** labeling [4/-]: US' and Europe's *Cold War strategy* (28); making Europe a "*paradise of permanent peace*" (28); metaphor [1/-]: *weakening or really eradicating some of the pillars for peace* that were set in place from the end of World War II (30). **Its political leaders are crooks and liars [2/-]:** dysphemisms [2/-]: we (Britain) are led by a bunch of *crooks and cheats and liars* (30); *so-called* leaders (of Britain) (30). **Has an economic crisis [40/-]:** value-loaded terms [28/-]: deep (economic) *recession* (17); *inflation* (17); energy *shortages* (22); connotives [1/-]: prices are *exceeding expectations* (17); labeling [1/-]: economic *chaos* (17); metaphor [10/-]: *inflation monster* has heavily affected the daily life of ordinary people (23). **Its industrial production has slightly recovered [2/+]:** metaphor [2/+]: German industrial production *recovered slightly* in April (10). **Has a living crisis, political and social tensions [24/-]:** value-loaded terms [16/-]: people *losing their jobs* (17); political *tensions* (22); *strikes* by rail workers (30); emotives [5/-]: a scenario that Europe is extremely *unhappy* to foresee (9); metaphor [3/-]: prices *fuel* social disorder (17). **May become economically dependent on the US [8/-]:** connotives [7/-]: increased *dependence* on the US (17). **Pursues the policy of militarization that sharpens social contradictions [2/-]:** connotives [2/-]: (militarization) will really sharpen the *contradictions* (in Britain) (30). **Is not united in its foreign policy, which causes damage to its credibility [3/-]:** connotives [3/-]: the growing *divergences* on the crisis within the EU (22); (the move of Lithuania) has caused *great damage to the political credibility* of the EU (20).
- ✓ **EUROPE – UKRAINE [37: 29/-; 8/+]** – *Provides shelter for Ukrainian refugees [6/+]:* value-loaded terms [6/+]: providing *safe shelter* (5); and *basic livelihood* for women and children refugees (5). **Its support to Ukraine is not significant and hypocritical [8/-]:** labeling [4/-]: *not significant support* to Ukraine (22); *hypocrisy* (18); minimalization [2/-]: this visit will *not have any real effect* (18); *zero use* (18); metaphor [2/-]: their (German, France and Italy) leaders' trip to Kiev is just a *political show* (18). **Is unable to bring Ukraine closer to piece [3/-]:** labeling [3/-]: Europe *does not have the capability or determination* to settle any problem (18); (the three leaders' visit) *won't bring Ukraine closer to peace* (18). **Is weary of the war and is sacrificing its own interests [5/-]:** labeling [5/-]: *sacrificing* their own interests (22); many European nations have begun to suffer the "*Ukraine fatigue*" (22). **Wants to stop the war [2/+]:** value-loaded terms [2/+]: Germany, France and Italy want to *stop the war* as soon as possible (31). **Has sufficient contradictions with Ukraine [1/-]:** labeling [1/-]: the *contradictions* between the EU and Ukraine are actually *expanding* (18). **Makes Ukraine a candidate to the EU out of sympathy, and as a warning signal to Russia [12/-]:** connotives [8/-]: support for Ukraine seems to be *at odds with reality* (18); tends to *comfort* Ukraine's *dissatisfaction* (18); *mollify* Ukrainian officials (18); EU's '*moral support*' for Ukraine *masks* a country beset by problems (29); labeling [3/-]:



Ukraine's candidacy in the EU *out of sympathy* (22); metaphor [1/-/]: it had *no choice but to open its arms* to Ukraine's membership (22).

- ✓ **EUROPE – RUSSIA [26: 25/-/; 1/+]** – *Is affected by the trade sanctions against Russia* [8/-/]: connotives [6/-/]: (Germany) disproportionately *affected by the trade sanctions* against Russia (10); labeling [1/-/]: an important *victim* of the Ukraine crisis (17); metaphor [1/-/]: the sanctions are *hurting* Europe more than expected (30). *Relies upon Russian energy supplies and is hit by their cuts* [9/-/]: emotives [1/-/]: the overall situation (in Britain) *could get even worse* if Russia cuts energy supplies to Europe (30); connotives [8/-/]: energy *reliance* on Russia (17). *Feels insecurity for Russia and wants it punished* [3/-/]: value-loaded terms [2/-/]: want Russia *punished* (16); emotives [1/-/]: feeling of *insecurity* for Russia (17). *Doesn't want a direct war with Russia* [1 /+]: connotives [1/+]: *none* of Russia's neighboring countries *want* a direct war with Russia (18). *Pursues the hypocritical policy of its appeasement while supporting Ukraine* [5/-/]: connotives [5/-/]: an *appeasement* policy while they express support to Ukraine (18); this fully embodies their (European leaders') *hypocrisy* (18).
- ✓ **EUROPE – CHINA [2/+]** – *Is ready to trade with China* [1/+]: emotives [1/+]: *happy* to trade with the rest of the world (30). *Does not view China as a threat* [1/+]: connotives [1/+]: Europe and the US have *different opinions* on whether China has become a major threat (25).

**B.4. Parcel WEST [203/-/]: 100% negative.** The emotive words: **labelling** [68/-/], **value-loaded terms** [55/-/], metaphors [36/-/], connotives [34/-/], emotives [7/-/], analogy [2/-/], and minimalization [1/-/]. The sub-parcels and thematic quanta:

- ✓ **WEST [93/-/] – Is inherently hostile** [22/-/]: value-loaded terms [16/-/]: the *Cold War* (28); a "*hot war*" (28); labeling [1/-/]: a *Cold War mentality* (25); emotives [2/-/]: inherent *hostility* of Western capitalist nations to the world communist movement (27); metaphor [3/-/]: Churchill's speech is considered one of the opening *salvoes* announcing the beginning of the Cold War (27). *Is aggressive and evil* [30/-/]: value-loaded terms [6/-/]: waging *wars* in Iraq and Afghanistan (19); direct involvement in the *war* in Syria (19); emotives [4/-/]: *evil* people (13); inherent *hostility* of Western capitalist nations (27); connotives [1/-/]: continued *provocation* of regional conflicts (19); labeling [11/-/]: *aggressive* (13); *troublemakers* (13); *interference* (14); actively *creating chaos* globally (19); *make confrontations* (25); metaphor [8/-/]: Western people who look like gentlemen but are actually *gang leaders* (20); *mob bosses* (EU and the US) encouraging their *minions* (NATO) to *bully people* and dominate markets (20). *Breaches the rules of international community* [1/-/]: connotives [1/-/]: the WTO rules are being *breached* by the West (14). *Nurtures and facilitates neo-Nazism and fascism* [4/-/]: labeling [3/-/]: nurture and facilitate *neo-Nazi ideological trend* (13); the frantic *fascist "dream"* of killing is the same on both sides of the Atlantic (9); promoted the proliferation of (Ukraine's) *fascist* ideology (13); analogy [1/-/]: the suppression of journalists *resembles Nazi ideology* (13). *Aspires to Western supremacy and ignores the interests of the non-Western world* [12/-/]: connotives [1/-/]: Western *promotion* of the world order based on the rules adopted by the West *without consent* of the non-Western countries (14); labeling [10/-/]: Western entities are aimed at preserving *dominance* of the collective West led by the US (14); what they (Western politicians) define is *their order* (20); metaphor [1/-/]: *pushing* non-Western states *to the global political periphery* (14). *Hypocritically pretends to be a liberal peaceful society* [16/-/]: labeling [13/-/]: the current barrage of criticism and abuse from the "*civilized and peaceful society*" (13); today's international relations are increasingly decided by *so-called values* (6); metaphor [3/-/]: under the *false banners* of freedom, democracy, and human rights: *bad-faith actors* (13); the Western system that *is based on lies and war* (13). *Condemns and suppresses opponents* [8/-/]: emotives [1/-/]:

- intimidating* (opponents) (13); connotives [4/-/]: *suppression* (of journalists) (13); *censorship* (13); metaphor [3/-/]: *witch-hunt climate* has intimidated most journalists and intellectuals (13).
- ✓ **WEST – UKRAINE [27/-/]** – ***Provoked and exacerbated the war conflict in 2014*** [2/-/]: labeling [2/-/]: *provoked* war conflict in 2014 (13); ***Pushed for the war in 2022*** [5/-/]: labeling [3/-/]: *pushed* for this war (13); *pushed the situation to become a proxy war* between NATO and Russia (30); metaphor [2/-/]: *fanned the flames* between Russia and Ukraine (27). ***Provides Ukraine with weapons and expands the conflict*** [15/-/]: value-loaded terms [10/-/]: constantly *providing weapons* to Ukraine (5); with Biden and Johnson *pushing for more* sanctions and *arms* (30); metaphor [5/-/]: *feeding* armed conflict (with weapons) (9). ***The quantity of weapons is insufficient*** [1/-/]: minimalization [1/-/]: *only 10 percent* of the promised weapons from the West (18). ***Takes advantage of the conflict*** [1/-/]: connotives [1/-/]: *get rich* from this war (13). ***Shows Ukraine fatigue*** [2/-/]: labeling [2/-/]: "*Ukraine fatigue*" in the West (23). ***Does not fulfil the promise to take Ukraine into the NATO and the EU*** [1/-/]: connotives [1/-/]: the US and the EU offered to take Ukraine into the NATO and the EU – the candidate status is a *huge discount* to the previous promise (24).
- ✓ **WEST – RUSSIA [37/-/]** – ***Views Russia as a threat*** [2/-/]: connotives [2/-/]: *hyping threats* from Russia (25). ***Brutally rejects Russia's security initiative*** [1/-/]: connotives [1/-/]: the West *brutally rejected* Russia's draft security initiative (27). ***Increases pressure on Russia, so as to drag it down and defeat*** [7/-/]: value-loaded terms [7/-/]: to *increase pressure* on Russia (25); as the EU's and the US' purposes are to *drag down Russia* (24); *defeat* Russia swiftly (23). ***Imposes unprecedented illegal sanctions on Russia*** [16/-/]: value-loaded terms [9/-/]: imposed *unprecedented sanctions* on Russia (14); connotives [5/-/]: the sanctions *have not been approved* by the UN or accepted by the broader international community (21); labeling [1/-/]: *illegal* Western sanctions (14); metaphor [1/-/]: massive economic sanctions aiming to *destroy* the Russian economy in one fell swoop (26). ***Wants to weaken Russia economically through its isolation from the global community*** [3/-/]: connotives [3/-/]: trying to *isolate* the country from the global community (14). ***The sanctions backfire and hurt its own economy*** [8/-/]: value-loaded terms [7/-/]: (Western) countries have also *sacrificed significant interests* in other fields (23); metaphor [1/-/]: this policy (of sanctions) has *backfired* (14).
- ✓ **WEST – CHINA AND THE ASIA-PACIFIC [9/-/]** – ***Views China as a threat*** [3/-/]: connotives [3/-/]: *hyping* China *threats* (25). ***Moves away from China, is concerned with it, and sends it warnings*** [4/-/]: connotives [4/-/]: the West, especially the US, is "*de-coupling*" from China in trade, technology, investment and industrial chain (6); underscoring their continued *concerns* about China (25); *sending warnings* to China (25). ***Provokes China's core interests*** [1/-/]: connotives [1/-/]: *provoke* China's core interests (20). ***Challenges the rules-based order in the Indo-Pacific*** [1/-/]: connotives [1/-/]: *challenges* to the rules-based order in the Indo-Pacific (14).
- ✓ **WESTERN MEDIA [37/-/]** – ***Impose censorship*** [2/-/]: labeling [2/-/]: *censorship* imposed on the Russian media (13). ***Are not independent*** [3/-/]: labeling [1/-/]: almost total *absence of independent media* (13); analogy [1/-/]: these news outlets have in fact *turned into NATO's press office* (13); metaphor [1/-/]: *stooges* for a government (13). ***Spread propaganda, disinformation and lies*** [23/-/]: labeling [19/-/]: *disinformation* (13); *defamation* (13); many *lies* (13); *deception* (13); *false* narratives (13); *unsubstantiated* claims (13); *demonize* the Russian military (13); *defame* Russia (13); *lack* any support of *evidence* (13); metaphor [4/-/]: *addicted* to the use of false narratives and deception *as a weapon* (13). ***Attack and label opponents*** [9/-/]: connotives [5/-/]: *attack* (honest journalists) (13); *label* (opponents) as "Kremlin-backed propaganda project participants" (13); metaphor [4/-/]: media *muzzle* (opponents) (13); *assassinate* careers of honest journalists (13).

### C. Emotivity of the domain NON-WESTERN WORLD

The NON-WESTERN WORLD domain is depicted by 69 emotive terms distributed between the parcels CHINA and NON-WESTERN WORLD. The parcels have approximately equal salience.

**C.1. Parcel CHINA [33/+]:** 100% **positive**. The emotive words: **value-loaded terms** [20/+], and **connotives** [13/+]. The sub-parcels and thematic quanta:

- ✓ **CHINA [13/+]:** *Is against geopolitical and block confrontations* [2/+]: value-loaded terms [2/+]: people in Ukraine and other developing countries *should not pay the price* for geopolitical and bloc confrontations (7). *Considers the Taiwan question to be different from the Ukraine issue, and will not allow the foreign forces to intervene* [8/+]: connotives [8/+]: the Taiwan question is *purely China's* internal affair (12); it is fundamentally *different* from the Ukraine issue (12); (China) *does not allow* any foreign forces to intervene (12); we will *fight back* (20). *Is trying to solve the Taiwan conflict, and to promote peace and stability* [3/+]: value-loaded terms [3/+]: *regional peace* and *social stability* (12); *to solve the conflict* at its source (19).
- ✓ **CHINA – UKRAINE [20/+]:** *Is for negotiations, cease fire and peace* [8/+]: value-loaded terms [8/+]: China calls on the parties concerned to put international and regional *peace* and *security* first (7); to play a constructive role in the *proper resolution of the crisis* in Ukraine (7). *Is for protecting civilians from violence* [4/+]: value-loaded terms [4/+]: take measures *to protect civilians* from all forms of violence (5). *Is for observation of law and investigation of criminal acts* [3/+]: value-loaded terms [3/+]: parties to the conflict should *comply with international law* (5); any *allegations should be investigated* impartially on the basis of facts (7). *Is warning against providing weapons and imposing sanctions that expand the conflict* [5/+]: connotives [5/+]: *warning* that constantly providing weapons or imposing sanctions and pressure will only perpetuate and expand the Ukraine conflict (5).

**C.2. Parcel NON-WESTERN WORLD [36: 31/+; 5/-]:** 86,11% **positive**. The emotive words: **connotives** [23: 20/+; 3/-], **value-loaded terms** [11/+], and **analogy** [2/-]. The sub-parcels and thematic quanta:

- ✓ **NON-WESTERN WORLD [28: 5/-; 23/+]** – *Preserves political and economic independence from the West* [5/+]: connotives [5/+]: *independence* in the political and economic decision-making from the West (14). *Avoids confrontation with it* [1/+]: value-loaded terms [1/+]: making a geopolitical split *less confrontational* and smooth (14). *Supports formation of a fair world system where non-Western countries are involved in decision making* [3/+]: value-loaded terms [2/+]: a *fairer system* may depend more on the choices and actions of China and other developing countries (6); connotives [1/+]: developing countries as well as states with shaping markets *should be involved* in the global decision-making (14). *Pursues a balanced global order* [5: 3/+; 2/-]: value-loaded terms [3/+]: a *balanced* approach in the current global economic order (21); *mutual respect* (25); connotives [2/-]: *new thinking patterns* on global governance (25). *Strengthens cooperation* [11/+]: value-loaded terms [5/+]: *help with more countries' developments* (25); connotives [6/+]: are pinning *high hopes* for the *grouping of major emerging economies* to come up with a better solution (21). *Is endangered with replicating the Ukraine crisis in the Asia-Pacific* [3/-]: connotives [1/-]: the *potential crisis* in the Asia-Pacific region (30); analogy [2/-]: the potential "*Asian Ukraine*" could be Japan, South Korea, or the Taiwan island (30).
- ✓ **NON-WESTERN WORLD – RUSSIA [8/+]** – *Has a sovereign right to maintain economically beneficial relations with Russia* [4/+]: connotives [4/+]: their (China and India's) decisions to

continue energy trade with Russia is a *sovereign right* (21). ***Is against illegal Western sanctions imposed on Russia*** [2/+]: connotives [2/+]: *against* illegal Western sanctions (14); *rejected or refused* to join in Washington's unilateral sanctions against Russia (21). ***Prefers not to take sides in the Russia-Ukraine conflict*** [2/+]: connotives [1/+]: countries in the neutral camp *don't want to take sides* (6); they instead prefer to adopt a *pragmatic attitude* to decide their positions according to specific matters (6).

#### D. Emotivity of the domain WORLD

The domain WORLD is featured with 108 emotive terms describing one parcel with the same name.

**D.1. Parcel WORLD [108: 4/+; 104/-]:** 96.30% **negative**. The emotive words: **connotives** [42: 3/+; 39/-], value-loaded terms [27/-], labelling [15/-], metaphors [15: 1/+; 14/-], and emotives [9/-]. The sub-parcels and thematic quanta:

- ✓ **WORLD [ 40: 36/-; 4/+]** – ***Is divided and weakened*** [3/-]: connotives [3/-]: is being *divided* into different blocs in terms of trade, technology and currency (6); the global governance system is being *weakened* (6). ***Is economically and environmentally vulnerable*** [5/-]: value-loaded terms [1/-]: current *economic crisis* (14); connotives [4/-]: increased *market uncertainties* (11); *concerns* about the weather (11). ***Has political confrontations threatening global peace*** [23/-]: value-loaded terms [9/-]: *contradictions* and *conflicts* in the international system (6); a great *threat* to global peace (28); emotives [3/-]: a "balance of *terror*" (28); connotives [7/-]: violent *clash* of different ideologies (28); labeling [1/-]: today's international relations are increasingly decided by *so-called values* (6); metaphor [3/-]: *undermined* international economic and trade system (6). ***Is not secure*** [5/-]: value-loaded terms [1/-]: the greatest *security crisis* in a generation (16); connotives [4/-]: no country can or should seek its own absolute security *at the expense of the security of others* (5). ***Does not want to be dragged into confrontations*** [2/+]: connotives [2/+]: more countries are *not interested* in being dragged into confrontations (25). ***Needs multipolarity*** [2/+]: connotives [1/+]: there is an ongoing process toward *multipolarity* (14); metaphor [1/+]: *buttressing* multipolarity (14).
- ✓ **WORLD – RUSSIA-UKRAINE WAR [68/-]** – ***Faces serious consequences*** [4/-]: value-loaded terms [2/-]: the global economy has *suffered* as a result (of Russia-Ukraine conflict) (17); connotives [2/-]: the consequences of the Russia-Ukraine conflict are likely to be *increasingly serious* (30). ***Has a food crisis and threat of hunger*** [14/-]: value-loaded terms [5/-]: a global *food crisis* (8); could leave 11 to 19 million people with chronic *hunger* (11); connotives [9/-]: *cutting off* supply and industrial chains (7). ***Is badly hurt by the sanctions against Russia*** [9/-]: value-loaded terms [1/-]: greatly *exacerbated* the already existing *inflation* in the US and some European countries (6); connotives [3/-]: the *impact* of (sanctions) which on the international system will be *huge* and *long-term* (6); metaphor [5/-]: (sanctions) have *disrupted the global supply chain* of energy and other products (6). ***Has a threat of illegal arms obtained by terrorists*** [41/-]: value-loaded terms [8/-]: *illegal weapons* will come (9); to arm *terrorist groups* (13); emotives [6/-]: the possible influx of illegal weapons from Ukraine (is) even more *frightening* (9); connotives [7/-]: weapons *scattered* (9); it is *difficult to control* the flow of weapons on the battlefield (9); labeling [14/-]: the *arms* delivered from the EU to Ukraine could easily *fall into the hands of criminals* (9); some of the arms the US and NATO donated *are being sold* to buyers in the Middle East and North Africa (9); the *threat of terrorism* (9); metaphor [6/-]: the illegal weapons *flowing* into the criminal market (9).

## 5. Discussion

A cognitive ontology of the RUSSIA-UKRAINE WAR media image (narrative-based political concept / NBPC) which is featured with emotive words demonstrates the degrees of salience, or prominence, attributed to the ontology's constituents – the domains, parcels, sub-parcels, and thematic quanta. Such salience, dependent on the number of linguistic expressions depicting a particular constituent demonstrates the degree of its 'visibility' targeted at the recipient's mind, where a highly 'visible' (constantly repeated) message is to get entrenched.

In the considered RUSSIA-UKRAINE WAR image the most salient domain is WESTERN WORLD (60.99% of the data – 1451 emotive expressions). The domain RUSSIA-UKRAINE WAR which is expected to be most prominent, turns out to be more than twice less salient (26.81%) as compared with the Western world which confronts Russia and supports Ukraine. The domains WORLD (7.44%) and NON-WESTERN WORLD (4.76%) have the least visibility (see Table 1 in the Supplement). Emotively, the three domains are predominantly negative: RUSSIA-UKRAINE WAR is 'inherently' negative, WORLD is assessed negatively because of its 'ontological' instability, and WESTERN WORLD's negativity is rather a reflection of the narrator's bias. Similarly, the bias is displayed by the positive assessment of the fourth – NON-WESTERN WORLD – domain, which agrees with the positive assessment of the 'Self' in its opposition to the negative 'Other'.

Among the domains' parcels that associate with the referents of the Russia-Ukraine war, there are those that have primary, secondary, and tertiary prominence. *Primary prominence* is displayed by the negatively assessed referents NATO (20.33%) and WAR (17.64%), which, coupled by salience, may be covertly linked as cause and consequence. *Secondary prominence* is exhibited by the negative referents US (14.75%), WEST (13.99%), EUROPE (11.92%), and WORLD (7.44%), which implicitly points to the main 'contributors' to the war (the US and the collective West), and the parties injured by it (Europe and the world). *Tertiary prominence* is demonstrated by the negative actor UKRAINE (5.93%) and positive actors RUSSIA (3.24%), NON-WESTERN WORLD (2.48%), and CHINA (2.28%). A comparatively low 'visibility' of Ukraine and Russia, who are actually the immediate belligerents, assigns them an implicit role of those who are 'driven' by more powerful forces (NATO and the West). The lowest 'visibility' of the non-Western world and China associates with their position of non-involved parties. In general, the parcels' prominence shows that for *The Global Times* as the narrator the international context of the Russia-Ukraine war is more important than the war proper. While depicting it, the media outlet pays more attention to (negatively assessed) Ukraine than to (positively assessed) Russia which has launched the aggression in pursue of its imperial goals and which has been committing war crimes that the newspaper doubts and does not focus on.

In the cognitive ontology of the RUSSIA-UKRAINE WAR media image, each parcel has thematic quanta which are distributed between particular sub-parcels, and which, taken together, craft a 'meta-narrative' on the Russia-Ukraine war. Among the thematic quanta there are those which subsume multiple (up to ten and over) emotive expressions, the number of which exhibits the quanta's salience. Iteration of the expressions rendering the same idea make it stick in the recipient's mind and 'appropriated' by it. In *The Global Times*, such ideas are as follows (the ones more prominent within a parcel are underlined):

- ✓ **Russia-Ukraine war – WAR:** war [34/-/], conflict [86 /-/], crisis [33/-/], crime and violence [25/-/], a heavy toll imposed on the Ukrainian people [12/-/]. **UKRAINE:** has extremists and fascists [15/-/], persecutes the opponents [8/-/], has an uncertain perspective of the EU membership [10/-/]. **RUSSIA:** aims to end US hegemonic dominance in the world [6+/+], has not committed the war crimes in which it is unjustly accused [7+/+]; Russian media provide objective information [6+/+].
- ✓ **Western world – UNITED STATES:** has domestic political and economic problems [10/-/], as well as domestic violence and far-right white supremacists [12/-/], has cohesive and dangerous diplomacy [15/-/], is aggressive and war-oriented [44/-/], aspires to world hegemony [18/-/], but

*its global leadership role is defective [11/-/], uses the conflict in Ukraine in its own interests [19/-/], considers Russia to be an enemy who must be defeated [8/-/], provokes China and views it as an adversary [20/-/], controls Europe [9/-/] and ignores its interests [8/-/]. NATO: is an aggressive militant institution with Cold War mentality [98/-/], has internal contradictions, is disunited, and falls into decay [29/-/], has doubtful significance [8/-/], is hegemonistic and hypocritical [10/-/], expands and threatens the world [30/-/], is controlled by the US which uses it as a geopolitical tool [15/-/] (with Republicans being NATO sceptics [15/+/-]), has triggered the Russia-Ukraine conflict, deteriorates it, and may stop it [10/-/], threatens to expand into Asia-Pacific region [11/-/]. EUROPE: is deprived of its strategic and security autonomy by the US and NATO [21/-/], has an economic crisis [40/-/], has a living crisis, political and social tensions [24/-/], may become economically dependent on the US [8/-/], its support to Ukraine is not significant and hypocritical [8/-/], is affected by the trade sanctions against Russia [8/-/]. WEST: is inherently hostile [22/-/], is aggressive and evil [30/-/], condemns and suppresses opponents [8/-/], provides Ukraine with weapons and expands the conflict [15/-/], imposes unprecedented illegal sanctions on Russia [16/-/] which backfire and hurt the West's own economy [8/-/], Western media spread propaganda, disinformation and lies [23/-/], attack and label opponents [9/-/].*

- ✓ **Non-Western world – CHINA:** *considers the Taiwan question to be different from the Ukraine issue, and will not allow the foreign forces to intervene [8/+/-], is for negotiations, cease fire and peace in solving the Russia-Ukraine conflict [8/+/-]. NON-WESTERN WORLD: strengthens cooperation [11/+/-].*
- ✓ **World – WORLD:** *has political confrontations threatening global peace [23/-/], has a food crisis threat of hunger [14/-/], is badly hurt by the sanctions against Russia [9/-/], has a threat of illegal arms coming from Ukraine and obtained by terrorists [41/-/].*

The emotively loaded terms both describe and mold the RUSSIA-UKRAINE WAR media image, with the major work being done by *value-loaded terms* (24.81% of the dataset – 1451 expressions), *labeling* (24.47%) and *connotives* (24.12%) (see Table 1 in the Supplement). For an ordinary reader, the distinction between the entities described with these three types of emotive words may be vague: the reality of ‘facts’ described with value-loaded terms may be doubted, the reality of ‘virtualized facts’ described via labeling may be believed, and ‘opinions’ rendered with connotives may be either shared or not shared. To make the reader accept both ‘real’ and ‘virtual’ facts, and to support the narrator’s opinion, the respective semantically close emotive terms are continuously repeated. As a result, as Duffy (2018, p. 61) puts it: “if we are frequently exposed to the same, or a very similar story through the media, we are more likely to notice the information in the world around us that confirms the stories we’ve heard and seen”. Somewhat less conspicuous role is played by *metaphors* (13,10%), *euphemisms* (8.68%), and *emotives* (3.65%) that serve as intensifiers of mitigators of the facts or opinions. The least employed emotive devices are *minimalization* (0.48%), *analogy* (0,41%), *dysphemisms* (0.21%), and *exaggeration* (0.07%). Their numbers show the newspaper’s reporting preferences: while depicting the events it creates an intended emotive stance with the ‘politically correct’ linguistic means devoid of hate speech, overstatements and excessive references to precedential phenomena.

## 6. Conclusion

On February 24, 2022 Russia launched a full-scale war in Ukraine. This hybrid warfare is characterized by combat operations, economic coercion, and an intensive anti-Ukrainian, anti-West, and anti-NATO information campaign targeted at the domestic and foreign audiences. This campaign, waged through mass media, promotes the narrative, where Ukraine is a failed state; the 2014 coup d’état was organized in Ukraine by the United States, the EU and NATO (together or separately)

against the citizens' will; the coup d'état resulted in the seizure of power by Ukrainian fascist; the West intends to destabilize Ukraine, turn its population against Moscow, and create a convenient 'puppet' government controlled by the United States. Such narrative justifies the war in Ukraine, unleashed by Russia on the false pretext of 'saving' Ukrainians from their 'Nazi' rulers (Zhabotynska & Ryzhova, 2022, p. 120). Russia imposes this narrative on its own citizens and spreads it worldwide through the foreign pro-Russia media, Chinese media included.

In recent years, China and Russia, who both oppose the West, have considerably strengthened their strategic partnership. Thereby, state-run Chinese news media share Russian narratives and echo information from Russian officials on various issues, the Russian view on the war in Ukraine among them. Although Chinese officials have striven to take a neutral position on this military conflict, Chinese media coverage of it proves a contrary story. The Russian invasion is reported as a "special military operation" which was necessary because "Ukraine, as an American puppet state, threatened Russia". Consequently, Russian president Vladimir Putin is "a victim standing up for a beleaguered Russia". China furnishes this narrative to mold public opinion about the Russia-Ukraine war, and explain why its dealing with Russia is morally justified (McCathy, 2022).

Our study also demonstrates compatibility between Russia's strategic narrative on its war in Ukraine, and the respective Chinese media narrative developed three months after the war started. The most conspicuous ideas of the Chinese narrative – "*The military conflict [86 /-] is triggered by NATO, which is an aggressive militant institution with Cold War mentality [98/-], and which is a tool of the inherently aggressive and war-oriented United States [44/-] and of the aggressive and evil West [30/-]. This conflict has pushed Europe to an economic crisis [40/-], and made the world face a threat of illegal arms coming from Ukraine and obtained by terrorists [41]*" – are rendered by numerous emotive expressions. The most employed ones are value-loaded terms that name facts, connotives that denote opinions, and the cases of labeling serving opinions as facts. Multiple verbal iterations of one and the same idea induce the recipients to accept it without critical thinking, and to appropriate the narrative and its extensions as their own worldview. Such worldview is charged with the potential public (re)action intended by the narrator or those for whom this narrator is a 'voice'.

The obtained findings have theoretical relevance for the cognitive vistas of political narratology and media linguistics, The findings' practical relevance is defined by their applicability in political analytics, journalism, informedia literacy classes and other practical spheres which deal with verbal impact on the public. Since verbal technologies intended for the manipulation of public opinion through media narratives are diverse, this study has a further perspective. The next step in our research will be the exposure and analysis of descriptive rhetorical tools tracked in the pro-Russia narrative of foreign media depicting Ukraine, the Russia-Ukraine war, Ukraine's allies and adversaries.

## Supplement

Table 1

**RUSSIA-UKRAINE WAR image in *The Global Times* media outlet (1 – 30 June, 2022):  
featuring domains and parcels with emotive terms**

Domains, parcels, and their assessment	Value- loaded terms	Emotively-loaded terms									Total	
		Emo- tives	Conno- tives	Labe- ling	Euphe- misms	Dysphe- misms	Exagge- ration	Minima- lization	Ana- logy	Meta- phor		
	Nb	Nb	Nb	Nb	Nb	Nb	Nb	Nb	Nb	Nb	Nb	%
<b>1. Domain RUSSIA- UKRAINE WAR</b> [389: 333/-/; 6/0/; 50/+/]	<b>123</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>126</b>	-	-	<b>2</b>	-	<b>19</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>26.81</b>
1.1.WAR [256: 246/-/; 6/0/; 4/+/]	100	7	13	2	126	-	-	-	-	8	256	17.64
1.2.UKRAINE [86: 83/-/; 3/+/]	18	5	26	25	-	-	-	2	-	10	86	5.93
1.3.RUSSIA [47: 4/-/; 43/+/]	5	2	11	28	-	-	-	-	-	1	47	3.24
<b>2. Domain WESTERN WORLD</b> [885: 850 /-/; 35/+/ ]	<b>179</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>222</b>	<b>285</b>	-	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>156</b>	<b>885</b>	<b>60.99</b>
2.1.US [214: 207/-/; 7/+/]	37	6	44	88	-	-	-	2	-	37	214	14.75
2.2. NATO [295: 280/-/; 15/+/]	33	9	100	91	-	1	1	-	1	59	295	20.33
2.3. EUROPE [173: 160/-/; 13/+/]	54	8	44	38	-	2	-	2	1	24	173	11.92
2.4. WEST [203 /-/]	55	7	34	68	-	-	-	1	2	36	203	13.99



<b>3. Domain NON-WESTERN WORLD [69: 5/-; 64/+]</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>4.76</b>
3.1. CHINA [33/+]	20	-	13	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	33	2.28
3.2. NON-WESTERN WORLD [36: 5/-; 31/+]	11	-	23	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	36	2.48
<b>4. Domain WORLD [108: 104/-; 4/+]</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>108</b>	<b>7.44</b>
4.1. WORLD [108: 104/-; 4/+]	27	9	42	15	-	-	-	-	-	15	108	7.44
<b>Total</b>	<b>360</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>350</b>	<b>355</b>	<b>126</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>190</b>	<b>1451</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>24.81</b>	<b>3.65</b>	<b>24.12</b>	<b>24.47</b>	<b>8.68</b>	<b>0.21</b>	<b>0.07</b>	<b>0.48</b>	<b>0.41</b>	<b>13.1</b>	<b>100</b>	

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## ЕМОТИВНИЙ ЛЕКСИКОН ПОЛІТИЧНОГО НАРАТИВУ: УКРАЇНА І ЗАХІД У КИТАЙСЬКИХ ЗМІ

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### Анотація

У цьому дослідженні, виконаному з позицій політичної і когнітивної лінгвістики, обговорюється емотивно навантажена мова медійних політичних наративів, що слугують основним маніпулятивним знаряддям пропаганди, за допомогою якого здійснюється ідеологічний вплив на аудиторію. Серед різних мовних засобів, залучених до створення політичного наративу, помітну роль відіграє емотивний лексикон, який і перебуває у фокусі нашої роботи. Її метою є виявлення внеску емотивно навантажених слів у формування медійного образу війни, розв'язаної Росією проти України в лютому 2022 року. Через ідеологічну конфронтацію між супротивниками і між їхніми союзниками цей образ, адресований внутрішній аудиторії в Росії і в Україні, а також зовнішній міжнародній аудиторії, набуває або про-української, або про-російської орієнтації, супроводжуваної відповідними емотивно протилежними оцінками. У нашій розвідці розглядається про-російський образ війни, репрезентований в англійській версії популярного таблоїду *The Global Times*, що належить до китайських державних ЗМІ. До корпусу даних входять статті, які містять опис російсько-української війни, представленої в контексті міжнародних відносин. Статті були надруковані протягом червня 2022 року, через три місяці після початку російської військової агресії. У дослідженні аналіз емотивного лексикону спирається на когнітивну онтологію образу 'РОСІЙСЬКО-УКРАЇНСЬКА ВІЙНА'. Така онтологія, визначена як подієва, уможлиблює структурування інформації про власне подію і її учасників. Їхні вербально сконструйовані 'портрети' набувають проміантності завдяки кількості ужитих емотивних виразів, що сприяє праймінгу й укоріненню інтендованого суб'єктивного образу у свідомості читача.

**Ключові слова:** емотивний лексикон, політичний наратив, образ російсько-української війни, когнітивна онтологія, китайські ЗМІ, міжнародна аудиторія.