

## Framing the Russian-Ukrainian Conflict: The Role of Metaphor, Nominalization, and Appraisal in Shaping Media Narratives

Judyta Pawliszko  
[jpawliszko@ur.edu.pl](mailto:jpawliszko@ur.edu.pl)  
Applied Linguistics Department  
University of Rzeszów, Poland

### ABSTRACT

This article investigates how international media outlets frame the Russian-Ukrainian conflict using linguistic strategies such as metaphor, nominalization, and evaluative language. By analysing headlines and subheadings from *The New York Times*, *The Moscow Times*, and *The Guardian*, published between February 24 and March 24, 2022, this study examines how these linguistic devices shape the media's portrayal of the war, reflect editorial stances, socio-political contexts, and ideological perspectives, and how these elements influence public perception. Drawing on Conceptual Metaphor Theory and Systemic Functional Linguistics (including Appraisal Theory), the study investigates how metaphors (e.g., ECONOMY, STORY/NARRATIVE, JOURNEY, GAME) and evaluative language contribute to the framing of the conflict. The analysis highlights the equally significant roles of metaphor, nominalization, and appraisal in shaping media narratives, demonstrating how political and cultural contexts influence these portrayals. The study concludes by arguing that an integrated analysis of metaphor, nominalization, and appraisal offers a more nuanced understanding of media coverage and its broader implications for public opinion and international relations.

**Keywords:** appraisal theory; conceptual metaphor; war; nominalization; media representation

### INTRODUCTION

This study positions itself within the field of critical media discourse analysis (e.g., Fairclough, 1995; van Dijk, 1998; White, 2004). It aligns with previous research on the language of headlines conducted by scholars such as Hodgson (1996), van Dijk (1998), Bell (1991), and Luporini (2021) by addressing specific linguistic aspects of headlines and subheadings related to the same event, published within the same timeframe by the three national newspapers, and their role in shaping the framing and interpretation of events.

On February 24, 2022, global attention shifted to the Russian aggression against Ukraine, marking a significant change in international relations. The outbreak of war brought forth an exceptional amount of information, prompting numerous studies to explore war-related concepts such as propaganda linguistics (e.g., Solopova et al., 2023), media discourse analysis (e.g., Pavlichenko, 2022) and language-identity relation (e.g. Kulyk, 2011).

This study examines how specific linguistic strategies, such as metaphor, nominalization, and evaluative language, are used to frame the Russian-Ukrainian conflict in international media.

By analysing three corpora<sup>1</sup> of headlines and subheadings sourced from news articles about the outbreak of war, issued in *The New York Times* (published in New York, U.S.A.), the English-language Russian newspaper *The Moscow Times* (published in Amsterdam, the Netherlands) and *The Guardian* (published in Great Britain) between February 24 and March 24, 2022, this research seeks to uncover how these outlets use language to shape public perception of the war. This analysis highlights editorial differences between outlets, focusing on how socio-political contexts and ideological stances shape the framing of events. By comparing the three press profiles, this study will highlight significant differences in their approaches to the topic, their tonal choices, and the degree of influence from government or other power structures<sup>2</sup>. The equal treatment of metaphor, nominalization, and appraisal will be central in this comparative analysis.

TNYT, with over 10 million digital subscribers as of May 2024 (WorldMeters; Nieman Lab) is focused on domestic and international events, as well as a wide range of topics such as politics, economy, culture, science, and sports. It is known for its independence from authority and strives to maintain objectivity and a critical approach to reporting. TMT is an English-language newspaper with its central area of interest being events and topics related to Russia and the countries of the former Soviet Union. With its modest reach of approximately 2 million unique monthly visitors as of 2023, it serves as a critical source of English-language news on Russia<sup>3</sup> (WorldMeters; Gitnux). Although considered an independent source of information, as a newspaper operating in Russia, it may be subject to certain limitations or pressures from the authorities. The newspapers target their publications at different reader groups, which influences their approach to topics and the form of news presentation. While TNYT addresses a broad American and international audience, TMT focuses on English-speaking foreigners in Russia and an international audience interested in the affairs of this region (cf. Lian and Usher 2014; Liu 2019). TG differs from TNYT and TMT in its more global approach and comprehensive coverage of both domestic affairs and international events across a wide spectrum of topics. It is known for its commitment to liberal values and human rights, as well as advocacy for social justice (cf. Tsang, 2018). As of 2023, the TG reported having over 1 million digital subscribers and 25 million unique monthly visitors to the website (WorldMeters; Statista).

In terms of the theoretical background employed, the analysis integrates insights from Cognitive Linguistics and Systemic Functional Linguistics (the Appraisal Theory) with a specific emphasis on the attitude system. The analysis centres on three key linguistic strategies – metaphor, nominalization, and evaluative language – as framing devices, capable of expressing particularly positive or negative perspectives on a given event. The study also seeks to reveal how journalists with diverse ideological and socio-cultural perspectives use these devices to effectively articulate opinions and construct specific narratives on key societal issues (Simon-Vandenberg et al., 2007).

## REVISING THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS

It is widely acknowledged that headlines play an important role in event construal in the press. Van Dijk (1998:221) considers headlines as the primary component of news reports. According to the author, they not only summarize but also offer a viewpoint on the news content, thereby guiding

---

<sup>1</sup> The three corpora are henceforth referred to as TNYT (The New York Times), TMT (The Moscow Times), and TG (The Guardian).

<sup>2</sup> It should be clarified that an in-depth analysis of the distinctions between the Western and the Eastern journalistic traditions falls outside the scope of this study. Instead, the focus is on the construal of the war concept through specific language choices within the three newspapers.

<sup>3</sup> In 2023, the Ministry of Justice of Russia designated the paper as a ‘foreign agent’.

the reader's understanding. Along the same lines, Isani (2011:7) points out the pragmatic function of headlines, in which language serves as an attention-attracting tactic in which the author of the text is engaged with and challenges the reader's accessibility skills and cognitive environment. Headlines also have the potential to reach a broad audience, not just those who purchase the newspaper but also passersby. In this way, along with the subheadings and leads, they carry ideological and cultural positioning, subtly guiding the reader's understanding and evaluation of events (Downing, 2000:362).

Building on this, Halliday (2003:57) provides yet another viewpoint of headlines by investigating their distinctive lexico-grammar. The author describes an 'economy grammar' by characterizing headline styles based on both their nominal compounds and nominalizations. These typical aspects of headlines, such as ellipsis, metaphor, obsolete lexis, short words, acronyms, and alliteration (e.g., Mardh, 1980; Jenkins, 1990; Bell, 1991) – serve as linguistic economy but also play a strategic role in framing events. While subheadings have generally received less scholarly attention, they were included in this study as they often serve as a relevant complement to the corresponding headlines. In what follows, the focus is on elements considered fundamental to the analysis, namely nominalization, metaphor, and evaluative language, as these linguistic strategies are central to the way media outlets frame and evaluate events, particularly in times of crisis or conflict, such as the Russian-Ukrainian war. Here, appraisal plays a key role in interpreting the unfolding narratives.

A nominalization involves using a noun instead of a verb or an adjective while denoting an action or property. Thompson (2014:244) defines it as an encapsulation of the entire sentence's meaning. Nominalizations are crucial to the Appraisal framework, especially for expressing evaluations without explicit judgmental language. In the media context, nominalizations help present events as neutral facts, which can obscure agency and shift responsibility. These stylistic devices align with the economy grammar of headlines but also function as pragmatic tools, requiring the reader to infer meaning and often triggering presuppositions. Let us consider the following example:

'Fresh *evacuation efforts* for devastated Ukraine cities' (TMT, headline, February 24, 2022)<sup>4</sup> (source:<https://www.themoscowtimes.com/2022/03/09/fresh-evacuation-efforts-for-devastated-ukraine-cities-a76831>).

A characteristic loss of explicit information is illustrated by the nominalizations *evacuations* and *efforts*. At the same time, temporal markers and agentivity patterns are omitted, requiring the reader to supply information on who exactly is responsible for conducting the evacuation and efforts, as well as when these actions are taking place. Also, the presupposition that there are people engaged in evacuation efforts is presupposed and thus presented as a fact. Critical discourse analysts (e.g. Fowler, 1991) highlight how nominalization conveys various worldviews and ideologies. The lack of agency in nominalized forms in this headline illustrates the implicit evaluative nature of these linguistic choices, a key focus of Appraisal Theory, which will be systematically applied in this study to show how media outlets use these strategies to subtly align readers with particular ideological positions about the conflict.

While nominalization masks agency, metaphor serves as another powerful evaluative strategy in media texts. The present study positions this notion within the framework of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), as proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (2003). CMT offers a useful lens for classifying instances of metaphor in text and it treats metaphor both as a linguistic and a

---

<sup>4</sup> In corpus examples provided throughout the paper, linguistic metaphors are underlined and nominalizations are italicized; in several cases, metaphor and nominalization conflate in the same word, which is both underlined and italicized.

cognitive mechanism. Linguistic metaphors may be seen as the visible output of metaphorical processes in our conceptual system which embrace comprehension and categorization of one domain of experience in terms of another: concrete, physical domains are mapped onto abstract or less familiar domains, fostering understanding (Kövecses, 2002). As a form of evaluative language, metaphors can be seen as a tool for framing events and assigning value, as well as a means of expressing affective responses to the war. A dramatic circumstance such as the outbreak of war provides fertile ground for this type of metaphorical conceptualization. An example would be the following headline:

‘Putin is teaching us a brutal *lesson* about history’ (NYT, headline, February 24, 2022) (source: <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/24/opinion/ukraine-russia-putin-history.html>).

This headline exemplifies the metaphor WAR IS A LESSON, where the concept of WAR is mapped onto the concept of LESSON. In this example, the source concept, WAR, creates the basis for the metaphor, while the target concept, LESSON, is represented metaphorically. The individual elements of the two domains are interrelated since Putin is positioned here as the aggressor (an active agent), the one initiating the conflict, while ‘us’, or the audience, is portrayed as the recipient of the lesson, akin to a victim of war (passive role). The phrase ‘brutal lesson’ accentuates the harshness of the teaching, aligning it with the destructive nature of warfare. This metaphor not only reflects the emotional and evaluative tone of the situation but also exemplifies the central tenets of Appraisal Theory, particularly in relation to ‘judgment’ and ‘affect,’ positioning Putin and his actions as the object of negative assessment. Furthermore, the active-passive framing reflects a power dynamic where Putin controls the narrative of history, shaping it to his advantage. Thus, the metaphor aligns with the evaluative charge in the war narrative and reinforces the ideological positioning.

Similarly, metaphor works in tandem with nominalization to create implicit evaluations that guide the reader’s understanding of the conflict. Both devices require the recipient to make inferences and go beyond the surface meaning, thus shaping how they interpret events. Halliday (2004:191) identifies nominalization as a form of a grammatical metaphor, where a metaphorical shift influences grammatical categories rather than lexical words or phrases. According to Luporini (2021), subheadings often extend the point made in the headline by building on its metaphors. Thus, both nominalizations and metaphors serve as evaluative devices in constructing the war narrative. This study applies Appraisal Theory to uncover how media outlets position readers to interpret these events through specific ideological and evaluative lenses.

Such evaluation and its linguistic realization in the text or text collection is a crucial element of media discourse analysis and media stylistics (Stenvall, 2008; Lambrou & Durant, 2014; Deignan, 2015). In this context, both nominalization and metaphor are particularly important because they implicitly transmit the writer’s subjective standpoint. Nevertheless, as White (2004) points out, they can also create challenges to analysis.

The theoretical framework for this study is based on Halliday’s Systemic Functional Linguistics, with a focus on Appraisal Theory (Martin and White, 2005; White, 2011). The toolkit adopted in this article comprises the following elements:

- 1) attitude – the activation of positive or negative positioning divided into three subcategories:
  - a) affect (emotions);
  - b) judgement (assessment of human behaviour based on social esteem and social sanction);
  - c) appreciation (evaluation of objects and phenomena in terms of qualitative principles);
- 2) graduation – the means to grade or scale;
- 3) engagement – the degree to which the speaker/writer interacts with other perspectives (i.e., other sources of evaluation) in addition to their own.

White (2011:17) also distinguishes between the mode of activation connected to the explicit attitudinal lexis (direct) and one based on implication, association, or inference (implied). This study integrates Appraisal Theory with a focus on nominalization and metaphor as evaluative linguistic strategies, showing how these elements are used systematically in the press to shape readers' perceptions of events.

## METHODOLOGY

### DATA

The study is based on three corpora of headlines and subheadings collected from a set of articles thematising the outbreak of war in Ukraine, published by *The New York Times*, *The Moscow Times*, and *The Guardian* between February 24 and March 24, 2022. The chosen period marked a critical turning point in Russian-international relations, triggered by Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine on February 24, 2022. This invasion escalated a conflict that had been ongoing since Russia's annexation of Crimea in 2014, leading to a significant international response, including the imposition of sanctions on Russia by Western countries, the onset of a humanitarian crisis, and profound changes in geopolitics, energy markets, and international security systems.

The corpora were manually compiled by retrieving full-length articles published within the selected dates that contained at least one occurrence of 'war' and/or 'conflict' and/or 'invasion' and/or 'Russia' and/or 'Ukraine' in the headline and/or subheading, and/or body text. From the selected articles, headlines and (where applicable) subheadings were extracted and divided into two separate files. Table 1 below presents a summary of the total number of headlines, subheadings, and total analysed sentences, where one headline/subheading corresponds to one sentence. It shows that TNYT and TG have a relatively high number of subheadings, accounting for 53.09% and 44.86% of the total, respectively. In contrast, TMT has significantly fewer subheadings (2.06%), suggesting a different structural approach to article composition compared to the other two newspapers.

TABLE 1. Summary of headlines, subheadings, and analysed sentences in corpora

Corpus	Headlines/articles in corpus	Subheadings in corpus	Total analysed sentences	Word tokens
TNYT	177	129	306	4,575
TG	126	109	235	3,440
TMT	100	5	105	995



In terms of overall contributions, TNYT provides the largest percentage across all metrics, including analysed sentences (51.66%) and word tokens (50.77%). TG maintains a substantial presence in all other metrics, contributing 36.48% of the total sentences and 38.19% of word tokens. In comparison, TMT has the smallest percentage across the board, with particularly low totals in analysed sentences (11.86%) and word tokens (11.04%), indicating a more concise structure in its articles. These differences in metrics correlate with the respective reach and editorial focus of each newspaper (cf. Koester, 2010).

## ANALYSIS

Due to the manageable size of the corpora and the challenges of automating semantic and contextual analysis, particularly for metaphor and appraisal (cf. Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014:70), the material was analysed primarily through manual examination. Each linguistic feature – metaphor, nominalization, and appraisal – was analysed in equal depth to ensure a balanced focus on all three elements.

First, all the instances of metaphor, nominalization, and appraisal were identified and classified. The corpora were tagged for headings and subheadings and uploaded into the *SketchEngine* corpus query system, which facilitated automatic lemmatization and part-of-speech tagging. This system generated POS-tagged lemmas classified by frequency (i.e. lemmalists), which were used to identify the most frequent nominalized items. Additionally, concordances were retrieved to examine the instances of a search term within its original co-text, which was essential for metaphor and appraisal analysis.

All the headlines and subheadings were marked for the presence of nominalizations and linguistic metaphors connected to the war. Furthermore, co-occurrences within the same sentence were noted. Then, linguistic metaphors related to the war extracted from the three corpora were grouped based on a continuum of explicitness (after Luporini, 2021:258):

1. Group 1: Metaphors with their target concept WAR construed in the linguistic structure, through the lexical unit ‘war’, e.g.,  
‘Obsessed? Frightened? Wakeful? War in Ukraine sparks return of doomscrolling’ (TG, headline, March 6, 2022)  
(source: <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2022/mar/06/obsessed-frightened-wakeful-war-in-ukraine-sparks-return-of-doomscrolling>)
2. Group 2: Metaphors in which linguistic structure contains other lexical items related to the target concept, such as ‘invasion’ in  
‘Russia Holds Peace Defenders Open Lesson on Ukraine *Invasion*’ (TMT, headline, March 3, 2022).  
(source: <https://www.themoscowtimes.com/2022/03/03/russia-holds-peace-defenders-open-lesson-on-ukraine-invasion-a76734>)  
Other lexical units related to the target concept found in the data are: ‘invasion’, ‘attack’, ‘conflict’, ‘threat’, ‘operation’, ‘crisis’, ‘offensive’ (n.), ‘action’ (n.), ‘assault’, ‘fighting’, ‘fight’.
3. Group 3: Metaphors in which the target concept is unexpressed in the linguistic structure, e.g., ‘Hellscape in Ukraine’s Mariupol But Russia Talks Tough’ (TMT, headline, March 23, 2022)  
(source: <https://www.themoscowtimes.com/2022/03/23/hellscape-in-ukraines-mariupol-but-russia-talks-tough-a77041>)

Finally, the way metaphors – and, if applicable, co-occurring nominalizations – were used in the three corpora was investigated. This included analysing the functions of the nominalizations within the original co-text. Additionally, all instances of metaphor were categorised as either positive or negative, depending on whether they conveyed an overall optimistic or pessimistic assessment of the circumstances surrounding the war and/or a positive or negative evaluation of the individuals and entities involved. In doing so, several instances with specific patterns of appraisal were observed, in which metaphor and nominalization served complementary roles in event construal.

Appraisal analysis was conducted based on the attitude system and its sub-systems, i.e. affect, judgement, and appreciation (see: the ‘Revising theoretical foundations’ section above). Special attention was given to explicit expressions of evaluation and multiple layers of evaluation within the same sentence, e.g., overlapping sub-systems of attitude.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### NOMINALIZATION AND METAPHOR: DUAL MECHANISMS ON FRAMING WAR IN JOURNALISM

This section presents the findings derived from the corpora, beginning with the quantitative analysis of nominalization and metaphor usage. Table 2 outlines the number of headlines, subheadings, and sentences analysed, each containing at least one nominalization example.

TABLE 2. Headlines, subheadings, sentences (1 headline/1 subheading = 1 sentence) with nominalization.

Corpus	Headlines with nominalization	Subheadings with nominalization	Total sentences with nominalization
TNYT	120	150	270
TG	162	127	289
TMT	95	2	100

The findings reveal that TG has the highest frequency of nominalization per sentence among the three corpora (approximately 1.229). TNYT and TMT have lower, but still notable, frequencies of nominalization per sentence (approximately 0.882 and 0.952, respectively). In TG, the percentage of nominalizations in headlines exceeds 100%. The numbers are also high for both TMT and TNYT (95% and 67.8%, respectively). Both TNYT and TG display over 100% preference for nominalizations in subheadings (TNYT – 116.3%; TG – 116.5%), while TMT’s usage in subheadings is significantly lower (40%). In general, both TNYT and TG show a heavy reliance on nominalizations in headlines and subheadings, demonstrating a stylistic preference despite potential differences in journalistic style or language variety. TMT also uses nominalizations heavily in headlines, yet it exhibits a contrasting approach with a much lower presence of nominalizations in subheadings, reflecting a different editorial standard or stylistic guideline.

What is particularly interesting is that the three corpora used *invasion* and *sanction* as the most popular nominalization (e.g., *invasion*: TNYT – 48, TG – 25, TMT – 8; *sanction*: TNYT – 24, TG – 13, TMT – 2). For TNYT, other most frequent instances included *operation* (15), *security* (12), *resolution* (9), and *intelligence* (9); for TG *defiance* (5) and ‘government’ (4), whereas for TMT *defence* (2), *evacuation*, and *negotiation* (2). These findings already indicate

varying attitudes emerging from the three corpora, which are further discussed in relation to the metaphors.

### METAPHOR USE IN WAR REPORTING

Table 3 illustrates the use of war-related metaphors across the three corpora. It includes three groups of metaphors: Group 1, where the concept of WAR is explicitly expressed in the linguistic structure; Group 2, where linguistic structure also includes other elements related to the target concept; and Group 3, where the target concept is left implicit. The table presents data on each corpus, including the number of hits for the relevant lexical unit and, among these, the count and percentage of metaphorical hits.

TABLE 3. Metaphors related to WAR: Frequency and metaphorical usage

Lexical unit	TNYT		TG		TMT	
Group 1	Total	Metaphorical	Total	Metaphorical	Total	Metaphorical
war	24	5	23	5	18	5
Group 2	Total	Metaphorical	Total	Metaphorical	Total	Metaphorical
invasion	48	4	25	5	8	2
attack	18	2	8	5	3	1
conflict	6	1	--	--	4	1
threat	--	--	4	--	2	--
operation	15	3	--	--	2	1
crisis	6	1	3	3	--	--
offensive (n.)	--	--	--	--	3	1
action (n.)	9	3	--	--	--	--
assault	--	--	--	--	1	--
fighting	6	1	--	--	2	1
fight	--	--	--	--	1	--
<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>108</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>7</b>
Group 3	Total	Metaphorical	Total	Metaphorical	Total	Metaphorical
lesson	9	2	--	--	1	1
chaos	--	--	4	1	--	--
theatre	--	--	3	1	--	--
bloodshed	--	--	--	--	2	2
gamble	--	--	--	--	1	1
<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>141</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>16</b>

Variation in metaphorical usage reveals that some lexical units are frequently used metaphorically in TNYT, with percentages ranging from 8% to 33%. Notably, terms like ‘war’ (20.8%) and ‘action’ (33.33%) appear most often. TG displays a wider range of metaphorical variability, with ‘attack’ (62.5%) and ‘crisis’ (100%) showing high metaphorical usage, while others like ‘conflict’ show none. TMT is more polarized, with some terms like ‘invasion’, ‘bloodshed’, and ‘lesson’ used metaphorically 100% of the time, while others are not used metaphorically at all. This variation reflects different editorial approaches to metaphor usage across the corpora.

In Group 1, ‘war’ has a similar metaphorical usage percentage across all corpora (20-28%), indicating a common understanding of ‘war’ as both a literal and metaphorical concept. Group 2 indicates greater variability, as is seen in the frequent metaphorical use of ‘attack’ in TG (62.5%)



and TMT (60%), but less so in TNYT (11%). In Group 3, which displays implicit war metaphors, TNYT uses ‘lesson’ (22.22%) while in TG ‘chaos’ (25%) and ‘theatre’ (33%) are frequently used. TMT consistently uses ‘bloodshed’ (100%), ‘lesson’, and ‘gamble’ in their single instance.

The analysis suggests that metaphor use varies across the corpora, but the frequent metaphorical framing of war underscores the importance of metaphor in shaping public perception of conflict. This discussion naturally leads to examining the interplay of metaphor and nominalization, as the two mechanisms often work together in shaping how war is framed in journalistic discourse.

### THE INTERPLAY OF METAPHOR AND NOMINALIZATION

One of the key findings of this study is the co-occurrence of metaphor and nominalization in the three corpora. In each case, the majority of metaphorical expressions occur alongside nominalizations. Specifically, 72.7% of metaphorical expressions in TNYT are paired with nominalizations, while TG and TMT show co-occurrence rates of 63.6% and 81.2%, respectively. These high co-occurrence rates suggest a strong interdependent relationship between metaphor and nominalization in how the war is conceptualized and communicated in news reporting.

Metaphors and nominalizations complement each other in constructing abstract concepts that frame the war. For example, in TNYT, nominalized terms like ‘conflict’ and ‘crisis’ anchor metaphors that portray war as inevitable or systemic, such as WAR IS CHAOS or WAR IS ECONOMY. In TG, nominalizations like ‘attack’ or ‘operation’ set the stage for metaphors such as WAR IS A FORCE OF NATURE, conceptualizing war as an unstoppable yet manageable force. In TMT, metaphors like WAR IS A JOURNEY or WAR IS A GAME align with nominalizations such as ‘invasion’ or ‘lesson’, framing the conflict as a strategic process that unfolds over time. This interaction between metaphor and nominalization is crucial for understanding the multifaceted representations of war in news coverage.

These findings align with the prior research by Ritchie and Zhu (2015) and Luporini (2021), which emphasized the synergy between metaphor and nominalization in framing complex ideas. Together, metaphor and nominalization provide a multifaceted representation of the war, with nominalizations abstracting specific events into broader concepts and metaphors offering a lens through which those concepts are understood. This interplay underscores the role of language in shaping how people understand the political, social, and strategic dimensions of war, and highlights how journalistic discourse can influence public opinion and international policy.

### POSITIVE VS NEGATIVE METAPHORS

To explore evaluative framing in war reporting, metaphors were categorized into positive or negative, based on their contextual implications. Positive metaphors connote proactive, powerful, or effective actions, while negative metaphors highlight chaos, manipulation, or devastation. This classification was further analysed by examining how often metaphorical expressions co-occurred with evaluative language such as judgment (e.g., ‘effective’), affect (e.g., ‘fearful’), and appreciation (e.g., ‘admirable’).

For example, the headline ‘West hits Vladimir Putin’s fake news factories with wave of sanctions’ (TG, headline, March 20, 2022) (source:<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/mar/20/west-hits-vladimir-putins-fake-news-factories-with-wave-of-sanctions>) is framed positively as it conveys a powerful and proactive response, evoking the metaphor WAR IS A FORCE OF NATURE. In contrast, the headline ‘The

tight web of lawyers and PR firms who oil the wheels for billionaires' (TG, headline, March 6, 2022) (source: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/mar/06/oligarchs-russia-london-web-lawyers-pr-firms-oil-wheels-for-billionaires>) frames the situation negatively, as the metaphor WAR IS A PHYSICAL OBJECT is used to depict a manipulative and hidden system of power. Here, the 'tight web' implies something tangled, and potentially deceptive, whereas 'oil the wheels' suggests behind-the-scenes efforts to ensure the interests of the wealthy are maintained. Both metaphors frame war negatively by highlighting the manipulative and hidden actions of powerful individuals who perpetuate conflict for their benefit, referring it to as a deceitful and efficient machine (WAR/PHYSICAL OBJECT).

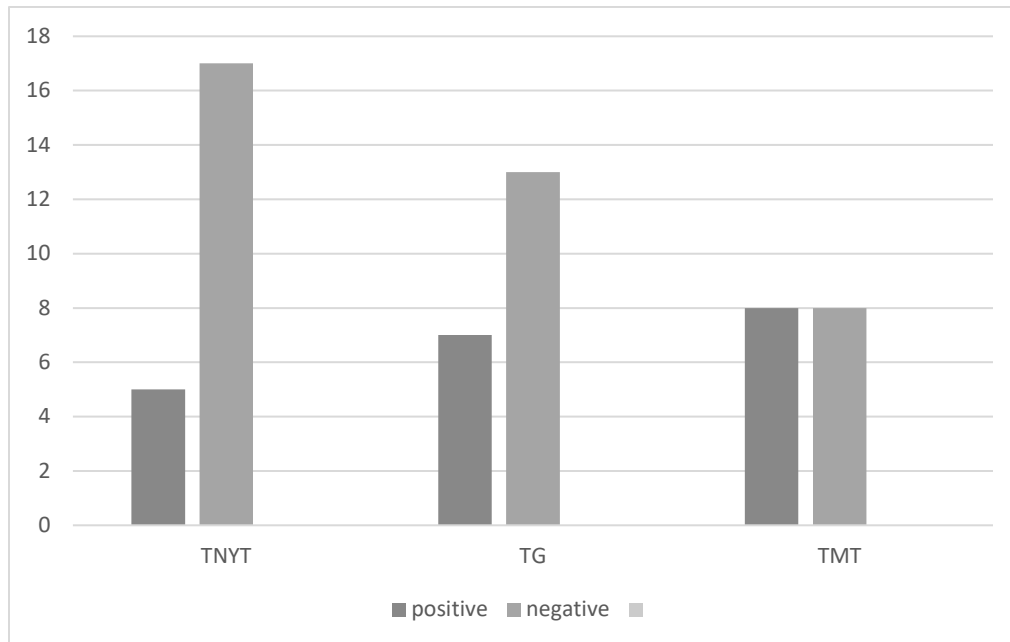


FIGURE 2. Distribution of positive and negative metaphors

Figure 2 illustrates the distribution of positive and negative metaphors across the three corpora. TNYT predominantly uses negative metaphors, with 77.3% negative and only 22.7% positive. In contrast, TG uses a higher proportion of positive metaphors (35%), while TMT maintains a balanced distribution, with 50% positive and 50% negative metaphors.

These differing proportions reflect the distinct editorial perspectives on war: TNYT tends toward a pessimistic framing, TG emphasizes positive action, and TMT adopts a more neutral stance.

#### ATTITUDE AND APPRAISAL IN WAR REPORTING

The analysis of metaphors and nominalizations within the Appraisal framework further reveals how war is framed through judgment, appreciation, and affect. These sub-systems of attitude help to better understand the evaluative tendencies present in the corpora, showing how war is represented not only in terms of events but also through emotional and evaluative responses. Figure 3 displays the distribution of these three attitudinal sub-systems across the corpora.

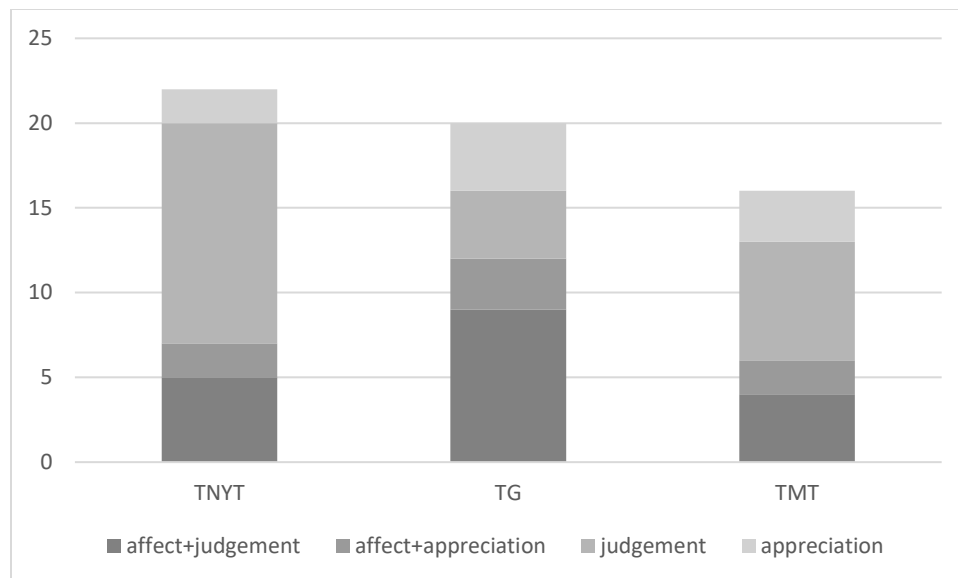


FIGURE 3. Sub-systems of Attitude in TNYT, TG, and TMT

Judgment constitutes 35% of instances across the corpora, often implying evaluation or stance. For instance, in TNYT, the phrase ‘The depth and quality of the intelligence strengthened the president’s hand’ (TNYT, subheading, February 24, 2022, GAME/SPORT metaphor) (source: <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/24/world/europe/intelligence-putin-biden-ukraine-leverage.html>) uses the GAME/SPORT metaphor, where judgment is implied by terms like ‘strengthened’, suggesting an advantageous situation.

Appreciation, accounting for 12% of the total instances, is exemplified in the headline ‘Ukraine’s Actor-President Grows on Stage as War-Time Leader’ (TMT, headline, February 27, 2022, STORY/NARRATIVE metaphor) (source: <https://www.france24.com/en/live-news/20220227-ukraine-s-actor-president-grows-on-stage-as-war-time-leader>), using the STORY/NARRATIVE metaphor to convey admiration for Zelensky’s leadership. There is also a prominent combination of affect and judgment (46%), reflecting the emotional response to events, as in ‘Kyiv furious as EU fails to block Russia from Swift payment system’ (TG, headline, February 24, 2022, ECONOMY metaphor) (source: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/feb/24/kyiv-furious-as-eu-wavers-on-banning-russia-from-swift-payment-system>), where ‘furious’ expresses affect, and ‘fails’ reflects judgment. Kyiv’s emotional response of fury (‘furious’) reflects its strong judgement on the EU’s inadequate action (‘fails’) in addressing an economic issue. Also, appreciation often involves emotional responses, such as admiration or gratitude.

A second notable combination is affect and appreciation (15%), as in ‘Pure Orwell: how Russian state media spins invasion as liberation’ (TG, headline, February 25, 2022, CHAOS metaphor) (source: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/feb/25/pure-orwell-how-russian-state-media-spins-ukraine-invasion-as-liberation>), where affect is expressed through the term ‘Pure Orwell’, and appreciation is implied in the chaotic portrayal of media distortion.

The corpora show distinct tendencies in their use of judgment, affect, and appreciation. TNYT places the most emphasis on judgment (50%), reflecting a critical stance toward actions and policies. It also highlights affect and judgment together (25%), suggesting that TNYT often combines emotional responses with evaluations of the political or military actions at hand. TG, on

the other hand, places more emphasis on affect and judgment (45%), balancing emotional responses with critical assessments, while also integrating affect and appreciation (15%). This approach indicates TG’s attempt to engage readers emotionally while still critiquing actions and decisions. TMT, however, leans towards judgment (43%) and affect plus judgment (29%), with less emphasis on affect plus appreciation (14%) and appreciation (14%), suggesting that it presents a more balanced view, weighing emotional responses with evaluations.

These variations in attitude across the corpora highlight how different outlets use metaphors and nominalizations to frame and evaluate the war, with TNYT adopting a more critical and judgmental tone, TG using a more emotionally engaging and nuanced approach, and TMT balancing both judgment and appreciation. The interplay of these elements helps shape the public’s perception of the conflict, emphasizing not just the events themselves but also the emotional and evaluative responses to those events.

#### WAR NARRATIVE: METAPHOR, NOMINALIZATION, AND APPRAISAL

War reporting often relies on metaphors to shape the narrative, influencing how readers understand and emotionally engage with the conflict. The most common metaphors in the three corpora can be mapped to different conceptualizations of war, as shown in Table 4 and Figure 1.

TABLE 4. Metaphorical mappings

Metaphorical mapping	Total hits in TNYT	Total hits in TG	Total hits in TMT
WAR IS A HUMAN BEING	5 (22.73%)	--	--
WAR IS A PHYSICAL OBJECT	3 (13.64%)	1 (5%)	--
WAR IS AN ANIMAL	2 (9.09%)	--	--
WAR IS A DISEASE	--	--	2 (12.50%)
WAR IS A JOURNEY	2 (9.09%)	2 (10%)	3 (18.75%)
WAR IS ECONOMY	6 (27.27%)	5 (25%)	2 (12.50%)
WAR IS A FORCE OF NATURE	2 (9.09%)	2 (10%)	2 (12.50%)
WAR IS A STORY/NARRATIVE	2 (9.09)	3 (15%)	2 (12.50%)
WAR IS A GAME/SPORT	--	3 (15%)	2 (12.50%)
WAR IS CHAOS	--	4 (20%)	3 (18.75%)
<b>Total</b>	<b>22 (100%)</b>	<b>20 (100%)</b>	<b>16 (100%)</b>

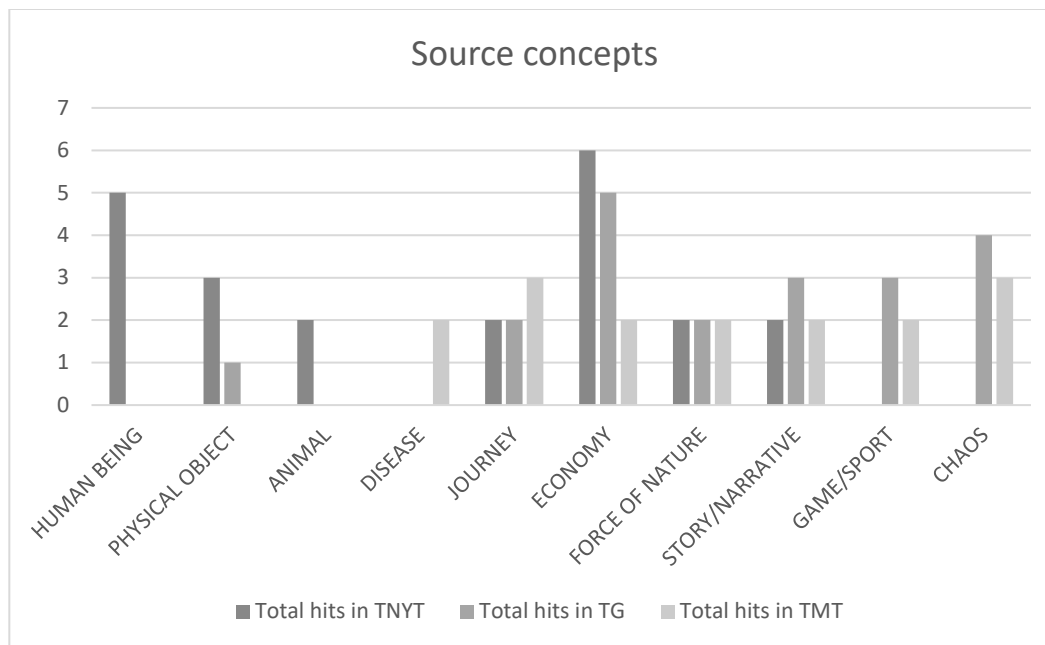


FIGURE 4. Incidence of source concepts in TNYT, TG, and TMT

The metaphor WAR IS ECONOMY is the most frequent across all three corpora, appearing in 27.27% of TNYT's corpus, 25% of TG, and 12.50% of TMT. The next most common metaphor is WAR IS STORY/NARRATIVE, present in 9.09% of TNYT, 15% of TG, and 12.50% of TMT. WAR IS JOURNEY follows closely, appearing in 9.09% of TNYT, 10% of TG, and 18.75% of TMT. The metaphor WAR IS A FORCE OF NATURE is similarly used across the corpora, with TNYT (9.09%), TG (10%), and TMT (12.50%). TNYT emphasizes ECONOMY and HUMAN BEING metaphors (22.73%), while TG leans more toward ECONOMY and CHAOS (20%). TMT, on the other hand, balances metaphors from JOURNEY, GAME/SPORT, and CHAOS, each contributing 18.75%.

## METAPHORICAL FRAMING OF WAR IN THE THREE CORPORA

### WAR/HUMAN BEING/ANIMAL

As indicated in Table 4 and Figure 4, the TNYT corpus reveals distinct usage patterns of the HUMAN BEING and ANIMAL metaphors. The HUMAN BEING appears in TNYT in 5 instances, while the ANIMAL metaphor is used 2 times (out of 22). Both metaphors are completely absent in TG and TMT. In TNYT, both metaphors carry negative connotations, as demonstrated in the following example:

- (1) 'The *Invasion* of Ukraine: How Russia Attacked and What Happens Next' (TNYT, headline, February 24, 2022, ANIMAL metaphor)  
 (source: <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/24/world/europe/why-russia-attacked-ukraine.html>)

The WAR IS AN ANIMAL metaphor is realized by the verb 'attack', which suggests that Russia's actions are not merely military but predatory, evoking the image of an animal launching a sudden assault. Additionally, the nominalization *invasion* implies a large, organized, and impactful event,

rather than just an isolated act. This framing anchors the abstract concept of war, while the ANIMAL metaphor infuses the headline with aggression and unpredictability, effectively communicating the severity of the conflict. Interestingly, HUMAN BEING metaphors in TNYT are mostly found in headlines, where they carry an implied negative judgment of the war. No explicit evaluative lexis is present in these cases. These metaphors share traits with the ANIMAL domain, but here the target concept is explicitly attributed to human qualities.

#### WAR/PHYSICAL OBJECT

WAR IS A PHYSICAL OBJECT metaphor is relatively prominent in TNYT, making up 13.64% of the total metaphors related to war. TG has only one occurrence (5% of the total). This metaphor carries predominantly negative connotations across the two corpora, enacting judgement (75%) and affect+judgement (25%). Both corpora frame war as a passive entity, whose movements can be physically controlled. This is illustrated through verbs such as ‘move’ itself, ‘control’, ‘halt’, or their nominalized forms:

(2) ‘Multinationals halt operations in Ukraine and move employees to safety’ (TNYT, headline, February 24, 2022)  
(source:<https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/24/business/multinationals-halt-operations-in-ukraine-and-move-employees-to-safety.html>)

This example frames war in tangible, almost material terms: it is a disruptive force that directly impacts business operations.

#### WAR/DISEASE

Only TMT employs the WAR IS A DISEASE metaphor (12.50%) to describe the conflict’s impact on Europe, as shown in the following example:

(3) ‘Rampant Spread of *Instability* Across Europe’ (TMT, subheading, February 25, 2022)  
(source:<https://www.themoscowtimes.com/2022/02/27/west-kicks-russian-banks-off-swift-paralyzes-central-bank-assets-a76619>)

The metaphor conveys a negative judgement by suggesting that the instability is spreading uncontrollably (‘rampant’). The nominalization *spread* and the absence of explicit agents in the headline emphasize the severity and self-sustaining nature of the war. Together, nominalization and metaphor (‘rampant spread’) shape the reader’s perception by highlighting instability as a major, uncontrollable issue spreading across Europe, underscoring the seriousness and the need for attention or action.

#### WAR/JOURNEY

The JOURNEY IS A JOURNEY metaphor appears with increasing frequency across the three corpora: 9.09% in TNYT, 10% in TG, to 18.75% in TMT. The predominant pattern in these corpora is negative affect+judgement (78.50%). The headlines often combine emotional responses (such as concern or anxiety) with judgements about the severity or trajectory of the conflict:



(4) ‘Diplomacy in turmoil with Russia’s path of aggression’. (TNYP, headline, March 29, 2022)  
(source: <https://www.nytimes.com/live/2022/01/26/world/ukraine-russia-us>)

(5) ‘Britons face fraught journeys overland and delays to find a way out of Russia’ (TG, headline, March 6, 2022)  
(source: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/mar/06/britons-face-fraught-journeys-overland-and-delays-to-find-a-way-out-of-russia>)

In (4), diplomatic efforts are framed as navigating through a complex and unstable journey due to Russia’s aggressive actions. In (5), the metaphor illustrates the personal and logistical challenges individuals face while trying to escape a difficult situation. The term ‘turmoil’ in (4) also evokes the CHAOS metaphor, presenting the state of diplomacy as being in upheaval and disorder.

#### WAR/ECONOMY

The ECONOMY IS ECONOMY metaphor appears with varying frequency across the three corpora: 27.27% in TNYP, 25% in TG, and 15.50% in TMT, highlighting the consistent framing of the conflict through economic. The metaphor is realized by the verbs like ‘surge’, ‘slump’, and ‘crush’, and nominalizations such as *sanctions*, *cost*, *penalty*, and *inflation*. The most common metaphorical framing combines affect with judgement (70.65%). The example below shows a judgmental stance:

(6) ‘How a swift economic victory against Russia looks unlikely’ (TG, headline, February 24, 2022)  
(source: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/feb/24/why-a-swift-economic-victory-against-russia-unlikely-sanctions>)

The ECONOMY metaphor is used to show the war’s immediate effects on inflation and economic stability, emphasizing rising costs for everyday citizens.

#### WAR/ FORCE OF NATURE

The WAR IS A FORCE OF NATURE metaphor is used similarly across the three corpora (TNYP 9.09%, TG 10%, TMT 12.5%), indicating a comparable emphasis on framing the war as a natural phenomenon. The TNYP corpus exhibits the highest percentage of judgement category (30.91%) compared to TG (25%) and TMT (22.50%). In most cases (75.50%) the NATURE metaphor has a negative connotation, emphasizing the scale, intensity, and uncontrollability of the conflict:

(7) ‘West hits Vladimir Putin’s fake news factories with wave of sanctions’ (TG, headline, March 20, 2022)  
(source: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/mar/20/west-hits-vladimir-putins-fake-news-factories-with-wave-of-sanctions>)

The example highlights the overwhelming nature of the sanctions, suggesting a broad, sweeping impact akin to a natural wave.

#### WAR/STORY/NARRATIVE

In the WAR IS A STORY and WAR IS A NARRATIVE metaphor, judgement accounts for 23.40% and appreciation for 27.27%. The combined category of affect+judgement is prominent with 40.91%, while affect+appreciation is the lowest accounting for only 8.68%. In the three corpora, the metaphor appears with varying frequencies: 9.09% in TNYT, 15% in TG, and 12.5% in TMT. STORY/NARRATIVE metaphor employs words such as ‘unfold’, ‘narrate’, ‘depict’, ‘frame’, ‘plot’, ‘drama’, and ‘tale’ as in the example below:

(8) ‘Shaky footage in Ukraine shows this is a tale of two ways of waging war: stealth versus brute force’ (TG, headline, March 13, 2022)

(source:<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/mar/12/shaky-footage-in-ukraine-shows-this-is-a-tale-of-two-ways-of-waging-war-stealth-versus-brute-force>)

(9) ‘Zelensky Steps Into a Role Few Expected: Ukraine’s Wartime President’ (TMT, headline, February 25, 2022)

(source: <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/24/world/europe/ukraine-zelensky-speech.html>)

(10) ‘Even as doubts have lingered about his preparedness to lead, Volodymyr Zelensky, a former actor, gave the performance of his life as Russian forces prepared to invade’ (TMT, subheading, February 25, 2022)

(source: <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/24/world/europe/ukraine-zelensky-speech.html>)

The headline (8) frames the conflict as a narrative by depicting the war as a story with opposing strategies, using ‘tale’ and contrasting methods to suggest dramatic, story-like conflict, while (9) and its subhead (10) cast Zelensky as an unexpected hero stepping into a critical role. This metaphorical framing points out the narrative arc of overcoming doubts and rising to meet the challenges of war.

#### WAR/GAME

WAR IS A GAME metaphor is used only in the two corpora: TG (15%) and TMT (12.50%), where it is predominantly realized through judgement (40%), appreciation (20%), affect+judgement (30%), and affect+appreciation (10%) category, with verbs such as ‘compete’ and nominalizations like ‘strategy’ and ‘game’ emphasize the war as a competitive and strategic contest. In the following headlines WAR IS A GAME metaphor is used to frame geopolitical conflict:

(11) ‘Fox News hosts play down Russia’s attack on Ukraine’ (TNYT, headline, February 24, 2022)  
(source:<https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/24/business/fox-news-russia-ukraine.html>)

(12) ‘A dirty game: Russians in UK rail at calls to seize oligarchs’ assets’ (TG, headline, March 19, 2022)

(source:<https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2022/mar/19/a-dirty-game-russians-in-uk-rail-at-calls-to-seize-oligarchs-assets>)

Headline (11) employs the GAME metaphor by suggesting a casual and trivial approach to discussing the war, akin to commentary in a game. The term ‘play down’ causes the headline to

have a negative connotation as it minimizes the serious and destructive nature of the conflict. In example (12), in turn, the phrase ‘a dirty game’ conveys perceived unfair tactics and manipulation.

#### WAR/ CHAOS

WAR IS A CHAOS metaphors are used only in TG (20%) and TMT (18.75%). Within this category, appreciation is most prevalent at 3.33%, while affect+judgement and judgement each account for 25%. Affect+appreciation makes up 16.67% of the total. In example (14) below, the expressions ‘noise’, ‘speed’, ‘chaos’, and ‘fuss’ again activate presuppositions, strengthening the negative evaluation by reflecting the disorder and distressing nature of the wartime evacuation experience:

(13) ‘Noise, speed, chaos and fuss everywhere: diary of *evacuation* from Kyiv’ (TG, headline, February 25, 2022)  
(source:<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/feb/26/russia-ukraine-my-diary-of-evacuation-from-kyiv?ref=quuu>)

The metaphors identified across the corpora reveal varying editorial focuses. TG often frames war as a destructive and uncontrollable force, using metaphors like WAR IS A HUMAN BEING and WAR IS A FORCE OF NATURE. In contrast, TNYT leans more on metaphors of progression, such as WAR IS A JOURNEY, emphasizing a narrative of process and resolution. Meanwhile, TMT tends to use WAR IS A GAME to downplay the seriousness of war, framing it as a strategic contest with less focus on its human consequences. These metaphors not only influence how war is framed in the media but also guide public perception by shaping the emotional and rational responses to conflict. Whether portraying war as an inevitable disaster or a manageable process, metaphors help define the narrative that informs political discourse and public opinion.

#### CONCLUSION

This study explores the use of metaphor, nominalization, and appraisal patterns in media discourse to frame the Russian-Ukraine war, by focusing on three major media outlets: *The New York Times*, *The Guardian*, and *The Moscow Times*. The main research question explores how these linguistic strategies interact to construct different media perspectives on the war and the implications of these frames for public understanding. By combining Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) with critical discourse analysis, the study shows how language choices in media discourse influence interpretations of war’s nature, trajectory, and broader implications.

The results of this study indicate that *The New York Times* frames the conflict in terms of economic devastation and narrative resolution, reflecting concerns about long-term economic impact and the war’s unfolding story. *The Guardian* emphasizes both the chaotic nature of the conflict and the strategic manoeuvres involved, portraying a complex, multi-faceted view of the war. *The Moscow Times*, while more neutral in tone, occasionally uses aggressive terms like ‘invasion’ to emphasize the catastrophic nature of the war.

These varying approaches across outlets underscore the power of language in influencing how conflicts are understood and the way public opinion is formed. However, the study’s narrow focus on headlines and subheadings over one month limits its generalizability. Future research

should expand the scope to include full articles, incorporate additional media outlets, and extend the time frame to better understand how media framing evolves and its long-term impact on public opinion.

The findings underscore the profound implications of metaphorical framing in media. By shaping both emotional and rational audience responses, these frames influence public discourse, policy debates, and international perspectives on conflict. However, a limitation of this study lies in its narrow scope – headlines and subheadings from three outlets over one month. Future research should expand the dataset to include full articles, additional outlets, and a longer time frame to better understand how media framing evolves and its broader societal impact.

## REFERENCES

- Bell, A. (1991). *The Language of News Media*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Deignan, A. (2005). *Metaphor and Corpus Linguistics*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins.
- Downing, A. (2000). Nominalisation and topic management in leads and headlines. In E. Ventola, (Ed.). *Discourse and Community. Doing Functional Linguistics* (pp. 355-378). Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.
- Fairclough, N. (1995). *Media Discourse*. London: Arnold.
- Fowler, R. (1991). *Language in the News: Discourse and Ideology in the Press*. London/New York: Routledge.
- Halliday, M.A.K. & Matthiessen, C.M.I.M. (2014). *Halliday's Introduction to Functional Grammar*. London/New York: Routledge.
- Halliday, M.A.K. (2003). Grammar, society and the noun. In J.J. Webster, (Ed.). *On Language and Linguistics. The Collected Works of M.A.K. Halliday*, Volume 3 (pp. 50-73). London/New York: Continuum.
- Halliday, M.A.K. (2004). On the grammar of scientific English. In J.J. Webster, (Ed.). *The Language of Science. The Collected Works of M.A.K. Halliday*, Volume 5 (pp. 181-198). London/New York: Continuum.
- Hodgson, F.W. (1996). *Modern Newspaper Practice*, Oxford: Focal Press.
- Isani, S. (2011). Of headlines & headlines: Towards distinctive linguistic and pragmatic genericity. *Asp.* 60, 81-102. <https://doi.org/10.4000/asp.2523>
- Jenkins, H. (1990). Train sex man fined: Headlines and cataphoric ellipsis. In M.A.K. Halliday, J. Gibbons & H. Nicholas, (Eds.). *Learning, Keeping and Using Language: Selected Papers from the Eighth World Congress of Applied Linguistics*, Volume 2 (pp. 349-362). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins.
- Koester, A. (2010). Building small specialised corpora. In A. O'Keeffe & M. McCarthy (Eds). *The Routledge Handbook of Corpus Linguistics* (pp. 66-79). London/New York: Routledge.
- Kövecses, Z. (2002). *Metaphor: A Practical Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kulyk, V. (2011). Language Identity, Linguistic Diversity and Political Cleavages: Evidence from Ukraine. *Nations and Nationalism*. 17(3), 627-648. DOI:10.1111/j.1469-8129.2011.00493.x
- Lakoff, G. & Johnson, M. (2003). *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Lambrou, M. & Durant, A. (2014). Media stylistics. In P. Stockwell, (Ed.). *The Cambridge Handbook of Stylistics* (pp. 503-519). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Lian J., Usher N. (2014). Crowd-Funded Journalism. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*. 19(2), 155–70. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcc4.12051>
- Liu, C. H. (2019). Discourse Strategies of Government Communication in the New Media Era. *China Broadcasting*. 11, 41-45. <https://doi.org/10.16694/j.cnki.zggb.2019.11.012>
- Luporini, A. (2021). Metaphor, Nominalization, Appraisal: Analyzing Coronavirus-Related Headlines and Subheadings in China Daily and The Wall Street Journal. *GEMA Online Journal of Language Studies*. 21(1), 253-273. <https://doi.org/10.17576/gema-2021-2101-15>
- Mardh, I. (1980). *Headlines: On the Grammar of English Front Page Headlines*. Malmö: CWK Gleerup.
- Martin, J. & White, P.R.R. (2005). *The Language of Evaluation. Appraisal in English*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Pavlichenko, L. (2022). Polarization in media political discourse on the war in Ukraine: critical discourse analysis. *Alfred Nobel University Journal of Philology*, 2(24), 214-223. DOI:10.32342/2523-4463-2022-2-24-18
- Ritchie, L.D. & Zhu, M. (2015). ‘Nixon stonewalled the investigation’: Potential contributions of grammatical metaphor to Conceptual Metaphor Theory and Analysis. *Metaphor and Symbol*. 30(2), 118-136. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10926488.2015.1016837>
- Simon-Vandenberg, A., White, P.R.R. & Aijmer, K. (2007). Presupposition and ‘taking-for-granted’ in mass communicated political argument: An illustration from British, Flemish and Swedish political colloquy. In A. Fetzer & G.E. Lauerbach, (Eds.). *Political Discourse in the Media: Cross-cultural Perspectives* (pp. 31-74). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins.
- Solopova, V., Benzmülle, C., Landgraf, T. (2023). The Evolution of Pro-Kremlin Propaganda From a Machine Learning and Linguistics Perspective. *Proceedings of the Second Ukrainian Natural Language Processing Workshop (UNLP)*. 40-46. DOI:10.18653/v1/2023.unlp-1.5
- Stenvall, M. (2008). On emotions and the journalistic ideals of factuality and objectivity – Tools for analysis. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 40, 1569-1586. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2008.04.017>
- Thompson, G. (2014). *Introducing Functional Grammar, third edition*. London/New York: Routledge.
- Tsang, A. (2018). The Guardian Sets Up a Nonprofit to Support Its Journalism. *International New York Times*. Retrieved April 6, 2024 from [28link.gale.com/apps/doc/A502156635/AONE?u=anon~588b5efb&sid=googleScholar&xid=efc234a8](https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/A502156635/AONE?u=anon~588b5efb&sid=googleScholar&xid=efc234a8)
- van Dijk, T. (1998). Opinions and ideologies in the press. In A. Bell & P. Garrett, (Eds.). *Approaches to Media Discourse* (pp. 21-63). Oxford: Blackwell.
- White, P.R.R. (2004). Subjectivity, evaluation and point of view in media discourse. In C. Coffin, A. Hewings & K. O’Halloran, (Eds.). *Applying English Grammar* (pp. 229- 246). London: Arnold.
- White, P.R.R. (2011). Appraisal. In J. Zienkowski, J. Östman & J. Verschueren (Eds.). *Discursive Pragmatics* (pp. 14-36). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins.

### **ABOUT THE AUTHOR**

Judyta Pawliszko is an assistant professor at the Institute of Applied Linguistics at the University of Rzeszów. Her scope of research includes sociolinguistic conditions of bilingualism, language hybridization, contrastive text linguistics, intercultural communication, didactics of specialized English (Business English), ethnolinguistics.