

NEW FUNCTIONAL APPEARANCES OF STABLE EXPRESSIONS IN THE MEDIA TEXTS OF THE RUSSIAN-UKRAINIAN WAR PERIOD

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Abstract: In the scientific research, set expressions attested in the texts of modern Ukrainian mass media during the period of the Russian-Ukrainian war (2022-2024) were analyzed. We consider the corpus of collected material to be innovative, as the source base covers modern information platforms of various types and forms of ownership. In accordance with the formulated goal, the article investigates the functional features and reveals the parametric characteristics of set expressions in the language of modern mass media, and their transformational potential and stylistic role are clarified. Achieving the set goal appeared possible due to solution of the following tasks: 1) to characterize set expressions in the context of the modern linguistic paradigm; 2) to outline actual non-speech factors affecting the creation of transformed compounds; 3) to highlight the topics of publications that use stable expressions of different form and meaning; 4) to analyze negative-evaluative and expressive language units, attested in the language of the Ukrainian mass media in 2022–2024. It was found that proverbs, sayings, phraseological units, catchphrases, etc. function in the texts of modern mass media. The most stable expressions are presented in texts about the Russian-Ukrainian war, the leaders of Russia and Belarus. It was found that established phrases are actively used in publications about international relations, various problematic and conflict situations, economic, managerial and business affairs, less analyzed language units are recorded in the topics of sports and recreation, art and science, and in lay news. The dominant is formed by set expressions presented in academic and online dictionaries; new formations and transformed known expressions are quantitatively inferior to them. For the most part, established compounds indicate negative processes and actions, often negatively characterize famous persons. Expressiveness of Ukrainian mass media texts belongs to a number of functional features of the analyzed language units.

Keywords: set expression, phraseology unit, proverb, saying, catchphrase, mass media, media phraseology, extra-linguistic factors, stylistic role, negative evaluation, expression, lexical meaning, transformed phrase, modification, Russian-Ukrainian war.

1 Introduction

The diversity of modern researches of the journalistic text is due to its multifaceted expression, the unusualness of the stylistic presentation of information, and the peculiarities of language resources. The intensive development of the media language serves as a prerequisite for the actualization of a number of issues, among which a prominent place belongs to stylistic certainty, classification of language units, efficiency of presentation and interpretation of new lexemes in dictionaries, the advantages of prescriptive or descriptive norms, the balance of logicalization of the presentation with emotional and expressive coloring, genre differentiation, etc. All this points to the need for multifaceted studies of the language of Ukrainian mass media. In this aspect, the study of set expressions that function in the information space and form a peculiar linguistic phenomenon seems to be relevant.

Researchers consider modern established language units as a multifaceted phenomenon in the semantic and stylistic sense and

from the standpoint of the development of language communication: as a type of language stylistics, phraseology, verbal code, functional resource. New scientific challenges for 21st century phraseology are formed under the influence of the communicative evolution of its main object – phraseology unit (and neo-phraseology unit, if we are talking about modern trends in language development) [18]. Ukrainian linguists analyze fixed expressions in various aspects, in particular in the context of phraseology, stylistics, functional lexicology, etc. The interpretation of stable expressions in the modern communicative space also takes place within the boundaries of new linguistics areas - ecolinguistics, ethnolinguistics, linguistic and cultural studies, political linguistics, etc. Recently, persistent expressions have actively penetrated the mass media, which is a prerequisite for their study in the field of media linguistics. We would like to add that various aspects of this linguistic direction have repeatedly been the object of scientific research [1; 5; 7; 8; 9; 10; 11; 15; 16; 19; 20, etc.], but the phraseological space was either neglected or considered fragmentarily. Determining the qualification parameters of media resources, scientists point to their openness and democracy, on the one hand, and the corresponding unification, codification, stereotyping, and systematicity of language units, on the other. This is associated with the consistent (and natural for developed media cultures) intellectualization of the Ukrainian literary language [14], which in modern times is changing mass media orientations towards total media reality and information consumerism [18].

The specified qualification parameters, as well as a number of other features, were taken into account by the researcher of media phraseology D. Yu. Sizonov, who proposed the concept of a comprehensive study of the functional and stylistic possibilities of media phraseology in the Ukrainian-speaking space, which correlates with the dynamic processes of the development of public communication. What is new in the linguistic paradigm of the scientist is the involvement of the concept of media phraseology in metalanguage - a verbalized representative and objectifier of media meanings, characterized by semantic integrity, precedent and intertextuality, the ability to structural transformations in order to influence the recipient and manipulate his consciousness [18, p. 2]. In the innovative paradigm of modern linguistics, D. Sizonov considered new stable units that arise as a verbal reflection on social changes. The researcher managed to determine the system characteristics of neophraseology, among which there are stable reproducibility in the media, established semantics, mass circulation in the mass media, recognition by the mass recipient, precedent phenomenonality, media invariance, universality for media use, media expressiveness, emotionality, evaluability. D. Sizonov considered new media phraseology in various communicative spheres - political, business, advertising, cross-cultural, which are indicative of the functional capabilities of the studied units [18, p. 5]. A number of unanimous ideas are expressed by M. Navalna and O. Spis. Analyzing the language of modern media in the context of external factors and functional potential, the researchers quite motivatedly emphasize that during the war there is a need for the revival of "old" slogans and phraseological compounds and the emergence of new ones, which, performing voluntary and identification functions, have the ability not only to "to connect, but also to carry powerful spiritual energy" [11, p. 40]. We consider the methodological principles mentioned by scientists to be promising for a comprehensive study of phraseological units attested in newspaper journalism during the active phase of the Russian-Ukrainian war.

The purpose of the article is to investigate the functional and parametric features of stable expressions in the language of modern mass media, to find out their transformational potential and stylistic role. Achieving the set goal involves solving the following tasks: 1) to characterize stable expressions in the context of the modern linguistic paradigm; 2) to outline relevant

non-verbal factors affecting the creation of transformed compounds; 3) to highlight the topics of publications in which stable expressions of different form and meaning are used; 4) to analyze the negative evaluative and expressive formations that function in the language of the Ukrainian mass media in 2022-2024.

2 Materials and Methods

Modern information platforms of various types and forms of ownership during the active phase of the Russian-Ukrainian war served as the source base of the research. The corpus of stable compounds built on their basis covers more than 100 units, represented in about 5000 previously unanalyzed sentence constructions, which, in our opinion, highlights the innovativeness of the article.

It was possible to achieve the set goal and complete the task with the help of the following research methods: descriptive, which made it possible to systematize and classify set expressions selected from mass media texts; the method of complex analysis, which made it possible to study established and modified phrases in the semantic aspect; the method of contextual semantic analysis, which made it possible to characterize the selected statements in terms of contextual environment and semantic specificity; method of component analysis applied to the study of some characteristics of resistant units.

3 Results and Discussion

The topic of the Russian-Ukrainian war remains relevant in modern mass media for a long time. Ukrainian defenders heroically defend their native land, restrain enemy attacks and often win at the cost of their lives. Of course, this news is the first in informational messages. At the same time, some politicians and political parties use military actions for their own PR. In addition, there will always be people for whom war is not a grief, but earnings and privileges. To describe such phenomena in society, journalists use the proverb “*кому війна, а кому мати рідна*” (“*to whom is war, and to whom is native mother*”), which serves as a means of contrasting people who participate in hostilities or actively help their country, and those who are looking for a way to earn money. E.g.: *Геннадій Мазур: Можна сказати, що приказка «Кому війна, а кому мати рідна», яка означає, що завжди знайдуться люди, для яких війна обертається не болем, а благом, як і раніше актуальна (Gennady Mazur: We can say that the saying “To whom is war, and to whom is native mother”, which means that there will always be people for whom war is not a pain, but a blessing, is still relevant today)* (<https://33kanal.com>, April 19, 2023). In the language of modern mass media, the analyzed established expression is quite widely used not only in the all-Ukrainian, but also in the regional mass media: *Кому війна, а кому мати рідна, чи скільки коштують послуги Держспоживслужби для бізнесу під час війни (To whom is the war, and to whom is the native mother, or how much do the services of the State Consumer Service cost for business during the war)* (<https://www.porada.zp.ua>, May 4, 2023). In some places, the authors of the publications use a shortened version of the analyzed expression, which indicates its recognition by native speakers, although at the same time it may cause difficulties in the perception of information for foreign consumers of information. E.g.: *Корупція: кому війна – мати рідна? Що нині з корупцією на Кіровоградщині (Corruption: Whose mother is war? What is the current situation with corruption in Kirovohrad Oblast)* (<https://cbn.com.ua>, October 31, 2022). Focusing attention on the subject of the texts in which the studied proverb is attested, we note that it is found in publications about corruption schemes in the state during the war, about unfair ‘rules of the game’ in business and in other social institutions, e.g.: *Кому війна, кому мати рідна: що відбувається на ринку житла у Києві (headline). Фахівці кажуть, що максимального падіння цін ще не відбулося (To whom is the war, to whom is the mother native: what is happening in the housing market in Kyiv (headline). Experts say that the maximum drop in prices has not yet occurred)*

(<https://apostrophe.ua>, June 19, 2022). In media publications, established expressions play an important communicative and pragmatic role. Emphasizing on their parametric characteristics and functions, V. Kalko quite motivatedly states: “Paremia is a complete speech sign reproduced by the speaker in a finished form, which gives grounds to qualify it as a speech act, that is, a purposeful speech action. A proverb, on the one hand, is an intentional unit, since it is endowed with a corresponding intention, and on the other hand, it is a conventional unit, since it is built according to the rules of speech behavior of the ethnic group. The most frequent among paremias as speech acts are representative ones, because they implement certain situations, represent a ready-made picture of the environment in which a Ukrainian must live, help him orient himself in various life circumstances” [4, p. 41].

In terms of semantics and negative evaluation, the proverb analyzed above is dominated by the fixed expressions “*бізнес із запахом крові, бізнес на крові*” (*business with the smell of blood, business on blood*), cf.: *Бізнес із запахом крові (headline) (“Business with the smell of blood (headline)”)* (<https://business.rayon.in.ua>, July 20, 2022); *Бізнес на крові. Грандіозне весілля сій Амбані: як індійські мільяртери пов’язані з Росією (Business is in the blood. The grand wedding of the Ambani family: how Indian billionaires are connected to Russia)* (<https://finance.24tv.ua>, July 26, 2024).

The lexeme *коаліція* (*coalition*) is “an association, union, agreement of states, parties, etc. to achieve a common goal” [2, IV, p. 200] - most of the phrases include party coalition, deputy coalition, etc. During the Russian-Ukrainian war, we record new expressions structured by this noun, in particular, drone coalition, artillery coalition, e.g.: *«Коаліція дронів»: Канада долучиться до міжнародної допомоги безпілотниками Україні (“Drone coalition”: Canada will join international drone assistance to Ukraine)* (<https://umoloda.kyiv.ua>, March 8, 2024); *«Артилерійська коаліція»: Франція щомісяця постачатиме 50 авіабомб Україні (“Artillery Coalition”: France will supply 50 aerial bombs to Ukraine every month)* (<https://umoloda.kyiv.ua>, January 18, 2024). Selected stable expressions denote informal associations of countries that help the Ukrainian army with weapons, equipment, etc. A synonym for the phrase “drone coalition” is the expression *армія дронів* (*army of drones*), cf.: *«Армія дронів»: на фронт відправлено тисячі підготовлених операторів БПЛА (“Army of drones”: thousands of trained UAV operators have been sent to the front)* (<https://umoloda.kyiv.ua>, September 8, 2023).

In the language of modern Ukrainian mass media, established phrases with the subordinate adjective *воєнний* (*military*) have been added, e.g.: *воєнні рейки, воєнна машина (military rails, military machine)*, etc.: *Україна не СРСР, щоб повністю переводити економіку на «воєнні рейки» – Данілов (Ukraine is not the USSR, in order to completely transfer the economy to “military rails” – Danilov)* (<https://umoloda.kyiv.ua>, November 11, 2023); *Воєнні рейки для української, американської та російської економік (Military rails for the Ukrainian, American and Russian economies)* (<https://tyzhden.ua>, April 22, 2024); *У Болгарії закидають Угорщині та Сербії живлення «воєнної машини» Кремля (In Bulgaria, Hungary and Serbia are feeding the Kremlin’s “war machine”)* (<https://umoloda.kyiv.ua>, October 18, 2023). Usually, the analyzed stable expressions are used in materials on economic subjects, in publications about the priorities of spending funds, in particular, on military needs.

During the period of military operations on the territory of Ukraine, journalists actively use the phraseology *вирушити в останній путь* (*to go on the last journey*) with the meaning “to die” [12, p. 102], e.g.: *В останню путь провели воїна Юрія Глодана, який загинув на фронті у вересні минулого року (https://life.pravda.com.ua, February 23, 2024); У Білгород-Дністровському районі проводять в останню путь захисника України Циброва Олега.* Usually, the analyzed phraseology unit functions in the context of Ukrainian soldiers who died in the war.

In the meaning of “to die”, the authors use the updated stable expression *квитки на концерт Кобзона* (*tickets to the Kobzon concert*), but addressed to the enemies, cf.: *Доставка квитків на «концерт Кобзона» – чітко за графіком: спеціально призначені до смерті заганяли російську піхоту* (*Delivery of tickets to the “Kobzon concert” - clearly on schedule: special forces drove Russian infantry to death*) (<https://novynarnia.com>, December 16, 2023); *Втрати РФ в Україні: за тиждень ЗСУ відправили на концерт Кобзона понад 8 тисяч окупантів* (*Losses of the Russian Federation in Ukraine: in one week, the Armed Forces of Ukraine sent more than 8,000 occupiers to the Kobzon concert*) (<https://www.unian.ua>, June 9, 2024). We trace the persistence of the trend towards the active use of the persistent phrase Kobzon’s concert, which means “the physical destruction of the Russian occupiers, and their symbolic joining to the late Russian singer. It can also be used as a threat or a curse, such as: hurry up to go to Kobzon’s concert” [10, p. 138]. The active use of the analyzed phrase-euphemism can be considered a Ukrainian aphorism, an idiom emphasizing the death of Russian soldiers and other figures. D. Sizonov considers such phraseology as a means of implementing the technique of laconism in the language of the mass media, which “presupposes the use of phraseological units in the media text to save linguistic effort. Several used phraseological units in the text help to compress the informational message and, thereby, place semantic accents. Such construction of the text does not require the involvement of a large number of phraseological units, it is sufficient to use one media phraseological unit in the title and one or two to strengthen the emotional impact - in the lead of the media text” [18, p. 288-289]. We agree that the phrase “tickets to the Kobzon concert” is indeed a laconic and emotionally charged media formation, typical of texts written by Ukrainian journalists.

Expressions with the lexeme *бумеранг* (*boomerang*) were activated in journalism during the period of the Russian-Ukrainian war. In the dictionary, it is interpreted as “a throwing weapon of Australian tribes, which has the shape of a bent stick, that itself returns to the one who threw it” [2, I, p. 255], and now used with an indication of “the return of anything to the one who caused this or that”, e.g.: *Бумеранги путіна. Як горить і тоне «непереможна Росія»* (*Putin’s boomerangs. How “invincible Russia” burns and sinks*) (<https://www.pravda.com.ua>, February 28, 2022). In addition to the analyzed expression, in the language of the mass media, the authors use the phrase *ефект бумеранга* (*boomerang effect*) to denote a backlash, when an attempt to influence leads to the opposite effect than was planned or desired. In the studied contexts, this statement refers to military explosions in the Russian Federation as a response to military actions in Ukraine, e.g.: *Ефект бумеранга спрацював – у Москві вибухи! Ситуація на фронтах* (*The boomerang effect has worked - there are explosions in Moscow! The situation on the fronts*) (<https://tsn.ua>, March 6, 2023).

In the language of Ukrainian media publications devoted to the topic of war, we come across the phraseology unit *два чоботи пара* (*a pair of boots*) “similar to each other in some (trans. negative) features, views, position in society, etc.; worth each other” [13, p. 949], e.g.: *Два чоботи пара: Кім повністю підтримує війну РФ в Україні* (<https://umoloda.kyiv.ua>, June 20, 2024). This is how journalists compare countries that support the Russian Federation in the war against Ukraine.

In the body of the selected material, we single out the construction *дати добро*, which means “to approve, to support; to agree, to agree, to agree; allow”. E.g.: *КМУ дав «добро» на закупівлю українських дронів ЧЕРЕЗ PROZORRO* (<https://umoloda.kyiv.ua>, July 4, 2024); *Нідерланди дали «добро» на експорт винищувачів F-16 в Україну* (<https://umoloda.kyiv.ua>, July 2, 2024). We believe that the use of this phrase distorts the language of the Ukrainian mass media, we recommend the authors to use other variants of tokens.

The persistent expression *верхівка айсберга* (*the tip of the iceberg*) with an indication of “difficulties or problems that are part of a much bigger problem” was activated in the analyzed

period in contexts about Russian spies, various types of violence, etc. E.g.: *«Верхівка айсберга»: зростання активності російських шпигунів турбує європейські столиці* (<https://bintel.org.ua>, March 30, 2022); *Це лише верхівка айсберга. ООН зафіксовано 124 випадки сексуального насильства з початку повномасштабного вторгнення* (<https://espreso.tv>, July 10, 2022); *Новітня Мата Харі російсько-української війни - верхівка айсберга чи безодня шпionageжу? (The newest Mata Hari of the Russian-Ukrainian war - the tip of the iceberg or the abyss of espionage?)* (<https://surma.com.ua>, November 8, 2023); *Колишні військові про витік даних до Росії: «Це лише верхівка айсберга»* (<https://www.unian.ua>, March 5, 2024); *Заколот Пригожина був вершиною айсберга: у ГУР розповіли про «бродіння» в армії РФ (Prigozhin’s mutiny was the tip of the iceberg: the GUR told about “roaming” in the Russian army)* (<https://tsn.ua>, July 20, 2023) and others. Let us note that the phrase tip of the iceberg is usually used in relation to negative processes and various problems in the context of the Russian-Ukrainian war.

Among the corpus of persistent phrases, we single out the active use of the expression *брудні гроші* (*dirty money*), which, according to T.I. Prudnykova’s observations, in the active pre-war period dominated newspaper publications on economic topics [14, p. 151-152]. In the language of modern mass media, the persistent expression *брудні гроші* is used in the context of the Russian-Ukrainian war, illegal actions of the Russian Federation, reimbursement of war expenses, etc., see: *Британські депутати: потік «брудних грошей» з РФ у Британію не сплинея попри війну* (*British MPs: the flow of “dirty money” from the Russian Federation to Britain did not stop despite the war*) (<https://www.pravda.com.ua>, June 30, 2022); *Передачу Україні брудні гроші росіян: як це планують робити в Європі* (*Transfer the Russians’ dirty money to Ukraine: how it is planned to be done in Europe*) (<https://www.eurointegration.com>, April 6, 2023); *Російські брудні гроші та пропаганда відзначились і на молдовських місцевих виборах* (*Russian dirty money and propaganda were also noted in the Moldovan local elections*) (<https://zahidfront.com.ua>, November 7, 2023), and others.

In this vein, D. Sizonov examines common language units in the modern information space, such as *біла – сіра – чорна економіка; чиста – сіра бухгалтерія* (*white - gray - black economy; pure - gray bookkeeping*), which in the linguist’s concept received the status of media phraseology units. According to the scientist, their use in the media space is a subjective process and is used with accents “necessary” for a journalist [18, p. 144].

In the media texts, the widespread use of the stable phrase *підлити масла у вогонь* (*to add fuel to the fire*) with the established meaning “to strengthen, inflame, arouse a certain feeling, experience, dispute, etc.” is recorded [3, p. 634]. The main topics of such publications are military actions, negotiation processes regarding the Russian-Ukrainian war, issues of interstate relations, etc.: *Іран, покровитель ХАМАС, лише хоче підлити масла у вогонь хаосу. Росія – покупець зброї в Ірану – уважно за цим спостерігає* (<https://www.pravda.com.ua>, October 20, 2023); *Речник Міністерства закордонних справ Китаю Лін Цзянь порадив НАТО «не підливати масла у вогонь» щодо російсько-української війни* (<https://www.pravda.com.ua>, June 18, 2024); *Не підливати масла у вогонь: як медіа об’єднують громади, розповідаючи про конфліктні теми, зокрема війни* (<https://cje.org.ua>, April 3, 2023); *«Не підливати масла у вогонь»: Китай хоче зберегти відносини і з Україною, і РФ (“Don’t add fuel to the fire”: China wants to preserve relations with both Ukraine and the Russian Federation)* (<https://focus.ua>, May 9, 2023).

Sometimes, in the language of the Ukrainian mass media we come across an option *підливати олію у вогонь*, e.g.: *«Не підливати олії в вогонь»: Китай чекає, що США сприятимуть переговорам РФ і України* (<https://www.pravda.com.ua>, March 27, 2023). Let us note that

the “Phraseological Dictionary of the Ukrainian Language” records both options, in particular, the obsolete forms *підливати оливи в вогонь*, *підливати лою в вогонь* [13, p. 634]. The last options were not recorded among the corpus of the collected material.

Under the influence of non-speech factors, the persistent expression *відкрити скриньку Пандори* (to open Pandora's box) became relevant – “to take an action with irreversible consequences that cannot be undone” [3]. In the context of the Russian-Ukrainian war, the indicated phrase characterizes the head of the Russian Federation, Vladimir Putin, the representative of Hungary, Viktor Orban, etc., cf.: *Путін відкрив «скриньку Пандори», напавши на Україну – президент парламенту Австрії (Putin opened “Pandora's box” by attacking Ukraine - President of the Austrian Parliament)* (<https://www.ukrinform.ua> July 7, 2024); *Путін запустив у Європі свої «консерви», Орбан ризикував відкрити скриньку Пандори...* (<https://www.obozrevatel.com>, December 15, 2023); *Конфіскація заблокованих у Європі російських активів може «відкрити скриньку Пандори» і призвести до падіння довіри інвесторів (The confiscation of Russian assets blocked in Europe can “open Pandora's box” and lead to a drop in investor confidence)* (<https://glavcom.ua>, May 8, 2024). The use of the established expression *відкрити скриньку Пандори* proves that the Russian-Ukrainian war has caused a number of problems not only for the two participants in the conflict, but also for a number of countries, business structures, etc.

From among the collected language material, we single out examples with a persistent expression *авгієві стайні* (Augian stables) – “an extremely polluted place, a great mess or extremely neglected and confused affairs” [3]. For the most part, it is found in articles about the work of territorial centers for recruiting the military, Russian spies, etc., e.g.: *Авгієві стайні «військомотів»* (headline) (Augian stables of “military commissariats” (headline)) (<https://weukraine.tv>, August 14m 2023); *У 2022 році вільне життя кремлівських шпигунів у Європі завершилося. Насамперед європейці наважилися почистити авгієві стайні російських посольств. У 2022 році з країн НАТО було видворено 600 чиновників РФ, 400 з них були шпигунами під дипломатичним прикриттям* (<https://news.telegraf.com.ua>, August 11, 2024). Sometimes, we come across the use of the analyzed expression in publications about transport collapses in big cities, cf.: *Авгієві стайні у центрі Львова: не проїти, не проїхати, не припаркуватись* (<https://www.032.ua>, August 9, 2024).

Many Ukrainian proverbs testify to the need to gather together, to make efforts for big, difficult, as well as pleasant things: *добре там живеться, де гуртом сіється й орється; в гурті робити – як із гори бігти; гуртом можна і море загатити; гуртом і каша краще їсться; в гурті і комар сила*, etc. Among such constructions we also include the persistent expression *гуртом і батька легше бити* (it is easier to beat a father in a group), recorded in the language of the mass media both in the context of war and civil affairs, cf.: *Гуртом і батька легше бити. Максим: Не хочуть іти, який інший варіант – капітуляція? Ми не можемо війну наполовину виграти* (<https://umoloda.kyiv.ua>, May 1, 2024); *Гуртом й батька легше бити, або Як в Україні побудувати бібліотечну справу (It is easier to beat a father in a group, or How to build a library business in Ukraine)* (headline) (<https://ukurier.gov.ua>, September 30, 2022), and others.

Under the influence of non-verbal factors, in particular the cessation of grain transportation due to military actions, the adjective *зерновий* (grain) has been actualized in the language of the Ukrainian mass media, which forms a number of stable expressions: *зерновий коридор*, *зернове питання*, *зернова угода* (grain corridor, grain issue, grain agreement), etc., e.g.: *Україна пропонує Туреччині відновити зерновий коридор без РФ (Ukraine offers Turkey to restore the grain corridor without the Russian Federation)* (<https://umoloda.kyiv.ua>, September 7, 2023); *Ти мені – я тобі: ООН пропонує РФ*

продовжити «зернову угоду» в обмін на підключення одного з банків до SWIFT (<https://umoloda.kyiv.ua>, July 13, 2023), and others. The importance of the so-called “grain issue” and the difficulty of solving it are expressed using the expression *зерновий коридор затемнень* (grain corridor of eclipses), e.g.: *Зерновий «коридор затемнень»: чи зможе Україна експортувати збіжжя після виходу Росії з угоди (Grain “corridor of eclipses”: will Ukraine be able to export grain after Russia's withdrawal from the agreement)* (<https://umoloda.kyiv.ua>, July 30, 2023).

With the noun *коридор* (“corridor”), expression *зелений коридор* (green corridor) is fixed, which means “a channel of simplified customs control, intended for Ukrainians who carry goods that are not subject to taxation and declaration and are outside the limits of the prohibition”. In the corpus of the actual material, the expression *green corridor* indicates a partial modification, as it means “permission to import medicines, food products, hygiene items, etc. to the occupied territories”, e.g.: *Що таке зелений коридор та чому Україна про нього просить (What is the green corridor and why is Ukraine asking for it)* (<https://vikna.tv>, March 6, 2022). Thus, it is not about crossing the border between states, but about the possibility of delivering humanitarian aid to Ukrainians and taking people to safe places.

The famous expression *скелет у шафі* (skeleton in the closet) was introduced by the English writer William Thackeray in the novel “The Newcomes” (1853-1855). The expression denotes “spiritual secrets, personal secrets of a person, certain facts carefully hidden from outsiders, events that, if they are made public, can cause significant damage to the reputation” [3]. Ukrainian journalists use the analyzed compound regarding the plans of the Russian Federation in the war with Ukraine, as well as in texts about the national relations of other countries, cf.: *«Скелет у шафі»: ЗС РФ прорвались в Очеретине майже без бою, – DeepState (“Skeleton in the closet”: the Russian Armed Forces broke through to Ocheretino almost without a fight, - DeepState)* (<https://focus.ua>, June 10, 2024); *У Польщі скелет невизнаної колонізації досі у шафі (In Poland, the skeleton of unrecognized colonization is still in the closet)* (<https://espresso.tv>, March 1, 2024), etc.

The expression *точка кипіння* (boiling point) is well-known: “1. The temperature at which a substance begins to change into a gaseous state. 2. The moment when the calm state of things is lost” [3] - in the language of mass media, it is used with the second figurative meaning, e.g.: *Точки кипіння і донні міни: головні воєнні новини (Boiling points and bottom mines: the main military news)* (<https://umoloda.kyiv.ua>, June 25, 2024).

In the topic of military conflicts, journalists use stable expressions *чорний день* (dark day) – “probable period of time when any situation around can be terrible”, *судний день* (doomsday) – “decisive day in this or that case, event, etc.”, etc., cf.: *Чорний день російської авіації: за добу ПКС РФ втратили 4 борти (Black day of Russian Aviation: the Russian Air Force lost 4 aircraft during the day)* (<https://mil.in.ua>, May 13, 2023); *50 років тому Ізраїль виграв війну судного дня проти Єгипту і Сирії. Ця перемога стала поразкою для прем'єрки Голди Меїр і дипломатичним тріумфом для єгиптян (50 years ago, Israel won the doomsday war against Egypt and Syria. This victory was a defeat for Prime Minister Golda Meir and a diplomatic triumph for the Egyptians)* (<https://babel.ua>, October 16, 2023). It is obvious that the analyzed phrases are used with a negative evaluation, they indicate processes and events that are important in the relevant time period.

With the adjective *чорний* (black), we fix the persistent expression *чорний список* (blacklist) – “a list of people (organizations, settlements, etc.) who, for one reason or another, are denied certain privileges, access, service or recognition. To add to the black list means to prohibit someone from working in a specific environment or remove someone from a certain social circle” [3]: *Україну викреслили з корупційного «чорного списку» GRECO (Ukraine was removed from the GRECO*

corruption “black list”) (<https://umoloda.kyiv.ua>, March 24, 2023); «Весна покаже»: Софія Стужук так нічого і не зрозуміла й приєрилася тим, хто вніс її до «чорного списку» (“Spring will show”: Sofia Stuzhuk did not understand anything and threatened those who put her on the “black list”) (<https://news.obozrevatel.com>, March 23, 2022). Among the less productive, there is the compound чорна «Рада» (black “Rada”), used in the context of a TV channel that has a negative reputation, e.g.: **Чорна «Рада». Що члени забороненої ОПЗЖ роблять у «Єдиних новинах»? (Black “Rada”. What do the members of the banned OPZH do in “Yediny noviny”?)** (<https://www.pravda.com.ua>, September 27, 2022). In the above statement, we trace the allusion to the title of Panteleimon Kulish’s famous novel “The Black Council”. We note that the use of the lexeme чорний (black) in persistent phrases primarily indicates pejorative characteristics of the persons, institutions, and organizations in question.

With the mentioned adjective in the texts of trade and marketing topics, journalists use the well-known expression чорна п’ятниця (Black Friday) – “the day when retail stores have a massive sale of various goods with huge discounts” [3], e.g.: **Чорна п’ятниця-2023: як купувати швидко, екологічно й не витратити зайвого (Black Friday-2023: how to buy quickly, ecologically and not to spend too much)** (<https://www.pravda.com.ua>, November 23, 2023). We also fix the phrase чорний маркетолог (black marketer) – “the one who conducts dishonest policy towards customers”, e.g.: **Чорна п’ятниця чорних маркетологів** (headline). ЕП дослідила, як інтернет-магазини облаштували «чорну п’ятницю», щоб спокушати українців до купівлі товарів (Black Friday of black marketers (headline). The European Parliament investigated how online stores organized “Black Friday” to tempt Ukrainians to buy goods) (<https://www.epravda.com.ua>, November 24, 2023). Journalists especially condemn the behavior of dishonest marketers during the war, cf.: **«Чорна п’ятниця» під час війни: чесний розпродаж чи обман для спустошення гаманців (“Black Friday” during the war: honest sale or deception to empty wallets)** (<https://www.unian.ua>, November 21, 2023).

Antonyms for the adjective чорний (black) include not only the adjective білий (white), but also the adjective чистий, прозорий (clean, transparent), which are part of stable phrases used in the language of the mass media, e.g.: white business – “entrepreneurs, organizations, institutions that comply with current tax legislation”; clean business – “environmental business or obvious profit”; transparent business – “conducting an open policy of the company’s activities”, see: **Нові податкові пастки: як правила гри змінюють майбутнє «білого» та іншого бізнесу** (headline) (<https://fact-news.com.ua>, July 1, 2024); **Зелений бізнес відомий як екологічно чистий бізнес або бізнес, який надає пріоритет стійкості та екологічній свідомості** (<https://www.doola.com>, April 26, 2023); **Франшиза автомобілки самообслуговування: чистий бізнес без ризиків** (<https://washercar.ua>, February 16, 2024); **Прозорий бізнес та відбудова України: чи є шанси для масштабування під час війни?** (headline) (<https://www.tpp.pl.ua>, October 26, 2023).

The authors of publications treat the political leaders Vladimir Putin and Alexander Lukashenko with frank disdain and a negative assessment, calling them політичні трупи (political corpses) – “unpromising political figures” [4], cf.: **Путін тримає біля голови політичного трупа Лукашенка заряджений пістолет – військовий експерт (Putin holds a loaded gun near the head of Lukashenko’s political corpse - a military expert)** (<https://tsn.ua>, July 4, 22); **Путіна перетворили на політичний труп, а для нього це як фізична смерть, – юристка про ордер на арешт президента РФ** (<https://espresso.tv>, March 17, 2023); **Путін перетворив себе на політичний труп, а українці йдуть до перемоги** (<https://24tv.ua>, February 28, 2022); **Чому найвідоміший «політичний труп» послібно повернувся у владне крісло?** (<http://t-weekly.org.ua>, August 21, 2023); **Рішення Міжнародного кримінального суду щодо ордера на арешт**

Володимира Путіна надзвичайно сміливе – його перетворили на політичний труп (The decision of the International Criminal Court regarding the arrest warrant for Vladimir Putin is extremely bold - he was turned into a political corpse) (<https://patriot.org.ua>, March 17, 2023). D. Yu. Sizonov notes that the attributive unit політичний (political) gives rise to a number of new media phraseology of a pejorative nature, among which політичний труп (political corpse) is “about a politician / party that is losing the rating of public trust...”. The use of such compounds creates a negative impression on the electorate and can be used to form a negative image of a politician [18, p. 209]. According to T. Kovalevska, the role of pejorativeness is played by sensory-defined lexemes, “which correspond to a certain representative system of the speaker in terms of semantic orientation and are, thus, its verbal markers” [6, p. 72]. The authors of Ukrainian media texts unequivocally consider the leaders of the aggressor state and the state that supports the Russian-Ukrainian war to be politicians without a future and condemn their actions.

In journalistic materials on substantive political topics for modeling behavioral stereotypes of the leaders of powers, usually Volodymyr Putin, other persistent expressions are used, in particular, **вийти сухим із води** (to get out of the water dry) – “to avoid punishment” [4], cf: **Держсекретар наголосив, що якщо США дозволять Путіну вийти сухим з води та послабити допомогу Києву, тоді Вашингтон відкриє скриньку Пандори** (<https://www.pravda.com.ua>, January 17, 2024).

More often in the language of the mass media, we record the phrases **натиснути на кнопку, натиснути на червону кнопку** (press the button, press the red button), etc., which mean “to start a nuclear war”, for example: **Ядерний удар РФ: чи може Путін натиснути на «червону кнопку»?** – BILD (Nuclear strike of the Russian Federation: can Putin press the “red button”? – BILD) (<https://uainfo.org>, April 29, 2024); **Що таке «ядерна валіза» і чи може Путін просто натиснути на кнопку (What is a “nuclear suitcase” and can Putin simply press a button)** (<https://kl.informator.ua>, March 13, 2022). In connection with the beginning of the Russian-Ukrainian war, there was a threat of the use of other types of weapons by the Russian Federation, which caused the use of the specified stable expressions.

Under the influence of non-verbal factors, new compounds with the surnames of famous people have been formed, e.g.: **залізний Байден, група Залужного, вишка Бойка (Iron Biden, Zaluzhny’s group, Boyko’s tower)**, etc., cf: **«Залізний» Байден: президент США не зніматиметься із виборів – REUTERS** (<http://umoloda.kyiv.ua>, July 4, 2024); **«Групу Залужного» штурно звинуватили в усіх гріхах – політична експертиза** (<https://umoloda.kyiv.ua>, July 3, 2024); **«Вишки Бойка» повернуто під контроль України – ГУР** (<https://umoloda.kyiv.ua>, September 11, 2023).

In the corpus of the selected material, a significant part is presented by persistent expressions **пасти задніх** – “to lag behind, to be late, to be behind everyone, the last, to fall behind or to be inferior in something” [3], **тримати язик за зубами** – “keep silent” [3], **дати на горіхи** – “to scold strongly, scold a lot, criticize someone” [3], e.g.: **Не хоч пасти задніх і Еммануель Макрон. «Росію принижувати не можна», – нещодавно знову наголосив він** (<https://www.pravda.com.ua>, July 22, 2022); **Я щиро вірю, що Німеччина має не пасти задніх, а очолювати євроатлантичні заходи для припинення наймасштабнішої війни в Європі...** (<https://tyzhden.ua>, February 8, 2023); **Тімоті Уш: Я щиро вірю, що Німеччина має не пасти задніх, а очолювати євроатлантичні заходи для припинення наймасштабнішої війни в Європі** (<https://www.pravda.com.ua>, February 8, 2023); **Бельгійський прем’єр порадив Орбану «тримати язика за зубами»** (<https://tsn.ua>, December 14, 2023); **ЗМІ: На зустрічі послів ЄС Угорщині дали на горіхи за «мирні вояжі» Орбана** (<https://www.pravda.com.ua>, July 10, 2024). The analyzed phraseological units usually function in the contexts of the

activities of individual political figures or the positions of states regarding the Russian-Ukrainian war. This potential is also revealed by the phraseological unit of *розв'язати руки* (*untying one's hands*) – “to give freedom to actions, to be freed from dependence, limitations in anything” [3], e.g.: *Постачання Росією високоточної зброї КНДР «розв'язе руки» Сеулу в допомозі Україні* (Russia's supply of high-precision weapons to the DPRK will “untie the hands” of Seoul in helping Ukraine) (<https://umoloda.kyiv.ua>, July 23, 2024).

The well-known saying *дуже важко шукати чорну кішку у темній кімнаті, особливо, коли її там немає* (*it is very difficult to find a black cat in a dark room, especially when it is not there*), is attributed to the Chinese philosopher Confucius. In the language of the Ukrainian mass media, this expression is fixed in the topic of international relations during the Russian-Ukrainian war, for example: *Не треба шукати чорну кішку у темній кімнаті, особливо якщо її там немає* (headline). *Голова КНР Сі Цзінпін прилетів до Москви й провів першу зустріч з президентом рф володимиром путіним. На ній вони обмінялись компліментами та мимохідь згадали про війну в Україні – швидше за все, це було своєрідним ритуалом, що мав підкреслити миролюбні плани Цзінпїна. Підіб'ємо підсумки першої зустрічі та обговоримо, чого можна чекати далі* (You should not look for a black cat in a dark room, especially if it is not there (headline). The President of the People's Republic of China, Xi Jinping, flew to Moscow and held his first meeting with the President of the Russian Federation, Vladimir Putin. On it, they exchanged compliments and casually mentioned the war in Ukraine - most likely, it was a kind of ritual that was supposed to emphasize the peace-loving plans of Jinping. Let us sum up the results of the first meeting and discuss what to expect next) (<https://wz.lviv.ua>, March 21, 2023).

Stable phrases are recorded not only in relation to the activities of states and politicians, but also in relation to the Pope, for example: *білий прапор* (*a white flag*) – “a request or demand for the cessation of hostilities, a sign of truce or proposals for negotiations. It is also a symbol of capitulation, i.e. unconditional submission to the mercy of the opposing side” [3], cf.: *Нагадаємо, Папа Римський Франциск, говорячи про війну, сказав, що Україна повинна мати «відвагу білого прапора» і бути готовою вести переговори* (Let us remind that Pope Francis, speaking about the war, said that Ukraine should have the “courage of a white flag” and be ready to negotiate) (<https://www.pravda.com.ua>, March 11, 2024).

In the same topic, we find a stable expression *човникова дипломатія* (*shuttle diplomacy*) – “a method of intervention, when the parties to the conflict do not meet and do not directly communicate with each other (they do not want to communicate or interact with each other), communication occurs exclusively through mediation, which promotes the search for understanding, and tries to bring closer (direct) the positions of the parties to the resolution of the conflict” [3], e.g.: *«Човникова дипломатія» Китаю: чого чекати від другої місії спецпосланця Пекіна* (<https://www.ukrinform.ua>, July 19, 2024).

The topic of the Russian-Ukrainian war is quite widely presented in the language of the Ukrainian media. Established compounds characterize various situations and events caused by military actions in Ukraine, e.g.:

- *каламутити воду* (*to muddy the water*) – “to cause disorder, unrest” [4], e.g.: *Що буде з квартирами у Лисичанську? Окупанти намагаються каламутити воду... (What will happen to the apartments in Lysychansk?: The occupiers are trying to muddy the water...)* (<https://vchaspik.ua>, December 3, 2022);

- *нас рятувало небо* (*heaven saved us*) – “God saved us” [3], e.g.: *Нас рятувало Небо»: в Києві жінка з дитиною під час атаки не змогли потрапити до укриття* (“Heaven saved us”: in Kyiv, a woman and a child could not get to the shelter during the attack) (<https://www.pravda.com.ua>, July 8, 2024);

- *зрати першу скрипку* (*to play the first violin*) – “to be the main one in some matter. To lead forward, to hold primacy” [3], e.g.: *Чому Бахмут став Сталінградом для росіян і вони за будь-яку ціну хочуть його взяти* (headline). *Наші намагалися не поступатися та не давали росіянам подумати, що вона має виключне право зрати першу скрипку в оркестрі* (Why Bakhmut became Stalingrad for the Russians and they want to take it at any cost (headline). Ours tried not to yield and did not let the Russians think that they have the exclusive right to play the first violin in the orchestra) (<https://www.bbc.com>, November 30, 2022);

- *підняти істерію* (*start hysteria*) - *галасувати* (*make noise*) [3], e.g.: *Пропагандисти рф і гауляйтери підняли істерію навколо «бавовни» в Криму: навіщо?* (<https://umoloda.kyiv.ua>, June 25, 2024);

- *моя хата скраю* (*that's not my headache* (idiom)) - “it doesn't concern me, it is none of my business” [3], e.g.: *У цій війні немає чужої біди. Тут не спрацює принцип «моя хата скраю»...* (<https://pnotg.gov.ua>, May 9, 2022);

- *розбити в пух і прах* (*smash to smithereens*) – “destroying completely” [3], e.g.: *«Розбили в пух і прах» – «ДНРівець» розповідає про важкі бої з українськими захисниками* (<https://armyinform.com.ua>, June 26, 2022);

- *цінувати те, що маємо* (*to appreciate what we have*) – “to be grateful, to appreciate what we have so as not to lose it” (a Christian commandment), e.g.: *Війна показала: треба вчитися цінувати те, що маємо. А маємо ми багато* (The war showed: we must learn to appreciate what we have. And we have a lot) (<https://zaxid.net>, March 17, 2023);

- *як білка в колесі* (*like a squirrel in a wheel*) – “to be very concerned” [3], e.g.: *Росіяни як білка в колесі: як тільки зупиняться, то втраять позиції, – офіцер 26 АБр* (Russians are like a squirrel in a wheel: as soon as they stop, they will lose their positions, - officer of the 26th ABr) (<https://weukraine.tv>, May 4, 2023);

- *озброєний до зубів* (*armed to the teeth*) – “fully equipped with weapons” [3]; *мати око* (*to have an eye*) – “to be observant, very attentive, vigilant” [3], e.g.: *Джемілев наголосив, що не можна роззброюватися «перед сусідом, який озброєний до зубів та ще й має око на наші території»* (<https://www.ukrinform.ua>, July 10, 2024);

- *зірковий час* (*star time*) – “decisive moments in the life of mankind or a person, when fate is decided and the most favorable conditions for self-realization are created” [3], e.g.: *Зірковий час для військових заводів. Як Україна може виробляти більше зброї? (Star time for military factories. How can Ukraine produce more weapons?)* (<https://www.epravda.com.ua>, July 27, 2023);

- *у хвіст і у гриву* (*with might and main*, idiom) – “to act very strongly” [3], e.g.: *А ви помітили, що у суспільстві та так званих соціальних медіа росте і міцніє такий хриновий тренд – немилосердно товкти військових. Запекло, якби навіть сказали, суїцидально критикувати всіх «у хвіст і у гриву»: генералів у полях, Генштаб та комбатів – за відступ і наступ, і що «людей не бережуть», «ППОшників» – за те, що ракету не збили, промазали, Повітряні сили – бо літаки у Миргороді не вберегли, пресофіцерів – за те, що не погоджують»* (<https://glavcom.ua>, July 2, 2024);

- *як грім серед ясного неба* (*like thunder in the clear sky*) – “unexpectedly, suddenly, out of the blue” [3], e.g.: *...війна в 2014 для мене була як грім серед ясного неба. А коли побачив, що відбувається після 24 лютого, зрозумів, що мушу ніти воювати... (the war in 2014 was like thunder in the clear sky for me. And when I saw what was happening after February 24, I realized that I had to go to fight)* (<https://www.pravda.com.ua>, November 9, 2022);

– *тактичні кросівки* (tactical sneakers) – “shoes for the military” [3], e.g.: *Вперше у ЗСУ: Тактичні кросівки на етапі військово-дослідних випробувань* (<https://umoloda.kyiv.ua>, July 30, 2023);

– *п'ята колона* (the fifth column) – “a political expression that refers to citizens who act in the interests of third countries, against the authorities of their own country” [4], e.g.: *Гуманітарна війна: діяльність «п'ятої колони» в Україні* (headline). *Військова агресія РФ активізувала питання визнання демократичним світом Голодомору 1932–1933 рр. злочиним геноциду українців* (Humanitarian war: the activities of the “fifth column” in Ukraine (headline). The military aggression of the Russian Federation intensified the issue of recognition of the Holodomor of 1932–1933 by the democratic world as a crime of genocide against Ukrainians) (<https://umoloda.kyiv.ua>, June 26, 2024);

– *після нас хоч потоп* (after us the deluge, idiom) – “characterizes people who openly consume resources without returning anything in return; they don't think about their successors” [3], e.g.: *Після нас хоч потоп: як росія вневнено вбиває саму себе* (<https://sprotyv.info>, September 25, 2023);

– *залишити свій слід* (to leave one's mark) – “to be remembered by some actions, deeds; to make a significant contribution to some cause” [3], e.g.: *На жаль, війна залишає свій слід, і ми маємо втрати серед цивільного населення внаслідок підриву на мінах...* (<https://www.pravda.com.ua>, February 29, 2024);

– *прикусити язик* (hold tongue) – “to refrain from speaking; to keep silent” [3], e.g.: *Американським генералам варто прикусити язик, а не розповідати про строки контрнаступу ЗСУ, вважає волонтер і політик Сергій Притула* (<https://nv.ua>, April 6, 2023).

In addition to the mentioned stable expressions, a number of phrases relating to scandals, quarrels related to the Russian Federation are used, e.g.: *активи розбрату, ІС розбрату, розгорівся скандал* та ін., напр.: *Російські активи розбрату: Politico пояснило, чому ЄС і США не можуть домовитися* (headline) (<https://www.unian.ua>, May 26, 2024); *«ІС» розбрату. Як російська система автоматизування бізнесу вкоринилась в Україні – розслідування DOU* (headline) (<https://dou.ua>, April 27, 2022); *Розгорівся скандал: у Росії учасникам змагань вручили медалі з українськими написами* (headline) (<https://expert.in.ua>, July 9, 2024). We believe that the stable expressions *активи розбрату, ІС розбрату* are transformed compounds to the expression apple of discord (apple of discord, apple of strife) to indicate the subject of disputes, the cause of hostilities.

Despite the fact that the Russian-Ukrainian war continues, somewhere at many levels politicians talk about peace, and in the language of the Ukrainian mass media we record stable expressions peace plan, peace formula, etc., for example: *Кулеба децю знає про «мирний план» Китаю, але хоче побачити його весь* (Kuleba knows something about the “peace plan” of China, but wants to see it all) (<https://www.pravda.com.ua>, February 21, 2023); *«Формула миру» Зеленського: чи варто Києву розраховувати на глобальний південь* (Zelenskyi's “peace formula”: should Kyiv count on the Global South) (<https://umoloda.kyiv.ua>, May 10, 2024).

In the Ukrainian media, when analyzing the actions of well-known businessmen and politicians who have problems with law enforcement agencies, journalists use the standard expressions *ставити палиці в колеса* (to put sticks in the wheels) with the meaning “to hinder, prevent someone from doing something” [4], *бідні родичі* (poor relatives) – “relatives who have considerable wealth” [3], *на нари, а не на Канари* (on the bunks, not on the Canaries) – “deprivation of freedom” [4], etc., e.g.: *Справи на Коломойського: БЕБ запевняє, що не ставить палиці в колеса НАБУ* (<https://www.pravda.com.ua>, September 19, 2023); *«Бідні» родичі: підозру отримали брати зрадників Медведчука та Козака*

(<https://umoloda.kyiv.ua>, June 10, 2024); *На нари, а не на Канари: цікаві факти про затриману доньку ексмера Полтави Олександра Мамаю* (<https://umoloda.kyiv.ua>, June 26, 2024). The phraseology unit *вставляти палиці в колеса* is also recorded in the topic of Ukraine's international relations, e.g.: *5 країн починають вставляти палиці в колеса: вони незадоволені експортом українського зерна* (<https://glavred.net>, January 16, 2024).

Due to high-profile criminal cases against famous persons, the stable professional expression *домашній арешт* (home arrest) – “deprivation of the accused's freedom in the form of isolation at home” – has been activated in the language of the mass media, e.g.: *Гучна справа отримала продовження. Домашній арешт стосовно Миколи Тищенка діє до 23 серпня 2024 року* (The high-profile case was continued. Mykola Tyshchenko's home arrest is valid until August 23, 2024) (<https://glavcom.ua>, July 1, 2024); *Блогерку Чернецьку залишили під домашнім арештом, але дозволили їй ходити в укряття і до лікаря* (Chernetska was left under home arrest, but she was allowed to go to the shelter and to the doctor) (<https://mipl.org.ua>, June 26, 2023), etc.

The use of the stable expression *безпечна гавань* (“safe harbor”) – “legislative provisions according to which a certain part of taxpayers are exempted from certain obligations specified in the tax code” is evidenced within the selected linguistic material, cf.: *«Безпечна гавань» у проєкті Директиви Європейського Союзу про належну обачність щодо корпоративної сталості* (“Safe harbor” in projects of the Directive of the European Union on due diligence regarding corporate sustainability) (<https://economiclaw.kiev.ua>, No. 4, 2023).

In their materials, Ukrainian journalists often use well-known catchphrases of both Ukrainian and foreign writers. In particular, we record the use of the famous expression of V. Shakespeare *бути чи не бути* (to be, or not to be) in socio-political topics, e.g.: *Резніков додав, що рішення, бути чи не бути йому міністром оборони, згідно з Конституцією, ухвалює президент* (<https://www.radiosvoboda.org>, February 5, 2023); *Нічний громадський транспорт у Києві: бути чи не бути* (Night public transport in Kyiv: to be or not to be) (<https://www.ukr.net>, August 23, 2023); *Державна регіональна політика 2023: бути чи не бути?* (State regional policy 2023: to be or not to be?) (<https://rpr.org.ua>, January 24, 2023, and others).

A phraseology unit *під ключ* (come-as-it-is) is known in the Ukrainian language in contexts about the sale of an object in which all the necessary repair work has been performed for its operation by the buyer. In modern mass media texts, this stable expression has a wider meaning, denoting various objects, as well as services that can be used in full, cf.: *Привезти автомобіль з Китаю «під ключ» пропонують так звані незалежні дилери* (<https://www.epravda.com.ua>, April 26, 2024); *Ресстрація ФОП під ключ: юридичний супровід підприємців* (<https://visitukraine.today>, March 23, 2024); *«Під ключ» – оплачується єдина сума гонорару за весь процес* (<https://www.pravda1.com>, July 7, 2024).

Within the corpus of selected linguistic material, we record the use of famous expressions of Ukrainian politicians by journalists. In particular, the expression *ці руки нічого не крали* (these hands did not steal (did not take) anything) belongs to the ex-president of Ukraine Viktor Yushchenko, cf.: *«Ці руки нічого не крали»: експрезиденту Юценку – 70 років* (“These hands did not steal anything”: ex-president Yushchenko is 70 years old) (<https://www.stopcor.org>, February 23, 2024); *Ці руки ніколи нічого не брали, окрім ваших сердець* (These hands never took anything but your hearts) (<https://www.instagram.com>, April 24, 2024); the expression *куля в лоб* (a bullet in the forehead) belongs to politician Arseniy Yatsenyuk, cf.: *«Хай президент приймає рішення. Я своє вже прийняв. Куля в лоб так куля в лоб», – твердив політик* (www.ukr.net, July 26, 2023); the expression *Україна не Росія* (Ukraine is not Russia) belongs to ex-president of Ukraine Leonid Kuchma, his book of the same name has the this

title. In the language of the mass media, we come across a transformed compound, cf.: *Медведєв заявив, що Україна – це Росія* (Medvedev declared that Ukraine is Russia) (<https://www.pravda.com.ua>, March 4, 2024).

Modified compounds are presented in media texts such as *Борітеся, поборете, вам Бог допомагає* (Taras Shevchenko), e.g.: *Борітеся – поборете*: у Балаклії українські військові знайшли під російським триколом віри Шевченка (<https://www.pravda.com.ua>, September 11, 2022); *червоне – то любов, а чорне – то журба* (Dmytro Pavlychko), e.g.: *Червоне – то любов*. Чому донорство крові під час війни стало це однією лінією оборони України (<https://shst.sm.gov.ua>, July 16, 2022); *Армія. Мова. Віра* (Army. Language. Faith) is the political slogan of the election campaign of the 5th President of Ukraine Petro Poroshenko, for example: *«Податки. Армія. Перемога»*: Укрпошта випустить нову марку (“*Taxes. Army. Victory*”: Ukrposhta will issue a new stamp) (<https://umoloda.kyiv.ua>, June 26, 2024); *привид ходить по Європі – привид комунізму* (a ghost walks around Europe - the ghost of communism) - this is how Marx and Engels began their famous Manifesto of the Communist Party, e.g.: *Привид оману бродить Україною... Чому в Зе бояться натовських військ?* (<https://umoloda.kyiv.ua>, June 11, 2024); *на городі бузина, а в Києві дядько* (used in contexts about incompatible, meaningless things), e.g.: *У Києві Бузина, в Криму – його «ДЯДЬКА»...* (<https://svitytsia.crimea.ua>, January 16, 2024); *голод не тітка, пиріжків не піднесе* (hunger is not an aunt, pies will not be served) (a hungry person will eat anything), e.g.: *«Осінь не тітка»*: Київ розпочав підключати до тепла житлові будинки (“Autumn is not an aunt”: Kyiv has started connecting residential buildings to heat) (<https://umoloda.kyiv.ua>, 16.10.2023).

Stable phrases on the subject of problematic, conflict situations are widely represented, e.g.:

– *бунт на кораблі* (riot on a ship) – “spontaneous rebellion; manifestations of indignation” [3], e.g.: *Бунт на «кораблі»*: у Ростові ув'язнені «арештували» співробітників СІЗО (Riot on the “ship”: in Rostov, prisoners “arrested” pre-trial detention center employees) (<https://umoloda.kyiv.ua>, June 16, 2024);

– *тримати (брати, хапати) за горло* (to hold (take, grab) by the throat) – “to achieve something obsessively or by force. Quarreling with someone, clinging, picking on someone” [4], e.g.: *Припиніть тримати за горло і трясати власний народ* (Stop holding your own people by the throat and shaking them) (<https://www.zagidkrasnov.com>, 07.07.2024);

– *сізіфова праця* (Sisyphean labor) – “difficult, fruitless and endless work” [3], e.g.: *Українську історію не читають без брону. Це завжди трагедія, а перемоги – сізіфова праця без жодного шансу на успіх у кінцевому результаті* (<https://www.pravda.com.ua>, September 14, 2023);

– *гратися з вогнем* (to play with fire) – “behave carelessly, do something dangerous” [3], e.g.: *Балога до Шкарлета: Доки будемо гратися з вогнем, принижуючи Україну* (<https://mukachevo.net>, January 20, 2023);

– *ведмежа послуга* (a disservice) - “help that ended up causing harm, not benefit” [3], cf.: *«Ведмежа послуга»*: У каналі «Труха» помітили рекламу «Української правди». У виданні зауважили, що не мають до цього допису жодного стосунку (“*Disservice*”: An advertisement for “Ukrainian Pravda” was noticed on the “Trukha” channel. The publication noted that they have nothing to do with this post) (<https://detector.media>, October 23, 2023);

– *як з гуся вода* (like water off a duck’s back) – “someone does not react to something at all; nothing affects, does not affect anyone” [3], e.g.: *Тим більше, що з наших «добросесних» чиновників – як з гуся вода* (<https://www.pravda.com.ua>, March 8, 2023);

– *накивати п'ятами* – “to run away, quickly leave somewhere, leaving the place of residence; to leave a place of work, study, leave something, etc.; to quickly run away” [4], cf.: *Хотіли «накивати п'ятами»: закарпатські поліцейські виявили з півдесятка ймовірних наркоманів* (<https://goloskarpat.info>, June 30, 2023);

– *залишатся за бортом* (to remain on the sidelines) – “to stand aside from something, to be removed from participation in something, to be left out of the team, to lose a job, to be rejected” [3], e.g.: *Тобто лікарі не будуть скорочуватись і точно це не вплине на пацієнтів, що якісь пацієнти «залишатся за бортом»* (<https://www.nikpravda.com.ua>, July 15, 2024);

– *гордіїв вузол* (Gordian knot) – “too complicated and confusing matter, predicament, tricky, almost unsolvable problem” [4], e.g.: *Про можливість розв'язати гордіїв вузол польсько-української суперечки довкола важких сторінок минулого – розмова з професором Рафалом Внуком з Люблінського католицького університету* (On the possibility of untying the Gordian knot of the Polish-Ukrainian dispute over difficult pages of the past - a conversation with Professor Rafal Vnuk from the Catholic University of Lublin) (<https://www.polskieradio.pl>, July 11, 2022);

– *переливання з пустаго в порожнє* (plough the sand) – “doing something unnecessary” [3], e.g.: *Переливання з пустаго в порожнє*: іванчівські депутати закликали місцеві парафії УПЦ МП вийти зі складу «московського патріархату» (<https://bug.org.ua>, June 13, 2023); *Оскільки казати про цю конкретне приводів особливо не знайшли, вони були змушені з пустаго в порожнє переливати* (<https://www.pravda.com.ua>, February 23, 2023);

– *жаба в кропі* (the frog in the dill) – “an image of the inability or unwillingness of people to react or realize changes that occur gradually, and not suddenly, and lead to undesirable consequences that are too late to correct” [3], e.g.: *Жаба в окропі*. Чому людство не лякає екологічна катастрофа (<https://www.pravda.com.ua>, October 10, 2023);

– *мильна опера* (soap opera) – “any event, long-term relationship or relationship” [3], eg: *Ірано-Ізраїльська мильна опера*. Чому і на що Корпус вартівих Ісламської революції (КВІР) націлився в Ізраїлі, до чого це призвело... (Iranian-Israeli soap opera. Why and what did the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) target in Israel, what did it lead to...) (<https://www.cemaat.media>, April 19, 2024);

– *вивести на чисту воду* (bring to light) - to expose someone’s dishonesty, insidiousness” [3], e.g.: *Розповідаємо, як швидко та просто вивести на чисту воду необоросовісні АЗК законним та доступним способом* (<https://www.klo.ua>, August 26, 2022);

– *пан або пропав* (play an all-or-nothing game) – “a situation that has great risks and a high chance of failure, but if everything works out, the benefit will be huge” [3], e.g.: *Справа Трампа: пан або пропав* (headline). Екс-президенту США Дональду Трампу були офіційно висунуті звинувачення у кримінальних злочинах (<https://www.unian.ua>, April 5, 2023); *Майбутнє військової контррозвідки: пан або пропав* (The future of military counterintelligence: play an all-or-nothing game) (<https://www.pravda.com.ua>, April 26, 2023);

– *кулуарні розмови* (backroom conversations) – “informal contact with partners or participants in negotiations, to get to know them personally in order to exert a beneficial influence on the position of partners, etc.” [4], e.g.: *Зеленський дорогою на саміт НАТО у Вільнюсі відреагував на кулуарні розмови партнерів...* (Zelenskyi reacted to backroom conversations of partners on the way to the NATO summit in Vilnius...) (<https://forbes.ua>, July 11, 2023).

In the topic of life activities of society (economy, management, business, etc.), we record the following stable phrases:

- куди не глянь (не кинь) (as far as the eye can see) – “everywhere; everywhere; around from all sides; in all respects” [4], e.g.: *Кадровий голод – це той виклик, який більш ніж 30 років не може подолати держава: куди не глянь – скрізь брак професійних кадрів* (<https://lb.ua>, March 15, 2023);

- за зачиненими дверима (behind closed doors) – “secretly; confidential behind closed doors” [3], e.g.: *Раніше ЗМІ повідомляли, що з 17 липня в Офісі президента почнуться зустрічі з представниками бізнесу, які відбуватимуться «за зачиненими дверима»... (Previously, the mass media reported that from July 17 meetings with business representatives will begin in the President's Office, which will take place “behind closed doors...”)* (<https://www.pravda.com.ua>, July 17, 2023);

- купити kota в мішку (to buy a cat in a bag) – “means to make a purchase without viewing it” [3], for example: *Як не «купити kota у мішку»? (How not to “buy a cat in a bag”?)* (<https://lvivdps.gov.ua>, July 7, 2024); *Більше за «кота в мішку» платити не потрібно: в Україні запустили новий корисний сервіс (There is already no need to pay more for a “cat in a bag”: a new useful service has been launched in Ukraine)* (<https://fakty.ua>, March 30, 2023);

- кіт наплакав (as scarce as hen's teeth, idiom) – “very little; very insignificant, small” [3], e.g.: *В парках знову можна знайти вільну лавочку, в кав'ярнях порожньо – бариста жаліються, що відвідувачів кіт наплакав. ... Як війна вплинула на бізнес...* (<https://www.pravda.com.ua>, May 24, 2024).

During the period of the COVID-19 quarantine and the spread of other viruses, the stable phrase *масковий режим* (mask mode) entered the circulation of information consumers – “the obligation to wear a medical mask in public places”, for example: *ВООЗ закликали відновити масковий режим (WHO called for the restoration of the mask mode)* (<https://suspijne.media>, January 5, 2024); *У кількох регіонах Іспанії частково відновили масковий режим (In several regions of Spain, the mask regime was partially restored)* (<https://www.eurointegration.com.ua>, January 6, 2024).

Occasionally we record stable expressions in the topic of sports and recreation, for example:

- лебедина пісня (swan song) – “the last (mostly the most significant) work, manifestation of talent or abilities, activity, etc. anyone” [3], e.g.: *Лебедина пісня Пятова: збірна України назвала стартовий склад на матч із Вірменією в Лізі націй* (<https://tsn.ua>, June 11, 2022);

- яблуку ніде впасти (no room to turn in) – “1) there are many people, it is very crowded; 2) very tight; 3) extremely many” [12, c. 147], e.g.: *Яблуку ніде впасти: на Світіязі – анишпаз* (<https://vsn.ua>, June 22, 2024).

Journalists fragmentarily use stable expressions in the subject of art and science, e.g.:

- впасти як сніг на голову (to fall like snow on one's head) – “something unexpected, sudden” [12], e.g.: *Незалежність точно не впала як сніг на голову: у Чернівцях презентували книгу Олександра Зінченка (“Independence definitely did not fall like snow on one's head”: a book by Oleksandr Zinchenko was presented in Chernivtsi)* (<https://shpalta.media>, February 20, 2024);

- боротьба на всіх фронтах (struggle on all fronts) – “everybody's activity for some common cause” [3], e.g.: *Боротьба на всіх фронтах: 30 українських митців представили роботи на віртуальній виставці Art on the battlefield (Struggle on all fronts: 30 Ukrainian artists presented their works at the virtual exhibition “Art on the battlefield”)* (<https://espresso.tv>, March 8, 2023);

- за сімома замками (behind seven locks) – “to be in complete isolation, secrecy; very reliable; completely inaccessible, incomprehensible for cognition; under special supervision,

protection” [3], e.g.: *Тасмунія за сімома замками. Вчені розповіли, що знаходиться під дном Світового океану (The secret behind the seven locks. Scientists have told what is under the bottom of the World Ocean)* (<https://uazmi.org>, July 17, 2023).

Sometimes, established compounds function in lay news, e.g.:

- перемивати кістки (wash the bones) – “engage in slander, slander someone” [3], e.g.: *Єфросиніна заявила, що не хоче «перемивати кістки» Виннику та Ямі: що ведуча про них думає* (<https://www.unian.ua>, September 14, 2023);

- сім разів відміряй, один раз відріж (measure seven times, cut once) – “before doing something, it is needed to think about it many times” [3], cf.: *Сім разів відміряй, один раз відріж: яким знакам Зодіаку краще подумати, перш ніж діяти (Measure seven times, cut once: which zodiac signs should think better before acting)* (<https://meta.ua>, February 23, 2024);

- службовий роман (office romance) – “intimate relationships between colleagues” [3], e.g.: *Службовий роман: історія кохання мера та сенатора збурює Берлін (Office romance: the love story of a mayor and a senator stirs up Berlin)* (<https://amalberlin.de>, January 5, 2024);

- на сьомому небі (in seventh heaven) – “boundless happiness” [3], e.g.: *Ліндсі Лохан вперше стала мамою: «На сьомому небі від щастя» (Lindsay Lohan became a mother for the first time: “In seventh heaven from happiness”)* (<https://karavan.ua>, July 18, 2023).

As evidenced by the corpus of factual material, the established compounds of the analyzed sample make it possible to convey more deeply the inner state of the speaker, his feelings, emotions, evaluation of certain objects, facts, phenomena, processes of reality.

4 Conclusion

Thus, in the texts of modern Ukrainian mass media, proverbs, sayings, phraseological units, catchphrases, etc. function. The most stable expressions are presented in texts on the subject of the Russian-Ukrainian war, in particular in publications dedicated to the leaders of the states that support the war. Stable phrases are used in articles about international relations, various problematic and conflict situations, economic, managerial and business affairs, less often analyzed linguistic units are recorded in the topics of sports and recreation, art and science, as well as in lay news. The majority of compounds found in the mass media are presented in academic and online dictionaries, occasionally journalists use new formations, sometimes transforming well-known expressions. For the most part, persistent expressions indicate negative processes, actions, often negatively characterize famous persons. The analyzed phrases express the texts of the Ukrainian mass media.

We see research prospects in the study of modified expressions in various functional styles of the Ukrainian language.

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Primary Paper Section: A

Secondary Paper Section: AI, AJ