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The language of war in the English translation of Volodymyr Zelenskyy's speeches on the Russian war in Ukraine: a conceptual metaphor approach

Abstract

The aim of the article is to survey the usage of metaphors in President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy's speeches on the Russian aggression against Ukraine. To be precise, the objective of the paper is to study and present the conceptual metaphors of war present in the speeches of the leader of Ukraine from the 24th of February 2022, the day Russia launched a full-scale invasion of Ukraine, up to the 24th of March, i.e. the first month of the war. The speeches available on the President of Ukraine Official Website <https://www.president.gov.ua/en> are analysed using the Theory of Conceptual Metaphor, as introduced by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and developed by Kövecses (2002), with reference to the role of conceptual metaphor in political discourse (Fabiszak 2007, Neshkovska and Trajkova 2020, Wen Lin Cheng 2011).

Keywords: political discourse, conceptual metaphor, language of war, Volodymyr Zelenskyy's speeches.

1. Introduction

The issue of conceptual metaphors in political discourse has been the subject of scrupulous academic interest (consider: Fabiszak 2007, Mammadov 2010, Kamalu and Iniworikabo 2016, Lenard and Ćosić 2017, Musolff 2019, Stojan and Mijić 2019, Pavlíková 2020, among others). According to the Theory of Conceptual Metaphor as introduced by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and developed by Kövecses (2002),

metaphor is used to denote one thing in terms of another. By drawing analogies between a source domain and a target domain, with these analogies being built on the structural similarities between the two domains, metaphor can “play a central role in the construction of social and political reality” (Lakoff and Johnson 1980:159). Following Beard (2000), politicians, by being aware of how to use metaphor in a proper way, can either gain or maintain/keep power. Wilson (1990:43) claims that metaphor plays a crucial role in political rhetoric¹ for three reasons. First, metaphor can simplify political language. Second, it can be used to evoke emotions and emphasise certain issues. Third, politicians may use a metaphor for manipulation. As Wen Lin (2011:471) points out, “metaphor allows politicians to present themselves in a positive light, to disgrace their opponents, to justify their own behaviour and to assert particular political issues”. A similar observation is made by Neshkovska and Trajkova (2020:101): “politicians use metaphors purposefully when addressing the public, as metaphors have proven very useful in construing people’s perception of the reality they live in”.

The main objective of the paper is to survey the usage of metaphors in President of Ukraine² Volodymyr Zelenskyy’s³ speeches on the Russian aggression against Ukraine. To be specific, the aim of the article is to study and present the conceptual metaphors used in Zelenskyy’s speeches from the 24th of February, the day when Russia launched a full-scale invasion of Ukraine, up to the 24th of March, i.e. the first month of the war. The leader of Ukraine produced between one and four speeches a day, all of which are available on the President of Ukraine’s Official Website (<https://www.president.gov.ua/en>) in three languages, namely Ukrainian, Russian and English. During the first month of Russia’s full-

¹ Any discourse analysis should integrate knowledge of the context of a given culture (Poynton and Lee 2000:4-5, Zinken and Musolff 2009, Kövecses 2009). This is in line with the fact that: “conceptual metaphors can be viewed as knowledge structures that are integral to a culture. This means that defining metaphors within a discourse presupposes a reconstruction of conventional knowledge characteristic of a certain speech community. Methodologically, this means that an analysis of metaphors in the discourse provides an insight into the metaphorical structures of the context of culture” (Raffaelli and Katunar 2016:127).

² The discourse of Ukrainian leaders has been examined by Golubovskaya, Khari-tonova and Rudaya (2022), yet not from the perspective of metaphor usage.

³ Volodymyr Zelenskyy’s political discourse has been examined by Trebin and Chernyshova (2022), however not focusing on his language of war.

scale aggression against Ukraine, Zelenskyy produced 63 speeches, all of which we have read and analysed in terms of conceptual metaphors for the purpose of this study.

2. The theory of conceptual metaphor

Metaphor is an indispensable part of human reasoning and an instrument of thought. As Lakoff and Johnson wrote (1980:5), “the essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another”, which can be understood to mean that metaphor is not only a tool for expressing and articulating ideas in language, but also, or even first of all, a way of thinking. Cognitive linguistics studies offer three pieces of evidence for the conceptual nature of metaphor. First, metaphorical mappings, so characteristic of Conceptual Metaphor Theory, are believed to link concepts rather than words themselves: “We are concerned primarily with how people understand their experiences. We view language as providing data that can lead to general principles of understanding. The general principles involve whole systems of concepts rather than individual words or concepts. We have found that such principles are often metaphoric in nature and involve understanding one kind of experience in terms of another kind of experience” (Lakoff and Johnson 1980:116). Second, conceptual metaphor is believed to be creative in character. As suggested by Kövecses (2002), this feature of metaphor is visible in metaphorical entailments, which, to be precise, is the additional knowledge about the source, that which is mapped onto the target. Third, conceptual metaphor can be realised non-linguistically: through movies, cartoons, advertisements, drawings, sculptures, symbols, myths, social practices and even gestures (Kövecses 2002:63-75). Since conceptual metaphor involves a mapping relation between abstract and concrete concepts, let us be precise and mention that a more concrete concept is employed as the source, and a more abstract one as the target (Kövecses 2002:6).

3. Conceptual metaphor in Volodymyr Zelenskyy’s speeches

As previously mentioned, the study of conceptual metaphors in Volodymyr Zelenskyy’s speeches is based on 63 speeches of the leader of Ukraine from the 24th of February to the 24th of March 2022. They draw from such source domains as HUMAN BEING, ANIMAL, LIGHT AND DARKNESS, CONTROL and, last but not least, FORCES.

3.1. HUMAN BODY metaphors

As Kövecses (2002:16) maintains, “the human body is an ideal source domain, since, for us, it is clearly delineated. (...) This does not mean that we use all aspects of this domain in metaphorically understanding abstract targets. The aspects especially utilised in metaphorical comprehension involve various parts of the body, including the head, face, legs, hands, back, heart, bones, shoulders, and others”. Volodymyr Zelenskyy, in his speeches on the Russian aggression against the state of Ukraine, uses the conceptual metaphor UKRAINE IS A HUMAN BODY, where Ukraine is suffering from war just as the human body suffers from a virus/a disease. Let us deal with an instance of a conceptual metaphor used by Volodymyr Zelenskyy in his address to the Ukrainian people in which he compares the Russian soldiers attacking Ukraine to a virus and a disease attacking a human body:

- (1) *Exactly two years ago, the first case of COVID-19 was recorded in Ukraine. The first weeks of fighting it were extremely difficult. But we were united, and therefore strong, and therefore we withstood. Exactly a week ago, Ukraine was attacked by another virus. Another disease. By those who suffer from severe annexation and occupation of foreign lands. One week ago, at 4 am, Russia invaded our independent Ukraine, our land* (speech delivered on the 3rd of March 2022).

In the case of the quotation above, let us rely on the conceptual metaphor SOCIETY IS A PERSON, where the body of the person serves as the source domain (Kövecses 2002:129). To be more specific, this metaphor can be understood as AN ABSTRACT COMPLEX SYSTEM IS THE HUMAN BODY, as “it seems that the main meaning focus of the metaphor is twofold: (1) the appropriateness of the condition and (2) the structure of an abstract system. This observation yields the simple or primary metaphors: for (1), AN APPROPRIATE CONDITION IS A HEALTHY CONDITION, and INAPPROPRIATE CONDITIONS (DIFFICULTIES, PROBLEMS) ARE ILLNESSES, and for (2), THE STRUCTURE OF AN ABSTRACT COMPLEX SYSTEM IS THE PHYSICAL STRUCTURE OF THE HUMAN BODY. The simple, or primary, metaphors utilize these particular aspects of the human body” (Kövecses 2002:130). Therefore, while the land of Ukraine can be understood as the human body of a Ukrainian person, Russia, attacking Ukraine, is rather perceived as an illness here. Let us suggest the possible mappings for the conceptual metaphor THE LAND OF UKRAINE IS A HUMAN BODY and RUSSIA

IS AN ILLNESS, where bodily organs are mapped onto the Ukrainian people, and a virus/a disease onto Russian soldiers attacking the Ukrainian people. The inappropriate health condition during which a human body is fighting against a virus/a disease in order to recover is mapped onto the Russian war against Ukraine.

Source: A HUMAN BODY ATTACKED BY AN ILLNESS	Target: UKRAINE ATTACKED BY RUSSIA
organs —————▶	Ukrainian people
virus/disease —————▶	Russian soldiers
inappropriate health condition —————▶	Russian war against Ukraine

Table 1. A set of metaphorical mappings for UKRAINE ATTACKED BY RUSSIAN SOLDIERS IS A HUMAN BODY ATTACKED BY A VIRUS

Another case of a HUMAN BODY metaphor as used by Volodymyr Zelenskyy is KYIV, THE CAPITAL OF UKRAINE, IS THE HEART OF THE HUMAN BODY, where the capital, Kyiv, must remain in the hands of the Ukrainian people to enable the country to survive, just as the heart of the human body must beat for the body to live:

- (2) *But Kyiv is special. If we protect Kyiv, we will protect the state. This is the **heart** of our country. And it must keep **beating**. And it will keep beating. So that life triumphs* (speech delivered on the 1st of March 2022).

To quote Collins Dictionary, ‘your heart is the organ in your chest that pumps the blood around your body’. Similarly, Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English Online defines *heart* as ‘the organ in your chest which pumps blood through your body’. The fact that the heart of the human body is symbolically treated as the key organ necessary for life is mapped onto Kyiv, the capital of Ukraine, being symbolically treated as the key city necessary for the survival of the whole country.

Source: HEART OF A HUMAN BODY	Target: KYIV, THE CAPITAL OF UKRAINE
heart —————▶	Kyiv
beat —————▶	live
pump blood around the whole body —————▶	make the state of Ukraine survive

Table 2. A set of metaphorical mappings for KYIV, THE CAPITAL OF UKRAINE, IS THE HEART OF THE HUMAN BODY

One more instance of the metaphor SOCIETY IS A PERSON is present in Zelenskyy’s speech addressed to the Byelorussian people, whose political system is believed to be under Russian control. According to Zelenskyy, Byelorussian people are sleeping as they are not fighting against

the regime. Ukrainian people, on the other hand, have decided to wake up, which means a fight against Russia and the possibility of being under the Russian regime:

- (3) *You know, Kyiv was attacked at 4 am. Someone has such a sense of humor, just as in 1941. You **slept**, Belarusian brothers. And we **woke up**. But you are still **sleeping**. And we **haven't gone to bed** since that moment. Because we are fighting. We are fighting for our country. We are fighting for our freedom* (speech delivered on the 27th of February).

This conceptual metaphor BEING AWAKE IS ACTIVE is opposed to BEING ASLEEP IS BEING INACTIVE, and fits Lakoff and Johnson's (1980:15) orientational metaphor CONSCIOUS IS UP and UNCONSCIOUS IS DOWN, which seems to correspond to Kövecses's (2002:52) equivalent metaphor SLEEP IS PHYSICAL DISABILITY. In the case of the conceptual metaphor A UKRAINIAN PERSON FIGHTING AGAINST RUSSIA IS AN AWAKE PERSON the constituent element of the source domain of an awake person being 'conscious' is mapped onto the target constituent element 'understanding the threat'. In contrast, the constituent element 'in motion' is mapped onto the target one of 'fighting against Russia'.

Source: AWAKE PERSON	Target: A UKRAINIAN PERSON FIGHTING AGAINST RUSSIA
conscious —————▶	understanding the threat
in motion —————▶	fighting against Russia

Table 3. A set of metaphorical mappings for A UKRAINIAN PERSON FIGHTING AGAINST RUSSIA IS AN AWAKE PERSON

Analogically, the mappings for the conceptual metaphor A BYELORUSSIAN PERSON NOT FIGHTING AGAINST RUSSIA IS A SLEEPING PERSON are the following: the constituent source domain element 'unconscious' is mapped onto the constituent target domain element 'not understanding the threat', whereas the source element 'inactive' is mapped onto the target element 'not fighting against Russia', as visible in Table 4.

Source: SLEEPING PERSON	Target: A BYELORUSSIAN PERSON NOT FIGHTING AGAINST RUSSIA
unconscious —————▶	not understanding the threat
inactive —————▶	not fighting against Russia

Table 4. A set of metaphorical mappings for the conceptual metaphor A BYELORUSSIAN PERSON NOT FIGHTING AGAINST RUSSIA IS A SLEEPING PERSON

3.2. ANIMAL metaphors

According to Kövecses (2002:17), “the domain of animals is an extremely productive source domain. Human beings are especially frequently understood in terms of (assumed) properties of animals. Thus, we talk about someone being a *brute*, a *tiger*, a *dog*, a *sly fox*, a *bitch*, a *cow*, a *snake*, and so on”. This is probably because people tend to ascribe different features, both positive as well as negative, to animals. For example, people can be brave lions, sexy kittens or dangerous tigers.

The President of Ukraine uses conceptual metaphors which are outlined by Kövecses (2002:122-124) as VIOLENT HUMAN BEHAVIOR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOR, which is based on PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS. In terms of conflicts and wars, it is the feature of ‘objectionability,’ or ‘undesirability’ which appears to be the major meaning focus in animal metaphors, leading eventually to metaphors like OBJECTIONABLE BEHAVIOR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOR and OBJECTIONABLE PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS. Let us present two quotations from Volodymyr Zelenskyy:

- (4) *One week ago, at 4 am, Russia invaded our independent Ukraine, our land. An acute fit of aggression, megalomania, delusions of persecution. Heavy psychological complexes and as a result - missile systems. Rocket artillery. Tanks and other armored vehicles - simply like **locusts*** (speech delivered on the 3rd of March 2022).
- (5) *Russian troops have already created a humanitarian catastrophe in Ukraine. But for them it is part of the plan. They want to humiliate our people. [...] The invaders specially organize this torture to give their propaganda channels new material. Just for that. **Monsters*** (speech delivered on the 10th of March 2022).

In the case of quotation (4), Russian soldiers are perceived as locusts, together with the armoured vehicles they are using to attack the state of Ukraine. English dictionaries provide the reader with the following definitions of the term *locust*: “an insect that lives mainly in Asia and Africa and flies in a very large group, eating and destroying crops” (Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English Online), “any of several grasshoppers of the family Acrididae, having short antennae and commonly migrating in swarms that strip the vegetation from large areas” (English Dictionary), or “a large insect found in hot areas that flies in large groups and destroys plants and crops” (Cambridge Dictionary). What seems to be the reason for Volodymyr Zelenskyy comparing the Russian soldiers attacking Ukraine to locusts is probably the character of these insects. To

comprehend the metaphor, while locusts flying in large groups is mapped onto large groups of Russian troops attacking the country, eating and destroying crops is mapped onto killing Ukrainian people and destroying the infrastructure of the state of Ukraine, as in Table 5.

Source: ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR	Target: VIOLENT BEHAVIOUR OF RUSSIAN SOLDIERS
locust	Russian soldiers with armoured vehicles
fly in large groups	attack in large groups/formations
eat and destroy crops	kill Ukrainian people and destroy the country

Table 5. A set of metaphorical mappings for RUSSIAN SOLDIERS ARE LOCUSTS

Quotation (5) clearly shows a mapping from the source element ‘monster’ to the target element ‘Russian soldiers’. The Cambridge Dictionary defines the lexical item *monster* as ‘any imaginary frightening creature, especially one that is large and strange’. A similar definition is presented by the Oxford Learner’s Dictionaries: ‘an imaginary creature that is very large, ugly and frightening’. Hence, some concept elements of animal behaviour are mapped onto the violent behaviour of Russian soldiers, as presented in Table 6.

Source: ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR	Target: VIOLENT BEHAVIOUR OF RUSSIAN SOLDIERS
monsters	Russian soldiers
ugly face	ugly behaviour
frighten people	frighten and kill Ukrainian people
huge in size	huge in number
strange	coming from a foreign country

Table 6. A set of metaphorical mappings for RUSSIAN SOLDIERS ARE MONSTERS

3.3. LIGHT and DARKNESS metaphors

Out of the 63 speeches by Volodymyr Zelenskyy read and studied for the purpose of this article, we found 6 quotations with correspondence to LIGHT and DARKNESS or DAY and NIGHT metaphors, thus making them comparatively frequent. The reason for their popularity in the President of Ukraine’s speeches might be the fact that “light and darkness are also basic human experiences” (Kövecses 2002:19). The following quotations correspond to the conceptual metaphor WAR IS DARKNESS:

- (6) *Defend our state. The **night** will be tough, very tough. But the **morning** will come* (speech delivered on the 26th of February 2022).

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- (7) *We have endured nine days of **darkness**. Nine days of evil* (speech delivered on the 4th of March 2022).
- (8) *But I see how our people refuse to play by the rules of the invaders. How our people remain Ukrainians. How our people stay with our state, even temporarily finding themselves in the **darkness*** (speech delivered on the 4th of March 2022).
- (9) *I met an extraordinary person there at the checkpoint who supports our defenders every day and brings them a pot of borscht every day. Really delicious! Truly Ukrainian. Wholeheartedly. And I know that our state has been based on such people for centuries. It is thanks to such people that we will survive any **dark days**. Because we are together* (speech delivered on the 14th of March 2022).
- (10) *However, now, in the **darkest time** for our country, for the whole of Europe, I urge you to do more! New packages of sanctions are needed every week. Until the Russian military machine stops* (speech delivered on the 16th of March 2022).
- (11) *Europe has never known such a **dark month** since World War II. It has not seen such destruction and such war crimes. The list of those killed has already reached thousands. Dozens of our cities and communities have been destroyed* (speech delivered on the 24th of March 2022).

The clear assumption from the abovementioned quotations is that war is understood as a dark time or a night. The conceptual metaphor WAR IS DARKNESS present in Zelenskyy's speeches corresponds to Kövecses's (2002:48-49) metaphors LIFE IS LIGHT/DAY and DEATH IS DARKNESS/NIGHT, because of the obvious connection of war with death. Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English Online defines *darkness* as, among others, 'when there is no light' and 'evil or the devil', whereas in the Cambridge Dictionary, *darkness* is 'the quality of being without light, or a situation in which there is little or no light', 'the quality of being sad and without hope' and 'the quality of being evil or threatening'. We suggest that the source domain DARKNESS is mapped onto the target domain RUSSIAN WAR AGAINST UKRAINE, the concept element 'no light' is mapped onto 'no life', the element 'sad' is mapped onto 'terrified', with the one of 'evil' being present in both domains, as in Table 7.

Source: DARKNESS	Target: RUSSIAN WAR AGAINST UKRAINE
lack of light	→ lack of good

Table 7. A set of mappings for the conceptual metaphor RUSSIAN WAR AGAINST UKRAINE IS DARKNESS

One more quotation from the President of Ukraine also involves the LIGHT and DARKNESS metaphor, although with a different meaning. It is not based on the abovementioned metaphor RUSSIAN WAR AGAINST UKRAINE IS DARKNESS, but rather on the idea that SUPPORTING UKRAINE IS LIGHT:

- (12) *And before that I spoke with American congressmen. More than two hundred representatives of both parties of the Congress. They are very sincere. They are fully interested in really helping us, providing concrete assistance. These are conversations that increase our confidence. Because one who is on the side of **light** will never fall into **darkness** (speech delivered on the 6th of March 2022).*

Since the Russian attack on Ukraine has made other countries choose between support for Russia or for Ukraine, most countries from all over the globe have chosen to espouse Ukraine, i.e. to be ‘on the side of light’. This reference to the metaphor GOOD IS LIGHT, discussed by Forceville and Renckens (2013:160-179) is a clear statement that by helping/supporting Ukraine, one chooses good. As Forceville and Renckens (2013:166) point out, the correlation between LIGHT and GOOD, and DARK and BAD “probably goes as far back as the history of man” (Arnheim 1969:313). Below is a set of mappings for the conceptual metaphor SUPPORTING UKRAINE IS LIGHT.

Source: LIGHT	Target: SUPPORTING UKRAINE
good	→ right activity

Table 8. A set of mappings for SUPPORTING UKRAINE IS LIGHT

3.4. CONTROL metaphors

In his speeches during the first month of the war, the leader of Ukraine frequently used a conceptual metaphor RUSSIAN CITIZENS ARE SLAVES, which may refer to the metaphor BEING SUBJECT TO CONTROL OR FORCE IS DOWN as introduced by Lakoff and Johnson (1980:15). The Russian Federation, having a centralised authoritarian government, can be considered a dictatorship following Vladimir Putin’s policies. Russia has been widely criticised for its authoritarian regime, unfair elections

and, among other things, censorship of the media. It is considered by Western countries to be a country that controls its citizens all the time, as well as a country without freedom of speech. This lack of freedom must have motivated Volodymyr Zelenskyy to compare Russian citizens to slaves:

- (13) *Ukrainians! In all our cities where the enemy has entered. Feel it. Go on the offensive! You need to go outside! You have to fight! Every time when there is an opportunity. As in Kherson. As in Berdyansk. As in Melitopol. As in Konotop. You need to go out and drive this evil out of our cities. To prevent the creation of new DPR and LPR where normal life is simply impossible. Only **slavery**. Only on the knees* (speech delivered on the 5th of March 2022).
- (14) *But we are still fighting for our present. It is very important. We are fighting for where the border will be. Between life and **slavery*** (speech delivered on the 6th of March 2022).
- (15) *Thanks to our military, National Guards, border guards, police, territorial defense and everyone who joined the defense of the state, we have not become **slaves**, and will never become!* (speech delivered on the 10th of March 2022).
- (16) *You are like behind the wall again. Not the Berlin Wall. But in the middle of Europe. Between freedom and **slavery*** (speech delivered on the 17th of March 2022).
- (17) *To Kherson, where today we saw **slaves** shooting at free people. **Slaves** of propaganda that replaces their consciousness. **Slaves** who used to pack everyone in paddy wagons. Even an old woman with a clean white poster. Even a girl with an A4 sheet on which only one word is written – “peace”* (speech delivered on the 21st of March 2022).
- (18) *These **slaves** sent by Russia have never seen so many free people in the squares and streets. They have never seen thousands of people who are not afraid of them, of **slaves** with weapons in their hands. **Slaves** perceive freedom as savagery, as danger. They are scared. The fear that propagandists know how to turn into hatred. And then - shots at peaceful free people* (speech delivered on the 21st of March 2022).
- (19) *Mariupol! Hardworking and honest city! Mariupol. Which the occupiers are simply destroying. Destroying to ashes. But it will survive them all. Worthless **slaves** who do not know how to take care*

of their own country. Of their own people. And they go to someone else's (speech delivered on the 21st of March).

Let us refer to a few lexicographic sources for a definition of *slavery*. According to the Cambridge Dictionary, *slavery* is 'the activity of legally owning other people who are forced to work for or obey you' and 'the condition of being legally owned by someone else, or the system in which some people are owned by others'. Similarly, the Merriam-Webster Dictionary defines *slavery* as 'the state of a person who is held in forced servitude' and 'submission to a dominating influence'. Relying on a background knowledge of Russian policy and the abovementioned definitions of *slavery*, we suggest the following set of mappings for the conceptual domain RUSSIAN CITIZENS ARE SLAVES. The source constituent element 'ownership' is mapped onto 'dictatorship', the element 'forced to work and obey the owner' is mapped onto 'forced to obey the dictator', while the element 'lack of liberty' is mapped onto 'lack of freedom of speech and assembly', and 'control over work' is mapped onto 'control over life'.

Source: SLAVES	Target: RUSSIAN CITIZENS
ownership	dictatorship
forced to work and obey the owner	forced to obey the dictator
lack of liberty	lack of freedom of speech and assembly
control over work	control over life

Table 9. A set of mappings for the conceptual metaphor RUSSIAN CITIZENS ARE SLAVES

3.5. FORCES metaphors

According to Kövecses (2002:19-20), forces, of various kinds, e.g. gravitational, magnetic, electric, or mechanical, frequently serve as source domains. The leader of Ukraine uses a natural force as the source domain in the metaphor RUSSIAN WAR AGAINST UKRAINE IS A TSUNAMI in his speech from the 23rd of March 2022 to the Japanese Parliament:

- (20) *I call for the united efforts of the Asian countries, your partners, to stabilize the situation. So that Russia seeks peace. And stops the tsunami of its brutal invasion of our state, Ukraine. It is necessary to impose an embargo on trade with Russia* (speech delivered on the 23rd of March 2022).

The metaphor is based on the EVIL IS FORCE metaphor suggested by Kövecses (2002:63) and developed by Fabiszak (2007:119) to WAR IS A NATURAL FORCE. According to Fabiszak (2007:120), 'the activati-

on of the Source Domain of NATURAL FORCE highlights the intensity of war; simultaneously it hides the human agent, apparently removing the responsibility for war brutality from the authorities who decided to launch it'. Due to the similarity of the concept of NATURAL FORCE with CATASTROPHE, Fabiszak also suggests an alternate metaphor WAR IS A CATASTROPHE. The definitions of *tsunami* are the following: 'a very large wave, caused by extreme conditions such as an earthquake, which can cause a lot of damage when it reaches land' (Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English), 'an extremely large wave caused by a violent movement of the earth under the sea' (Cambridge Dictionary). To explain the motivation for the metaphor under discussion, let us note that the source domain constituent element 'a large wave of water' is mapped onto the target domain element 'a huge army of soldiers', 'caused by earthquake' is mapped onto 'caused by the Russian government', while the concept of 'killing people and damaging the land', as well as 'difficult/impossible to stop' remain the same:

Source: TSUNAMI	Target: RUSSIAN WAR AGAINST UKRAINE
large wave of water	→ huge army of soldiers
kill people and damage land	→ kill people and damage land
caused by earthquake	→ caused by Russian government
difficult/impossible to stop	→ difficult/impossible to stop

Table 10. A set of metaphorical mappings for the conceptual metaphor RUSSIAN WAR AGAINST UKRAINE IS A TSUNAMI

4. Conclusions

This study has investigated the presence of conceptual metaphors in the political discourse of the President of Ukraine, Volodymyr Zelenskyy. The object of this article pertains to the language of war present in Zelenskyy's 63 speeches during the first month of full-scale Russian aggression against Ukraine, i.e. from the 24th of February 2022 up to the 24th of March 2022.

To conclude, the language of war in Zelenskyy's speeches tends to be rather straightforward/direct/strict and plain, with rare usage of metaphorical expressions. As demonstrated, the metaphors used by the leader of Ukraine draw from, as Kövecses (2002) puts it, common source domains, i.e. from the human body, animals, light and darkness and control, as well as forces. To be specific, we have identified 9 conceptual metaphors: UKRAINE ATTACKED BY RUSSIAN SOLDIERS IS A HUMAN BODY ATTACKED BY A VIRUS; KYIV, THE CAPITAL OF

UKRAINE, IS THE HEART OF THE HUMAN BODY; A UKRAINIAN PERSON FIGHTING AGAINST RUSSIA IS AN AWAKE PERSON; RUSSIAN SOLDIERS ARE LOCUSTS; RUSSIAN SOLDIERS ARE MONSTERS; THE RUSSIAN WAR AGAINST UKRAINE IS DARKNESS; SUPPORTING UKRAINE IS LIGHT; RUSSIAN CITIZENS ARE SLAVES, as well as THE RUSSIAN WAR AGAINST UKRAINE IS A TSUNAMI. In terms of statistics, CONTROL metaphors appear to be the most frequent (7 cases) together with LIGHT AND DARKNESS metaphors (6 cases). This may mirror the greatest Ukrainian fears, which can be the concept of 'dictator-ruled/enslaved' Russian citizens whom Ukrainian people, fighting for freedom, do not want to become, as well as the vision of war as 'a dark time'.

It needs to be recognised that this text should be treated as a part of a large-scale study and, therefore, cannot be regarded as an exhaustive one, as it presents metaphorical data only in speeches from the first month of the full-scale Russian aggression against Ukraine. The above article does not examine the language of the leader of Ukraine after, for instance, the evidence of the Bucha massacre emerged on the 1st of April 2022, nor any other experience from during the second and other following months of war. Following Neshkovska and Trajkova (2020:103-104), "the accurate use of metaphors in political discourse is a priceless weapon in the arsenal of any politician, as metaphors not only enhance the message but also catch people's attention and provide a connection between what is already known to people (culture, history, etc.) and the ideology of a political party or a politician". Hence, Volodymyr Zelenskyy's speeches after the 24th of March may be a rich source of other conceptual metaphors of war, and their examination can serve as a source for prospective studies.

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