A CRYTICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS
OF THE UKRAINIAN WAR REFUGEES' IMAGE IN BRITISH PRESS
КРИТИЧНИЙ АНАЛІЗ ДИСКУРСУ
ІМІДЖУ УКРАЇНСЬКИХ ВІЙСЬКОВИХ БІЖЕНЦІВ В БРИТАНСЬКІЙ ПРЕСІ

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Abstract. Introduction. The article examines the peculiarities of the image construction of the Ukrainian war refugees as the consequence of political changes that swept the world in the war in Ukraine unleashed by Russia on February, 24, 2022. The relevance of the study is due to the growing scientific interest in the phenomenology of the discourse of migrants and refugees and its aspects.

Methods. The research of mass media discourse was conducted in the context of critical discourse analysis (CDA).

Results. The study based on the material of the British press analyses the mechanisms of the refugees' image formation. As an instrument of the impact on the society, mass media discourse is structured and meets certain requirements. We identify the discourse topics where the Ukrainian refugees are presented as the threat to European security, as the most socially vulnerable individuals suffering the consequences of the war in their home country or as heroes forced to risk their lives. As social actors, Ukrainian refugees are represented either as a collective identity, or as individuals. The study concludes about the strategies that form the image of refugees (impersonification, victimization, referential, in-group and out-group framing), about the linguistic means verbalizing the strategies (generalised nouns, numerals, adjectives, idioms and collocations), and the stylistic figures (metaphors, allusions, oxymoron, hyperbolas, personification).

Discussion. The prospects for further exploration we see in the study of the image of the Ukrainian refugees in the social media discourse.

Keywords: critical discourse analysis, mass media discourse, refugees, discourse strategies, linguistic means.

Introduction. During the large-scale military invasion that was started by Russia on the territory of Ukraine on the 24-th of February 2022, the international press was dominated by the news on the latest events in Ukraine, the immigration processes and the exodus of refugees triggered by the war. The most cruel war caused the largest refugee crisis known since the World War II and the biggest aftermath for the Europe and the

whole world. The number of Ukrainian refugees fleeing the war from their home country, relocating around the world is unseen and is in the center of coverage of all news reports in mass media.

The articles from the newspapers are replete with shocking facts of military crimes committed by Russian troops on the Ukrainian civilians, news about the refugees trying to escape the war and settle their life in the hosting countries. The current escalation of the violent conflict around Ukraine is constantly reported in the international press providing linguists with vast material to study that establishes the relevance to the current research. In this article applying the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) we examine the major properties of the articles reporting on the refugees in the Russian-Ukrainian war of 2022, the linguistic image of refugees represented in the British newspapers highlighting historical, cultural and psychological contexts, as well as political implicatures. The study exploring the migration rhetoric focuses on the discourse strategies applied in the analysed material and specific language means of their verbalization. By the discourse strategy we mean (after R. Wodak) the intended plan of practices used for the achievement of the certain social, political and linguistic goals, the systematic ways of language usage (Wodak, R., Chilton, P. [67-70]).

Literature review. The problem of immigration is firmly among the "hot topics" caused by increased interest not only from governments and citizens, but also linguists; it becomes a part of the general socio-cultural and linguistic context of a society and is reflected in various linguistic processes. In the recent time, much research is conducted on presenting and creating the images of migrants, refugees and asylum-seekers in the media discourse, which focuses on migration laws, racism, economic and social consequences as well as the national security. The scientific study methods included critical discourse analysis (Teo [54]; Erjavec [12]; KhosraviNik [29]; Lippi, McKay & McKenzie [35], corpus based analysis (Baker & McEnery [1]; Bakers & Gabrielato [2]; Baker [3]), content analysis (Esses, Medianu & Lawson [13]; Medianu, Sutter & Esses [39]).

The investigation in the discourse of immigrants from the standpoint of CDA is the focus of many researchers. According to CDA principles, language is used as a tool for speech influence that allows the authorities to exercise their power in the society, CDA being "… analytical research that primarily studies the way social power, abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context" (van Dijk [60, p. 353]), it allows to investigate mass media influence on the formation of the image of migrants and refugees in the society. T. van Dijk [62] considers the peculiarities of immigration and ethnic issues in the media, P. Baker and co-authors [3] examine the representation of ethnic minorities in the discourse of the French Parliament and analyse the degree of influence of media discourse on the formation of public opinion in relation to muslims and people from the Middle East; J.Richardson and R. Wodak [48] consider strategies of fear imposing and the racist images of immigrants in the pre-election discourse of the Austrians and the British right-wing parties. These and other studies demonstrate the negative position of media to ethnic groups relocating to European countries portraying them as third-class people, a threat to natives. The general trend is that immigrants are represented as poor, uneducated (Dauvergne [8], O'Halloran, K., Pal, G., Jin, M. [41], Teo, P. [54]), and therefore powerful, desperate victims of political events (Collins, J. [7]) who need outside help and support of local communities, medical care (Hatoss, A. [22], Kiwan, N. [31], Richardson J., Wodak R. [48], van der Valk, I. [59]). Migrants are mostly presented as homogeneous collectives, undifferentiated and impersonalised, as problems through abstraction (van Leeuwen [66]) or as numbers through aggregation.

Van Leeuwen [66] concluded on the classification of the discourse categories that includes: Foregrounding/Backgrounding, Passivation/Activation, Personalisation /Impersonalisation, Individualisation/Assimilation, and Functionalisation. The pattern proposed by KhosraviNik, Majid [29] suggests the newspapers' giving more space to an in-group member, but citations to out-group members are given only when they are inarticulate, extremist, illogical or threatening.

Van Dijk [62, 65] emphasises the tendency in the in-group-out-group framing as positive self-presentation and negative representation of "others". The studies demonstrated the stylistic figures with the predominance of metaphor, metonymy, hyperbola that may be used to distinguish in-group and out-group dichotomy (Musolff [40]; Lakoff [33]; Charteris-Black [6]).

The aim of the research is to to analyse semantic and compositional structures of the texts, to explore language means used in news articles to actualize communicative strategies, textual biases and implicit assumptions aimed at formation the images of the refugees from the war in Ukraine.

Methods. The analysis will shed light on the political and ideological contexts of the war in Ukraine, as well as give insight into the sociopolitical and cognitive aspects of news coverage. In the research we applied an interdisciplinary approach where language is viewed as social practice. The theoretical background of the study is Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) which researches how language is used in social contexts and refers to power (cognitive analysis of discourse by N. Fairclough N. [14-15], German school of CDA (sociolinguistic research by R. Wodak [67-70]). The authors' viewpoints were considered as "models of their own roles, goals, actions and beliefs" embedded in the context (van Dijk, [61]). The complex investigation of the refugees images in the mass media discourse will create the need to apply Multimodal Discourse Analysis MDA that reveals semiotic relations between language and image (O'Halloran, Pal, Jin [41]).

To form a body of illustrative material we use the method of continuous sampling generating data from open-access British newspapers, both broadsheets, and tabloids (The Guardian, The Financial Times, The Mirror, The Times, The Sun, The Telegraph), in the period 2015-2022 that are open-access and popular newspapers among large number of readers.

Results and discussion. A comprehensive analysis of the material presented in the news reports on the war in Ukraine reveals the hidden content and discourse strategies applied by the authors through the investigation of the structure, explicit and implicit semantics and extralinguistic context. The numerous examples present Ukrainian refugees as a threat to the society, where the **strategy of impersonification** is verbalised by numbers, general nouns and various metaphors.

The British broadsheet newspaper The Telegraph presents the strategy of impersonification introducing refugees as figures depriving them personal features:

EU4UA.org has registered 30,000 Ukrainian refugees who are seeking families to take them into their homes to escape the humanitarian crisis [23].

The coming of the Ukrainian refugees is often compared with the "exodus", the term used in "the second book of the Bible telling of Moses and the journey of the Israelites out of Egypt":

More than 1m refugees flee Ukraine in fastest exodus this century [27].

That allusion renders the relocation of the huge group of people, "…the movement of a lot of people from a place" as Cambridge dictionary defines [5].

Nowadays, the metaphor is in the focus of investigation of linguists (D. Lakoff [32], M. Johnson [28] and others). Its role is outlined for many aspects: "Metaphor serves as a strategy to convey subtle yet powerful messages about certain events and individuals. The conceptual mappings created in the mind through cognitive processes help reveal a lot about the ideology and politics media outlets, especially newspapers, wish to establish, convey and spread to the public [50]. Scientists investigate the discourse strategies and the linguistic means of their verbalization, outlining discourse topoi, categories and patterns (Kitis & Milapides [30]; Santa Ana [50]; El Refaie [10]; Parker [43]). By van der Valk [59], the refugees are mentioned in metaphorical expressions, their main component of the meanings being the representation of natural phenomena and catastrophes with a negative connotation, namely the loss of control over the situation.

The metaphors "wave", "flock", "mass", "influx", "exodus" are used to reveal the negative connotation in the context of the huge numbers of newcomers that can present a danger as an uncontrolled calamity or disaster, as the following examples demonstrate:

1. Troops mobilised as Europe braces

for wave of Ukrainian refugees [23].

2. *Small towns on the west coast of Ireland are struggling to cope with the influx of Ukrainian refugees with in some cases the population doubling in recent weeks.*

3. *Tens of thousands of Ukrainians will soon begin their passage to the UK, Michael Gove said.*

4. *Warsaw and other Polish cities have warned that they are full and can take no more refugees, after a huge influx of more than 1.5 million Ukrainians .*

5. *Ukrainian border and takes us on a whirligig tour of the heaving mass of war refugees.*

6. *The war risks forcing more than seven million people to flee their homes, leading to a wave of refugees that would dwarf the 2015 migration crisis.*

7. *Ukraine crisis: First wave of refugees flood across borders as 100,000 flee homes [9].*

The Guardian depicts the Ukrainian war refugees applying verbal metaphors, the main property of which is their imagery, the focus on the recipient's ability to decipher it not only intellectually, but by assessing the created image. Comparison of the groups of people with "flock" of sheep, cows or birds renders with a negative connotation the movement of a non guided group that is hardly predicted:

Ukraine refugees flock to Germany after being put off by UK red tape [42].

The discourse **referential strategy** provides extra details and personal data:

… five miles of it on foot — she and her eight-year-old son, Max, are refugees from war, forced to seek sanctuary in the village of Raclawowka on the Polish border…[9].

The specific information about the refugees (names, age of the child, "who is only 8", the distance and location), Participle II with passive meaning ("forced to seek sanctuary") vividly add sufferings of the war victims.

The metaphor ("heart-breaking invasion",) used to render the intense emotional stress or pain, personification ("devastaing conficts"), understatement as a stylistic figure ("an hour of conflict"), are implementing **the strategy of victimization** which depicts the difficulties of the newcomers:

1. *The Local Government Association Chairman, Cllr James Jamieson emphasized:*

The humanitarian crisis caused by the Ukraine invasion is heart-breaking. Councils are ready to help new arrivals from Ukraine settle in the UK and to support communities who wish to offer assistance to those fleeing the devastating conflict.

2. *The United Kingdom has a long and proud history of helping others in their hour of need and our new Homes for Ukraine scheme offers a lifeline to those who have been forced to flee [53].*

The criticism of the bureaucratic system of the country making the exhausted people wait for the visas being issued, formalities, papers is distinctly portrayed in the titles from The Telegraph, with adjectives ("anxious", "heavy", "cold"), passive voice ("were again forced"), "again" as an amplifier being used to verbalize the poor conditions of the forced migrants and gain sympathy:

On Wednesday, dozens of anxious refugees with British relatives were again forced to wait outside in the cold, following a heavy snowfall … [23].

The broadsheets The Telegraph, The Mirror, The Times and the tabloid The Sun choose the similar language means: lexical units (adjectives "desperate", "inhumane", "distresses", "disgraceful"), metaphor ("bureaucratic nightmare"), hyperbola ("walk miles to safety"), idioms ("left in limbo") to reaffirm **the victimization and referential strategies** ("hosting child", "50 visas"):

1. *'Bureaucratic nightmare' preventing families from hosting child ....[51]*

2. *Furious families to protest over visa delays for Ukrainian refugees [26].*

3. *Ukrainian refugees trying to get to UK left in limbo by missing emails [24].*

4. *UK branded 'inhumane' over Ukrainian refugees with just 50 visas approved so far [34].*

5. *Distressed men and women still in the war zone are just told they must wait. It is a disgraceful way to handle this emergency… [56].*

6. *Neighbouring countries welcome desperate refugees who walk miles to safety [53].*

The reporters compare the present war in Ukraine with WWII reviving in the memory of the readers the images of cruelty and ruthlessness of the nazis, naming the relocation of the Ukrainian refugees the "*the largest refugee crisis in Europe since the*

second world war", appraising *"extraordinary welcome"* and *"great enthusiasm"* of the hosts:

1. In 1939 the people of the UK opened their hearts and homes to children fleeing from the Nazis and we look back on that 'Kinder Transport' as an act of culture-defining hospitality. With the invasion of Ukraine the largest refugee crisis in Europe since the second world war is unfolding. I welcome with great enthusiasm the UK government's 'Homes for Ukraine' scheme. Sanctuary Foundation has already had over 7,000 pledges of sponsorship and I stand ready both personally and professionally to be part of this extraordinary welcome of Ukrainian refugees [20].

2. The exodus of desperate families from Ukraine is fast becoming the biggest refugee crisis in Europe since the Second World War [34].

3. We need common solidarity for the Ukrainians."Europe is facing its biggest refugee crisis since the Second World War [25].

The newspapers covering the story of the actress who helps the Ukrainian refugees recollect the famous work by Keneally "Schindler's list" that tells a true story of a German industrialist, Oscar Schindler, who saved Jews from the Nazis during the Second World War, and establishes a parallel between the two wars and people separated by 81 year:

1. Actress who played the 'girl in the red coat' in Schindler's List becomes real-life heroine saving Ukrainian refugees.

2. AN actress who was the "girl in the red coat" in Schindler's List has turned real life heroine by coordinating help for fleeing Ukrainian refugees. Her character, a little Jewish girl, was the catalyst that saved the lives of more than 1,200 Jews destined for Nazi concentration camps in 1943. ANGEL OF UKRAINE. And now Oliwia, 32, from Krakow, Poland, has taken inspiration from Oskar Schindler and is helping those fleeing war-torn Ukraine [44].

While the war in Ukraine unleashed by Russia is compared with the Second World War, president Putin is compared with Hitler and depicted as the notorious nazi leader (Fig. 1), that demonstrates the photo from The Sun in the news report about thousands of people that "… marched through london in a sea of blue and yellow in support of Ukraine" condemning Russia's "barbaric aggression" [20]:

Fig 1.

The strategy of positive presentation is implemented by adjectives with positive connotation, ungradable adjectives praising the native country of the newcomers:

The courage shown by the Ukrainian people in the face of devastation caused by the invasion of their great country is nothing short of remarkable [53].

The Ukrainians trying to escape from their country in the wartime are considered to be legal immigrants, as the professionals with good skills that can help save the economy of the hosting countries unlike the immigrants from other countries:

1. Refugees fleeing their war-torn homeland could help fix Britain's "enormous skills shortage" and should be "welcomed"

2. Is the UK going to send all black refugees to Rwanda and let all the white ones into the UK?

3. "The preferential treatment of the Ukrainian refugees is there.

4. *Video of how an arena has been transformed into a mass accommodation centre to welcome Ukrainian refugees has been released [34].*

The British broadsheet The Telegraph verbalises the urge to "turbocharge the economy" by the verbal metaphor and hyperbola "any country" that add expressiveness to the report:

Ukrainian refugees will turbocharge the economy of any country [36].

The Ukrainian refugees are portrayed as ideal refugees who are "skilled and qualified" and can give benifits to the local workforce and economies:

A third of firms believe that hiring Ukrainians will increase their workforce diversity, while more than 27 per cent said the main benefit to the company was access to skilled and qualified candidates [21].

The positive and supportive attitude towards Ukrainian war refugees is demonstrated in comparison with the refugees fleeing the wars in Afganistan and Syria who are nominated as "…refugees from the countries other than Ukraine", while Ukrainians get a welcoming reception. Such an approach creates sort of "hierarchy" of refugees, migrants and asylum seekers", demonstrating the biased attitude towards them:

1. Some of Britain's largest insurers have changed their policies to allow homeowners to take in refugees — but only if they are fleeing Ukraine.

2. Let's be honest: we don't treat all refugees equally [53].

3. Hillingdon Council told householder she would lose her single person's discount if she took in refugees from countries other than Ukraine [25].

The previous years issues of The Daily Mail cover not so welcoming reception of the refugees from muslim countries implicitly rendering the idea of sending the newcomers back home, where the adverb "even" triggers the implicature:

IAN GALLAGHER: Even liberal Denmark is sending its refugees home to Syria now 'it's safe' [19].

The newspaper reminds that refugees will become the burden for the citizens as taxpayers:

Revealed: Every Syrian refugee accepted into Britain will cost taxpayers up to £23,420 a year [38], while in the news about the refugees from Ukraine The Sun calls the houses of the Brits hosting Ukrainian refugees "second home", the hosts are "generous" and promises tax discounts:

A COUNCIL tax discount worth as much as £1,000 will be handed to generous families throwing open their second homes to fleeing Ukrainians [11].

The approval and admiration by the welcoming presentation of the newcomers and the urge of the support by the Brits are demonstrated in the following examples, where idioms ("open heart"), positive adjectives ("mercy", "fantastic"), oxymoron ("second home") create the positive connotation:

1. It has been fantastic to see the surge of support across British society for hosting refugees, with tens of thousands of people ready, willing and waiting to do so.

2. The hosting of the Ukrainian refugees is regarded as a "mercy mission":

3. Councillor on mercy mission to match Ukrainian refugees with hosts.

4. Cornwall opens its heart and its second homes to Ukrainian refugees [53].

The phrase "to open hotels" bears the meaning of hospitality and compassion to the Ukrainians for whom the hotels can become homes:

Dalata opens its hotels to Ukrainian refugees [53].

The idiom "with open arm" in the title of the article from The Times revealing the large number of Ukrainian refugees welcomed in Ireland shed light on the hearted reception of the newcomers:

Ireland threw its arms open for 27,000 refugees [53].

In press discourse metaphor can have an emphasizing role drawing attention of the reader to some important facts and actions. The metaphor from The Times news coverage "safe haven" spotlights the perils and horrors of the war in Ukraine, the UK towns being regarded as a sanctuary for the refugees:

From Eurovision to safe haven: Green Glens arena is new home for 300 Ukrainian refugees [53].

Another example demonstrates the approval and support of the willingness of the UK citizens to help Ukrainians trying to find

the shelter in their country:

Britons found a variety of ways to offer a haven for Ukrainian refugees [53].

The positive image of the Ukrainian refugees is created by the encouraging and stimulating measures of the government to welcome and host them in the UK, the charity actions by celebrities. The specific examples of celebrities donating for the Ukrainian refugees (with names and numbers), like a famous professional football player Keylor Navas, should inspire the Brits to helping with his enthusiasm labelled an "amazing gesture" (referential strategy):

Keylor Navas buys 30 beds to home Ukraine refugees in movie theatre at his luxury mansion in Paris in amazing gesture [37].

As social actors (van Leuween [66]) Ukrainian refugees are represented either as individuals (*… five miles of it on foot — she and her eight-year-old son, Max, are refugees from war, forced to seek sanctuary in the village of Raclawowka on the Polish border…[53]*), or as a collective identity in the mass media discourse. The Guardian shows them as "those who so urgently need help", "those seeking sanctuary", "those who need safety", "people coming in fear of their lives", "desperate Ukrainians" calling for welcoming, offering safety and good will to support:

We warmly welcome the introduction of a way in which communities in the UK can open their doors to welcome those who so urgently need help. We have seen that, when communities come together to welcome those seeking sanctuary, they can make a huge impact, transforming the lives of so many whilst offering safety to those who need it [55].

The prime minister of the UK Boris Johnson highlighting the "open-hearted", "generous hosts" welcoming the war refugees from Ukraine in the UK emphasised the good-will of the Brits "to open their hearts" to "desperate Ukrainians" that can inspire the others to follow examples:

This is a country overwhelmingly generous to people coming in fear of their lives. Households across the UK have shown that they are willing to open their hearts to desperate Ukrainians [55].

The title in The Times draws attention to the Brits ("generous hosts") who are ready to lend a helping hand to people in need:

"Refugees at Home matches generous hosts with refugees in need of temporary emergency accommodation [53].

The presented by van Dijk [65] dichotomy "Us" and "Them" is accomplished in the mass media discourse by creating two opposing groups: the 'Us' group and the 'Them' group in the **in-group out-group framing strategy**. The Guardian, The Daily Mail, The Telegraph regard the refugees and immigrants from Ukraine with caution revealing the cases of misunderstanding with the hosting parts thus adding to the negative image. The Guardian dwells on the conflicts and broken arrangements with the hosts homing Ukrainian refugees, that being a peril of the problematic newcomers who cannot either come to the agreement with the hosts, or have expectations on the very high quality of housing:

1. *Hundreds of Ukrainian refugees removed from UK's 'unsuitable' housing sponsors [16].*

2. Despite the government insisting that the Homes for Ukraine and family visa schemes would ensure that refugees had housing, both are leaving people struggling when arrangements break down.

3. The data exposes the cracks already appearing in the Homes for Ukraine scheme, with 145 placements having ended in homelessness by 3 June. Of these, 90 ended because the arrangement broke down and a further 55 never got off the ground properly because the accommodation was unavailable or unsuitable on arrival [9].

The Daily Mail reports on the large number of people being deprived of housing and declares among the causes "broken accommodation arrangements" and "unsuitable accommodation" with definite negative implication of the newcomers not being agreeable and humble people:

At least 660 Ukrainian families have been left homeless in Britain after their accommodation arrangements broke down.

And they have now become homeless after the arrangements with their proposed hosts either broke down or the accommodation was deemed to be unsuitable [45].

Conclusions. The analysis of the

material allows us to conclude that in the British press the Ukrainian war refugees escaping the military actions in Ukraine are presented as the threat to European security, the victims suffering the consequences of military operations in their home country or as heroes who are risking their lives. The hosting countries face challenges with the newcomers because they are inhabiting other countries or because they require help from the governments and the communities. As social actors, Ukrainian refugees are presented either as a collective identity or as individuals. The applied discourse strategies form a multifaceted image of the Ukrainian refugees in the British press: the strategies of impersonification of the refugees by presenting them as numbers and generalized nouns, associating them with natural disasters and social problems; victimization picturing their hardships and sufferings, referential strategies by providing extra details and personal data, in-group and out-group framing strategy demonstrating the perils the newcomers can present for the communities. The linguistic means used for the verbalization of these strategies are: generalised nouns, numerals depicting the number of newcomers, adjectives "classifying" the refugees, idioms and collocations. Among the stylistic figures we distinguish metaphor, allusion, oxymoron, hyperbola, personification.

The prospects for the further exploration we see in the study of the image of the Ukrainian refugees in the social media discourse.

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Анотація. Актуальність *У статті розглядаються особливості побудови іміджу українських військових біженців як наслідок політичних змін, які охопили світ в період війни в Україні, розв'язаної Росією 24 лютого 2022 р. Актуальність дослідження зумовлена зростанням наукового інтересу до феноменології дискурсу мігрантів та біженців та його аспектів.*

Методи дослідження. *Дослідження дискурсу ЗМІ проводилось у контексті критичного дискурс аналізу (CDA).*

Результати. *У статті на матеріалі британської преси аналізуються механізми формування іміджу біженців. Як інструмент впливу на суспільство медіа-дискурс відповідно структурований і відповідає певним вимогам. У дослідженні визначаються теми дискурсу, де українські біженці представлені як загроза європейській безпеці, як соціально найбільш вразливі особи, які потерпають від наслідків війни на батьківщині або як герої, які змушені ризикувати своїм життям. Прибуття українських біженців вважається проблематичним тому, що вони населяють інші країни або тому, що їм потрібна допомога урядів і громад. Як соціальні актори українські біженці представлені як колективна ідентичність або як індивіди. У статті зроблено висновок про стратегії, які є компонентами міграційного дискурсу, і які формують образ біженців*

(імперсоніфікації, віктимізації, референційна, формування внутрішньої та зовнішньої групи), про мовні засоби, які використовуються для вербалізації цих стратегій (узагальнені іменники, числівники, прикметники, ідіоми та сталі вирази), стилістичні фігури (метафори, алюзії, оксиморон, гіперболи, персоніфікацію).

Перспективи подальшого дослідження ми вбачаємо у дослідженні образу українських біженців в дискурсі соціальних медіа.

Ключові слова: критичний аналіз дискурсу, дискурс ЗМІ, біженці, дискурсні стратегії, лінгвістичні засоби.