

MARTA E. STRUKOWSKA

ORCID: 0000-0002-0177-1734

Centrum Języków i Komunikacji, Politechnika Poznańska, Poland

On the generic profile of online news reports: An anthropolinguistic case study of Reuters' news coverage of the first day of Russia's invasion of Ukraine in 2022

This article offers insight into the generic profile of news media discourse (O'Keeffe 2006:1, Silverstein 2005:7, Van Dijk 2008:94, Kopytowska 2013:379) based on the (Western) online news coverage during the first day of Russia's invasion of Ukraine in 2022. It is believed that the generic value of news reportings is realised in patterns which underlie discourse order (Foucault 1972:49), generate its cultural representations (Silverstein 1975:157, Sherzer 1983:11, Chilton 2004:48, Bazerman 2020:152), and construct its social reality (Foley 1997:24, Langacker 2008:21). Advancing the concept of collocates as a tool for establishing lexical patterns in online news reports, examined through a referential lens of anthropological pragmatics (Chruszczewski 2011:50), this paper provides an integrated approach which combines the quantitative method of a concordance-informed discourse analysis (Baker 2006:92) and a qualitative approach which presents how text provides for the context of use through the dimension of media framing (Anshori/Pawito/Tri Kartono/Hastjarjo 2022, Goffman 1986:26).

Keywords: media discourse analysis, Russia–Ukraine war, genre patterns, collocations, anthropological linguistics.

1. Introduction

Day one of Russia's invasion of Ukraine has marked a moment of social disruption prompting Ukrainian civilians to flee from the regions affected by military operations and look for a safe place to live. Since the very beginning of the Russian offensive, news media has been extensively reporting the tragedy of war and the Western digital news coverage has been a narrative of paramount importance since it serves as a crucial factor for creating mental representations of the world. Therefore, news media serves a legitimising function that deals with explaining

the indirect experience of events that are at issue (Chilton 2004:153). The legitimation process viewed as the “[w]idespread acknowledgement of the legitimacy of explanations for how things are done” (Fairclough 2003:219) and taken as a presupposed knowledge as well as shared assumptions of the order of facts (Chovanec 2010:2) can be analysed in terms of its communicational grammar, which pertains to conventional rules and patterns that present the ways of how ideologies legitimate power and social inequality (Van Dijk 2000:8, Chruszczewski 2007:146, Ariel 2008:2). Therefore, news media discourse prompts the receivers of media texts to construct social reality through the systematic and functional use of patterned structures within discourse itself.

One way of revealing the information encoded in discourse is by cracking the code, i.e., analysing the structure of discourse which is manifested in coherence that crucially builds representations in the form of reference, i.e., “[r]elations between some kind of expression ordering and the ordering of facts in the world as they are mentally represented” (Van Dijk 1992:108). Since one of the aims of this article is to advance knowledge of the patterned structure of news media discourse on the first day of Russian military operations on Ukraine, it is of use to look into the coherence is this germane semantic property which shows the connectedness of relations in discourse and accounts for the information distribution within the discursive structure that is grammar-bound (Van Dijk 1992:95, Cumming/Ono 1997:112). For this reason, it should be emphasised that language as a system of practice is dictated and constrained by patterned conventions (Saville-Troike 2003:7, Duranti 1999:80). Importantly, they are conditions for the coordination of any interaction that form clusters of the requested information in the form of assumed and shared knowledge determined by a fluctuating nonverbal context. Hence, the ordering of such information, organised in chunks of semantic relations, also reflects the use of language specifically designed for the particular goal-oriented action which is predictable in form and functionally tailored to a given situation.

The second platform of the study has been Frame Analysis (Goffman 1986:xiii) which is organised within the forms of human language practice that are parts of larger schemes situated within a social frame (Fairclough 1995:101). Frame Analysis can be regarded as typical practice of rendering discursive events into something that is meaningful (Tripodi/Ma 2020:670). Recognition of particular events is performed by employing various frameworks or schemata that rely on various degree of organisation and provide effective ways of explaining and describing the events under study to which a given framework is applied (Goffman 1986:24, Van Dijk 2008:179). Analysis of this sort presents a distribution of extralinguistic information and proposes broadening the scope of a perspective into a wider, global, socio-cultural context. In this way, it allows for a better interpretation of the analysed texts in their social milieu.

This paper is structured as follows: The distinction of lexical and schematic patterns gives an overview of the generic profile of news media discourse presented in the texts by www.reuter.com. Given the scope of the current article, the analysis of the first day of a military conflict between Russia and Ukraine aims to establish the key characteristics of the media genre in its immediate environment. Adopting the definition of genre as a “type of a communication event that arises as a result of the coexistence of specific features of the text and context” (Duszak 1998:218) and a “common pool of textual features” (Jensen 2002:133), this analysis attempts to provide insights into the properties of texts and features that are relevant for creating their context in order to recognise a network of conventionalised relations typical of a given speech event, i.e., the outbreak of war. This theoretical background lays foundation for the present study.

What follows is a brief description of the features and functions of collocates which indicate the lexical patterns used in specific contexts of use. Once we look to lexico-grammatical choices in the form of collocations, which are the words frequently appearing next to each other in a specified contextual environment, we can observe the specific structural manifestations that are genre-specific. Such collocational analysis lays the ground for the semantic meaning of utterance which is strongly linked to the pragmatic analysis of discourse employed by means of frameworks and schemata expounded in framework analysis, whose scope refers to salient features of pragmatic context understood as a combination of relations between the structures of texts and contexts (Van Dijk 1992:205). In light of the above, this paper provides an integrated approach to media discourse based on the pragmatic-semantic interface which postulates and investigates the generic status of mass media discourse. Moreover, the anthropological pragmatics perspective applied in this study is claimed to be a prototypical area of studying events in their contexts and is inherently connected with a study of linguistic behaviour according to its specific situations as ways of adapting to the environment (Chruszczewski 2011:57, Bussmann 1996:374).

2. Collocates in media events

Extensive corpus-based research shows that studying real-life language use in terms of patterns of relations associated with specific contextual constraints enables the content analysis of systematically formed discourse structure of texts that form internally consistent practices (Berelson 1952:18). One way of constructing discursive reality has been through a process of uncovering the traces of these patterns in the form of an analysis based on a lexical frame of meaning and reference (Van Dijk 1972:91). Numerous studies have shown an enduring interest in researching discourse via collocational patterns that provide statistically significant

evidence for co-occurrences termed collocates which take on meaning in specific contexts of use (Sinclair 1991:109, Fairclough 1995:102, Baker 2006:96).

The main advantage of this method is that it allows for a recognition of regular, conceptual representations in the form of associations and connotations which are structurally determined features of discourse. They refer to the generic discourse profile of texts which builds a macro-structure of dominating sequences of specific information. According to Teun van Dijk (2008), “[t]he point of the discourse-structural manifestations of genres [...] is that these structures appear in specific combinations, collocations, frequencies and distributions” (Van Dijk 2008:150). What can be inferred from the above is that examining the ways that genres emerge entails, among other methods of analysis, the study of lexical patterns with a help of concordance lines. Importantly, lexical analysis shows areas of heightened discursive activity determined by the occurrence of collocates which trigger and identify the already existing generic relations. Hence, collocations are powerful means of uncovering the unconscious patterns of thinking which maintain discourse. Corpus data therefore points to a typical relationship between words which allow for a consistent and reliable analysis with a clear focus on generic features of discourse.

An issue that calls for further elaboration is Frame Analysis (Goffman 1986) which, next to lexical patterns, consists in tracing the generic relations within discourse and specifically provides for the context of use through the dimension of media framing.

3. Frame Analysis and event schemes

Another methodological strategy which helps to capture the pervasive generic patterns in the form of basic frameworks of understanding of social events has been Frame Analysis, expounded by Erving Goffman (1986). He brings to the fore the question of the context of situation as well as the action that makes the participants of an occurrence engage in a given event (Goffman 1986:8). The thrust of his idea of frames as systematic work performed through language practice was strengthened by his claim that there exist some implicit, salient rules that establish meanings produced within the entities of Frame Analysis (Goffman 1986:xiii). Furthermore, the rules in question are referred to as a set of conventions which give rise to patterned ways, called **the key**, according to which the activity is represented as meaningful (Goffman 1986:44).

Following his theory, the identification of the rules governing events always entails employing various types of primary frameworks or schemata of interpretation, called interpretative schemas (Goffman 1986:26) which become meaningful, assumed chunks of cultural knowledge (Fisher 1997:2) that is a ‘reservoir of categories or frames’ (Donati 1992:140). In order to gain precision with reference

to what is understood as Frame Analysis in the current study, it is presented as the type of discursive analysis since the focal point has been context and its distribution of topics within the discursive structural frames (Donati 1992:140). It is necessary to point out that the types of frameworks adopted by a specific social group are relevant for every discourse analysis since they lay the ground for getting understanding of the events in question. To say that primary frameworks are building blocks of every discourse analysis means that they act as responsive reactions to the discursive event (Goffman 1986:46) that form relational, distinctive features particularly tangible in a given context of use. Goffman proposes an interpretative model which allows to frame a structure of experience held by societies involved in current events. Since Frame Analysis turns out to be “the study of unstated rules and principles that more or less implicitly set by the character of some larger, though perhaps invisible, entity (for example, the ‘definition of situation’), ‘within’ which the interaction occurs” (Goffman 1986:xiii), it provides the type of patterning that exhibits the generic profile of the analysed events along with their circumstances of occurrence.

4. The study

This anthropological study accounts for the analysis of discursive patterns evidenced in news media discourse (O’Keefe 2006:1, Kopytowska 2013:379) based on the online news coverage during the first day of Russia’s invasion on Ukraine in the year 2022. Decision to focus on this specific corpus situated within particular timeframe was largely due to the fact that that event has marked a moment of social disruption and triggered a moment of intensified discourse media production, also known as **discursive period** (Moirand 2007:10 in Biardzka 2017:15).

A corpus data set consisted of 54 texts retrieved from the website of the Reuters news agency (<https://www.reuter.com/>) on the 24th of February 2022 and further examination of the corpora was focused on the created keyword list which consisted of the words *Ukraine* and *Russia*. The material analysed in the research primarily focused on the way media presented the discursive event under study in relation to the distinguished keywords and their collocates (see Appendix). The primary objective of the study was to distinguish the micro- and macrolinguistic patterns of the analysed texts aligned with their context, which accounts for the generic profile of the first-day news media discourse presented by Reuters.

To establish the generic occurrences, several steps were proposed, i.e., (1) establishing micro-level **lexical patterns** in the analysed discursive event in the form of collocations that systematically form discourse structure of texts and provide information for the semantic import of words and their lexical environment. Specifically, two types of analyses were carried out, (a) keyword and collocate analysis, and (b) lexical patterns analysis. Both allowed a glimpse into

specific meanings in contexts and identified referential relations formed by search terms evidenced in a concordance. Objective (2) of the study was to identify macro-frames or **schematic patterns** (Van Dijk 2008:57) of the analysed discursive event within the specified timeframe. In this way, one recognised important cultural elements of social change, since discourse is regarded here as a social and linguistic practice (Fairclough 1995:16, Wodak/de Cillia/Reisigl/Liebhart 2009:7). Specifically, one addressing the issue of mass media frames provides information about the language and discursual media power in creating a certain reality. Furthermore, establishing the structure of frames also brings into focus the issue of how media represents media events and what social categorisations (Van Dijk 2010:39, Goffman 1986:286) related to the collectivity of people and national identities (Wodak/de Cillia/Reisigl/Liebhart 2009:4) are constructed by media discourse pertaining to the attack on Ukraine and the attack by Russia in a sense of a reality accepted as ‘there’ (Giddens 2008:43), which is one manifestation of public culture (Geertz 1973:57). Given the fact that nation is a system of mental representations, an imagined reality which is constructed and conveyed in discourse, its identity also naturally draws from discourse existing most often in the forms of narratives which symbolically reflect national identity (Wodak/de Cillia/Reisigl/Liebhart 2009:22, Zottola/Zorzi 2021). Therefore, looking for the generic profile of the analysed media discourse provides fundamental aspects for the creation of forms of discursive patterns which comprise the narration of a national culture.

The apparatus employed in the concordance-informed discourse analysis was the AntConc 4.2 freeware concordance program which allowed to conduct the basic lexical operations of corpus analysis such as looking for keywords and collocates. Data in the form of text files were uploaded to a database and a key word analysis using keyword list tool was conducted. The corpora compared frequencies with the reference corpus (British English Press Reportage Corpus) to generate keyword lists which present the statistically significant measure of saliency, i.e., lexical items that, compared with the reference corpus, were assigned the highest value of ‘keyness’ (the degree of recurrence; see Appendix).

5. The analytical framework

To provide with the statistically relevant lexical items that occurred in the analysed texts, it was useful to correlate the frequency in one wordlist of one corpora (a target wordlist in the form of 54 texts) against another wordlist from the reference corpora (British English Press Reportage Corpus) and compare the two to create a wordlist of lemmas which occur significantly in terms of frequency and saliency. The keyword analysis shows the strongest occurrence of words *Ukraine* and *Russia* in the analysed corpus with a very high keyness score (at 908) and (at 704)

respectively. However, although keywords provide useful clues, the analysis would remain highly theoretical without considering the specific contexts of use of the distinguished lexical items. Therefore, it is necessary to examine context-specific relations by carrying out concordances and analysing their collocations.

5.1. Lexical patterns

When a concordance *Ukraine* was carried out on the corpus data it provided information about some patterns of occurrence with the following lemmas:

possessive 's	(1) <i>Ukraine's military said...</i> ; (2) <i>Ukraine's military was defending the country...</i> ; (3) <i>Ukraine's ambassador to Ankara...</i> ; (4) <i>Ukraine's ambassador to the United States</i> ; (5) <i>Ukraine's U.N. ambassador...</i> ; (6) <i>Ukraine's Zelenskiy calls...</i> ; (7) <i>Ukraine's armed forces/forces/army/air space/traffic control/anti-aircraft/anti-missile defences/battle/borders/build-up of 150000 troops/government/...</i>
invaded	(8) <i>Russian forces invaded Ukraine by land, air and sea on Thursday</i> ; (9) <i>Russia invaded Ukraine</i>
forces	(10) <i>Ukraine's forces are heavily outnumbered and outgunned</i> ; (11) <i>Ukraine's forces battled Russian invasion</i> ; (12) <i>Ukraine's armed forces shape up against Russia</i> ; (13) <i>Russia's forces landed at Ukraine</i> ; (14) <i>Russian forces invading Ukraine</i> ; (15) <i>Russian forces launched an invasion of Ukraine</i>
military	(16) <i>...military operation in eastern Ukraine</i> ; (17) <i>...massive/multi-pronged military operation against Ukraine</i>
invasion	(18) <i>a full-scale/full-fledged/all-out invasion of Ukraine</i> ; (19) <i>invasion of Ukraine</i>

Table 1. Collocates of the word *Ukraine*

Looking at the concordance to the word *Ukraine* it can be observed that it collocates strongly with possessive 's, *invaded*, *forces*, *military*, and *invasion*. Hence, it was found out that *Ukraine* collocates with the distinguished set of words which predominantly refer to military/war-related terms.

The **possessive 's** was observed to be one of the significant collocates of *Ukraine*. What seems clear from the collected data with reference to this collocate is the discursive pattern of the genitive case which marks the 'possession' on proper nouns of people and objects understood as the "[i]nclusion of an entity (usually called the thing possessed) within the personal sphere of an individual [or of some cognitively more salient/individuated entity] (usually called the possessor)" (Creisels 2006:143). Upon closer examination, this possessive modifier implies semantic relations in specific contexts of use such as (1) human reference relations (examples 1–5) and (2) non-human reference relations (example 6 and 7). In the corpora, there is a tendency to present how Ukraine dealt with the unexpected attack, i.e., through being an active and prepared participant of the event. Its agency is manifested in its resources, both political and military, that allowed to combat the opponent.

This prompts the author to suggest that media texts are not only constitutive of their informative function, i.e., to commit to the truth of what they state. They are actually intentional acts of communicating specific metarepresentations (Sperber 2000:117, Origg/Sperber 2000:141) of the described realities. Texts are themselves such metarepresentations (Hart 2010:35) which allow communication between the texts-producers and text-receivers. On this level, the possessive modifier carries both the ‘communicative intention’ and ‘informative intention’ (Sperber/Wilson 1995:54) that media makes in order to be recognised by the audience. This brings some crucial implications to the understanding of the human and non-human semantic relations that have been recognised in the possessive ‘s collocation mentioned above. In producing such patterns text-producers generate various types of information to afford further advantages such as, i.e., collective action (Gärdenfors 2004) that has been built on inferences and perceptions based on the presented mental representations. That said, the pattern of the possessive ‘s which points to the Ukrainian political and military resources triggers the vision of anticipatory planning to combat the Russian opponent and adopts a common social attitude to gather forces and stimulate the preparatory mode for taking action.

The collocate *invaded* presents a quite straightforward interpretation with reference to the lemma *Ukraine* since it indicates a negative discourse prosody. This pattern relation reveals an asymmetrical power relations between Russia and Ukraine, the former being an oppressor and the latter presenting a role of a victim.

Another lexical item which collocates strongly with the keyword *Ukraine* was *forces*. Interestingly, this pattern reveals a legitimisation process that creates a certain social representation of both the Ukrainian and Russian nation. The results show that *forces* present a discursive pattern realised through a strategy of a binary opposition evidenced in the relation ‘us’ vs. ‘them’ (Van Dijk 1992, Okulska/Cap 2010:3, Chovanec 2010:63), i.e., ‘us’ resisting the domination and power of ‘others/them’ as central conditions to the development of ideologies (Van Dijk 2000:49). The significance of the word *forces* observed in most frequently occurring clusters shows the distribution of categorisations marking unequal power which concern the negative presentation of Russia and a positive presentation of Ukraine with respect to how both nations are discursively presented in media discourse. If we expand the cluster of *forces*, it can be observed that it occurs as:

- (a) *Russian forces invaded Ukraine by land, air, and sea.*
- (b) *Ukrainian forces battled Russian invaders.*

Regarding linguistic resources, it ought to be noted that the referential and predicative strategies (Richardson 2007:242) assigned through collocations point to the collective identity (Wodak/de Cillia/Reisigl/Liebhart 2009:16) of Russian forces being negatively portrayed as invaders and Ukrainian troops presented as powerful and triumphant social actors, i.e., participants of social practices (Van Leeuwen 2008:23) who resist a Russian attack. This dichotomised representation of the

recognised social representations speaks volumes about the choice of strategies employed by mass media which serve rhetorical ends. Reporting Russian forces to be attackers of Ukraine rhetorically dehumanises them, i.e., they are subject to delegitimisation (Chilton 2004:47) which takes the form of a negative representation that categorises Russians as invaders and barbarians who are devoid of humanity.

An examination of the collocate *military* reveals a pattern that presents the circumstances of the analysed discursive event. As the examples show, the collocation of *military* and *Ukraine* is most often regulated by the prepositional phrase which modifies the noun phrase. When analysing the two most frequent collocates, the use of the preposition *in* in *military operation in eastern Ukraine* and *against* in *military operation against Ukraine*, they provide extra details on location (the actual place) and manner in which military operations occurred (the agency, i.e., the responsibility for this action). Therefore, it is observed that the prepositional phrase provides both the context for the event as well as points to agency which is here delegitimised since it prompts a negative evaluation of the described event.

The collocation analysis also provides information about another lemma *invasion* which collocates with *Ukraine*. Looking at the context of use in the analysed corpora, one can notice that this construction underscores the extent or the type of invasion as well as highlights who it was caused by. The collocates are built around two sets of words; the first set contained lexical items relating to the scale of the event which have a high intensity of meaning and amplify the evaluation of the presented event. The second pattern evidenced in concordance lines was the preposition *of* that indicates who was primarily affected by the invasion.

The data for the lemma *Russia* revealed collocations with the following words:

possessive 's	(20) <i>Russia's invasion of Ukraine</i> ; (21) <i>Russia's military attack/action/operations</i> ; (22) <i>Russia's forces rained missiles</i> ; (23) <i>Russia's acts of war</i> ; (24) <i>Russia's attack/move/war on Ukraine</i> ; (25) <i>Russia/s airforce/army/attack/assault on its neighbour</i> ; (26) <i>Russia's forces landed at Ukraine</i> ; (27) <i>...weaken Russia's economic base</i> ; (28) <i>...target Russia's energy and transport sectors</i> ; (29) <i>...cut off Russia's high-tech import</i> ; (30) <i>Russia's missiles struck Ukrainian cities</i> ; (31) <i>...Russia's multi-pronged military operation in Ukraine</i> ; (32) <i>Russia's nuclear forces/opposition/opponents</i> ; (33) <i>Russia's unprovoked and unjustified attack</i>
launched	(34) <i>Russia launched a massive military operation against Ukraine</i> ; (35) <i>Russia has launched a full-scale/an all-out invasion</i> ; (36) <i>Russia launched an assault by land/launched air and ground assaults on its neighbour</i> ; (37) <i>Russia launched its attack</i>

Table 2. Collocates of the word *Russia*

The most predominant lexical patterns evidenced in the concordance to the word *Russia* showed collocates of the possessive 's and a lemma *launched*. What can be observed from the data, the identification of the possessive 's as the predominant collocate of *Russia* shows that it is possible to distinguish some thematic sets

dominating within this category. They include: (1) the manifestation of Russia's negative representation as invaders and (2) Russia's weakening economic position. The set of items directly refers to Russian acts of violence towards Ukraine, hence media discourse patterns produce negative evaluations which delegitimise Russia and its actions as well as allow certain negative reactions towards its agency (Van Leeuwen 2008:21). The analysed corpora results demonstrate rudimentary reference to the social practices of attacking, invading and assaulting, which are delegitimised. A closer look at the context of the possessive 's collocates suggests that there is a tendency of negativism towards Russia based on reference to moral values that were breached (Van Leeuwen 2008:109). The evaluative group schemata (Van Dijk 2000:63) is clearly presented by the concordance line *Russia's unprovoked and unjustified attack* or *Russia's airforce/army/attack/assault on its neighbour*, foregrounding negative connotations of 'inhuman behavior' that brings to mind betrayal, dishonesty and deceitfulness of Russia's neighbour. The concordance-based analysis of the possessive 's collocation with *Russia* also shows that media discourse significantly underscores Russia's weakening economic position thus culminating in the degradation of its socio-economic status.

The concordance lines: (27) *...weaken Russia's economic base*; (28) *...target Russia's energy and transport sectors*; (29) *...cut off Russia's high-tech import*, can be labelled 'crisis' constructions. The reason is that in these constructions we can observe decreasing political and economic power which has reached a critical point due to Russia's action. Crisis mode can be looked at from the perspective of a situation in which especially leadership style of Putin requires much flexibility and high management potential. Therefore, there is a necessary connection between Russia's weakening economic position which is demonstrated in the collocates with possessive 's and acting out an effective role of a president which Putin has failed to perform. I assume then, that, at the heart of Russia's negative representation also lies a failure of presidential democracy that does not provide guidance in the hardships of war and eventually leads to a social breakdown.

Interestingly, an important point that emerges from this analysis has to do with the communicative principle of relevance (Sperber/Wilson 1995). The collocates of the possessive 's for the lemma *Russia* can be approached according to two trajectories which underlie the production of relevant texts and they include: (a) creating some contextual effect(s) in the audience, and (b) minimising the processing effort that is needed to process the information (Sperber/Wilson 1995:202). Therefore, the relevance of the collocations that deal with the negative representation of Russia is established by a range of contextual effects in the form of negative evaluations that take the form of strong implicatures. These changes take place by means of the cognitive effects achieved in the beliefs of text-receivers. So far I have suggested that the collocations with the possessive 's segment satisfy expectations of relevance of the message they send. However, they also provide account of the old and new information (Sperber/Wilson

1995:109), and specifically of the interaction between the two of them. As the data has shown, with every new information regarding the lemma *Russia* media texts have achieved the strengthening effect of providing a cumulative evidence for the existence of the collocations that inherit a strong negative value. At the contextual level, the collocates with the possessive 's significantly modify and 'improve' the context since the contextual effects of negative evaluations lead to the contextual essentiality which allows to map the unfolding war as well as to project the future.

Last but not least, *Russia* significantly collocated with the verb of action *launched*. The collocations occurred in phrases like *Russia launched a massive military operation against Ukraine*; *Russia has launched a full-scale/an all-out invasion*; *Russia launched an assault by land/launched air and ground assaults on its neighbour*; *Russia launched its attack* – which yielded a discursive pattern of presenting Russia as a the main culprit for the start of war in Ukraine. The use of lemma *launched* underscores the disruptive discursive acts performed by Russia, therefore the analysed media discourse represents discursive practices that allow for the establishment of power and dominance relations which are building blocks of the construction of Russia's national identity. Importantly, the collocates *Russia* and *launched* occur in the co-textual environment which infers both attitudinal and cognitive connotations such as negative evaluations of an attack (e.g., *massive attack* and *a full-scale/an all-out invasion*) and an instrumental performance of Russian military action.

5.2. Schematic patterns

It is manifestly visible that the distribution of lexical and lexico-grammatical patterns in media corpus has allowed the construction of collective reference for Russia and Ukraine (Van Leeuwen 2008:38) which refers to their representation as collectivised and impersonalised social actors. They are assigned given representations based on the category of spatialisation (Van Leeuwen 2008:46) that denote a place with which they are associated. The generic uses of two keywords; *Russia* and *Ukraine* and their collocates have also allowed to expound some schematic patterns indexing socio-cultural identities of a macro-frame that is a study of unstated rules and principles within the situational, social and cultural embeddings of 'what is it that's going on in here', i.e., the contextual embeddings within which the interaction occurs (Chruszczewski 2007:146). What is here referred to as frame has been recognised and discussed by Goffman (1983:8) as an arbitrary, unspecified, and unjustified span and an area of focus for the analysed even that is anchored in a context-specific, agreeable social practice. Since discourse is known as a resource for representing social practice in texts (Van Leeuwen 2008:6), it seems obvious to isolate some basic social frameworks (Goffman 1986:22) or keys which form meaningful schemata interpretations of the analysed corpus data. In what follows,

an attempt is made to present some keys or themes employed in the news media discourse based on the corpus data of the first day of Russia's invasion on Ukraine in the year 2022.

The study has distinguished a negative discursive framing of Russia and a positive representation of Ukraine. However, the results are not surprising, bearing in mind that it was Russia that committed war crimes while Ukrainians became their victims. Importantly, what appears to have been recognised in the form of a systematically reappearing topical information which came to the fore during the analysis is the production of specifically preferred themes that have emerged in the patterned distribution of the analysed discourse structure. The bottom line is that it is possible to provide an account of conventional meaning that crucially builds the generic profile of the analysed discourse. The study has devised two types of thematic contents which comprise schematic patterns distributed among the following areas:

1. The deligitimisation of Russia and the victimisation of Ukraine.
2. The categorisation through the binary social representations.

As the patterns indicate, the thematic areas highlighted by media directly present Russia in the role of the accused and transparently point to its **dehumanising** strategies applied towards Ukraine. Conversely, as evidenced in the lexical patterns regarding the collocates with Ukraine, the key theme clearly emerging from the analysis thrives primarily on what may be termed as a **victimisation** of Ukraine. It manifests itself in presenting messages that demonstrate unequal distribution of power, e.g., through the featuring evaluative opinion with regard to Russia (e.g., lines 27–40) which foreground negative connotations and presuppose a judgment based on discursively constructed knowledge of Russia's inhuman behavior towards Ukraine. The area of categorisation on the other hand, encompasses creating an identity which refers to a type of an activity or a role recognised by a society. According to the results, the categorisations attributed to Russia are represented by the notorious personifications of an attacker, a barbarian, an invader, and a savage who creates an antagonistic environment. Conversely, Ukrainian identity is defined by its submissive relation of that of a victim; the role activated in relation to Russia – the attacker.

6. Discussion and concluding remarks

The central goal of this paper has been to present the generic profile of the analysed discourse based on lexical and schematic patterns. An attempt has been made to identify the recurrent patterns of language use through a dimension of media framing. As the analysis has shown, the generic patterns that news-writers for the Reuters website employ are largely based on the communicational grammatic rules

that impart cultural representations specific to the researched corpora. The analytical part of this article shows the micro- and macro-framework of cultural grammar indicated by collocational patterns and frames which provide a gamut of discursive features assigned by generic features such as social identities, roles and relations.

As the data indicates, lexical and schematic patterns in the analysed media corpus have recognised and explored mechanisms contributing to news media discourse based on the online news coverage during the first day of Russia's invasion on Ukraine in 2022. Importantly, they serve as tools for demystifying and deciphering power relationships that underlie the structure of our discursive society (Weiss/Wodak 2003:224). This study shows that the generic profile of the presented news media discourse generates a homogeneous pattern for a narrative of destabilisation and dehumanisation, as has been evidenced in the delegitimisation and victimisation processes that draw on the negative-other and a positive-us representations respectively, i.e., the polarisation between 'us' and 'them'. The application of such labels boosts the evaluatively-based contexts which bring about the associations that may facilitate taking prompt intervention and involvement from other countries. It is also to be noticed that the evaluatively constraining context expounds patterns that index socio-cultural identities facilitating the construction of the negative outcome of actions that are to be expected to appear as a result of a military attack, i.e., the outbreak of war. Since news have informative, educational and a political role in how everyday events are presented, the question is how this reality is recontextualised (Fairclough 1995:115, Bernstein 1981) by media discourse. Therefore, the production of discourse by Reuters' journalists is merely one cultural construct based on what is expected to be read and how it is likely to be presented. One important point to consider is that evaluations of events as well as goals that underlie them are never transparent, therefore researching discourse generically allows to distinguish the priorities of the presented social practice. It seems that a large audience of receivers has been influenced by a system of already established norms and values laid down by representative media sources. This leads to a notion that what is referred to in the press has not been much of a significance but how it is presented and by means of what mechanisms and patterns it manifests itself in the news media discourse.

In light of all this, one may conclude that the generic-analytical view taken in this study made it possible to examine the initial stage of the military conflict between Russia and Ukraine which predominantly hinged on the legitimisation of negative values attributed to Russia – the attacker, such as inequality, terror, and inhumanity. Analysis of the patterns has also expounded power and domination relations constructed in the media which highlight a broadly personal aspect of identity mainly projected by deligitimisation of Russia. It needs to be emphasised that the media voice of Reuters appeals to emotions and values of public, claiming common identity with the readers. This serves as an interpersonal function of creating a high degree of affinity, solidarity, commitment and co-membership

between journalists and audiences. This may also indicate that, unlike the traditional aim of news media discourse which is predominantly to inform or educate, journalists go beyond the conventional delivery of news to the public, and gear towards a more interactional distribution of information due to the ‘communicative pathos’ which is instrumental in legitimising negative values.

However, the ultimate conclusion of this study is not merely an illustration of patterns per se, but the rationale is that the presented amalgam of discursive regularities is a small fraction of the mediated contextual knowledge implicated by media and which the receivers consciously and unconsciously derive at various points of reading the news. Taken together, the selection of co-occurring generic features of the analysed media discourse renders the media implicatures relevant, explicit and highlighted due to the constraints of a larger global socio-political context, but not only that, it is a task in legitimising values, balancing destabilised social reality and building trust between media and public for the purpose of restructuring relationships and ultimately creating a community of resistance against oppression.

References

- ANSHORI Mahfud / PAWITO Pawito / TRI KARTONO Drajad / HASTJARJO Sri, 2022, Comparative framing: Media strategy in public communication policy, in: 2021 Annual Conference of Indonesian Association for Public Administration, KnE Social Sciences, pp. 126–139.
- ARIEL Mira, 2008, *Pragmatics and Grammar*, Cambridge.
- BAKER Paul, 2006, *Using Corpora in Discourse Analysis*, London.
- BAZERMAN Charles, 2020, Always already in flux: A response to Anne Freedman, in: *Canadian Journal for Studies in Discourse and Writing* 30, pp. 152–160.
- BERELSON Bernard, 1952, *Content Analysis in Communication Research*, Glencoe.
- BERNSTEIN Basil, 1981, Codes, modality and the process of cultural reproductions: A model, in: *Language and Society* 10(3), pp. 327–363.
- BIARDZKA Elżbieta, 2017, Narzędzia badawcze francuskiej analizy dyskursu na przykładzie zdrowej żywności w dyskursie medialnym, in: Żarski W./Piasecki T. (eds.), *Kuchnia i stół w komunikacji społecznej. Tekst, dyskurs, kultura*, Wrocław, pp. 13–21.
- BUSSMAN Hadumod, [1990]1996, *Pragmatik*, in: *Lexikon der Sprachwissenschaft*, Stuttgart/New York, pp. 374–375.
- CHILTON Paul, 2004, *Analysing Political Discourse: Theory and Practice*, London.
- CHOVANEC Jan, 2010, Legitimation through differentiation: Discursive construction of Jacques Le Worm Chirac as an opponent to military action, in: Okulska U./Cap P. (eds.), *Perspectives on Politics and Discourse*, Amsterdam/Philadelphia, pp. 61–81.
- CHRUSZCZEWSKI Piotr Paweł, 2007, On the notion of communicational grammar in political linguistics, in: *Łódź Papers in Pragmatics* 3(1), pp. 145–155.
- CHRUSZCZEWSKI Piotr Paweł, 2011, Research directions in anthropological pragmatics, in: *Styles of Communication* 3(1), pp. 48–70.
- CREISSELS Denis, 2006, *Syntaxe Générale, une Introduction Typologique* (Vol. 1), Paris.
- CUMMING Susanna / ONO Tsuyoshi, 1997, Discourse and grammar, in: Van Dijk T. (ed.), *Discourse as Structure and Process*, London, pp. 112–137.
- DONATI Paolo, 1992, Political discourse analysis, in: Diani M./Eyerman R. (eds.), *Studying Collective Action*, London, pp. 136–167.

- DURANTI Alessandro, [1997]1999, *Linguistic Anthropology*, Cambridge.
- DUSZAK Anna, 1998, *Tekst, dyskurs, komunikacja międzykulturowa*, Warszawa.
- FAIRCLOUGH Norman, 1995, *Media Discourse*, London.
- FAIRCLOUGH Norman, 2003, *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research*, London.
- FISHER Kimberley, 1997, Locating frames in the discursive universe, in: *Sociological Research Online* 2(3), pp. 1–24. Retrieved 25 March 2022 from <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.5153/sro.78>.
- FOLEY William, 1997, *Anthropological Linguistics: An Introduction*, Oxford.
- FOUCAULT Michel, [1969]1972, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (transl. from French A.M. Sheridan Smith), New York.
- GÄRDENFORS Peter, 2004, Cooperation and the evolution of symbolic communication, in: Kimbrough O.D./Griebel U. (eds.), *Evolution of Communication Systems: A comparative Approach*, Cambridge, pp. 237–56.
- GEERTZ Clifford, 1973, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, New York.
- GIDDENS Anthony, [1991]2008, *Modernity and Self-Identity*, Cambridge.
- GOFFMAN Erving, 1983, The interaction order: American Sociological Association, 1982 presidential address, in: *American Sociological Review* 48, pp. 1–17.
- GOFFMAN Erving, [1974]1986, *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience*, Boston.
- HART Christopher, 2010, *Critical Discourse Analysis and Cognitive Science*, England.
- JENSEN Klaus, 2002, *A Handbook of Media and Communication Research: Qualitative and Quantitative Methodologies*, London.
- KOPYTOWSKA Monika, 2013, Blogging as the mediatization of politics and a new form of social interaction: A case study of ‘proximization dynamics’ in Polish and British political blogs, in: Okulska U./Cap P. (eds.), *Analyzing Genres in Political Communication*, Amsterdam.
- LANGACKER Ronald, 2008, *Cognitive Grammar: A Basic Introduction*, New York.
- MOIRAND Sophie, 2007, *Le Discours de la Presse Quotidienne. Observer, Analyser, Comprendre*, Paris.
- O’KEEFE Anne, 2006, *Investigating Media Discourse*, London.
- OKULSKA Urszula / CAP Piotr, 2010, Analysis of political discourse, in: Okulska U./Cap P. (eds.), *Perspectives in Politics and Discourse*, Amsterdam, pp. 3–20.
- ORIGGI Gloria / SPERBER Dan, 2000, Evolution, communication and the proper function of language, in: Carruthers P./Chamberlain A. (eds.), *Evolution and the Human Mind: Modularity, Language and Meta-Cognition*, Cambridge, pp. 140–169.
- RICHARDSON John E., 2007, *Analysing Newspapers: An Approach from Critical Discourse Analysis*, Basingstoke.
- SAVILLE-TROIKE Muriel, [1982]2003, *The Ethnography of Communication*, Oxford.
- SHERZER Joel, 1983, *Kuna Ways of Speaking*, Austin.
- SILVERSTEIN Michael, 1975, Linguistics and anthropology, in: Bartsch R./Vennemann T. (eds.), *Linguistics and Neighboring Disciplines*, Amsterdam/Oxford, pp. 157–170.
- SILVERSTEIN Michael, 2005, Axes of evals: Token versus type interdiscursivity, in: *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 15(1), pp. 6–22.
- SINCLAIR John, 1991, *Corpus, Concordance, Collocation*, Oxford.
- SPERBER Dan, 2000, Metarepresentations in an evolutionary perspective, in: Sperber D. (ed.), *Metarepresentation: A Multidisciplinary Perspective*, New York, pp. 117–138.
- SPERBER Dan / WILSON Deirdre, 1995, *Relevance: Communication and Cognition*, Cambridge.
- TRIPODI Francesca / MA Yuanye, 2022, You’ve got mail: How the Trump administration used legislative communication to frame his last year in office, in: *Information, Communication & Society* 25(5), pp. 1–21. Retrieved 29 March 2022 from <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/1369118X.2021.2020873>.
- VAN DIJK Teun, 1972, *Some Aspects of Text Grammars*, The Hague.
- VAN DIJK Teun, [1977]1992, *Text and Context*, London.

- VAN DIJK Teun, [1988]2000, *Ideology: A Multidisciplinary Approach*, London.
- VAN DIJK Teun, 2008, *Discourse and Context: A Socio-Cognitive Approach*, Cambridge.
- VAN DIJK Teun, 2010, Political identities in parliamentary debates, in: Ilie C. (ed.), *European Parliaments under Scrutiny*, Amsterdam, pp. 29–57.
- VAN LEEUWEN Theo, 2008, *Discourse and Practice*, Oxford.
- WEISS Gilbert / WODAK Ruth, 2003, *Critical Discourse Analysis: Theory and Interdisciplinarity*, New York.
- WODAK Ruth / DE CILLIA Rudolf / REISIGL Martin / LIEBHART Karin, [1999]2009, *The Discursive Construction of National Identity*, Edinburgh.
- ZOTOLA Angela / ZORZI Virginia, 2021, Constructing national identity in men's vs women's magazines: A case study from the USA, in: *Saggi/Essays* (17), pp. 281–303.

Appendix: Keywords and collocations

Rank	Keyword Types	Frequency	Keyness
1	Ukraine	275	908.067
2	Russia	220	704.015
3	Russian	179	590.406
4	Putin	103	339.429
5	sanctions	85	280.053
6	Thursday	82	228.913

Table A1. Keyword list

Rank	Collocate	Frequency	Likelihood
1	s	86	42.583
2	invaded	16	38.675
3	forces	29	36.803
4	military	30	23.856
5	eastern	16	22.287
6	the	85	19.316
7	invasion	20	16.199

Table A2. Collocations with the word *Ukraine*

Rank	Collocate	Frequency	Likelihood
1	s	73	41.019
2	launched	12	28.807
3	after	19	18.399
4	Russian	4	17.264

Table A3. Collocations with the word *Russia*