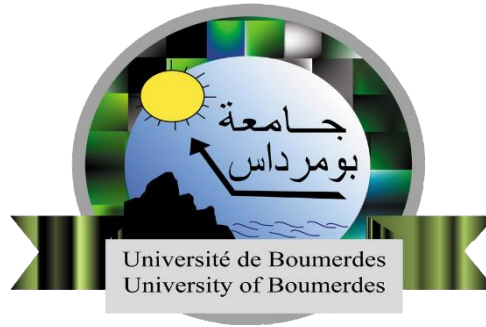**M'Hamed Bougara University of Boumerdes**

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The 24th of February 2022, Russian President Speech, and its Interpretation and Representation in News Reports: Corpus Assisted Critical Discourse Analysis Approach

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Master Degree in Language Sciences

Board of Examiners   **Submitted by**

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2023

Declaration

I hereby declare that this dissertation presented for assessment is my own work, which has been done after the registration for the Master's Degree in Language Sciences. That is, it conforms to the guidelines for presentation. Similarly, all other illustrated works, theories, data, arguments, and ideas have been appropriately acknowledged and credited.

M'ZIR LYDIA

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Dedication

All praise to Allah the Almighty, for giving me the strength and the consistency to move

forward in this journey

This humble work is fully dedicated to my greatest gift in life

My late father who didn't live long enough to witness the moment he always dreamed of

To My Father

M'ZIR SAID

Abstract

The present study adopts a corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis (CDA) in the investigation of online news articles in major news portals and their presentation and interpretations of the 24th February 2022, Russian President's speech. Through the analysis of eight online news articles from eight news outlets namely: The Washington Post, The Times of India, CGTN, The Guardian, The Toronto Star, Russia Today, Tehran Times, and Al Jazeera, the aim of this research is to demonstrate how the linguistic behavior of the selected articles. Likewise, it explores, ideology, power dynamics, and bias in the production of discourse to report the Russian President speech. Norman Fairclough's three-dimensional model of CDA is taken as a theoretical framework to examine quantitatively and qualitatively the discursive practices namely reporting verbs, labeling, news sources, and negative framing in order to showcase the news outlet's bias toward their countries' ideological and political orientations. The study found that all of the selected articles displayed variation and imbalance, indicating that the presented discourse was aligned with the respective governments' stances on the issue under study.

List of Abbreviations

CDA: Critical Discourse Analysis

CGTN: China Global Television Network

US: United States

NATO: North Atlantic Treaty Organization

UN: United Nations

CL: Critical Linguistics

DHA: Discourse Historical Approach

USSR: Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

TOI: Times of India

DW: Deutsche Welle

RT: Russia Today

T.T: Tehran Times

WaPo: The Washington Post

Gdn: The Guardian

T.S: The Toronto Star

AJE: Al Jazeera

RV: Reporting Verbs

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General Introduction

Traditional outlets for instance: television, radio, magazines, and newspapers form a source of information for the public worldwide. The press gathers national and international information and makes it available, especially for populations that lack knowledge or experience about the events. Nevertheless, news portals tend to focus on what they want their viewers to see as truth based on their individual perspectives or their countries' ideological motives. All around the world conflicts occur between different political parties or countries and their representation explores different interpretations based on their countries' stances toward the events; in this respect, Hofstetter (1976) points out that: "The world a person inhabits is in large part his creation. If the climate is 'beastly' in one man's view and 'not so bad' in the view of his neighbor, the difference lies in the standards they set for judging" (p.7). The description of what has been said or happened varies and differs depending on who is representing it. Furthermore, the press became platforms for political powers to implement their political and economic orientations to serve their interest and intended agenda making language a powerful tool to social actors in the society.

In light of the Ukrainian crisis, this study explores the biased and ideological interpretations and representations of online news outlets. 24 February 2022 formed a turning point in the Ukrainian-Russian issue. The Ukrainian crisis escalated after the Russian president addressed his nation on Russian state television and declared a military operation in Ukraine. Eventually, the press around the world covered the event; however, the interpretation of the Russian President's speech differs from one country to another forming an ideological and political discourse map, which identifies countries bias toward the US-led NATO alliance in contrast to a discourse aligned with the Russian ideological inclination.

Accordingly, samples from major online portals are selected from four "abstained" countries, and other four "in favor" of the case of "The resolution of the Russian-Ukrainian

Crisis" in the UN Assembly in 2022. Respectively, Russia Today, Tehran Times, Times of India, and CGTN are Russian representative news outlets, while The Washington Post, The Guardian, The Toronto Star, and Al Jazeera are US representative news portals. An article from each of the aforementioned news outlets is selected in order to explore their discursive practices and the linguistic behavior used to express the imposed power and ideology in the production of the news reports.

This study provides an investigation that explores the discursive practices implemented by both ideological contrasted social and political actors in the interpretation of Putin's speech in news portals' articles. Using Fairclough's Three-Dimensional model, this study adopts critical discourse analysis to approach the texts of the news reports. As the aim of CDA is to "brings the critical tradition of social analysis into language studies and contributes to critical social analysis a particular focus on discourse and on relations between discourse and other social elements…" (Fairclough, 2013, p.1). Consequently, the application of CDA to the content of this study aims at exploring power dynamics, ideological orientations, and bias illustrated in order to legitimize or oppose actions in the production of the selected discourse in the press.

1.Statement of the Problem

Throughout the years, news agencies and organizations played a pivotal and influential role in shaping individuals' perceptions and comprehension of social and political matters. What is perceived as reality is dictated by powerful social and political actors which control the news discourse by imposing their beliefs and ideologies on the production of information in the news articles. The problem at hand formed a complex interplay between news media, power structures, and the ways in which news narratives are constructed. This complexity is remarkable in reporting the 24th February 2022 Russian president's address to Russian and Ukrainian citizens. News outlets around the world have explored a variety of interpretations

and representations indicating a non-journalistic perception of the event. The gap between the political and social reality and their different representations allowed the existence of the present research to scrutinize the issue under the scope of critical discourse analysis.

2. Research Questions

In order to achieve the aims and objectives of this study, this work is framed around the following questions:

RQ 1: What linguistic devices are used in producing the news portals' articles in terms of wording and linguistic behavior?

RQ 2: What are the rhetorical devices and the discursive practices that signal bias in the interpretation of the speech in the text?

RQ 3: How does the utilized language portray social and political dimensions such as power and ideology?

3. Significance of the Study

This study aspires to provide valuable insights into language behavior on the press, as well as how the illustrated language shapes and directs peoples' thoughts and thinking process on public concerns, more precisely on the Russian- Ukrainian crisis, in an attempt to depict the dimensions of the reported discourse in major online news outlets around the world. This research shows that critical discourse analysis can be applied in multiple professional literatures including media studies, as it extends the circle of critical discourse analysis into a larger media and political landscape. It also brings the minds of the individuals into a sense of criticality while approaching or reading the communicated language in news portals, especially on the Ukrainian crisis. The present research also forms an invitation to professional journalists and editors to approach public concerns in an objective manner regardless of their governments' ideological and political inclinations toward the reported event.

4. Aims of the Study

Due to the exclusive selection of articles written on the same day of the event, the number of articles from each news outlet is minimized into only one article. Through this selectivity, the aim of this study is to analyze the immediate reactions and reporting of the Russian address by minimizing the potential effects of power structures imposed on the writing process of the discourse. Given the limited scope of this study, this research aims uncovering social, cultural, and political ideologies embedded in the discourse; likewise, to extract power dynamics and their effects on the writing style and the production of news reports by editors in news agencies.

5. Structure of the Study

This dissertation is comprised of three chapters, along with a general introduction and a general conclusion. The general introduction provides an overview on the scope and case under investigation, it also displays : research questions, aims, limitations, and significance of the study .

The first chapter, entitled : Theoretical Framework, depicts the theories, concepts and general terms surrounding the topic of the study namely : CDA major approaches, intertexuality, ideology, power, media discourse, and political discourse.

The second chapter offers a description of the methodology used in along with the main criteria illustrated in order to select the news reports.

The third and last chapter deals with the data analysis under Fairclough's three dimensional model of CDA forming three levels of analysis : description, interpretation, and a socio-cultural phase in the analysis of the news reports. By illustrating the notion of intertextuality, the analysis is performed on the level of: reporting verbs, negative framing, labeling, and news' sources.

Finally, the general conclusion that lists the main findings and results of the analysis in a brief and concise way, is provided at the end of the work.

Chapter One: Theoretical Background of the Study

1.1 Introduction

This investigation of political discourse is treated through the lens of a critical discourse analysis approach; therefore, this chapter is devoted to the theoretical background of the study. Incipiently, concepts and terms which are related to the analysis are provided and defined in the first section of this chapter. Likewise, section two presents an overview of the critical discourse analysis approach and its theories and concepts, mainly Fairclough's three-dimensional model of CDA and a description of its framework. Finally, the third section includes a brief historical background of the Ukrainian issue followed by media representation of war issues, and a background of CDA study, which provides a couple of related studies.

1.2 Section One: Related Concepts

This section focuses on the significance of the terms media, bias, and language in relation to associated areas such as society, discourse, politics, and the press. These notions are crucial for comprehending the research genre and gaining awareness of the problematic topic that this study chooses to investigate.

1.2.1 Media Discourse

Multiple fields show a noticeable interest in the study of media discourse, it is definitely a fertile field for many studies, especially critical discourse analysis and linguistics in general. However, what do we mean by media discourse? For a better understanding of media discourse, one must first have a clear conception of what "media" as a separate concept is, then grasp the meaning of media discourse as a separate term as well.

Hoag (2008) points out that all traditional mass communication networks, content categories, and other technologies for mediated human speech are considered media. She includes traditional print media such as newspapers, periodicals, or books, as well as conventional technological media; motion pictures, video games, recorded audio, advertisements, and internet conversions through (broadcasting, broadband, cable, or satellite), all of the aforementioned is included in the conception of the term media (p.75).

Eventually, discourse on communication platforms has grown in popularity, especially with the advancement of technology, which allows all types of discourse to be addressed to large communities in their homes and workplaces. Rouse (2020) believes that a form of media is anything that has the ability to contact or sway people, including telephones, television, and the Internet. This covers everything from printed paper to digital data and covers knowledge in the forms of art, news, education, and a wide range of other things. Media is; hence, actively growing in power. It has some type of directing authority over the audiences of all media platforms; it offers a socially conscious vision of problems and is especially sensitive to important public concerns.

Weiss and Wodak (2007) maintain that "Within media discourse, the news is the most dominant register in terms of generic structure" (p.274). Thereby, the news influence public views toward a wide range of issues at the educational, political, medical, and economic levels. Media discourse, as a generic notion, encompasses a wide range of public concerns.

Regardless of the predominance of the issue that circulates in media portals, the discourse, which describes it, is generally contextualized to a certain extent especially if the discourse subject affects a certain authority. In this context, Blommaert (2005), asserts that the messages delivered via the media are modified to become ones of utmost significance; the media often uses superficial, sociologically irrelevant occurrences or phenomena to create complex ideological messages (p.163).

Media discourse is actively involved in everything from weather to education to art, and every element of everyday life. Fairclough (1996) argues that the everyday doses of news that the majority of people receive play a significant role in social control and contribute significantly to their average level of discourse participation (p. 37). In the social effect, media reliance impacts how people view and perceive everything around them since the distributed information becomes common knowledge regardless of the latter being a representation or distortion of reality. This finding aroused the attention of many scholars to the many linguistic and creative techniques individuals used to depict social concerns and events.

1.2.2 Media and Politics

Media in all its forms; newspapers, magazines, radio, television, and all modern-day forums, interacts with politics as one of the most common topics. All events that concern governments and government ruling, a nation or nations' relations are considered as a political concern of the public, and fall within the context of politics. The latter sparks prevailingly on the press and most newspaper portals. BBC directing general and president of the European Broadcasting Union Charles Curran reports:

> It is the broadcasters role, as I see it, to win public interest in public issues … it is their duty, for the sake of the successful government of society, to persuade their audiences to feel themselves involved in the issues which have to be debated … Broadcasters have a responsibility, therefore, to provide a rationally based and balanced service of news which will enable people to make basic judgments about public policy in their capacity as voting citizens of a democracy. (Curran, 1979, p. 114).

News portals mediate an extensive amount of political spectrum and hold a powerful role in connecting the high powers of governments to individuals as social actors within the society they inhabit. However, the question lies in the reliability of what is served in the

production of the narratives in news reports or any other narrative in media. Nevertheless, governments rule through power, and power signals control, due to this, the vital question of the ideal democracy and professional journalism gets into the spotlight. The absence or the presence of falsehood puts the entire media as mediators of social reality into question.

Media serve as censors, deciding what news is relevant and what is not. The amount of exposure that is given to an issue effectively decides how much citizens can learn about public affairs because most people, often, get the majority of their information about public affairs through media (Hofstetter, 1976, p.22). In order to make political choices, citizens must be informed and educated about politics and political issues, the news outlets that normally would make the job are seemingly directive rather than informative and educative. The wording within the narratives and the choice of it hold a personal and ideological drive in the common production and distribution of a number of reports.

Coleman and Ross (2010) confirm that, despite the fact that media interactivity is frequently linked to digital communication, it did not first exist with the potential of receiving digital feedback. They argue that traditional mass media relies on a certain amount of communication, and there always have been opportunities for audience feedback when they distribute the message. Besides, Coleman and Ross (2010) also believe that media writing has always elicited a variety of responses and contributions from audiences. When citizens read a newspaper, they also include a basic form of interaction, because the reader chooses to accept or deny what is being written. The fact that they have the choice to not even read it is a form of action towards it and also a form of feedback (pp.52-53).

Mass media holds a powerful position in the political setting and all that surrounds it. Despite the absence or presence of truthfulness, all that is being written in the light of present, past, or even future political events has always been persuasive. The fact that people manage to interact and act upon the political discourse in the media still poses an issue of power

dynamics. All policies of any government are characterized by a certain level of authoritativeness; thus, exerting dominance and control mainly over every domain including media. Correspondingly, this degree of control contributes to the creation of highly questionable press.

1.2.3 Bias in the Press

Throughout the years, news portals controlled the framing of reality, what is perceived as truth is dictated by social and political actors those who mainly impose their power in the production of the narratives. In order for the public to regard media as biased, their perception of media reality, according to Eveland and Shah (2003), can be detected by a set of factors namely:

> (1) cues within the media environment concerning press bias— particularly among conservatives, given the recurrent claims of liberal bias in media self-coverage; (2) individuals' ideological leanings and extent of partisanship; and (3) the ideological similarity or dissimilarity of political discussion partners (p.106).

Dietrich and Eck (2020) reported that since news media reports are the only sustainable foundation for yearly, global coverage, they offer an essential but insufficient resource for identifying and recording conflict. However, media sources are unable to provide an exhaustive description of political violence (p.5). This entails that the language utilized to describe those in power is more likely to signal the writer's or editor's norms which are dictated by their organizations, the journalist draws the event in a filtered and framed image that suits the government's taste and objectives.

The press networks' engagement in politics is distinctive, it made it simple for politicians to connect with the public and win their support. Politicians have disproportionate power and influence over the media, so the language used to describe their activities is always in their favor. Fairclough (1993) reports that "We are, of course, all constantly subjected to

promotional discourse, to the point that there is a serious problem of trust" (p.142). Distinctively, the discourse that the individuals come across is significant by a great amount since bias is more likely to be expressed in language, which becomes a powerful entity in all news venues.

1.3 Section two: Critical Discourse Analysis

The following section provides an overview of critical discourse analysis (CDA), mainly, definitions of CDA, its characteristics, and principles as a major field of linguistics. This section brings forth all three major approaches to critical discourse analysis. Additionally, key terms of the study such as ideology and power are defined.

1.3.1 Background of CDA Approach

The 1970s marked the beginning of the study of critical linguistics, which has been recognized as the starting point for CDA research. The critical theory from critical linguistics, which was first created principally by Rodger Fowler and his colleagues at the University of East Angelia in the 1970s, has therefore been passed down to critical discourse analysis. Van Leeuwen (2009) confirms that "CL took the fundamental step of interpreting grammatical categories as potential traces of ideological mystification, and introduced a tradition on which CDA developed." Furthermore, Wodak and Meyer (2009) reported that CDA was formed in the early 1990s through a symposium held in Amsterdam in January 1991. Teun van Dijk, Norman Fairclough, Gunther Kress, Theo Van Leeuwen, and Ruth Wodak discussed discourse analysis theories and methods, which have since evolved significantly (p.3). The history of CDA can also be traced back to even further studies such as Halliday's systemic functional linguistics (1975) and even studies of social semiosis (Halliday, 1978; Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996).

1.3.2 Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis is the study of language use in context, as opposed to only its exact meaning. According to Gill (2000), the term "discourse analysis" refers to a wide range of approaches to the study of texts that have emerged from many theoretical traditions and disciplinary contexts. In fact, Gills confirms that there are numerous diverse methods of analysis that all claim to be discourse analysis. These perspectives agree that discourse plays a crucial role in creating social life and reject the realist idea that language is merely a neutral way of reflecting or interpreting the world (p.3).

1.3.3 Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis as a domain of research, according to Wodak (2011) "are multifarious, derived from quite different theoretical backgrounds, oriented towards different data and methodologies" (p.50). This claim suggests that language is put under the lens of multiple theories, and it combines several methodologies and theories. Tenorio (2011) fairly notes:

> The scope of CDA is not only language-based. Its critical perspective attracts scholars from various disciplines, as well as activists. Their concern lies with unveiling patterned mechanisms of the reproduction of power asymmetries. Anthropology, linguistics, philosophy and communication studies, among others, may share this inclination (p.187).

Language takes its course in the society it inhabits; therefore, the latter becomes an integral part of CDA research. According to Fairclough (2013), CDA is a type of critical social science which tries to understand why societal injustices occur, the obstacles in addressing them, and provide their solutions (p.13). In this regard, questions such as who, when, what, and where the discourse took place are asked in order to extract all aspects of social reality including power relationships and all forms of injustice.

Bourdieu (1991) claims that a text becomes a powerful entity in the construction of social and political contexts, he contends that discourse is an organized and structuring tool with the tendency to impose classification systems and conceptual frameworks that are subtly tailored to societal structures in order to impose the idea that the current order is a natural orthodoxy (p.169). In the space of discourse and in the process of conducting critical discourse analysis research, this symbolic power of language is critically analyzed and explicitly explained; therefore, it provides a comprehension of the actual social construct.

One of the most crucial components of critical discourse analysis is to comprehend the created ideologies that are veiled in language and translated into social beliefs. A grasp of the connections between languages, dominance, and social power is necessary for this strategy to be successful. In many social circumstances, CDA makes it easier to deconstruct the underlying power dynamics that are founded on societal structures, concepts, and ideological interpretations. This makes it easier to anticipate how talks about maintaining certain power imbalances impacts the emergence of social realities.

1.3.4 Critical Discourse Analysis Major Approaches

The development of critical discourse analysis encompasses diverse approaches and contributions aimed at broadening the scope of the field. Notably, recent renowned models in CDA include the discourse historical approach, Van Dijk's socio-cognitive model, and Fairclough's three-dimensional model.

1.3.4.1 The Discourse Historical Approach (DHA)

The discourse historical approach examines the manner in which specific discourse genres are prone to diachronic change in order to analyze the historical aspect of discursive activity. It also makes an effort to include a sizable amount of accessible knowledge about the historical origins and the backdrop of social and political domains in which discursive events are emersed while examining historical, organizational, and political subjects and textual

discourse (Wodak et al., 1990; Wodak et al., 1994, as cited in Wodak, 2001). Reisigl (2017) confirms that the historical perspective enables the reconstruction of the crucial role that recontextualization plays in linking together texts and discourses in an intertextual and interdiscursive way over time (p.95). All pertinent historical background is referred to as historical when evaluating or interpreting discourse. Besides, DHA conforms to the critical theory as the notion of critique, ideology, and power has distinct orientations and representations.

1.3.4.2 The Socio-Cognitive Model of CDA

Through cognition, the socio-cognitive approach to CDA combines social and personal norms and values with speech. This approach follows the knowledge network and the connections between speech and society. Personal and social cognition according to Van Dijk (1998) are: "personal memories, knowledge and opinions, as well as those shared with members of the group or culture as a whole" (p.354). The framework for this approach examines discourse on two scales: the micro scale and the macro scale. "Language use, discourse, verbal interaction and communication belong to the micro-level of the social order. Power, dominance and inequality between social groups are typically terms that belong to a macro-level of analysis" (van Dijk, 1998, p.354). The analysis focuses on how mental representations are formed in people's minds through discourse and; therefore, saved in the memory to be later shaped by external discourse.

1.3.4.3 The Three-Dimensional Model of CDA

Fairclough (2003) claims that, as components of social events, texts have causal consequences, or they cause "changes". Texts have the most direct potential to alter our beliefs, attitudes, our knowledge (learning through text), and others (p.8). That is to say discourse is regarded as a form of social practice that acts within society and creates social differences, "Social practices can be seen as articulations of different types of social elements

which are associated with particular areas of social life" (Fairclough, 2003, p.25). As a result, Fairclough's discourse analysis extends beyond linguistic concepts and grammatical structures in order to better grasp the discourse itself and put it into the frame of critique.

Fairclough presents a framework for the analysis of discourse called the "The Three-Dimensional Model of Critical Discourse Analysis" in which he establishes a theoretical paradigm that consists of three main interrelated elements he labeled as dimensions. "Each discursive event has three dimensions or facets: it is a spoken or written language *text*, it is an instance of *discourse practice* involving the production and interpretation of text, and it is a piece of *social practice*" (Fairclough, 1993, p.136). In other words, the first dimension called text is composed of any form of text, writing, audio, or even visual. The second dimension is called discourse or discursive practice which is simply the creation or the production of discourse and finally, the third dimension which is the social practice refers to the social and historical background of the Text and its production.

This three-dimensional theoretical framework consists of three levels in the process of text analysis. Each level considers a different dimension for the comprehension of the text.
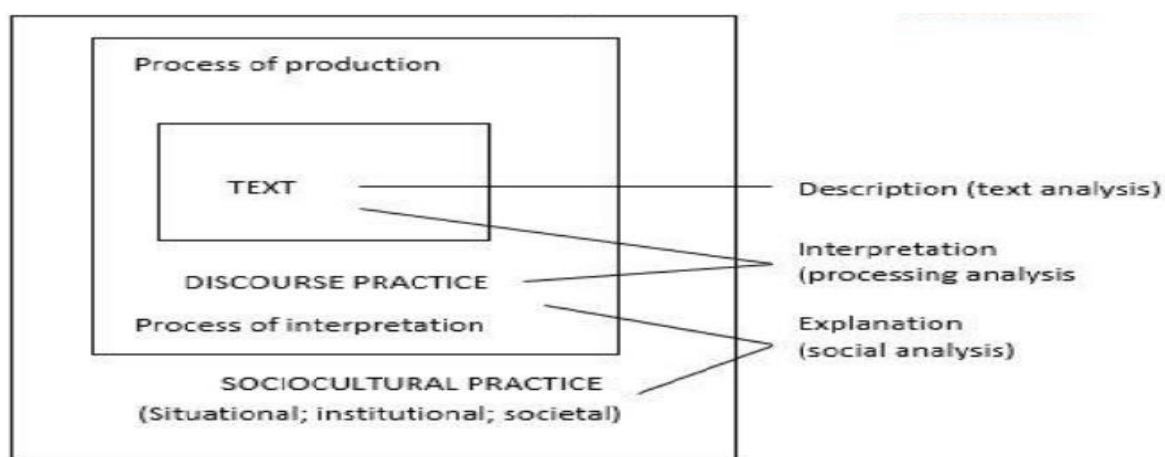
Figure 1 CDA Three-Dimensional Model. (Fairclough, 2010)

1.3.4.3.1 Description level (Text analysis)

According to Fairclough (2001), "Description is the stage which is concerned with formal properties of text" (p.26). Formal qualities of a text apply to all grammatical (nominalization, passivation, and transitivity), stylistic (formal, non-formal), and lexical (vocabulary), syntax (word arrangement) aspects of the discourse. In order to comprehend the complicated construct of discourse, analysis in this stage is done at the word level, by breaking down and unpacking linguistic components the researcher will have a clear vision of the meaning that unfolds through the analysis. According to Janks (1997), distinct vocabulary choices can indicate distinct discourses (colonial, liberal, and labor discourses). As a result, the choices that one makes in terms of language can indicate his/her course of thought as well as his/her attitudes toward the subject of the text itself.

1.3.4.3.2 Interpretation Level (Discourse Practice)

Also named the processing analysis, according to Fairclough (2001), the link between text and interaction is at the heart of interpretation; it involves viewing the text as both the end result of a production process and a resource for the interpretation process (p.26). As a result, the study is now focusing on texts, which means that it takes into account both the production and consumption of texts, as well as how people interact with and interpret them. Both the text's creation (its design and linguistic construction) and consumption (how it is delivered to the intended audience) are examined.

1.3.4.3.3 Explanation level (Socio-cultural analysis)

At this level of analysis "Explanation is concerned with the relationship between interaction and social context - with the social determination of the processes of production and interpretation, and their social effects" (Fairclough, 2001, p.26). This indicates that at this phase in the investigation, the emphasis is on the impact of social practice on discourse practice. It is about how social norms influence discourses and vice versa. Common concerns

rise within a society namely, culture, policies, beliefs, traditions, and most importantly, "Language". Language as a social practice exerts its own power on society. Besides the scheme of language communication in a society results in social attitudes toward every component of life; thus, social movements are created, and ideological or religious groups are formed. As a result, this scheme of language is investigated and the analysis is performed at the level of norms, namely social norms that govern how texts are generated. The process of investigation at this level provides an explanation of the socio-cultural dimension of discourse and how the entire text and society relationship relates and unfolds.

1.3.5 Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, CDA seeks to investigate the "Why, How, and Where" the discourse took place, i.e., the context, the discursive devices, and where the text is found. CDA as a research field of inquiry aims at answering questions connected to the discourse in relation to its sociocultural circle. Moreover, manipulation, description, interpretation, and so on is accomplished through language, which has influence over people in many facets of existence. All of these abilities of language are also critically analyzed in CDA. In his article entitled "Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis", Van Dijk (1993, p. 252-253) fairly wrote about the principles of critical discourse analysis which are summarized as follows:

CDA uses theories, descriptions, methodologies, and empirical research to concentrate on dominance and inequality. It is transdisciplinary and analyzes the intricate connection between discourse and dominance (Van Dijk, 1993, p. 252).

The goal of critical discourse analysts is to bring about change through critical knowledge. They adopt a clear sociopolitical stance. They target the ruling class that justifies or tolerates social injustice and inequality. Their criticism of speech entails a political critique

of those who are to blame for its distortion in the maintenance of inequality and dominance (Van Dijk, 1993, pp. 252-253).

Critical discourse analysis is a difficult discipline that necessitates multidisciplinary knowledge, as well as an awareness of the intricate relationships that exist between text, discussion, power, society, and culture (Fairclough, 1985, as cited in Van Dijk, 1993, p. 253).

1.3.6 Language and Power

All people navigate the systems of power that other people have created every day. These systems govern and apply to every aspect of life, including families, workplaces, and interpersonal relationships. A president, a judge, a doctor, and teacher, and even a mother all exercise some level of control and power in their social circle. In addition, the most prominent feature of the continuity of power flow in life is policy-making in any context. Government, wealth, physical force, sociocultural norms, or even the collective interests of all people have the power to shape and direct behaviors and the course of events.

CDA as a problem-oriented discipline is dedicated to explaining the power forms and power dynamics that are veiled in language. Control over discourse, setting, style, and topic, is power exercised, discourse allows power to be exercised. However, "Power does not derive from language, but language can be used to challenge power, subvert it, to alter distributions of power in short and long term" (Wodak, 2011, pp.52-53). The language of those who hold power, the linguistic choices, and the lexis in any communicative event, has an intricate relationship with change. Hence, discourse buys the ability to create change and direct social structures. Because the government has the most power, politics owns the most potent of all discourses and ruling masses, and access to such language is difficult. Political discourse demonstrates how language may be deceptive and directive in a subtle way, and that is power exercised.

1.3.7 Language and Ideology

In his book entitled *Language as Symbolic Action*, Kenneth Burke (1966) says, "Even if any given terminology is a reflection of reality, by its very nature as a terminology it must be a selection of reality; and to this extent, it must function also as a deflection of reality" (p.45). What must be understood from this quotation is that there is no way that we could accurately and utterly embrace all of the potential dimensions of reality with a single word or even an entire vocabulary, even if we tried to utilize language or any other kind of symbolic meaning to simply describe what we perceive to be an objective reality. Certain additional discourse-related issues are going to be sidestepped because we are continually selective and excluding information, sometimes on purpose and other times accidentally.

The production of meaning mainly refers to a one-sided perspective of the world made up of related mental representations, convictions, opinions, and beliefs; such as religion and political orientations that are shared by individuals as members of a social group. These systems of beliefs, and convictions, are what is generally referred to as an ideology.

1.3.8 Intertextuality

The founder of this concept, Julia Kristeva, a prominent literary critic and a feminist psycho-analyst, introduced the notion of intertextuality in her influential essays on Bakhtin, similarly, she examined the concept in her books "Word, Dialogue, and Novel" in 1966, and "The Bounded Text" in 1967 (Zengin, 2016, p.313). Followed by Rolland Barthes's theory of intertextuality (1977), a cornerstone in its conceptualization forming a different perspective on the study of texts. Roland Barthes reports as cited in Fewell (1992):

We know how that a text is not a line of words releasing a single 'theological' meaning (the 'message' of the Author-God) but a multi-dimensional space in which a variety of writings, none of them original, blend and clash. The text is a tissue of quotations drawn from the innumerable centres of culture (p.27).

In this quotation Roland Barthes offers views that intertextuality is an understanding that a text does not exclusively offer one meaning but rather divers meanings that accompanied multiple interpretations. Likewise, the text is a combination of an author referencing and mentioning others in order to convey his/ her ideas, and perspectives. As a result, the notion of intertextuality is very important in the study of critical discourse analysis, since the latter is a scope of study dedicated to meaning interpretation and analysis.

1.4 Section Three: History, News on War, and the Background of the Study

This chapter's final section offers a brief historical overview of the Russian-Ukrainian issue from 1954 until the 24th of February 2022, followed by newspapers' representation of war issues. In addition, the study's background includes a couple of related studies and works undertaken within the CDA's scope.

1.4.1 The Historical Background of the Russian-Ukrainian Conflict

There has been a close link between Russia and Ukraine for a very long time. Despite having similar boundaries, languages, and ancestries, the two countries have become rivals during the course of prolonged conflicts that continue to this day. According to Kappeler (2014), in 1954, Nikita Khrushchev made the decision to transfer Crimea, which had been part of the Russian Soviet Republic, to the Ukrainian Soviet Republic. It is worth mentioning that even though most of Crimea's residents are ethnic Russians, the shift in political jurisdiction occurred (p.108). After the West won the Cold war against the USSR, and "when the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991, all Union Republics declared their independence" (Kappeler, 2014, p. 110). As a result, the struggle over the Black Sea particularly on the territory of Crimea emerged.

As indicated by Cosgrove (2020), the onset of Ukrainian independence triggered a chain of pivotal diplomatic advancements and negotiations between the emerging nation and the newly renamed Russian Federation (p.3).Sparking the largest conflict with the West since

the Cold War, the event was followed with the annexation of Crimea. Galeotti asserts, as cited in Cosgrove (2020, p.16), "The annexation of Crimea was a high stake military and political confrontation, beginning with an earliest initiation of February 20, 2014". Russia proceeded with this new cycle of expansion until April 2014, when it reached a region known as Donbass in Eastern Ukraine and took over Donetsk and Luhansk. Additionally, the expansion of NATO between 1999 and 2004 was viewed as a significant danger to its nearby borders (Litera, as cited in Alkanalka, 2023). As a result, the Russian territorial integrity was almost and completely absorbed, and Russian dissatisfaction was completely undeniable as the US keeps pushing the data deeper into their long-term tense relationship. All in all, their conflict deepened the schism between Russia and Ukraine.

In 2021, the recent joining members of NATO are Bosnia, Herzegovina, and most importantly Ukraine. As Moscow considers NATO a tool of American imperialism Ukraine became a political battlefield of the two ideologically conflicting counterparts. Incipiently and originally, "NATO was established as an organization of collective defence against the rising power of the Soviet Union" (Čižik & Novák, 2015, para.1). As a result, the US is currently playing the role of the defender on the part of Ukraine as a member of the organization against Russia.

It was obvious from the start that NATO's expansion to the Russian border and its pursuit of Ukraine as a member would lead to serious disputes. Robert, M Gates, former Secretary of Defense of the US government, wrote in his mémoire as cited in Carpenter (2022):"trying to bring Georgia and Ukraine into Nato was truly overreaching". That move, he contended, was a case of "recklessly ignoring what the Russians considered their own vital national interests" *(Ibid.)*.The results of this move could be seen today.

In a televised speech, the Donetsk People's Republic (DPR) and the Luhansk People's Republic (LPR) were officially acknowledged by the Russian President, Vladimir Putin, as

breakaway territories on February 21, 2022 (Miklasová, 2022, para.1). This action increased global concern about a potential Russian invasion.

"On 24 February 2022, President Putin again appeared on State television. This time to announce the start of a military operation against Ukraine" (Miklasová, 2022, para.1).In a speech that was full of anti-western discourse, Putin approved to send troops to Ukraine. Additionally, Russia increased the price of the gas it sells to Ukraine, placing tremendous pressure on the nation.

There were several condemnations soon after the Russian president made the invasion decision. Global leaders and members of the public sharply condemned Russia's conduct, and the media actively promoted a range of opinions and ideologies about the conflict. As a result, the idea of a new world war is continually promoted in the news. Despite the opposition of the rest of the world, the Ukrainian crisis persists, and Russia continues to take what it perceives as necessary action to this very day.

1.4.2 News Outlets' Representation of War Issues

Conflict and war, a crucial characteristic of life since the history of mankind. Modern warfare and its documentation are considered major news values. News portals are perceived as the critical medium between the opposing parties as well as the world as a whole. Warfare coverage plays a major role in how people perceive the justness or the wrongfulness in a certain context of a conflict. As a result, the issue of war provides a large supply of news content and becomes one of the primary causes for news viewing.

Since advertising is the foundation of successful journalism, a newspaper discourse has the power to persuade readers to adopt a particular worldview. Additionally, many people are unable to think freely and express their personal thoughts or opinions on a variety of warfare issues because most people in general lack knowledge and experience of wars, over and above that, the media is the only source through which images and information about war

matters are obtained. One of the key elements of journalism is representation; however, the depiction of the reality of war in news reports literature has been consumed by numerous stereotypes and manipulation. Considering that a newspaper agency is viewed to be part of the government and that they are more likely to be regulated by the state or the organization they belong to, the question is whether these representations of war conflicts that are provided by newspapers are a literal depiction of reality if one of the fighting parts is their government.

Preconceived conceptions in the production of news are typically based on some degree of reality, despite the fact that they are sometimes distorted and used for particular agendas and objectives. War news-based articles are more likely to be involved in a paradox form of production and consumption. Wars are, in any case, only considered newsworthy by news agencies and the journalist him /herself, that is to say, according to Hofstetter (1976) :

News reporters always select certain facts from a much larger pool of facts in putting together their stories. The reporter selects facts he thinks are relevant and important and excludes details he presumes to be of less value. If we assume that distortion or falsehood do not occur, how is the selection of facts performed and what effect does this selection have on viewers of the news program? To what extent is partisan bias—selection that favors one of the sides in a conflict—present? (p.17).

An independent organization called Reporters Without Borders (RSF), which promotes free expression for journalists worldwide, has ranked nations according to their 'liberty index' which demonstrates that most nations' freedom is constrained to a certain degree. Journalism principles of information in the war context come into a tense situation where the production or reporting of a conflict is built up by a series of decisions.

1.4.3 Background of the Study

Critical discourse analysis is an interdisciplinary approach taken for the investigation of the political discourse and the representation of the Russian president's speech on the News

in this study. In terms of replication, analysis, interpretation, and result reporting, this area of study has demonstrated its scientific rigor. In other words, CDA has been used in countless earlier studies to examine discourse from various angles in order to address issues that are veiled or placed in the language, and it has been used in a variety of discourses.

Peter Teo (2000) examined the news discourse in two Australian newspapers, The Sydney Morning and The Daily Telegraph, in his paper 'Racism in the news: a Critical Discourse Analysis of news reporting in two Australian newspapers'.Using critical discourse analysis, followed by a comparison study, the researcher attempted to reveal concealed racial ideological construction in the language of the two publications in the reporting of events regarding the Vietnamese gang in Australia. This study focuses on how this covert but no less damaging sort of racism manifests itself in a modern culture like Australia through the channels of media discourse. The Herald and the Telegraph made different linguistic choices and language preferences, especially in describing the so-called ethnic lawbreakers and the white law enforcers, which are compared in the study. His research's findings support the idea that discourse in newspapers has evolved into one that is intricate and multidimensional.

Abdladi (2019), in his doctoral dissertation, illustrated CDA in news reports concerning the conflict in Yemen. The researcher used a corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis approach to identify the numerical aspects of the corpus and qualitatively examine the translation of news articles. It focused on how the war's participants were portrayed and represented. This thesis contends that different translation procedures and discursive techniques were employed by BBC and Al Arabiya to frame the conflict. Additionally, it pinpointed two categories of frames that influenced discourse production at both the macro and micro levels of how people perceived world events.

The political speech clearly incorporated CDA, and this was apparent. Instead of focusing simply on the politics seen in the media, political discourse was examined in all of

its forms. Besides, there have been several studies on political speeches, particularly presidential speeches. Horváth (2009) analyzed the persuading techniques of President Obama's public speaking discourse in an effort to indicate ideology through language in a research entitled 'Critical Discourse Analysis of Obama's Political Discourse'. The work puts language under the scope of CDA and uses Norman Fairclough's three-dimensional model to reach any hidden objectives in Obama's persuasion tactics that can be found in the texts of his inaugural speech.

With their insightful knowledge of applied linguistic inquiry and critical theory, important pioneers of critical discourse analysis including Fairclough, Van Dijk, Wodak, Faucault, Fowler, and others have made significant contributions to currently conducted research. Finally, a number of studies that were conducted on political speeches, political discourse in the news, or political discourse in any form of media under the purview of CDA have sparked additional research in fields outside of media that encompass language in all facets of existence.

1.3 Conclusion

This chapter has provided relevant literature and theories surrounding the topic under investigation. By exploring the conceptual framework mainly; approaches, concepts, and related topics, this study has presented a comprehensive explanation of the key constructs, variables, and relationships depicted in the research.

Chapter 2: Research Methodology and Procedures

2.0. Introduction

This paper presents research on corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis; accordingly, this chapter is addressed to tackle the research design of this study. Initially, it starts with explaining the utilized methodology and further explains the reasons for its choice along with the materials and equipment used in accordance with the selected methodology. Then, it proceeds with the research questions and set the news articles selection criteria. Finally, the analysis process of this study and the combination of Fairclough's three-dimensional model and the mixed methodology are explained.

2.1. Methodology

Numerous investigations and studies using multiple methods and approaches have been a feature of the long history of research. While some studies were quantitative in nature, others were qualitative. "Qualitative research studies typically seek to answer questions about the 'what', 'how', and 'why' of phenomena. This is in contrast to the questions of 'how many' or 'how much' that are sought to be answered by quantitative research" (Berk et al., 2015). That is, in qualitative methodology, a researcher describes and interprets the data while in quantitative methodology, he /she analyzes numerical data from a factual perspective.

Another way to address an issue in research is by combining both qualitative and quantitative methodologies. According to Pole (2007), combining qualitative and quantitative methods can enhance each of their positive aspects and balance out their distinct disadvantages (p.4). In order to achieve a balanced study, the research design of this dissertation follows both qualitative and quantitative methodologies (mixed methodology) a combination of numerical explanatory analysis and a critical, descriptive, and interpretive

analysis of the selected corpus. This methodology endeavors to provide an analysis of the rhetorics of the articles; i.e., the wording or the linguistic choice in a statistical measure, followed by an interpretation of the latter within Fairclough's three-dimensional model of critical discourse analysis in order to put the numerical data in the context of production.

Critical discourse analysis can be regarded as subjective in nature; thus, it may seem that the most appropriate methodology to follow is the qualitative one since it allows the researcher to interpret data and form results. However, the mixed methodology was chosen in this paper in order to increase the credibility and the validity of the results obtained in the analysis of the news articles. It allows interpretive analysis and confirms claims with statistical data. That is, it gives evidence of the analysis which is conducted in the CDA approach.

The mixed methodology is carried out in this study as a complementary design; i.e., each methodology complements the other. According to Greene et al. (1989), utilizing the outcomes of one approach to elaborate, improve, or highlight the outcomes of the other is one apparent common goal for integrating qualitative and quantitative methodologies (p.266). Following what has been mentioned at the beginning, this paper aims at answering the what, why also how many/much of the phenomena under investigation. Correspondingly, using both methods in this research proved to be effective in generating the results and the findings of the present study.

The numerical data is gathered and calculated with the help of a program, a freeware called "Antconc" (version 3.5.9.0). This program is a tool created for the analysis of corpus linguistics mainly concordance in texts, "It hosts a comprehensive set of tools including a powerful concordancer, word and keyword frequency generators, tools for cluster and lexical bundle analysis, and a word distribution plot" (Anthony, 2004, p.7). This toolkit is utilized in this study to extract the frequencies of certain linguistic features namely; reporting verbs, and

wording such adjectives and adverbs, and also targeted words mainly, invasion and war that tend to collocate and connect to certain articles and actors in the context of an interpretation production for the Russian President's speech.

2.3 Research Questions and Hypotheses

In order to achieve the aims and objectives of this study, this work is framed around the following questions and hypothesis;

RQ 1: What linguistic devices are used in producing the news portals' articles in terms of wording and linguistic behavior?

RQ 2: What are the rhetorical devices and the discursive practices that signal bias in the interpretation of the speech in the text?

RQ 3: How does the utilized language portray social and political dimensions such as power and ideology?

Hy 1: The bias of a reporter towards single political power is based on his shared beliefs and ideologies with the political party.

Hy 2: The linguistic behavior of the news articles demonstrates an ideological orientation.

2.4 Why the Ukrainian Crisis

The Russian-Ukrainian conflict has gained global attention in the past few months. The world's interest was drawn after the escalation of the conflict, which came after Russia's decision to perform a military operation in Ukraine. In light of this crisis, news portals played a pivotal role in reporting the events. However, the political reality became an abstract representation embedded in news reports, since people internationally were in front of multiple representations of the Ukrainian crisis in news articles. Ukraine formed a geopolitical space for the long rivalry between the United States and Russia which dates back to a very long point in history and continues until this very day. The Russian president's speech on the

24th of February 2022 signaled the green light for the news agencies in each ideologically contradicted counterpart to produce different interpretations and representations of the event. Salient orientations are achieved by the language used in the production of each newspaper or any other news articles, which leads us to the question of truthfulness and falsehood. That is, if the reality is one then, why do we have multiple representations of it? This question formed a starting point in the investigation of this paper. Furthermore, the variation in the use of language also gives critical discourse analysis a research space to scrutinize the controversy in the linguistic behaviour of the news articles to represent the Russian president's speech.

2.5 Data Collection Procedures

In the following section, the reasons for the selection of the Ukrainian crisis are discussed. Besides, each news portal that was selected in this study was chosen by taking into consideration three major criteria. Each criterion is addressed and discussed in this section.

2.5.1 Criteria for the Selection of the News Outlets, and Articles

The reasons behind the selection of each news article and the news outlets are demonstrated and explained hereafter. There are three main criteria, including the distribution of news in English, the number of viewers and readership, and finally, their countries' votes in the UN Assembly.

2.5.1.1 The Distribution of News in English

The delivery of news in English was one of the most important factors in the choosing of news outlets since it allowed for the collection of information that most readers could understand. This is because English is becoming more and more common around the world. Most nations aim to reach out to the world and let distant minds hear their thoughts and voices by communicating and transmitting news in English, which is acknowledged as an international language across the world. Correspondingly, the majority of the countries in the

world nowadays at least have one or two news outlets that deliver local and international news in English in order to attract and increase the readership of the news portals.

The data for this analysis was gathered from The Washington Post, The Guardian, El Jazeera, The Toronto Star, Russia Today, CGTN, India Times, and Tehran Times, taking into account their English language delivery of news. Since English is the official language in both nations, The Washington Post (an American daily newspaper) and The Guardian (a British daily newspaper) are correspondingly English news outlets. In addition, the Toronto Star is a Canadian English daily that delivers news in English language internationally. Furthermore, Al Jazeera (a Qatari media network), Russia Today (a digital and TV network), CGTN (China Global Television Network), India Times (an Indian English language newspaper), and finally Tehran Times (an English daily newspaper in Iran), all deliver news in English language.

2.5.1.2 Circulation, Reach, and Viewership

All the news portals in this study are selected for being well-known news sources across the world, and also based on their large circulation number, and a large number of home reaching in the case of TV networks, and finally, the targeted viewers and the number of the viewership in each selected news source. Note that the circulation and readership concerns the newspapers only, whereas, the "reach" is in regard to the TV networks only.

2.5.1.2.1 Al Jazeera

A Qatari television network communicating news originally in Arabic, according to Similarweb (2023), Al Jazeera has an annual revenue of 500.0 million – 1,0 Billion US Dollars, with total visits of 34.8 million visitors.Al Jazeera has a wide audience throughout the world and is accessible to more than 430 million households in more than 150 countries and territories (Aljazeera. net, 2023). Saad (2002) compared the viewership of Al Jazeera with other news sources in the Arab world. The results of the conducted survey in 5 countries show

very favorable numbers for Al Jazeera, in terms of the viewer's interest in the world's current

issues such as the war in Iraq, the situation in Palestine, and so on.
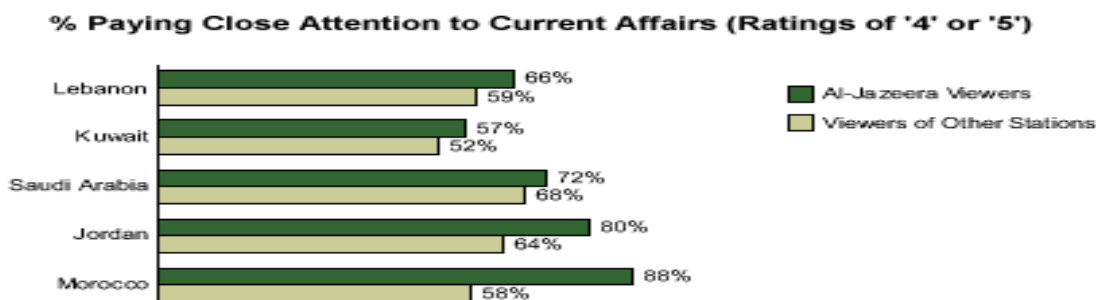
Figure 2 Ratings of Al Jazeera and Other News Sources in Terms of Viewers' Interest (Saad, 202)

2.5.1.2.2 The Washington Post

The Washington Post has total visits of 144.1 million with a readership of 2.63 pages per visit (SimilarWeb, 2023). The daily newspaper welcomes large numbers of new visitors each month. According to the figures provided by Turvill (2023), the Washington Post is the fourth largest newspaper in the United States by circulation number which reaches 159.040 copies in 2022.
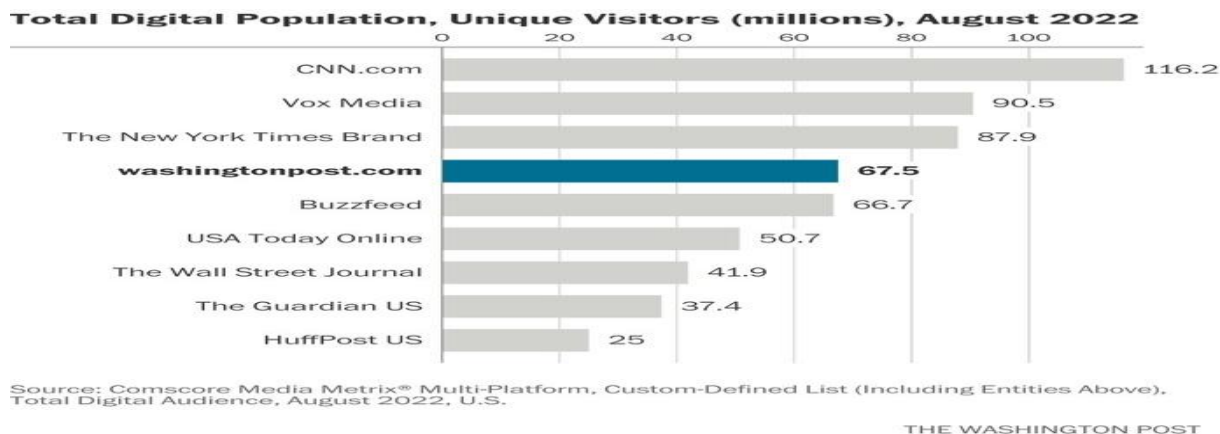
Figure 3 The Washington Post Total Digital Population in August 2022 (The Washington Post, 2013)

2.5.1.2.3 India Times

According to Java T point (2023), the Times of India, commonly abbreviated as TOI, is an English newspaper distributed across 36 cities in India. It is published by Coleman and

Co. Ltd in a broadsheet format. The editor-in-chief of the newspaper is Jaideep Bose, with a daily circulation of 2,880,144 copies, it holds the distinction of being the leading English newspaper in India The total number of visits of the Times of India is 153, 8 million with 2.57 pages per visit (Similarweb, 2023).

2.5.1.2.4 CGTN China Global Television Network

CGTN disseminates global news from its main office in Beijing. Furthermore, it has international subsidiary establishments such as its American branch located in Washington D.C. and its African operation in Nairobi, along with other affiliated institutions worldwide. Additionally, construction is currently underway for CGTN's third branch operation in London (Sun, 2018). More than 160 nations and areas throughout the world have access to CGTN's TV networks. It also, features The Global Video News Agency, CGTN, a leader in the integration of media in China, distributes digital content via CGTN Digital, which has over 150 million followers worldwide and is accessible via CGTN.com, CGTN mobile applications, YouTube, Facebook, Twitter, Weibo, and other internet-based platforms (CGTN, 2023).

2.5.1.2.5 The Guardian

The Guardian, a daily newspaper published in Britain, is distributed across the country with an average of 105,000 print copies each day. As of July 2021, this number consists of 51,232 subscriptions and 53,902 sales from newsstands. The newspaper is no longer openly disclosing its readership figures as of August 2021. The Guardian's target audience is made up of well-educated, wealthy, digitally aware people who lean liberal. 86% of these populations, who make up the majority, are ABC1s. The average age of print readers is 54, and 54% of them are men. The Guardian began as a broadsheet publication before switching to a tabloid format owing to financial constraints and changing reader preferences (Cedars Academy, 2022).

2.5.1.2.6 Tehran Times

Tehran Times is a leading English, Iranian daily newspaper, according to Jaspal (2014), despite the absence of reliable information regarding the circulation of the publication, The Tehran Times reports that it is drawing readership from more than 80 nations and boasts a daily website traffic of over 10,000 visitors.

2.5.1.2.7 Russia Today

Russia Today is a Russian international news TV network, operating in multiple languages including Arabic and English. According to SimilarWeb as cited in RT News (2023), RT is the leading non-Anglo-Saxon TV news network in terms of online traffic, surpassing Al Jazeera, DW, France 24, Euronews, and others. RT achieved a significant milestone in 2013 by becoming the first news network to exceed one billion views on YouTube. In 2020, RT made history once again as the first TV news network worldwide to reach ten billion views across its YouTube channels. As of March 2022, RT has surpassed 17 billion views and gained a subscriber base of 30 million subscribers (RT News, 2023).

2.5.1.2.8 The Toronto Star

The Toronto Star is a Canadian newspaper. According to the Encyclopedia Britannica (2017), the publication, which had only four pages at first, was sold and transferred multiple times before a prestigious group of people bought it in 1899 and entrusted Joseph E. Atkinson with its administration. After the newspaper changed its name to The Toronto Daily Star, its circulation increased from 7,000 to 40,000 in only five years.

2.5.1.3 The News Outlet's countries' votes in the UN Assembly

Another criterion for the selection of the news sources in this paper is the votes of their countries in the UN Assembly in the case of the resolution of the Russian-Ukrainian crisis. On the 2nd of March 2022, the UN General Assembly held a meeting of the world's countries in order to vote for what is entitled "the condemnation of the Russian attack on Ukraine".

According to the table below provided by Al Jazeera, most of the world countries voted in favor, only five countries were against namely, Russia, North Korea, Syria, Belarus, and Eritrea. 34 countries took a neutral position in the situation and abstained mainly: China, India, Iran, and others. The investigation of this dissertation takes four samples (news sources) from four "abstained" and "against" countries which are put against other four samples (news sources) representing the countries who are in favor of the resolution in order to compare, explore and critically analyze whether the reporting of the event and the narratives in the reports are made in consideration of their countries stances or a pure journalistic profession.

Figure 4 The Results of the UN Assembly Votes for the Case of the Condemnation of the Russian Attack on Ukraine, Al Jazeera (2022)

2.6 Mixed Methodology and Critical Discourse Analysis Applied

Following Fairclough's three-dimensional model of critical discourse analysis, the analysis in this study opts to explore and investigate the collected data on three levels. The

description level where text analysis takes place, and the interpretation level (processing analysis). Finally, the explanation (social analysis) where the discourse is put into the context in order to generate conclusions about possibilities of meaning. In the first level of the three-dimensional model in this study, frequencies of reporting verbs, news sources, and linguistic behaviour or word choice are examined. Then in the second level (interpretation level), the use of both the words "war and invasion" is interpreted. In the last level, all that has been described and interpreted is analyzed in its historical, political, and its social context.

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter introduced the research design of this dissertation, including the methodology, which is utilized in the analysis of the news reports. The chapter also tackles the data collection procedures mainly, the criteria taken into consideration while selecting the news outlets. Ultimately, it provides a brief explanation of how the mixed methodology and the critical discourse analysis are combined in the analysis of the data.

Chapter 3: Data Analysis and Findings

3.0 Introduction

To conduct a corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis of the selected news reports in this study, this paper adopts Faiclough's approach to text analysis. Firstly, This paper undertakes a description segment where it introduces formal and textual properties of the articles; namely, lexicon, modality, and reporting verbs. The second phase is Interpretation; all of the introduced characteristics of the text are revisited to uncover the underlying meaning. Finally, in the socio-cultural analysis, the text is put in its social and cultural context to explore power dynamics, ideologies, and potential biases. The final step in this analysis chapter is a comprehensive discussion of the obtained findings.

3.1 Data Analysis

Each dimension in the data analysis interacts and influences the other, and every analysis performed in a single dimension informs and complements the other. The news articles are respectively introduced according to their countries' votes in the case of "The condemnation of the Russian actions in Ukraine". Therefore, Russia Today, CGTN, Tehran Times and the Times of India are Russian allies, and The Washington Post, The Toronto Star, The Guardian, and Al Jazeera are US allies.

3.1.1 Description

Identifying the techniques used to produce the discourse is made easier by inspecting the linguistic components of a text within the description dimension. The CDA's description phase lays the groundwork for further critical analysis. The following section involves the description of the following: Samples of the analysis, the headlines, lexicon, modality, reporting verbs, and finally, targeted words.

3.2.1.1 Samples of the Analysis

This study examines eight samples of news reports located in eight different news portals. In order to demonstrate the diversity of the discourse, the table below illustrates the headlines of each news article.

Table 1 Samples of the Study

Sample	News Outlet	Date	Headline
1	Al Jazeera	24 Feb 2022	Russian forces launch full-scale invasion of Ukraine
2	The Times of India	24 Feb 2022	Ukraine crisis : Russia's Putin announces military operation in Ukraine
3	RussiaToday	24 Feb 2022	Putin announces 'special operation' in Donbass
4	CGTN	24 Feb 2022	Is Russia's special military operation an act of war?
5	Tehran Times	24 Feb 2022	Putin announces 'special military operation in Ukraine's Donbass
6	The Washington Post	24 Feb 2022	At great risk for Ukraine and Russia, Putin signals a dark endgame
7	The Guardian	24 Feb 2022	Moment that Putin thundered to war, drowning out last entreaties for peace
8	The Toronto Star	25 Feb 2022	Putin declares 'special military operation' in Ukraine as last-minute appeals for peace stream in

3.2.1.2 Lexis (wording)

This section is concerned with the linguistic behaviour, and the wording utilized to generate the text of the news articles and the headlines.

3.2.1.2.1 Headlines

The headlines of the news articles entail different perspectives taken towards the event. The language used in each headline pictures different images of the "Russian Special Military Operation". While the headlines of the articles that represent the Russian allies emphasize a very careful choice of language, the headlines of the articles that represent US allies highlight and illustrate a negative aspect of language choice. The Times of India, Russia Today, and the Tehran Times employ straightforward language. The cautious use of language is demonstrated in the use of the words "crisis", "military operation" and the verb "announce". CGTN shows more of an interrogative perspective toward the event by the use of the interrogative sentence "Is Russia's special military operation an act of aggression?", but does not employ any language to indicate whether the questioning comes from a negative or positive standpoint.

Furthermore, the linguistic behaviour in Al Jazeera, The Toronto Star, The Washington Post, and The Guardian explore lexis that invokes fear, urgency, and surprise. Al Jazeera describes the special military operation as a "full-scale invasion", while the Washington Post labels it as a "dark endgame" and "great risk". The hyperbolic use of words is salient in the Guardian which instead of using "announced" used "thundered" and also labeled the special military operation as "war".

3.2.1.2.2 Text

With a focus on how the event is presented in the articles, a remarkable use and distribution of negative language could be noticed throughout the texts. All of the existing negative wording cited or found in the texts of the articles is demonstrated in the table below which shows its distribution in each article with their frequencies.

Table 2 The Distribution of Negative Description in the Articles

News Outlet	RT	T.T	T.o.T	CGTN	WaPo	Gdn	T.S	AJE
Frequency	2	3	6	1	62	15	25	35
Total	149							

The total of all of the negative wording in all the selected articles is 149; however, as it could be demonstrated the table, more than half was found in the Washington Post, the Guardian, the Toronto Star, and Al Jazeera with a frequency that reaches 137 in total. Whereas, Russia Today, Tehran Times, Times of India, and CGTN have shown a very low frequency of negative wording with only 12 in total.

The variation of the selective use of language is distinctive in the news outlets. The Washington Post, the Guardian, the Toronto Star, and Al Jazeera are very similar in their word choice while describing the event. The table below illustrates comprehensive examples.

Table 3 The Wording of the US Allies' Representative News Portals

Word Class	The Guardian	The Toronto Star
Noun	Attack, war, grave emergency,_criminals, Aggression,_hell	Attack, invasion, war, death, destruction, criminals, darkness, fear, aggression
Verb	Thundered, drowningout, poured out, Delivered, stop, died, argue	Claimed, stop, died, backaway, girdfor, impose, launch, suffer, isolate, accused
Adjective	Surreal, brutal, notable, useless, major, rare	Long-feared, laughable, desperate, bloodied, Brutal, thuggery, evil, unjustified,hybrid

Word Class	The Washington Post	Al Jazeera
Noun	Threats, invasion, risk, punishement, Challenge, attack,battles, invaders, destruction, assault, shock, Brutal, pretext,autocrats	Invasion, attack, fears, aggression, war, Propaganda, accusation, chaos, isolation, Criminals, hell, assault
Verb	Signal, threatens, isolate, dominate, carveout, remains, force, struck, died, reorder, barked	Launch, raineddown, pouring, attacked, destroy, justified, Hit, cause, underestimated
Adjective	Dark, worrisome, full-fledged, unprecedented, sweeping_full-scale, offensive, drunk	Full-scale, biggest, absurd, unprovoked, unjustified, severe, worst, reckless, shameless, dark

The table above demonstrates the choice of words in the US allies' representative news portals, including nouns, adjectives, and verbs. The Washington Post, the Guardian, the Toronto Star, and Al Jazeera show a remarkable use of negative language in the description of the Russian President, the special military operation, and Russia. Consequently, all four aforementioned news outlets show a similar orientation in the use of their language. They invoke wording that is negatively portraying the event. The Toronto Star's negative expressive language can be demonstrated in the following example:"He claimed that the offensive was needed to fend off Ukrainian aggression and defend civilians, a claim virtually all outside observers think laughable" (Sample 8, the Toronto Star).

The depiction of the Russian special military operation in The Washington Post employs a barrage of negative adjectives and verbs such as: 'dark', 'worrisome', 'offensive', 'threatens, dominates', and 'barked'. The derogatory terms and sensationalized descriptions are also found in Al Jazeera and the Guardian that could be seen in the following examples:

❖ "Russia has launched an all-out invasion of Ukraine by land, air and sea, the biggest attack by one state against another in Europe since world war2" (Sample 1, Al Jazeera).

❖ "…as the war, it was supposed to prevent broke while it was sitting" (Sample 7, the Guardian).

The use of the words invasion, war, full scale, and biggest attack, explore a negative linguistic behaviour.

Table 4 The Wording of the Russian Allies' News Portals

Word Class	Tehran Times	CGTN
Noun	Action, address, conflict, allegation, Security, warning, history, move, aggression	Aggression, expansion, threat, moves, Crisis, self-defense, decision, security, red-line, Warning
Verb	Worsened, denies, views, issued, rally, stop, Are not threatened, claim	Announced, aim, accused, changed, Didn't satisfy, resorted, achieved, Assured, doesn'toccupy
Adjective	Western-backed, pro-Russia, US-led, Flagrant, severe, unprovoked, punitive	Subsequent, perpetual, US-led, Credible, US-provoked, decisive, Unprecedented , strategic
Word Class	RussiaToday	Times of India
Noun	Order, decision, obligation, conflict, action, Sanctions, penalties	War, intentions, attack, criticism, Invasion, conditions, crisis, statement, Appeals, defense deals
Verb	Announced, reads, were reported, suffer, alleging, resolve, denied,	Announces, calledon, not to support, Has defied, imposed, hadurged, had

	Maintains, imposed	intensified, set-out
Adjective	Newly, recognized, unprovoked, unjustified, Looming, defensive	Western, emotional, imminent, Unheeded, costly, stringent, neutral

Table 3 displays the wording illustrated to represent the Russian President's speech in Russia Today, CGTN, Tehran Times, and the Times of India, with specific acknowledgment to their word class: verb, noun, or adjective. The table reveals patterns of a measured choice of words and a cautious language style. Hence, the wording employed by the four mentioned news outlets exhibits a shared inclination.

The description of Russia, Putin, and the special military operation explores language that is deviated to only report the event and a mix of positive words that are frequently noticed and could be extracted from the CGTN article. CGTN utilized words such as: "threat", "expansion", "red line" and "warning" to describe the NATO alliance's actions towards Russia. Moreover, the use of the word "defense" is frequently found in Russia Today, Tehran Times, CGTN, and the Times of India, the term is illustrated to mention the reason of the Russian special military operation as an act of "self-defense". The positive orientation of the language style can be seen in the following examples:

❖ "Washington resorted to waging an unprecedented information warfare campaign aimed at misleading the public into believing that Moscow poses a threat to continental security" (Sample 4, CGTN).

❖ "Russia has so far denied plans for an attack, however, maintains its actions in the Donbass will be defensive in nature" (Sample 3, Russia Today).

❖ "Putin also issued a stern warning to countries that threaten Russia's security" (Sample 5, Tehran Times).

❖ "His statement came after the Kremlin said rebel leaders in eastern Ukraine had asked Moscow for military help against Kyiv" (Sample 2, Times of India).

In conclusion, US allies and Russia's allies' representative news outlets explore a distinctively different choice of words. The differences in wording and tone between the two highlight two variations of language style; cautious and negative wording. The negative word choice is apparent in The Washington Post, The Guardian, The Toronto Star, and Al Jazeera. Besides, the cautious use of language is frequently noticed in Russia Today, Tehran Times, CGTN, and Times of India.

The table below lists the model verbs used throughout all the selected news reports and also presents their frequencies in each news report.

Table 5 The Distribution of Model Verbs in the Articles

Model verbs	CGTN	RT	T.o.T	T.T	WaPo	T.S	Gdn	AJE
May	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0
Might	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	2
Can	0	0	1	0	3	0	2	1
Cannot	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2
Could	0	0	3	0	8	0	0	4
Will	2	1	0	10	3	7	1	7
Would	2	0	0	3	8	1	1	0
Should	2	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
Must	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1
Total	6	2	5	16	29	9	4	17

The table displays multiple model verbs found in the articles offering insights into their usage patterns. Remarkably, the model verb "will" is the most frequent occurring in all of the articles except in the Times of India. Besides, the model verb "may" scored the lowest

frequency where it is almost non-existing in all the articles except the Washington Post. The Washington Post signals the highest frequency with 29 occurrences of model verbs throughout the entire article, in contrast to Russia Today, which has the lowest occurrences of model verbs with a frequency of 2 models in total.

Furthermore, what also could be noticed from Table 4 is that the US allies' representative news outlets have the highest frequencies of model verbs, with 59 occurrences in total. Whereas, Russia's representative news outlets have lower frequencies with 29 occurrences in total.

3.2.1.3 Targeted Words

The analysis of the articles in this study provides insights into the usage of notable words namely: the word "Invasion", and the word "War" which have a remarkable distribution in the articles that can be seen in the table below:

Table 6 The Distribution of the Words: War and Invasion

Targeted Words	RT	T.T	T.o.T	CGTN	WaPo	Gdn	T.S	AJE
WAR	0	0	4	0	10	7	11	8
Total	40							
Invasion	0	0	1	0	2	1	3	4
Total	11							

Both the words "war" and "invasion have very notable occurrences which are worthy of investigation. Table 5 demonstrates that the variation of the utilization of both words differs by a large margin in two separate groups of the news outlets. First, the term "war" has the highest frequency in the Toronto Star with 10 occurrences in total it was not found in any of Russia Today, Tehran Times, and CGTN. Second, the term invasion has the highest

frequency that was found in Al Jazeera and also does not exist in any of Russia Today, CGTN, and Tehran Times. Finally, it is worth noticing that the US allies' representative news portals have the highest frequencies of the word "war" and "invasion" with a total of 36 occurrences of "war" and 10 occurrences of "invasion". The Times of India is the only Russian representative news outlet to signal frequencies of the terms war and invasion.

3.2.1.4 Reporting Verbs

In order to target how much of the Russian President's speech was reported, this study investigates both the reporting verbs utilized to report statements from the speech and other reporting verbs to depict sources besides the speech. The table below shows the frequencies of reporting verbs used to cite the speech throughout the news reports.

Table 7 Reporting Verbs Used to Report the Presidents' Speech

	RT	**T.T**	**T.o.T**	**CGTN**	**WaPo**	**Gdn**	**T.S**	**AJE**
R.V	13	21	16	11	7	2	5	8
Total	83							

The distribution of the reporting verbs in the case of reporting statements from the Russian president's speech demonstrates an inconsistency in their presence. The salient high occurrences of the reporting verbs in Russia Today, Tehran Times, Times of India, and CGTN diminishes significantly in the Washington Post, the Guardian, the Toronto Star, and Al Jazeera.

Tehran Times exhibits a significant saturation of reporting verbs with the highest frequency that reaches 21 occurrences. The lowest frequency was marked in the Guardian with 2 occurrences only. Moreover, The Russian representative news outlets marked a plethora of the reporting verbs with 61 occurrences in total, in contrast to the US allies' representative news portals that signaled a very low frequency of 22 occurrences only.

Table 8 Reporting Verbs Used to Report Other Sources

	RT	T.T	T.o.T	CGTN	WaPo	Gdn	T.S	AJE
R.V	5	29	18	2	13	12	15	22
TOTAL	116							

The table above displays the distribution of the reporting verbs in the case of citing other sources besides the Russian president's speech. The reporting verbs in this case show an inconsistency in their presence in contrast to the reporting verbs used to cite the speech. The highest frequency was marked by Tehran Times with 29 occurrences in total, and the lowest was marked by CGTN with 2 occurrences only. However, it is noticeable that The Washington Post, The Guardian, The Toronto Star, and Al Jazeera have a higher frequency of reporting verbs in the case of citing other sources, than citing the speech itself. The former has a total of frequencies that reaches 62 occurrences and the latter has a frequency which reaches 22 occurrences in total; Therefore, it is significantly diminished.

3.2.2 Interpretation

Interpretation is considered as the second phase of Norman Fairclough three-dimensional model. This section opts to interpret the data which was collected from the news reports in the description phase. Consequently, by examining the discursive strategies used to influence the representation of the Russian President's speech, it delves deeper into the discursive patterns of the news reports to identify implications and extract meanings.

3.2.2.1 Intertextuality

At this stage, intertextuality is illustrated to refer to how the texts of the news reports cite other sources of information used in the texts. That is, to identify patterns such as reporting verbs, quotations, and the source of the quotations. The term intertextuality is also used in this study to explore strategies utilized in the distribution of the news sources.

3.2.2.1.1Reporting Verbs

This study puts reporting verbs under the scope of criticality; they are being examined to counteract the potential impact of selective reporting. In the description phase, two types of reporting verbs have been considered, those used to cite the Russian president's speech, and the rest which was used to cite other sources. The significant deliberate choice of reporting verbs can significantly influence how a reader of the texts interprets the reports; and thus, influence the credibility of the sources.

The acknowledgment of the two types of reporting verbs indicates the number of statements and narratives stated by both sources and the selective presence in each text. The variation in the number of the two narratives in each text indicates a certain extent of subjectivity, that is, by downplaying one argument over another, the report becomes limited to a one-sided point of view, and does not extend to reach other narratives stated in regard of the event being reported. Moreover, the distinctive use of specific reporting verbs to ascribe or distort the narratives being reported is also considered in order to provide further interpretation of the selected news reports.

In the case of reporting the Russian President's speech, the two counterparts, i.e., the US allies and the Russian allies' representative news reports mark a large-scale difference in the number of statements reported from the Russian speech. The differenceisclearly apparent in the following graph.
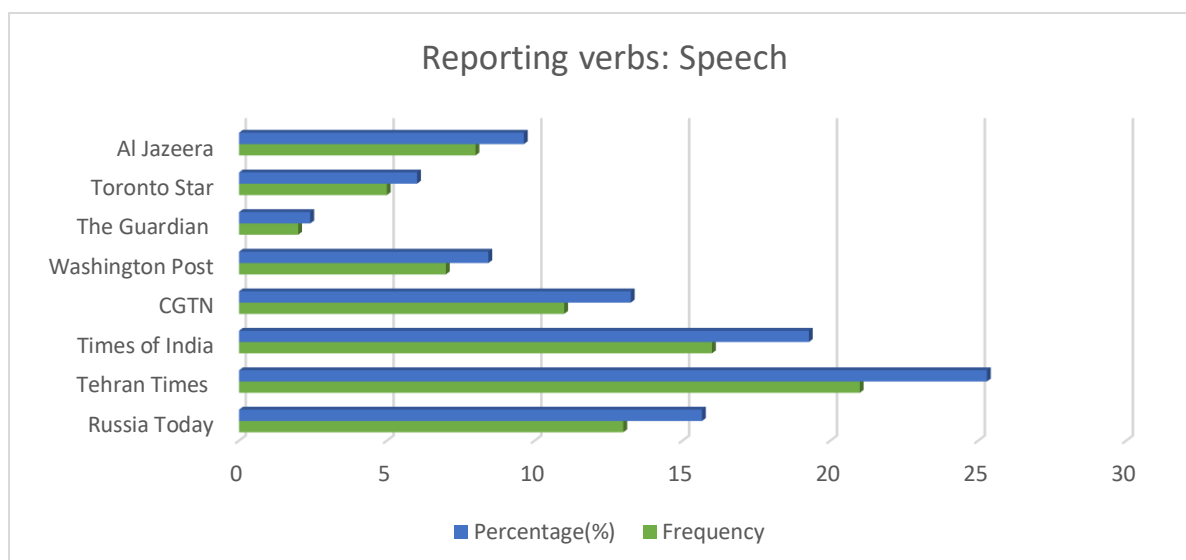
Figure 5 The Distribution of Reporting Verbs in the Case of the Speech

The difference between the two groups is very salient in Figure 1. The Russian representative news portals have the highest amount of statements extracted from the speech indicating that a great amount of the discourse is directed to report the Russian perspective on the event, Whereas the US representative news outlets have scored the lowest number of statements. The difference can be displayed between Tehran Times and The Guardian. The former reaches 25.30% of statements from the speech, whereas The Guardian only scored 2.41% of reporting verbs that introduce statements from the speech.

In order to further elaborate on Russia's perspective, and the statements reported from the speech, examples from the news reports are demonstrated namely, Tehran Times, and The Washington Post.

❖ "Russian President Vladimir Putin has announced a special military operation in Ukraine's Donbass region to "defend people" there against government forces stressing that Moscow has "no plans to occupy Ukrainian territory" (Sample 5, Tehran Times).

❖ "While Putin said Russia does not intend to occupy Ukrainian territory, he strongly suggested that his aim was to elevate authorities allied with Moscow and possibly

carve up the country using referendums similar to the one the Kremlin organized in Crimea in 2014" (Sample 6, The Washington Post).

The use of the reporting verbs 'announced' and 'said' suggest different perspectives taken towards what is being reported. On one hand, The RV 'announced' entails an authoritative order, and that the statement comes from a person who holds a certain authority or power; that is, it denotes his position of authority, formality, and importance as well as his level of influence. The choice of the verb "announce" also carries a sense of legitimacy as the verb elevates the information being communicated and suggests that the person making the announcement "Putin" has given it significant thought and decisive approval.

On the other hand, the RV 'said' does not entail specific authority or importance; rather the verb can be used to report a person without any authority being attached to his/her statements. The verb "said" is used commonly in informal reporting and everyday use of language regardless of the level of power inherited by the speaker in the hierarchy of society. The examples stated above can confirm the interpretation by the reader just reading both statements.

The Russian allies' news reports illustrate reporting verbs that indicate a top-down discursive practice when reporting statements from the speech, that is, attribute a power dynamic to the statement itself. This can be demonstrated in the use of reporting verbs in the headlines and the text as well. The headlines read as follows:

- ❖ "Putin announces 'special military operation' in Ukraine's Donbass" (Sample 5, Tehran Times).
- ❖ "Ukraine Crisis: Russia's Putin announces military operation in Ukraine in Ukraine" (Sample 2, India Times).
- ❖ "Putin announces 'special operation' in Donbass" (Sample 3, Russia Today).

As mentioned before the verb 'announce' embraces authoritative connotations, which are attributed to the Russian president's statements. The text of the four mentioned news reports invokes the same connotations connected to the reporting verbs which cite the speech. Similarly to the headlines, the text of the Russian allies' representative news reports demonstrates a frequent illustration of the RV "announce". Likewise, reporting verbs such as: "declared", "ordered"," issued", and "emphasized" are also frequently noted in the reports. The use of these verbs indicates a level of neuturality and positivity surrounding the discourse.

Conversely, the US allies' representative news reports illustrate reporting verbs that suggest meanings of danger, and fear associated with Putin's statements, reporting verbs such as: 'vowed', 'warned' and 'thundered'. The Washington Post has utilized 'barked' a notable RV that ascribed a sharp, aggressive, commanding, and angry tone to a statement made by the Russian president, the reporting verb is noticed comprehensively in the following example:

❖ "Putin barked "Speak directly!" at his trembling foreign spy chief, Sergei Naryshkin, who fumbled his words like a boy in front of a schoolmaster, eyes bulging with fear" (Sample 6, the Washington Post).

The RV in this statement also depicts a ridiculing and mocking tone on the part of the reporter.

The verb 'justified' when used in isolation or as a reporting verb may portray the statement as reasonable or supported; however, it can also imply negative connotations depending on the wording which surrounds it or its context in general. Al Jazeera illustrates the following example:

❖ "Putin justified the attack as "a special military operation" to protect people, including Russian citizens who had been subjected to "genocide" in Ukraine, an accusation the West has long described as absurd propaganda" (Sample 1, Al Jazeera)

In this example, using the reporting verb 'justified', Al Jazeera demonstrates the Russian President's reasoning as an excuse for unethical behaviour. The RV also depicts a critical and skeptical stance toward the reasoning presented by the president. This interpretation is confirmed by the words 'attack', 'accusation', and 'absurd propaganda'.

In the case of reporting other sources besides the Russian president's speech: i.e., the US allies and the Russian allies' representative news reports signal a variation in the number of the reporting verbs illustrated to report other sources besides the speech. This variation can be seen in the following graph.
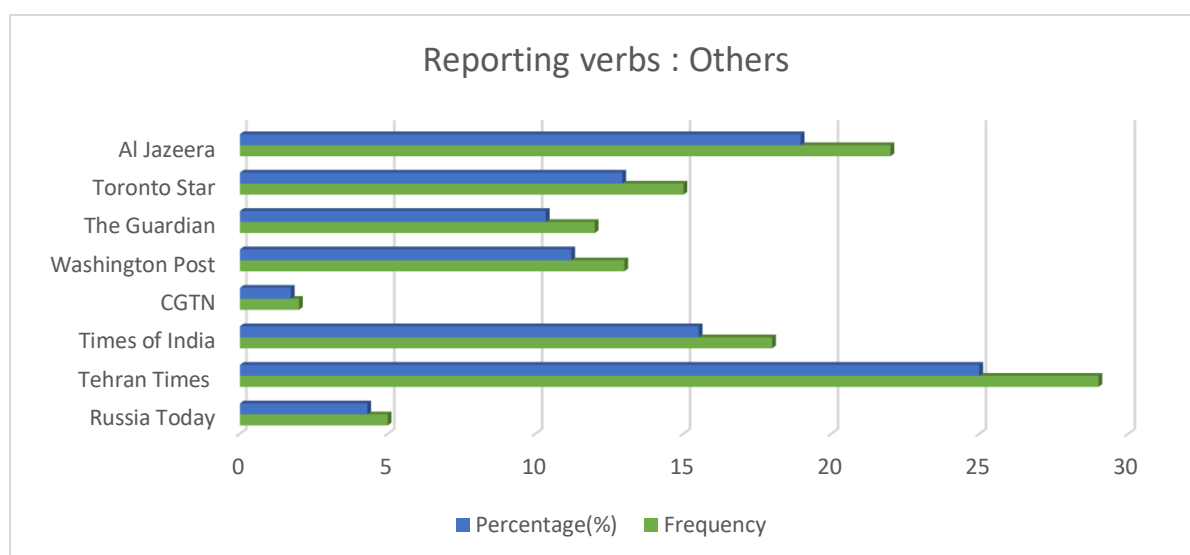

Figure 6 The Distribution of Reporting Verbs in the Case of Others Sources

The distribution of the reporting verbs, in this case, does not divide the news outlets into two groups, in other words, no salient high and low variation can be attributed to any of the two groups but rather, it is attached to a single news report from each of the two groups. The graph expresses a mix of high and low rates of reporting verbs in each of the US allies' and Russia's allies' representative news reports. Tehran Times scored the highest number, with a rate of 25%. The lowest number is scored by CGTN, with a rate of 1.72% only. Moreover, Russia Today also scored a lower frequency of the reporting verbs with a rate of 4.31%, while Al Jazeera, Times of India, The Washington Post, The Guardian, and The Toronto Star, marked a rate above 10%.

Notably, The Washington Post and The Guardian, The Toronto Star, and Al Jazeera, have a significant increase in the rate of the model verbs comparably with those used to report the Russian President's speech indicating a problem in the balance of the number of the statement cited from both sources. This notable difference can be marked in Al Jazeera with the rate of 9.64% of RV of the speech and 18.97% in the case of reporting other sources. This does not indicate a lack of diversity in the sources, but it entails that the news reports downplay the Russian perspective in reporting the event by stating and reporting a plethora of other actors that depict a counter-argument to the Russian view of the special military operation.

The most frequently cited actors or sources of information are displayed in the table below:

Table 9 Most Frequently Cited Actors in the Articles

RT_ T.T_ T.o.T_ CGTN	WaPo_ Gdn_ T.S_ AJE
Vladimir Putin	Putin
Ukrainian government	VlodymirZelensky
Russian military	UN Secretary-General
Donetsk and Lugansk	US Ambassador to the UN
Joe Biden	US President
NATO	UK Ambassador to the UN
European Union	European Union
	Russian UN Ambassador
	GermanGovernment

The most frequent cited actor in the discourse of The Washington Post, The Guardian, The Toronto Star, and Al Jazeera is the UN Secretary-General, Antonio Guterres who is against the Russian military operation. As could be shown in Table 8, almost all of the news

sources in the US allies' representative news reports are attributed to actors that are against the Russian actions. The United Kingdom, Germany, Ukraine, and the European Union, in general, are all members of the NATO organization that Putin considered a threat to the security of Russia. These hostile arguments can be noted in the following examples:

- ❖ "…, and warned the Russian representative in front of him: "there is no purgatory for war criminals, they go straight to hell." (Sample 8, the Toronto Star).

- ❖ "US President Joe Biden, in a phone call with Zelenskyy, condemned the "unprovoked and unjustified attack by Russian military forces", the White House said (Sample 1, Al Jazeera).

Based on the aforementioned examples, one could easily observe that the quotations explore narratives that oppose the Russian perspective. While the reporting verb 'warn' in isolation does not indicate any opposition or hostility, but the way it is expressed in the context indicates an influence of the perceived tone and intent of hostility marked by terms such as 'hell and criminals'. In the second example, the US president and the Ukrainian president both condemned the Russian operation, besides, both the words 'unprovoked and unjustified' depict a negative view of the operation as well.

The reporting verb 'claim', although the latter does not have much presence in the texts of the news reports, its significant presence has an impact on the text's comprehension and interpretation. The table below displays the frequencies of the RV 'claim' throughout all the selected news reports

Table 10 The Distribution of the Reporting Verb 'claim'

News Outlet	RT	T.T	T.o.T	CGTN	WaPo	Gdn	T.S	AJE
Occurrences	2	5	0	0	0	1	1	1

According to Table 9, the verb has no occurrences in any of the Times of India, CGTN, and The Washington Post; however, 'claim' has scored the highest frequency in Tehran Times with 5 occurrences and only 1 was found in each of the Guardian, the Toronto Star, and Al Jazeera. These are very low frequencies but their use is very worthy of interpretation.

In general, the illustration of the reporting verb 'claim' in the text mainly indicates that someone has stated something and it is being reported to the text. Likewise, the verb can also depict value, judgment, and lack of evidence in the narratives. The selected news reports used the RV "claim" to only report counterarguments to the one the reporter is making or counter to the one which surrounds it, that is, the US representative news outlets used it to report a Russian perspective, whereas the Russian representative news outlets used it to report US or NATO perspective on the event. This interpretation is evident in the following examples.

- ❖ "Ukraine, as well as the European Union (EU) and the United States, claims that Russia has hands in the conflict in the Donbass, Moscow denies allegation" (Sample 5, Tehran Times).

- ❖ "The aim of the operation is to protect the people who for eight years have been suffering "genocide of the Ukrainian regime", he said, claiming the action was justified under Article 51 of the UN charter, which allows for individuals or collective self-defence in the face of an armed attack on a UN member state" (Sample 1, Al Jazeera).

The examples cited above were selected from both the US allies' and Russia's allies' representative news reports. The use of the reporting verb claim in both statements is connected to report counterarguments. Example 1 from Tehran Times, 'claim' reports a judgment of NATO's members on Russia, whereas in the second example, Al Jazeera, used the verb claim to report a statement from the speech. It is by the terms 'justified', 'denies',

and 'allegation' that the skepticism of the reporter can be ascribed to the reporting verb 'claim'.

3.2.2.2 Labeling

The term labeling is illustrated in this study in order to identify patterns assigning tags names, and terms to the 'Russian Special Military Operation'. In the description section, targeted words were presented. At this level of analysis, the targeted words mainly 'war', and 'invasion' are given the title of labeling as the two words indicate a deliberate identification of the event as 'war and invasion'. The figure below displays both of the words and the rates of their presence in each selected article.
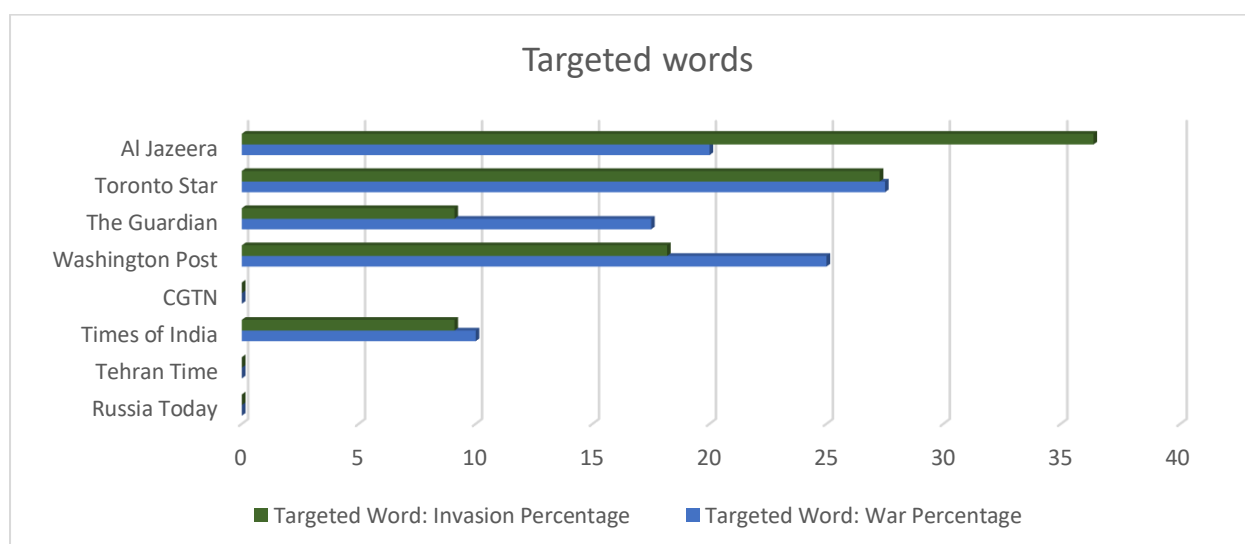

Figure 7 The Distribution of the Words 'war' and 'Invasion'

A remarkably high presence rate of both the words 'war' and 'invasion' has been observed particularly in the US allies' representative news reports. Al Jazeera marked the highest number of the word 'invasion' with a rate of 36.36% followed by The Toronto Star with a rate of 27.27%. The largest number of occurrences of the word 'war' was scored by The Toronto Star with a rate of 27.5%. Russia Today, CGTN, and Tehran Times have no frequencies of both words. The Times of India is the only Russian representative news report

to have scored occurrences of the two words, with a rate of 9.09% for invasion and 10% for war.

The large-scale difference and imbalance in the distribution of the two words can have multiple interpretations in terms of subjectivity, bias, and agendas. As both the words "war" and "invasion" explores negative connotations even when they are put in isolation, the frequent use of the words indicates a deliberate negative attribution or labeling which can be seen in the following examples.

- ❖ "While Thomas-Greenfield was speaking, Putin appeared on Russian television to make his statement, an apparent declaration of war" (Sample 8, the Toronto Star).

- ❖ "Putin approves 'special military operation' as Russia launches an invasion of Ukraine by land, air and sea" (Sample 1, Al Jazeera).

The utilization of both the words 'war' and 'invasion' in both examples influences the perception, understanding, or communication between what is reported and the reader. All of the selected articles were written on the 24th of February 2022, the same day of the announcement of the special military operation, except for The Toronto Star which was updated on the 25th of February. Labeling an event that was just announced a different name has a significant implication especially when it comes to individuals, groups, or sensitive topics. Deliberately assigning a label to the special military operation is very salient in the US representative news reports that entail a subjective description of the event.

Despite the fact that the Times of India has marked occurrences of the word "war" and "invasion", the terms have never been utilized by the writer himself/herself to describe the special military operation but rather they are used mainly in the quotations which report information from other sources besides the speech. This can be seen in the following example:

❖ "In response, Ukraine's President Volodymyr Zelensky made an emotional late-night appeal to Russians not to support a "major war in Europe"" (Sample 2, the Times of India).

Consequently, deliberate labeling is only displayed in the US allies' representative news reports indicating a subjective perspective of the writer taken towards the special military operation, and this was achieved by labeling the latter as a war or invasion.

3.2.1.3 Negative Description

The analysis of negative descriptions is being revisited at this level of analysis to interpret ascribed meanings and linguistic patterns to the description of the event. The figure below displays the distribution of the negative descriptions in all of the selected articles.
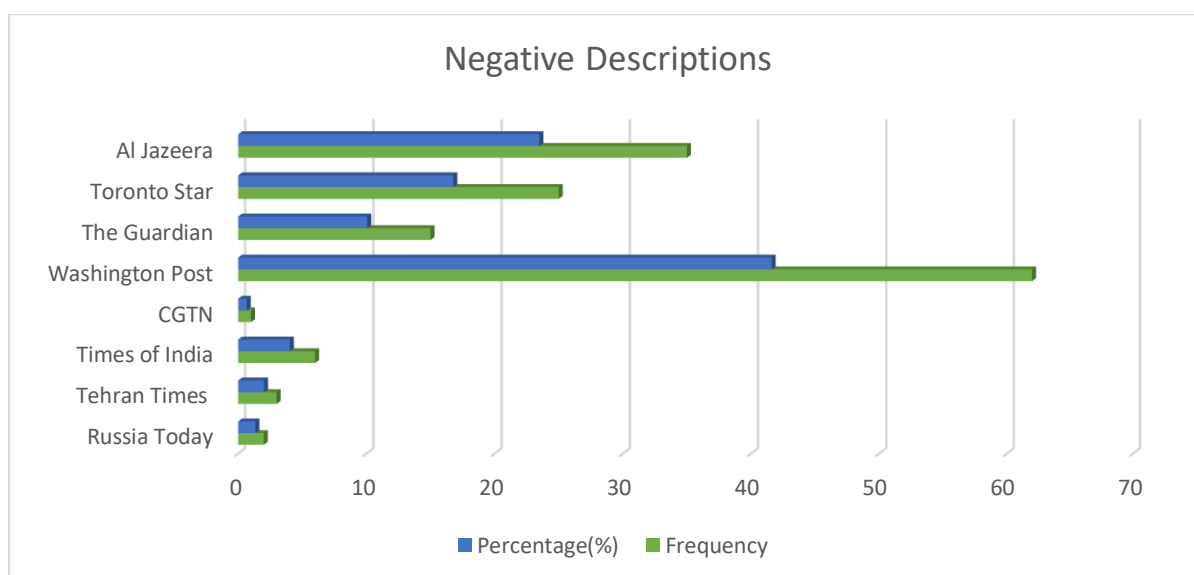

Figure 8 The distribution of Negative Description of Russia, Putin, and the 'SMO'

Figure 4 clearly demonstrates a large margin difference between the rates of the two groups, the US allies' and Russia's allies' representative news reports. The large-scale difference can be displayed between CGTN and The Washington Post. CGTN marked a rate of 0.67% whereas The Washington Post marked a rate of 41.61%.

The negative descriptions portray subjective and biased perceptions conveyed by the writers of the US allies' representative news reports. The latter's texts deploy words that

invoke fear, urgency, and surprise, and also engage in hyperbolic and exaggerative language. All of the aforementioned features contribute to a creation of a framed image of Russia, Putin, and the Russian special military operation. This negatively framed image is noticeable in the following examples:

- ❖ "…Putin resembled a drunken grandfather who spoiled family celebration" (Sample 6, The Washington Post).
- ❖ "Unprovoked, evil, aggression. From a permanent member of the Security Council of the United Nations. Sheer, brutal, thuggery" (Sample 8, The Toronto Star).
- ❖ "Putin had given his address, and there was no more mystery. Peace was not to be given a chance after all" (Sample 7, The Guardian).

These examples illustrate multiple strategies to negatively depict Russia. In the first example from The Washington Post, the text utilized ironical personal defamation, where the wording is directed to personally attack the Russian president instead of the government itself. The second example from The Toronto Star lists excessive hyperbolic negative wording such as 'evil, brutal, thuggery'. Finally, the third example from The Guardian deploys sensationalized language which is depicted in the sentence formation and the use of the word 'peace', i.e., entailing that the Russian action is the very opposite of peace that is, 'war, battle, or fight'. All of the mentioned strategies contribute to the construction of an evil image of Russia, Putin, and the special military operation.

Furthermore, objective reporting is salient in CGTN, Tehran Times, The Times of India, and Russia Today, where the highest rate of negative descriptions is only 4.02%. Despite the low rates of the negative description in the four mentioned news portals, this also can entail that these news reports neglect other points of view from other sources, leading the texts into a framed perspective towards the event. Similarly, this could be confirmed by looking at the rates of other news sources cited in the texts besides the Russian president's

speech. The selective illustration of specific statements that do not include much negative wording about the event implies a deliberate selection of the news sources. This can be notable in the citations of the following examples.

- ❖ "Nevertheless, the U.S.-led West has still accused Russia of carrying out an act of aggression, not self-defense" (Sample 4, CGTN).

- ❖ "The US and its European partners have already imposed sanctions on a series of Russian financial institutions, officials and lawmakers following the recognition of the break-away states" (Sample 3, Russia Today).

In the above-mentioned examples, the US and the European perspective was reported in a cautious wording selection of the statements being reported. This measured selection of the wording entails a neutral perspective; however, the imbalance targeted in citing the speech and other sources can indicate a form of framing taken toward the descriptions of the texts. Both the US allies' and the Russian allies' news reports portray a different image of the Russian special military operation. These different images are achieved through negative wording, labeling, and intertextuality namely, news references, and reporting verbs. All of the aforementioned characteristics have depicted an imbalance of their presence in both the US allies' and Russia's allies' representative news reports. As a result, The Washington Post, The Guardian, The Toronto Star, and Al Jazeera have shown an inclination of framing Russia, Putin, and the special military operation in an "evil" and "aggressor" image, whereas Russia Today, Tehran Times, The Times of India, and CGTN have shown a careful positioning in the descriptions of the perceived image of Russia, Putin, and the special military operation.

3.2.3 Socio-Cultural Analysis

The third and the last dimension of the three-dimensional model of CDA, is the socio-cultural analysis, at this level of analysis, this study opts to examine power dynamics, ideologies, and biases that are achieved by the discursive practices in the selected news

reports. All of the data which was described and interpreted in the two previous dimensions of the CDA model are put in their social and cultural context to explore the implications of the embedded ideologies, biases, and power relations in the discourse of the selected news articles.

Through the previous analysis of the texts, the linguistic patterns, or the discursive practices observed in the texts imply ideological perspectives. The selective use of reporting verbs, news sources, and the choice of the wording reflect broader social and cultural factors such as history, power influence, partisanship, and ideologies. Consequently, it indicates a non-journalistic perception in reporting the event.

The eastward expansion of the NATO alliance into the Russian borders was one of the main reasons that Putin has cited in order to approve the "Special Military Operation", but these narratives were excluded from any of the discourse of The Washington Post, The Guardian, The Toronto Star, and Al Jazeera. All of the four mentioned news portals represent countries that are members of the NATO alliance. Consequently it shows an ideological partisanship and a biased perception taken toward the event by excluding opposing ideas to the one they belong to.

The specific marginalization, and the selective illustration of news sources provides an imbalanced representation. The US allies' representative news reports omission of the Russian perspective and reasoning depicts a partisanship coverage that is, aligning with their countries' ideological beliefs toward the event. The marginalization was also achieved by predominantly relying on quotes and statements from pro-US or sources which explore the same hostility against Russia, sources such as "European Union", or "NATO's members". This alignment of power points up the dominance of their countries' ideology and their imposed power on the production of the news reports.

Another strategy that is used in the US allies' representative news reports, is the illustration of history framed in a negative image. This could be seen in the following example.

❖ "His actions reflect a man steeped in Soviet geopolitics and traditional Russian orthodox conservatism, fired with an almost spiritual view of his historical mission to transform his vast nation" (Sample 6, The Washington Post).

The illustration of history in this statement brings back the historical background of Russia and the US as two opposing counterparts. It is globally and historically known that the Ukrainian crisis is not only about Russia and Ukraine but also about the US and Russia. Bringing back history into the discourse reflects an illustration of the US ideology taken towards the special military operation.

The discursive practices in CGTN explore a positive alignment with the Russian special military operation. This inclination is achieved by downplaying and silencing other voices that reinforce a counter-argument to the Russian perception. In the Political context, China is one of the biggest ally countries with Russia having both economic and political deals; therefore, CGTN explores the same ideological and political view as the country it belongs to. This biased path can be seen in the following example.

❖ "It would have been better had the U.S. sincerely taken into consideration Russia's security guarantee requests for resolving this undeclared missile crisis diplomatically, but it's understandable why Moscow resorted to military means in the absence of that" (Sample 4, CGTN).

The discourse in Russia Today explores a very concise and cautious use of language by reporting only statements from the speech with almost non-existing other viewpoints on the event, exploring political and ideological partisanship in their country. Moreover, the Times of India and The Tehran Times displayed more of a holistic discourse achieved by the

variation of the sources cited in the texts. However, the level of authority and power ascribed to the statement of the speech entails a covert political and ideological orientation this is achieved by the use of reporting verbs such as "emphasized", "highlight", "announced", and "ordered".

All of the selected news reports have displayed the same ideological orientation as the ones of the countries they belong to, highlighting political, historical, and authoritative dimensions in the discourse. The coverage of the Russian president's speech and his declaration of the special military operation are defined by two political opposing parties imposing their authority on news production in order to achieve and spread their ideologies and beliefs to the audiences; consequently, oppose what they are opposing and align with what they are aligning with. The reception of the news in this case is characterized by multiple implications as public opinion is shaped through the consumption of the news discourse, generating support and opposition to the event.

3.2.4 Discussion of the Results

This section provides a thorough discussion of the findings and their implications which are generated through Fairclough's three-dimensional model of critical discourse analysis. To begin with, the quantitative assessment of the discourse of the news articles has exhibited a variation in the rates of the linguistic patterns under scrutiny mainly: reporting verbs, news sources, targeted words, and negative descriptions. A large-scale difference in the rates between Russia's allies and the US allies' news reports is depicted. Qualitatively, the numerical data is interpreted as different images shaped in both groups. The US allies' news reports frame Russia, Putin, and the special military operation as an 'evil', 'aggressor', 'war', and 'bloody' image, while, the Russian allies' news reports took a very careful position and measured use of language with almost no reported negative narratives in the discourse. This

dissimilarity leads to different images perceived and ascribed to Russia, Putin, and the special military operation.

The depiction of the speech was significantly influenced by bias, political ideologies, and power dynamics, affecting the overall message which was passed on to audiences. The coverage of the speech through all the selected news reports is narrowed by their countries' political priorities indicating a passed political ideology upon the production of the news reports. The deliberate choice of negative wording to discredit the speaker in The Washington Post, The Guardian, The Toronto Star, and Al Jazeera, signals a non-journalistic perspective taken toward the event. Likewise, the emissive framing of the Russian president's arguments for instance: "NATO's eastward expansion to the Russian borders" is completely neglected indicating an overt control of their government's ideological orientations on media coverage.

Russia's allies' news reports have also signaled ideology and power imposed on the discourse. The low rates of negative descriptions, and labeling, and also the high rates of reported statements from the speech indicate a level of bias, ideology, and power embedded in the discourse even without the writers taking an overt pro-Russian stance. The attribution of a certain level of authority to the reported statements from the Russian President's speech gives the texts a top-down perception of the narratives.

This paper emphasizes the significance of media awareness, in other words, people can make well informed opportunities if they are aware and mindful of the possibilities of biases and contradictions in the coverage of events on the news. Accordingly, readers must critically assess and contrast various news sources in order to have reliable information on the world's events. The number of news portals and news articles is not of a large size to cover the entire media and journalism sphere. As a result, this study is limited to a written form of language. Future and subsequent research might include visual and audio coverage to offer an in-depth scrutiny of the topic.

3.3 Conclusion

This chapter has provided a qualitative and quantitative critical discourse analysis of the selected news articles, under Fairclough's three-dimensional model. The examination of the news reports includes an assessment of linguistic patterns and rhetorical devices illustrated in the texts mainly: reporting verbs, news sources, targeted words, and negative descriptions in order to unveil the political ideologies, biases, and power dynamics embedded in the discourse. This chapter concludes with a thorough discussion of the findings and their implications.

General Conclusion

This study has presented a corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis on news reports' representation of the 24 th February 2022, Russian president's speech in eight different news outlets namely: Russia Today, The Washington Post, The Times of India, The Toronto Star, The Guardian, CGTN, Tehran Times, and Al Jazeera. Using Fairclough's three-dimensional model of CDA, the discursive practices, and the rhetorics of the news reports texts are analyzed quantitatively and qualitatively.

Through the analysis of wording, reporting verbs, labeling, and negative descriptions, the study has revealed instances of bias, ideology, and power implemented in the discourse of news articles. The discursive practices and the linguistic behaviour observed in the news reports have shown that the coverage of the Russian president's speech was defined by two political opposing parties, a pro-Russian, and a pro-US stance. The Toronto Star, The Washington Post, The Guardian, and Al Jazeera have explored lexis that invokes fear, urgency, and surprise, along with very low rates of statements reported from the speech and high rates of negative descriptions and labeling. All of the aforementioned elements have depicted the partisanship of the news outlets to their countries ideological and political hostility to the Russian special military operation.

On the other hand, Russia Today, Tehran Times, CGTN, and The Times of India have demonstrated a level of formality and authority attributed to the Russian president, along with a measured selection of the news sources that introduce counterarguments to Russia. The four mentioned news portals have taken a covert political inclination except for CGTN who emphasized an overt bias to Russia through the positive wording observed in the text. The marginalization and the framing of the news reports reinforce the imposed ideology and power of their governments into the production of the news reports.

This research investigation does not encompass a large number of news reports, to cover the entire journalism circle around the world, and their reaction to the Russian President's speech through the news reports. Despite the limited size and genre of the analyzed corpus, this research has provided valuable insights into the production of reports and texts in news portals, under an imposed political ideology and power. This research has also formed a step taken further in the understanding of the coverage of the Ukrainian crisis in news reports. Moreover, it forms an invitation for future research and researchers to extend the media landscape in the analysis of news articles into a much larger corpus and into other genres such as audio and visual coverage of the Ukrainian crisis. The findings of this study demonstrate the significance of the editors and writers in news agencies to display a journalistic perspective that can be achieved through following ethical reporting guidelines in order to form an objective and accurate representations to create well informed audience about public concerns.

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Appendices

Appendix A:

News outlet	Articles' headlines
Al Jazeera	Russian forces launch full-scale invasion of Ukraine. https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/2/24/putin-orders-military-operations-in-eastern-ukraine-as-un-meets#:~:text=Putin%20approves%20'special%20
The Times of India	Ukraine Crisis: Russia's Putin announces military operation in Ukraine. https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/world/europe/russias-putin-announces-military-operation-in-ukraine/articleshow/89788822.cms
Russia Today	Putin announces 'special operation' in Donbass.https://www.rt.com/russia/550408-special-operation-putin-donbass/
CGTN	Is Russia's special military operation an act of aggresion ?https://news.cgtn.com/news/2022-02-24/Is-Russia-s-special-military-operation-an-act-of-aggression--17UUqjyIiMU/index.html
Tehran Times	Putin announces 'special military operation' in Ukraine's Donbass. https://www.tehrantimes.com/news/470457/Putin-

	announces-special-military-operation-in-Ukraine-s-Donbass
The Washington Post	At great risk for Ukraine and Russia, Putin signals dark endgame. https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2022/02/24/ukraine-russia-putin-war/
The Guardian	Moment that Putin thundered to war, drowning out last entreaties for peace https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/feb/24/moment-that-putin-thundered-to-war-drowning-out-last-entreaties-for-peace
The Toronto Star	Putin declares ' special military operation in Ukraine' as last-minute appeals for peace stream in. https://www.thestar.com/news/world/analysis/2022/02/23/ukraine-makes-a-desperate-appeal-as-it-braces-for-war.html

Appendix B

Speech	Title
The 24th of Februrary, Russian President speech.	Address by the President of the Russian Federationhttp://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/67843