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**Language Of Conflict: A Corpus-Based Study Of Semantic Prosody In
Print Media Discourse On The Russia-Ukraine War**



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Abstract

This research paper offers corpus-based critical discourse analysis of semantic prosody in print media discourse on the Russia-Ukraine war. The ongoing war in Ukraine has garnered significant global media attention, including Print media of many countries. However, there is a gap in linguistic research exploring how English newspapers from different countries portray the Ukraine crisis. Understanding how language constructs meaning and shapes public opinion is essential, and this can be achieved by analyzing the lexical choices and co-textual patterns in these portrayals. This study aims to conduct a corpus-driven analysis of the semantic prosody employed by English newspapers in their portrayal of the Russia-Ukraine war. By examining lexical choices and co-textual patterns, the research seeks to uncover how these elements convey subjective opinions and contribute to the wider media discourse surrounding the conflict. The research adopts a mixed-method approach, combining qualitative and quantitative techniques to analyze the language used in the selected newspapers to depict the conflict. Using corpus tool AntConc three separate corpora were collected from six newspapers in the USA, Russia, and Pakistan. The data spans from February 24, 2022, to February 24, 2023, with a focus on opinion pieces, editorials, and news stories. The study employs Baker's (2006) corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis framework. The study reveals distinct semantic prosodies in how newspapers from each country depict key terms related to the conflict. American newspapers predominantly frame Russia's actions as violations of international norms, while Russian media adopts a defensive stance. Pakistani newspapers present a more neutral perspective. Terms such as "Ukraine," "NATO," "invasion," and "sanctions" are framed differently across the countries, reflecting their respective stances on the conflict. This research underscores the critical role of language in shaping national narratives and public perceptions of the Russia-Ukraine war. The findings highlight the importance of media literacy in understanding geopolitical conflicts. Further research is encouraged to examine how linguistic representations in the media influence public opinion and policy

Keywords: Semantic Prosody, Corpus Based Critical Discourse Analysis, Russia-Ukraine War

Introduction

The Russia-Ukraine war is one of the most important geopolitical events of the 21st century with far-reaching consequences for international politics, economics, diplomacy and media-speech. The conflict escalated into a full-scale war in February 2022 but its origins lie in the political crisis in Ukraine in 2013-2014, the annexation of Crimea by Russia and the ensuing conflict in the territories of Donetsk and Luhansk. Relations between Russia and Ukraine continued to grow cooler as a result of the failure of the Minsk Agreements to bring a lasting resolution and growing concerns over NATO expansion. In February 2022, Russia launched a full-scale invasion of Ukraine, which Russia justified as national security and in the name of protecting Russian-speaking populations, while Ukraine and many Western governments have called it an aggression against a sovereign state. The conflict has

thus created a political and media discourse that is quite contradictory, making it a worthwhile subject of investigation through the lens of language and discourse.

Depending on the political, ideological and geopolitical viewpoints, the war has been presented in different ways in national media. The American press has been focused on the aggression of the Russians, the sovereignty of the Ukrainians, the humanitarian aspects and the necessity of international intervention. The Russian media, on the other hand, has often portrayed the conflict as a matter of national security, NATO expansion, and Western meddling. The general tone of Pakistani newspapers has been rather guarded, confined to diplomatic activities, international reactions, economic implications and humanitarian issues. These differences highlight that media discourse is not just a merely reporting of political events, but also is a part of the interpretation and construction of an ideology. The linguistic decisions taken by newspapers, then, may affect readers' interpretation of the reasons for an international conflict, the parties involved, their authority, or the effects of that conflict. It is therefore possible for newspapers to shape readers' understanding of the cause of an international conflict, the actors, their right to act, or the impact of the conflict.

An interesting linguistic tool for analysing such representations is that of semantic prosody, the evaluative meaning that words are given through their common collocational association. The same word can have positive, negative, or neutral connotations when surrounded by certain other words. Thus, the word Russia can have negative evaluative connotations like invasion, aggression, and sanctions in one media context, and positive evaluative connotations like security, protection, and operation in another. These patterns can indicate attitudes and/or ideological stances which are not always clearly expressed. Thus, analyzing the semantic prosody offers a good way to analyze the linguistic construction of different interpretations of the Russia-Ukraine war in the newspapers.

Although there have been many studies on the media coverage of the war in Ukraine between Russia, this paper has received scant attention regarding the semantic prosody as a tool for analyzing the evaluative and ideological meaning of newspaper texts in different countries. Comparative studies that include Pakistani media, Russian media and American media are very limited in particular. Previous research has focussed mainly on Western or Russian media discourses and has tended to have applied framing theories and have comparatively limited attention on the part of the recurring collocational patterns in the construction of the evaluative meanings. This study attempts to fill this void by comparing lexical choices and semantic prosody in selected newspapers from Pakistan, Russia and the United States, which will also provide a comparative perspective of the evaluative and ideological meanings of similar war-related issues and keywords in different national media contexts.

In this light, the present research examines how six English language newspapers – The Express Tribune and The Nation (Pakistan); Russia Today and The Moscow Times (Russia) and The New York Times and The Washington Post (USA) – depict the Russia-Ukraine war. The aim of the study is to find out what kind of lexical selections these newspapers have made in the representation of the conflict, as well as to analyse how semantic prosody reflects the different attitudes of these newspapers to the war. It has two research questions: What type of Lexical choices are being used by the selected newspapers to represent the Russia Ukraine war? How do the different attitudes of Pakistan, Russia and the USA newspaper towards the war get represented through the use of Semantic Prosody? Stubbs's (1996) concept of discourse prosody is

used as the theoretical framework while the methodological approach is taken from the corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis of Baker (2006). These techniques, such as keyword analysis, collocation analysis and concordance analysis, are employed to discover the common lexical and evaluative features related to the representation of the war.

The study makes a contribution to corpus linguistics, critical discourse analysis, media studies and political discourse by showing how linguistic patterns can uncover the ideological meanings in the representation of international conflict. In this comparative approach, it looks at the newspapers in Pakistan, Russia, and the USA, giving a cross-cultural view on how the war in Ukraine has been portrayed in these newspapers, and adds a South Asian dimension that has been relatively little explored. Unlike the studies that have treated the semantic prosody in Western media or in the conventional framing analysis, the present research investigates the semantic prosody by using recurring collocational patterns and contrasts the evaluation of the same or similar keywords in different national media contexts. The study's sample is restricted to six English-language newspapers and three text types (newspaper, editorial and opinion) covering the period from February 22, 2022, to April 22, 2023. The compiled corpus is analyzed by means of AntConc 4.2.0 software which is used for the search of keywords, collocations and concordance patterns that allow the study to uncover those lexical and evaluative associations that are most likely to get reiterated in the selected newspapers to create competing representations of the Russia-Ukraine war.

Literature Review

Semantic Prosody

A key theme in corpus linguistics that accounts for the evaluative meanings attached to words is what can be termed semantic prosody: the pattern of recurrence of collocations. It can be traced back to the corpus-based studies of Sinclair (1987, 1991) who noticed that some lexical items like *set in*, *happen* tend to follow negatively evaluated words. Louw (1993) later coined the term semantic prosody, which he defined as the “aura of meaning” which a linguistic form gains from its collocates. Bublitz (1995, 1996) more recently claimed that words acquire positive or negative associations with specific lexical items in virtue of their repeated co-occurrence. Stubbs (2001) extended this idea and established positive, negative and neutral semantic prosodies and part of Partington's (2004) work focussed on the fact that evaluative meaning can be more than just that of the single word, and extend to a larger linguistic unit. As such, semantic prosody illustrates that the meaning of words is influenced by other sources than their dictionary definitions; also, the context in which a word is used repeatedly.

Semantic prosody is similar, but not synonymous, with semantic preference. In Sinclair (1998) and Partington (2004), semantic preference is the tendency for a word to occur with other words in a semantic field and semantic prosody is the evaluative meaning, positive, negative, or neutral, that results from the repeated co-occurrence of these words. It has proved to be very significant in revealing meanings that might not be obvious or reachable to normal intuition. However, to determine the evaluative pattern of a lexical item, the analysis of a small number of instances of it is not enough to observe semantic prosody; it is necessary to analyse multiple instances of the lexical item, collocations and concordance lines (Hunston, 2002; Baker, 2006). As a result, the use of corpus tools like keyword lists, collocations and concordances

offers a baseline evidence to detect patterns and to understand their ideology.

Practical Application of Semantic Prosody

The use of semantic prosody has grown from corpus linguistics into critical discourse analysis, studies of the media, and political discourse. It is useful for uncovering subliminal attitudes, ideological orientations and evaluative meanings that are latent in frequent lexical patterns. For instance Almela and Mármol (2017) analyzed Spanish newspapers regarding immigrants and immigrant and revealed that their recurrent pairing with words with negative connotations created an overall negative semantic prosody. In the same way, Haider (2016) has shown that the image of Qaddafi in the Arab newspapers varied throughout the different phases of the Libyan war, depending on the position of the newspapers and their ideology. The studies demonstrate the way collocational patterns can show evaluations which are not directly expressed in news discourse.

Semantic prosody has also been used in conflicts and politically-sensitive topics. It has been argued that political orientations influence media representations as Puranama (2016) indicates that CNN and Al Jazeera represent Hamas and Israel differently. Aluthman (2018) conducted a keyword, collocation and concordance analysis to uncover negative and positive representations of immigration in Brexit discourse. A similar study by Kim (2019) revealed that the American media produced North Korea as a geopolitical “other” and linked the portrayal of North Korea to the international and political context. The studies show that the corpus-based SAA can be used to gain an understanding of the way in which media institutions shape conflicting discourses on political actors and political issues.

Corpus-Based Approaches to Media Discourse

The synergy between corpus and critical discourse studies can be a valuable tool in dealing with large texts corpora of media texts. The statistician can use corpus tools to search for words that appear more frequently in the corpus and find words that occur consistently with other words, and the qualitative interpretation of words in their contexts can be done by using concordance analysis. This pairing enables the researcher to relate quantity based linguistic evidence to critical analysis of ideology and discourse (Baker, 2006). This is where the corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis becomes a systematic way of analysing the way language can reveal social and political realities.

The following studies have used this method to the Pakistani and international media discourse. Ullah (2020) used keyword analysis, collocation analysis, concordance analysis along with discourse prosody and news-value theory to conduct an analysis of the representation of Brexit in The Express Tribune, The News International and Dawn. The study revealed that the newspapers were mostly portraying Brexit as a bad international event and that there was considerable discussion about its potential economic consequences. Rashid, Ali and Sultan (2020) studied Kashmir representation in Pakistani and Indian newspapers and discovered that there are differences in the selection of adjectives, as both national media systems present the issue in different ways based on different political views. The findings in this study show that linguistic choice and the collocations can be indicative of the ideological orientations of newspapers from different national contexts.

Semantic Prosody in Conflict and Political Discourse

Semantic prosody has been shown to be relevant to previous corpus-based research in the areas of conflict, political events and international affairs. The study “The Afghan Peace Process in the Six English Languages Newspapers of Pakistan, Afghanistan and USA” by Khan (2023) adopted keyword, collocation, and concordance analysis as well as Stubbs's model of semantic prosody. The study revealed that the selected newspapers reflected the peace process according to the political interest and association. Significantly, the word Taliban received negative news coverage in Afghan media, positive coverage in Pakistani media and relatively neutral coverage in American media. The present study is particularly relevant due to the fact that this finding shows that there may be significant differences between the semantic prosody of items that are significant to the political in different national media contexts.

Other studies have used corpus-based semantic prosody analysis for the issues of the day in the world. Rong (2022) notes that the overall semantic prosody of the word lockdown was neutral-to-negative, but this was dependent on the national context of media. Aljbour (2022) detected a positive-to-negative representation of Jordan's economy during various periods, which was correlated with political and economic changes. Likewise, Malik et al. (2023) obtained the same result, the Covid-19 vaccine was mainly linked to positive lexical items, which led to positive semantic prosody. In sum, these studies show that semantic prosody is context-dependent and that patterns of collocations can shed light on shifting attitudes toward political, economic, and social issues.

Research Gap

The literature reviewed confirms the usefulness of the concepts of semantic prosody and corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis in the analysis of implicit evaluation, positioning and media representations. Earlier times have been dedicated to a variety of topics, for instance immigration, Brexit, Kashmir, the Afghan Peace Process, Hamas and Israel, North Korea, and other political and social events. Focusing on the specific aspect of semantic prosody, however, the research is rather limited as regards to the Russia-Ukraine war. More significantly, there is no comparative study which looks at the representation of this conflict in the Pakistani, Russian and American newspapers in one single corpus-assisted study. Current research has mainly been concerned with media contexts in single nation states or with overall framing and representation of lexical items, and little work has been done on the way in which the recurring collocation patterns produce divergent evaluative meanings for some of the most significant lexical items related to the conflict in different geopolitical settings. The present study aims to fill this gap, examining the lexical choices and semantic prosody in selected Pakistani, Russian and American newspapers comparatively. The aim of the study is to find how language patterns create different ideological stances and different evaluative representations of the Russia-Ukraine conflict in the different national media discourses, by implementing keyword, collocation and concordance analysis and corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis.

Theoretical Framework

Theoretically, the study is based on Stubbs's (1996) model of discourse or semantic prosody which states that lexical items get their evaluative meanings on the basis of their frequent collocational contexts. The framework classifies the semantic prosody

into the following three general classes: positive, negative and neutral. In positive prosody a lexical item is always collocated with positive or positive valued meanings while in negative prosody it is always collocated with negative or negatively evaluated meanings. A neutral prosody is a type of prosody in which the other collocates in the context do not clearly mark a positive or negative appraisal. The present study examines the evaluative meanings that are being built up in the concordances of the selected conflict related keywords and the significant collocates in the selected American, Russian and Pakistani newspaper corpora by applying Stubbs's framework. The framework is especially suitable, since semantic prosody allows the researcher to go beyond the literal meaning of the individual words and study the ways in which the same words create attitudes, ideology and evaluation in the body of repeated collocational patterns. The study employs a combination of Stubbs' 1996 discourse prosody model and Baker's 2008 corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis to highlight the salient linguistic patterns found in the corpus and to develop the qualitative analysis of the contextual interpretation of the patterns as a contribution to the ideological representation of the Russia-Ukraine war in different national media contexts.

Methodology

The present research is of mixed method with a combination of quantitative corpus research and qualitative critical discourse research design, in which the quantitative corpus research is used to analyze corpus of the Russia-Ukraine war in print media, while the qualitative critical discourse research is used to analyze the critical discourse of the Russia-Ukraine war in print media. A total of six newspapers from the English language were selected from the United States (Washington Post and The New York Times), Russia (The Moscow Times and Russia Today) and Pakistan (The Express Tribune and The Nation), and three specialized corpora were compiled from these newspapers. The relevant news items, editorials and opinion articles from the study period were selected in this study by applying purposive judgmental sampling technique and were arranged into three national corpora namely Corpus of American Newspapers, Corpus of Russian Newspapers and Corpus of Pakistani Newspapers. The texts collected were cleaned from irrelevant material, plain text format was created, and analyzed with AntConc 4.2.0. The analysis used a set of keywords lists, collocation analysis and concordance (KWIC) analysis in order to discover significant lexical patterns and evaluative associations of conflict related terms. The AmE06 reference corpus was also used for comparison of the specialized corpora to find the statistically salient keywords and keyness. The quantitative results obtained in the form of frequencies, keywords and collocations were then interpreted qualitatively by using the technique of concordance analysis. The general analytical approach employed was Baker's (2008) corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis, which included posing research questions, selecting and compiling of relevant data, using the appropriate corpus tools, identification of significant keywords and collocations, contextualizing the examination of the concordance lines and interpretation of results in terms of the research questions. The integrated methodology allows this study to integrate empirical corpus evidence with the critical analysis of the meaning of the ideology and evaluation expressed in the selected media discourses.

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<i>Corpus Name</i>	<i>Newspaper</i>	<i>No. of Articles</i>	<i>No. of Tokens</i>	<i>Normalized Frequency</i>	<i>Word Types</i>
<i>Corpus of American Newspapers</i>	<i>of</i> The Washington Post	155	118,530	7,621	9,034
	The New York Times	197	177,335	6,529	11,579
<i>Corpus of Pakistani Newspapers</i>	The Express Tribune	197	91,411	7,484	6,842
	The Nation	87	122,494	7,639	9,358
<i>Corpus of Russian Newspapers</i>	<i>of</i> The Moscow Times	257	138,723	6,214	8,624
	Russia Today	205	167,990	793	9,732

Data Analysis and Discussion

The following section presents major findings and discussion on them. It is important to mention for readers that the screenshots of AntConc collocational keywords analysis have not been added due to words/pages limitation and could be obtained from first author upon special request. Else it presents a meticulous analysis of proposed indicators.

Keyword Extraction and Analysis

Utilizing Reference Corpus Employing AntConc version 4.2.0, the three specialized corpora files were compared to AmE06 as a reference corpus with 101 78791 words. Baker (2008) writes that using reference corpus is necessary when extracting keywords, and it is an unavoidable requirement of the corpus tool, i.e., the keyword tool. Because without a reference corpus, AntConc does not allow the researcher to create a keyword list. For this study, the researcher first combined the three corpora, i.e., the Corpus of American Newspapers, the Corpus of Russian Newspapers, and the Corpus of Pakistani Newspapers, with the reference corpus AmE06 and extracted 100 keywords. For this study, the researcher utilized Scott and Tribble's (2006) recommended five stages for word extraction. In the first step, wordlists are generated for the reference and specialized corpus. However, this study does not need this step, as AntConc is used. AntConc automatically compares the raw research file with the reference corpus and generates the keyword list. The second step in this procedure involves deciding a frequency threshold below which, if a word appears, will not be

considered for study. Therefore, only those words will be considered keywords if they fall above the minor threshold selected for the study. The third step entails a statistical test, using a log-likelihood test to compare the frequencies of words in the reference and specialized corpora. The same test is being used for the current study. In the fourth step, words that do not repeat at least as frequently as the threshold frequency are removed and are statistically more important to the reference corpus. The last step involves organizing the keywords according to their keyness value. After comparing the specialized corpora with the reference corpora, i.e., the American reference corpus (AmE06), a 100-word list was generated. Given the scope of the present study and the time limitation, only ten words were selected for further analysis. These words were selected based on their importance and relevance to the Russia-Ukraine war. Hence, only those words that had a bearing on the Russia-Ukraine war were selected. After selection, these words were arranged in a descending order based on their keyness value. The keywords generated by the researcher contain words from various categories, including proper nouns, lexical words, and structural words such as conjunctions, prepositions, articles, determiners, pronouns, and auxiliary verbs. However, words belonging to the structural word category were left out because they only indicate relationships between words and do not possess semantic value.

*Table3**Top100 Keywords from al lthree Corpora*

Keywords	Rank	Frequency Target Corpus	InFrequency Reference corpus	InKeyness Likelihood	Keyness (Effect)
Ukraine	10	5043	43	9023	0.017
Russia	8	6069	62	10547.95	0.018
Russian	9	5201	56	901288	0.015
War	12	3595	637	3674.701	0.011
Putin	20	2883	10	5178.711	0.008
Ukrainian	21	2615	1	4791.666	0.008
Military	23	2054	285	2331.975	0.006
People	27	1674	1093	475.894	0.005
President	29	1554	485	1112.237	0.005
Moscow	32	1390	24	2335.551	0.004
NATO	33	1326	27	2199.336	0.004
Forces	34	1303	114	1717.248	0.004

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Country	38	1161	317	919.344	0.003
Western	39	1107	146	1280.642	0.003
States	40	1077	526	485.441	0.003
West	41	1064	201	1051.872	0.003
United	42	1030	428	563.138	0.003
Kyiv	43	1013	0	1861.231	0.003
Invasion	44	924	30	1461.56	0.003

Europe	45	872	129	964.152	0.003
Nuclear	46	869	137	935.3	0.003
Weapons	50	786	64	1055.05	0.002
State	51	769	697	93.838	0.002
Sanctions	52	765	8	1324.496	0.002
Region	53	743	92	879.34	0.002
Conflict	57	707	64	922.879	0.002
Biden	58	695	1	1262.688	0.002
International	5	686	224	472.644	0.002
Troops	60	681	67	868.143	0.002
Ukrainian	61	658	4	1163.991	0.002
Power	63	638	350	244	0.002
Kremlin	64	637	9	1084.543	0.002
Security	65	630	261	345.454	0.002
Vladimir	66	629	2	1130.502	0.002
Zelensky	67	608	0	1116.887	0.002
Russians	68	607	7	1045.621	0.002
European	70	601	99	634.279	0.002

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Soviet	73	567	55	725.76	0.002
Defense	74	565	120	524.398	0.002
governme nt	75	552	359	157.94	0.002
Economic	78	517	233	257.555	0.002
Eastern	80	504	42	672.432	0.001
Political	83	482	375	92.71	0.001
Foreign	84	481	157	331.458	0.001
Energy	85	479	196	266.153	0.001

Media	86	475	93	460.8	0.001
Attack	89	460	92	441.242	0.001
Army	90	451	87	440.91	0.001
China	91	449	79	459.525	0.001
Civilians	92	445	10	731.447	0.001
Soldiers	93	441	64	491.305	0.001
Global	94	436	170	254.763	0.001
Fighting	95	429	79	429.402	0.001
Officials	96	427	135	302.149	0.001
Allies	97	424	29	592.83	0.001
Union	98	423	110	346.303	0.001
Minister	103	378	62	399.643	0.001
Territory	109	358	44	424.706	0.001
Help	110	349	340	32.381	0.001
Nations	112	344	97	265.975	0.001
Peace	113	342	103	251.575	0.001
Attacks	114	337	56	354.191	0.001

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Fight	114	337	102	246.932	0.001
Pakistan	116	336	14	513.847	0.001
Germany	116	336	41	399.611	0.001
Kherson	118	333	0	611.635	0.001
Missiles	119	326	5	552.018	0.001
Strategic	120	323	43	372.168	0.001
Operation	121	320	70	291.985	0.001
News	122	318	214	85.054	0.001
Crisis	123	312	74	271.173	0.001
Ministry	124	310	28	404.807	0.001

Leaders	125	309	154	135.489	0.001
Situation	127	307	113	189.853	0.001
Cities	128	305	61	292.531	0.001
Crimea	131	303	0	556.524	0.001
EU	131	303	23	413.653	0.001
Aggression	135	292	6	483.688	0.001
Force	135	292	144	129.85	0.001
East	137	289	173	96.032	0.001
Donetsk	141	287	0	527.133	0.001
Armed	141	287	59	271.197	0.001
Administration	141	287	196	74.489	0.001
Economy	144	285	148	118.076	0.001
Official	146	282	83	211.145	0.001
Volodymyr	147	280	0	514.274	0.001
Threat	149	276	104	166.846	0.001

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Front	150	275	268	25.477	0.001
Leader	152	271	91	182.227	0.001
Supply	153	270	66	230.228	0.001
Donbas	154	267	0	490.394	0.001
Washingt on	157	262	224	38.669	0.001
Policy	158	261	231	34.503	0.001
Missile	161	259	15	374.665	0.001
Regime	11	259	40	281.133	0.001
Mariupol	163	258	0	473.862	0.001
Border	164	257	104	144.471	0.001
Kharkiv	168	250	0	459.167	0.001
Artillery	6 8	250	7	402.046	0.001

Keywords Categorization

After generating the keyword list, these words were divided into categories based on their theme. This step helps in analysis beyond the lexical level and also provides us with the general themes that emerge in the corpora. The division of keywords into different categories is also important because it helps the researcher identify the different types of discourses found in the corpora. Hence, the keywords were divided into the following categories

Keywords Selected for In-Depth Analysis

Actors as they are not the focus of this study. According to Wolfsfeld (2015), social actors are defined as "individuals who have obtained at least some measure of political power and authority in a particular society who engage in activities that can have a significant influence on decisions, policies, media coverage, and outcomes associated with a given conflict." However, proper nouns, such as the names of the countries, locations, or institutions, were taken for this study because of their importance to the topic under investigation. These are the countries, locations, or institutions that directly affect the Russia-Ukraine war. Therefore, due to their significance and relevance to the Russia-Ukraine war, the following ten words were selected for in-depth analysis: Russia, Ukraine, war, NATO, invasion, sanctions, US, Pakistan, EU, and conflict.

Table4

Frequency of Selected Keywords in all three Corpora

Serial No.	Keywords	Frequency in American corpus	Frequency in Pakistani corpus	Frequency in Russian corpus
1	Russia	1,740 times	2,199 times	2130 times
2	Ukraine	2013 times	2,445 times	116times
3	War	1428 times	1,057 times.	1010 times
4	NATO	361 times	578 times	387 times
5	Invasion	311times	306 times	306 times
6	Sanctions	261 times	220 times	163 times
7	US	1608 times	891 times	551 times
8	Pakistan	12 times	312 times	12 times
9	EU	341 times	171 times	132 times
10	Conflict	191 times	237 times	279 times

Findings and Discussion

The present study analyzed selected American, Russian and Pakistani newspapers to find the representation of the Russia-Ukraine war using a dual approach of Stubbs (1996) semantic prosody and corpus assisted critical discourse analysis of Baker (2006). The study examined the lexical patterns, collocations and concordance lines of recurring words and phrases around a selected group of politically and ideologically charged words such as Russia, Ukraine, war, NATO, invasion, sanctions, US, Pakistan, Europe and conflict. The goal was not only to get a sense of the frequency of individual lexical items, but to explore evaluative meanings that become apparent in the reoccurring co-text of these items and to uncover how these evaluative meanings help shape the war's ideological framework. The comparative results show that the three national media contexts do not build up the same geopolitical event in the same way. Instead, the semantic prosody of certain terms is different depending on the ideological, political and diplomatic perspectives of the different media environments. The results thus indicate that lexical choices play a pivotal role in shaping the construction of alternative positions on responsibility, aggression, victimhood, security, sovereignty, and international intervention.

The Corpora of American Newspaper and Representation of Russia

When we analyze this key word Russia, one difference between the three media corpora becomes very apparent. Within the American newspaper corpus, Russia is predominantly surrounded by negative lexical items that correspond to aggression, violation of international norms, authoritarianism and geopolitical instability. In these recurrent constructions Russia is portrayed as a significant source of international

tension, and the main contributor to the breakdown of peace and security in the framework of the Ukraine war. General American geopolitics, then, shape the negative semantic prosody of Russia, and its portrayal as an aggressor against Ukraine and as a threat to the international order are thus part of this. The lexical context of the keywords supports the discourse that supports the justification of Western political, economic and military reactions to the Russian action.

The Pakistani Corpus and Representation of Russia

The Pakistani corpus is significantly more complex representation of Russia. The Pakistani corpus has both negative connotations (invasion, sanctions) and relatively neutral (relations, security, Ukraine, international diplomacy) terms, unlike the American corpus where there are only negative terms. The semantic prosody that emerges is thus more ambivalent and conservative. Pakistani media discourse admits that the military operation in Crimea has resulted in consequences, but at the same time allows for explanations in the context of Russian security worries and the wider geopolitical landscape, including NATO's expansion and the evolving power dynamics. This is not necessarily a neutral discourse, but rather a diplomatic balance of which the discourse does not assert a clear affiliation with either side. This trend was consistent with Pakistan's overall strategy to try and keep both Russia and Western countries in its diplomatic and economic fold.

The Russian Corpus and Representation of Russia

The Russian corpus, on the other hand, uses a mostly neutral or positive semantic field to build Russia. The talk of security, defense and sovereignty, as well as of operations and accusations of Russian aggression toward the West, plays a role in such a discourse, in which the use of force is interpreted as a defensive or strategically needed measure against an external threat. The semantic prosody thus moves the interpretative focus away from Russian aggression and towards perceived threats from NATO and the west. The comparison shows that the same nation (Russia) can be seen in different light in the three different media contexts: as an aggressor and breaker of international norms in American newspapers, as a contested and geopolitically complicated actor in Pakistani newspapers, and as a state that acts in a way that defends its security interests in Russian newspapers. The contrasting patterns are strong evidence for the close connection between semantic prosody and ideological positioning.

Representation of Ukraine in American Corpus

An interesting contrast is the keyword Ukraine. For the American corpus, the concept of Ukraine is mainly tied with positive evaluative words: to help, to support, to aid, assistance. The following collocations form Ukraine as a victim of aggression and as a legitimate target for international assistance. The constant portrayal of Ukraine as a place in need helps to elicit sympathy and validate the legitimacy of Western humanitarian, economic and military aid. The American media thus creates a definite moral dichotomy between victim and aggressor. Lexical framing also helps to normalize and legitimate ongoing international support to Ukraine.

Representation of Ukraine in Pakistani Corpus

The Pakistani corpus, on the other hand, not only displays Ukraine in a more balanced perspective, but also in the more dominant humanitarian context. The concordance analysis shows that the terms assistance, support, sovereignty, territorial integrity, humanitarian crisis and war are used frequently with Ukraine. For instance, the collocate assistance pertains to military, financial, humanitarian and defensive support given to Ukraine by the United States, NATO allies, the European Union (EU) and other nations. The civilian victims, displacement, food shortfalls and broader economic effects of the war are also frequently mentioned in the corpus. This means that the human and economic losses of the war are given plenty of attention in Pakistani newspapers. Pakistani discourse on the issue, however, does not simply build up Ukraine as a heroic victim or Russia as an aggressor, but rather situates the conflict in the wider international relations. The outcome is a largely benign and humanitarian language portrayal that doesn't have the polarized nature found in the American and Russian corpora.

Representation of Ukraine in Russian Corpus

In contrast the Russian corpus builds Ukraine with negative evaluative collocations, like proxy, NATO backed, puppet and Western proxy. In such a way Ukraine is depicted not as a state that is suffering from the lack of independence but as a tool of the geopolitical interests of the West. In this discourse, the idea of an independent political ability of Ukraine is rejected, and the war is interpreted as a part of the confrontation between Russia and the West. Along with this, the depiction of Ukraine as a Western proxy serves an ideological purpose of deflecting criticism of the Russian military intervention from Russia and onto the West. The comparative analysis then highlights a primary ideological difference between the American newspaper and the Russian newspaper: American newspapers focus on the issue of victimhood and sovereignty of Ukraine, while Russian newspapers bring up the alleged dependence of Ukraine on Western powers, and Pakistani newspapers focus on the humanitarian issues and broader geopolitical implications of the conflict.

A comparative Corpus Analysis of the Three Corpora

One of the most salient lexical items in the three corpora is the keyword war. In the American corpus, it has a highly negative semantic prosody, with words like cold, crimes, brutal, senseless, criminal, and horrific that add to a discourse that portrays war as destructive, morally wrong, and socially destructive. The association of war with negative evaluative terms also reinforces the image of Russia as mainly the source of violence, and Ukraine as primarily the victim. War's negative semantic prosody is therefore not ideologically neutral, but is part of a larger discourse that lays the blame for the war at Russia's door.

Similarly, war is frequent and very prominent in the Pakistani Corp with respect to Ukraine. The semantic prosody of the other collocates used is predominantly negative, such as: unprovoked, protracted, ongoing, terror, cold, crimes, and world. The emphasis on war and world highlights how the conflict has international repercussions, such as the risk of international peace, food security, energy markets and the economic stability. The collocate cold gives a historical dimension, linking up with the legacy of the Cold War and crimes focuses on legal and humanitarian dimensions of war. Concurrently, the use of phrases like long, ongoing, and protracted

builds the war as a "long-term crisis," one that may not end soon. The Pakistani corpus thus represents the conflict as negative and unwelcome, but generally focuses on the outcomes of the conflict rather than focusing exclusively on the morality of one side.

The same goes for the Russian corpus where the term war remains in a negative semantic field with the help of proxy, crimes, cold, and criminals. But the meaning of the interpretation differs from the American corpus. The frequent linking of war with proxy and cold war plays into the Russian story of a Ukraine operation and its wider struggle between Russia and the West. Hence, the war itself is a negative image, and its root causes are blamed on western geopolitical policies and NATO expansion in the media. The negative semantic prosody of war thus does not automatically mean the condemnation of the Russian military intervention, but could serve the purposes of creating the conflict as an external confrontation in which Russia feels attacked by a perceived threat.

The term NATO is another instance of the ideological differences between the three media systems. In the American corpus, NATO comes with a positive or neutral connotation of allies, membership, etc. It is presented foremost as a defensive alliance dedicated to collective security and the protection of the European states. NATO-Ukraine relations are therefore established on the basis of support, security and legitimate cooperation. This speech aligns with the general American story of NATO's role as a stabilizing force in Europe and its support of Ukraine's right to self-defense in the face of Russian aggression.

Semantic Prosody in the Corpora

The semantic prosody of NATO in the Pakistani corpus is mainly neutral with a few instances of critical. The mention of member, membership, expansion, enlargement, eastwards and encroachment, etc. shows that Pakistani newspapers talk not only about NATO as a security alliance, but also as a geopolitical entity that has ramifications in terms of regional stability. The concordance analysis emphasizes that the issue of NATO's eastward expansion and Ukraine's NATO membership is a subject of debate. Pakistani newspapers allow for both western and Russian views to be expressed on NATO enlargement, with reports of western interpretations that enlargement is for security reasons and also the Russian side reporting their concerns about encirclement. The discursive balance is indicative of Pakistan's tricky interactions with the United States, Russia, China, and more global actors. Thus, the Pakistani NATO representation may be described as ambiguous, rather than necessarily pro- or anti-NATO.

The Russian corpus is the one with the most negative attitude toward NATO. The term is linked continuously to expansion, proxy, alliance, and intervention. These combinations shape NATO as a "Western" geopolitical tool of influence and as an immediate threat to the Russian security. It is especially important to emphasize the concept of eastward expansion, since it was the ideological groundwork for the Russian approach that the expansion of NATO played a role in the development of the Ukraine crisis. In this discourse, Ukraine is seen as a tool for the Western powers to weaken Russia. NATO is therefore not a defence alliance, but an expansionist alliance which poses a threat to the Russian sovereignty. The comparison shows that NATO serves as a significant ideological signpost in the American corpus – it is a concept of collective security while in the Pakistani corpus it is a geopolitical institution and in

the Russian corpus it is a threat to national security.

Another example of ideological framing is found in analysis of invasion. In the American corpus, invasion is mainly surrounded by strongly negative collocates, such as Russian, unprovoked, illegal and unjustifiable. Those associations build up the event as an aggression against the international law and Ukrainian sovereignty. The semantic prosody of invasion thus strengthens the dichotomy of the victim and the aggressor, where Ukraine is in the role of a victim and Russia is in the role of an aggressor.

The Pakistani corpus is also largely linked with Russia and Ukraine, as well as the international condemnation of Russia's actions, its humanitarian impact and the sanctions it faced. But sometimes there is other Pakistani discourse on the issue of NATO expansion and Russian security concerns. This yields a more nuanced, as opposed to the strongly pejorative, representation compared to that of the American corpus. In a sense, the Pakistani media has deemed the invasion to be a large-scale international crisis, and at the same time, it has put it in the right geopolitical context.

The Russian corpus shows a very different lexical approach. The word invasion is used often, but there is a general lack of making Russian action exclusively an act of aggression. On the contrary, Russian media has focused on Russia's security concerns, on expansion of NATO and on the alleged threat from the influence of Western military forces. The framing of the lexical change is thus shifting from aggression to a response to external pressure that is a strategic move. This is an example of how semantic prosody can be used as an ideological instrument: the same activity can be encoded in several different lexical environments, all of which will lead to fundamentally different interpretations of the responsibility and legitimacy of an activity.

The same is true with the keyword sanctions, which displays three different discursive orientations. Words like severe, crippling, economic and imposed are often used to describe sanctions in the American corpus. While such phrases recognize the devastating impact of sanctions, it is the overall tone of the discourse that justifies and validates the use of sanctions as tools of response to Russian aggression. Sanctions are thus designed to be a substitute for outright military action and as a barrier to the defense of the international order. They are recognized, but justified ideologically as a response to violations of territorial sovereignty of Ukraine.

The semantics of the prosody of sanctions in the Pakistani corpus are mainly negative, but the negativity is focused mainly on the economic and humanitarian implications of sanctions and not on any specific political entity. The collocates economic, unprecedented, tough and severe highlight the severity and impact of sanctions. Their impact on energy prices, inflation, global supply chains, food security and developing economies are repeatedly highlighted in Pakistani newspapers. The concordances also highlight the need for diplomatic efforts and peaceful resolutions. Therefore, Pakistani discourse does not seem to be pro- or anti-sanctions but rather puts emphasis on whether they have overall impact or not, as the country is at risk from an unstable global economy and prefers a diplomatic solution to conflict.

The Russian corpus defines sanctions in negative terms. Sanctions are defined negatively in the Russian corpus. The regular linkage of the sanctions with Russia, imposed by the West and economic sanctions make them look like a tool of Western pressure aimed at putting Russia's economy under strain and affecting its sovereignty. Discourse constructs sanctions as political tools being used by the U.S. and its allies

to achieve geo-political goals. Thus sanctions are seen as a mode of economic aggression, not an instrument of international accountability. The difference is stark: American media portrays sanctions as legitimate responses to aggression, Pakistani media focuses on the economic fallout of sanctions and suggests diplomacy, while Russian media sees sanctions as a tactic of western pressure.

The diversity of the three corpora is also evident in the keyword US, which refers to the different ideological orientations. In the American corpus, the United States tends to be portrayed in a neutral to positive light with NATO, president, allies, government, and official. The collocations create the image of the United States as an institutional and diplomatic player who plays an important role in maintaining international security. The United States is often seen as a champion of democratic principles and the sovereignty of Ukraine in the context of the Russia–Ukraine war. This image supports the overall image of the United States and its citizens as a primary player in the world in charge of reacting to international crises.

In Pakistani newspapers, the portrayal of the US is largely institutional and neutral. The frequent use of the term 'US' in conjunction with NATO, allies, president, government, and official, shows that it plays an important role in international diplomacy, but it doesn't always carry strong positive or negative evaluations. The lines in concordance, however, tell a different story. In the Pakistani media, the Americans pressure Pakistan to condemn Russia, American sanctions against Moscow, military support to Ukraine and the strategic competition between America and Russia are reported. The overall semantic prosody is not too strong, but the discourse also shows that the speaker was cognizant of the impact of American policies on Pakistan in the geopolitical context. This is a prudent statement, given Pakistan's diplomatic prudence in the face of competing international powers.

In contrast, the Russian corpus builds up the US with mainly negative connections. Its common association with NATO, allies, government and led gives the impression of the USA as the primary source of western pressure on Russia. Russia's security and influence are often cited as being undermined by the United States through NATO expansion and economic sanctions and by supporting Ukraine. Thus, instead of being a neutral international actor, the American state finds itself in an antagonistic position. Again, the differences between the three corpora illustrate the ways in which the same geopolitical agent can be attributed with highly different ideological functions in the context of its recurrent lexical patterns.

Representation of Pakistan is comparatively neutral across the three contexts of the media with some subtle differences. In the American corpus, Pakistan is primarily mentioned in the context of historical and regional matters, especially in the context of the country's ties with India, its geopolitical history in the Cold War era and its past geopolitical significance. The term is strongly associated with the Pakistani national diplomacy stance and neutrality in the corpus. The media has been highlighting the aversion of Pakistan towards being drawn into the conflict between Russia and Ukraine and its desire for peaceful talks. This portrayal of Pakistan has painted it as a nation that is peace-oriented and strives for a balance in its foreign policy. The Russian corpus reflects a neutral to positive attitude towards Pakistan, especially in context of the growing relationship between Pakistan and Russia and regarding its role in the politics of South Asian and international affairs. It is possible that the relatively positive representation of Russia is due to the significance of the Pakistan-Russia relations which is steadily increasing.

Generally, the word Europe in the American corpus is correlated with the positive or constructive lexical items such as United States, eastern, and stability. These organizations build up Europe as a significant ally in the maintenance of international security and political stability. European is primarily associated with NATO, US, member, European, UK, and community, in a neutral and descriptive way in the Pakistani corpus. The discussion centers on the institutional framework of the EU, its cooperation with NATO and the United States, as well as the EU's role in supporting Ukraine. The Russian corpus, on the other hand, frames the EU with a predominantly negative semantic prosody, especially in terms of negative connotations of sanctions, restrictions and limitations. The EU is thus being seen as a political opponent to Russia, involved in Western pressure. This variation, which is broader than the one suggested by the other geographical and political units, shows that even a wider geographical and political unit like Europe and the European Union can be ideologically reconstructed with different lexical environments.

The keyword conflict is a last distillation of the overall media frame. Conflict is very common and is highly correlated with Ukraine and Russia in the Pakistani corpus. Other expressions such as escalating, unthinkable and other expressions give rise to a negative semantic prosody, which accentuates the dangerous and potentially unpredictable nature of the war. The Pakistani concordance lines also illustrate attempts to present alternate interpretations. In the west, Russia is seen as the aggressor, while in the Russian discourse, it is reported that the west is pushing for a "NATO encirclement" and "NATO expansion". This is an approach that puts forward different viewpoints, thereby strengthening the perception of a relatively balanced media coverage. However, the war is always depicted as harmful and unfavourable due to the negative semantic prosody surrounding it.

In the American corpus, the semantic prosody of conflict is also very negative. The nuclear, direct, armed, and protracted connotations highlight its capacity to escalate and to be long-term. The conflict is thus presented, however, as not only a threat to Ukraine but also to world peace and security. Repeatedly saying that Russia is responsible further reinforces the American narrative of Russian aggression.

The comparative results obtained in the overall context show that semantic prosody is an important linguistic mechanism that helps to form ideological significance in media speech. The American media paints a picture of Russia as the aggressor, Ukraine as the victim, NATO as a defensive alliance, the sanctions as legitimate tools of international pressure and the US as a responsible defender of the international order. The Russian newspapers flip many of these conceptualizations over, identifying Russia as a victim of aggression from "the West" (by which they mean NATO), the Russian Orthodox Church as the main cause of conflict, NATO as an aggressive and destabilizing bloc, sanctions as an attack on Russian economic interests, and the United States as the primary source of geopolitical instability. Pakistani newspapers fall somewhere in the middle. They tend to be cautious, contextual and humanitarian in their discourse with an over-emphasis on the impact of the conflict rather than a clear Western or Russian agenda. This doesn't mean that there's no ideology though. The Pakistani corpus itself is an ideology based on diplomacy of balancing, national economic interest, regional security issues and maintaining relations with various global powers.

Comparative Findings from the Corpora

The findings thus validate the fact that the media discourse is not a transparent

reflection of geopolitical reality. Instead, it is an active site of meaning making in which lexical selections aid in the fleshing-out of competing versions of reality. Recurring linkages between words, like the pairing of Russia/Ukraine, war/NATO, invasion/sanctions, and so on, with certain evaluative expressions create patterns of semantic prosody that help readers reach certain conclusions about responsibility, legitimacy, victimization, and aggression. Such patterns seldom represent linguistic decisions alone, but are also part of subsumed discourses of ideology in national political and geopolitical frames.

The study shows from corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis point of view the importance of carrying out a quantitative analysis with keyword and collocation analysis followed by a qualitative analysis of concordance lines. Meaning of ideology cannot be derived from frequency. The recurrent role of a keyword and its lexical context is the one that exposes the way the discourse can build up social actors and international events. The concordance analysis of the Pakistani corpus, for instance, illustrates that the word assistance is often used in parallel with reference to NATO expansion and to the security issues of Russia's position, as well as military, financial and humanitarian assistance. Likewise, the link between sanctions and economic, severe, tough, and unprecedented draws the focus away from the sanctions towards the impact on the markets and developing economies. Such patterns gain ideational significance in light of the broader diplomatic landscape.

The results indicate that there are three general discursive orientations in relation to the Russia–Ukraine war. The American corpus has been oriented towards Ukraine and is critical of Russia, the Russian corpus is oriented towards Russia and critical of the West, and the Pakistani corpus is oriented to a degree of caution, relatively balanced and humanitarian, with a diplomatic pragmatism. These orientations do not always manifest themselves in explicit political statements. Their meaning is rooted in the repeated lexical connections that newspapers establish with countries, institutions, military operations, and international reactions. Semantic prosody thus has a powerful capability of exposing ideology that might not be apparent in the single news reports.

Conclusion

The present study explored the depiction of the Russia–Ukraine war in selected newspapers of the United States, Russia and Pakistan regarding the lexical selection and semantic prosody. Based on Stubbs' (1996) theory of semantic prosody and Baker's (2006) critical discourse analysis using a corpus approach, the study focused on recurrent collocations and concordance patterns of the selected key words related to the conflict. The results indicate that the media discourse of international conflicts is strongly shaped by national ideological and geopolitical frames and contexts. While all three groups of newspapers cover the same war, they build vastly different narratives of causes, actors, impacts and legitimacy.

Negative semantic prosody is used mainly in the American press for the construction of Russia, positive semantic prosody is used for the construction of Ukraine. Russia is a country with aggressive policies, aggressive military, violation of international laws and norms, instability in geopolitics and a country that needs to be supported internationally, while Ukraine is a country that is of victimization. NATO is typically viewed as a defensive alliance, and America's involvement as a rightful response to Russian aggression. Even though sanctions are recognized as grave, they are mainly built as fair measures of punishment to bring Russia to an account. This discourse

broadly aligns with the political and diplomatic stance of the American government and supports a narrative of western intervention as promoting Ukrainian sovereignty and international order.

In contrast, the Russians have another story in their newspapers. In Russia's appeal, the use of a neutral or positive connotation of the Russia image is more characteristic, reflecting the themes of security, sovereignty and defense, and Ukraine is often linked to the concepts of proxy and NATO-backed. NATO and the United States are seen as mostly expansionist and destabilizing, sanctions as tools of Western economic aggression. In this narrative, the Russian intervention in Ukraine is seen as a reaction to Western pressure on Ukraine's independence and its desire to join NATO. In this discourse, the war in Ukraine is understood as a protective move against threats from NATO expansion and Western geopolitical influence. Hence, in the Russian media, the semantic focus is shifted from the responsibility and aggression of the Russians to that of the West and security.

The Pakistani newspapers have a very unique middle ground. They don't have a completely detached or a simplistic, neutral representation of the Russia–Ukraine war. Rather, Pakistani media discourse is diplomatic and is a balancing act. The humanitarian impact of the conflict, such as civilian deaths, displacement, food shortages, economic disruption, and higher energy costs, are recognized by the newspapers. Meanwhile, they are providing different views on the war, such as criticisms from the West towards Russia, and Russian fears of NATO expansion. The words used repeatedly for assistance, sanctions, war, conflict and NATO—shows that Pakistani talk is very sensitive towards the repercussions and the international involvement of the conflict. It is based on the principles of diplomacy and peaceful solutions, which mirror Pakistan's strategy of not directly joining either of the geopolitical camps.

The study thus, concludes that the tool of semantic prosody is effective to reveal the ideology positioning in the media discourse. The definition of a meaning associated with a keyword is not only based on the given dictionary definition, but also on patterns of co-occurrence that are repeated over time and gradually form positive, negative or neutral associations. Objective events are often conveyed in terms such as invasion, war, sanctions and conflict; the way these words are used in a specific lexical context may encourage readers to interpret these events in a certain way. Likewise, the assessment of political figures like Russia, Ukraine, NATO, and the United States is oriented towards the same recurring pattern: to characterize them as aggressors, victims, defenders, threats, or legitimate international actors.

The comparative results also illustrate how the study of the media needs to be regarded as an agent of ideology rather than simply a description of the process. Newspapers do not convey geopolitical events just as they happen, but rather they construct specific versions of reality through the selection of words, repetition, collocation, framing and omission. National interests, diplomatic and historical contexts, geopolitical orientations and orientations of international conflicts in general all influence the different ways that each of the three corpora interpret the same conflict, the American, the Russian and the Pakistani.

The study in this respect adds to the current research on corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis by showing how quantitative corpus analysis and qualitative discourse analysis can be combined to uncover the implicit meaning of the discourse in terms of ideology. The researcher can use concordance analysis to interpret

linguistic patterns within the contexts of the sentences, and keyword frequencies and collocation patterns to provide empirical evidence of recurrent linguistic tendencies. Such a combination of strategies enables the overcoming of impressionistic claims of media bias and allows for the detection of systematic linguistic patterns in which ideological positions are reproduced.

In conclusion, the Russia–Ukraine war is a prime example of how language, media, ideology and international politics are interconnected. The study concludes that the language of global conflicts is linked to geopolitical positions of the media institutions' societies. Whereas American newspapers mostly attribute legitimacy to the support for Ukraine and to condemn Russia, Russian newspapers attribute legitimacy to the Russian security narrative and to challenge the Western interpretation and Pakistani newspapers focus on the humanitarian implications, economic consequences, diplomatic negotiations, and the multifaceted geopolitical positions. These differences highlight the importance of media language in the construction of public perceptions of international conflicts, and in the perceptions of who is responsible, legitimate, or a victim, and who or what intervenes.

Recommendations for Future Researchers

In this study, the researcher utilized corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis to analyze the depiction of the Russia-Ukraine war in six English-language newspapers from America, Pakistan, and Russia. Future researchers in the same area are encouraged to study a variety of media texts, including tweets, blogs, television shows, Facebook posts, debates, videos, and publications, to substantiate the relevance and validation of the results. Moreover, the findings of this study can be verified and tested by performing an identical study using the same corpora compiled from six English newspapers from three distinct countries covering the Russia-Ukraine war. The collected corpora may be expanded to include the pre-invasion and post-invasion periods of Ukraine. This will allow for a comparative analysis of print media discourse. Furthermore, future researchers are encouraged to use the collected corpora from this study to check the results or investigate other facets of the Russia-Ukraine war. This could include exploring how the identities of key social actors are constructed, as well as examining the reporting style and characterization of important social actors such as political parties, individuals, institutions, groups, and organizations.

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