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Front-Page Coverage of the First Day of the Russian Invasion on Ukraine in 2022. The Ethnographic Discourse Analysis Based on the Polish Press Reportage

Abstract

This article explores the discursive patterns of communicative events during the Russia-Ukraine war in 2022. Studied through an ethnographic discourse analysis lens (*e.g.*, Hymes 1972b, Saville-Troike [1982] 2003), Polish front-page news articles are shown to be artefact-filled language environment anchored in culture (Duranti [1997] 1999, Hoijer 1953) that can be studied by means of communicational grammar (Chruszczewski 2002) consisting of well-entrenched conceptualisations in the form of keywords and collocations as concomitants of cultural scripts (Goddard and Wierzbicka 2014, Baker 2006, Wierzbicka 1997). It argues that legitimization of patterned representations is based on a three-fold conceptual typology: (1) the axiological (valuational) dimension (Romanyshyn 2020, Pomeroy 2004, Krzeszowski 1997), (2) the metaphorical account of spatial/territorial reference (proximization) (Cap 2013), (3) us vs. them dichotomy (Van Dijk 1992a). It demonstrates how Polish press manufactures and discursively creates ideological attachments which underlie Poland's cultural legacy.

Keywords: anthropolinguistics, ethnographic discourse analysis, Russia-Ukraine war, cultural scripts

1. Introduction

Interest in doing ethnography research as a method of studying communicative events (Saville-Troike [1982] 2003, Duranti [1997] 1999), also named speech events (Hymes 1972b) and their patterns (*e.g.*, Sapir [1927] 2008, Whorf [1940] 1956, Hymes [1977] 2001, Chruszczewski 2002, Basso 1979, Bauman and Sherzer 1974, Gumperz [1968] 1982) has gained momentum since the publication of Dell Hymes' article "Ethnography of Speaking" in the year 1974. As we witness the tragedies of Russia-Ukraine war, it is imperative to develop interesting ways of documenting social events and human communicative behaviour as active forms in the process of constituting culture. It is the more challenging a task since

the burgeoning area of journalism studies has not given enough attention to the domain of linguistic ethnography (Van Hout 2015: 72, Copland and Creese 2015) which emphasises the emerging field that deals with anthropological foundations to understanding language and ethnography that are most notably highlighted and systematised in anthropological linguistics (Chruszczewski 2011, 2022; Danesi 2004; Foley 1997). Specifically, this interface leads to develop understanding of ethnographic discourse analysis as the process of uncovering a way of life, often referred to a socially regulated practice or ways of patterns which comprise cultural practices of a given community (e.g., Rampton 2007: 591, Green and Bloome 1997: 10, Burszta 1998: 41, Duranti 1994: 17, Hymes 1974: 446, Kluckhohn 1949: 17).

Verschueren (1985) rightly observes that whilst conducting discourse analysis in text-based terms is mandatory (Van Dijk 1988, Fairclough 2003), it often offers a purely one-dimensional level of description which ignores the “[s]tructural and functional properties of the news gathering and reporting process” (Verschueren 1985) and highlights the necessity of capturing a sense of going beyond a purely textual level, e.g., by analysing cultural patterns in the form of cultural scripts (Wierzbicka 1997). His critique was the initial flashpoint in creating a new reference in understanding relations between media reporters and the ways of presenting news discourse. The thrust of this critique documented by the work of Verschueren (1985), Bell (1991) and Jacobs (1999), as well as recently mentioned by Cotter (2010), Van Hout *et al.* (2011) and Perrin (2013) presents that the growing network of scholars belonging to a group called *NewsTalk&Text* advocates (Van Hout 2015: 73) highlight “[e]thnographic descriptions and [...] insider perspectives on the actual practices and values of news production, documenting how these often differ from the claims of theorists, while simultaneously exploring new theoretical frameworks to better understand and analyse news production practices” (Catenaccio *et al.* 2011). Ultimately, the ethnographic approach highlights the dynamics of language and culture which are salient categories of communicative phenomena “[c]oncerned with the situations and uses, the patterns and functions, of speaking as an activity in its own right” (Cresse *et al.* 2015: 268).

If the goal of the ethnography of journalism, and by default also ethnography of communication, is to study linguistic forms as building blocks of social life, the integration of ethnography with discourse research for the documentation and analysis of linguistic patterns has been the cornerstone of an integrative study of language in culture (Hoiyer 1953: 556). *The patterned mindset* communicated through discourse is easier to recognise if the full extent of representational practices in the form of *communicational grammar* is considered (Chruszczewski 2002, Van Hout 2015). In this respect, ethnographic discourse analysis provides useful analytical frameworks in the form of rules for studying culture, ideology, identity (Spitulnik 1993, Spitulnik 2000) and the ways of inhabiting their representations (Van Leeuwen 2008: 5) specific to a given speech community.

This article presents both the interpretive and the computer-assisted ethnographic discourse analysis as an analytical framework for distinguishing linguistic patterns that primarily capture the discursive practices situated in the socio-cultural milieu of acts of war. The ethnographic experience of being near the events and the native perspective of the emic view, which provides a direct participation in the local events of social life of a Polish community has allowed the description of discourse patterns that are characteristic of the studied community (Foucault 1972: 27, Saville-Troike 1997: 137, Atkinson and Hammersley 1994, Gold 1958, Junker 1960). The author of the article takes the role of an observer similar to the cameraman’s perception (Hymes 1996: 4, Saville-Troike 1997: 134) that acknowledges the observation of discursive practice but also is a legitimate member who participates in the culture of

a group which is immersed in the socio-cultural context of war as an observer. Taking the ethnographic perspective in studying discourse of the first day of Russia-Ukraine war in Polish front-page news articles has been the more interesting since it shows the institutional influences of press in the creation of structural social order which become social facts. In this perspective, one views press as a social institution and a type of a *speech community* that is a working apparatus of events, settings, participants, themes and goals focused on interaction (Fairclough [1995] 2013: 40, Hymes 1972a).

If one considers press as a speech community of constituting repertoire of speech events, it is essential to understand the role of news media discourse which provides for the frame of discourse action as particular ways of viewing reality and its ideological representations (Van Dijk 2008: 94). Evidently, a close analysis of discursive media practices through ethnographic lens is crucial for the understanding of the patterned nature of cultural practices, their context-dependent themes and the selection of elements and relations which underlie texts being core realisations of discourse therefore “[t]he observable product of interaction, a cultural object” (Talbot 2007: 9). That said, this article intertwines the two salient approaches to studying discourse which address the gap in ethnographic discourse research by providing a comprehensive theoretical and analytical account of cultural patterns as evident in the front-page press coverage of Russian invasion on Ukraine in the year 2022, paying special attention to both collocational and keyword patterning (the structural approach) as well as the unconscious patterns of thinking in their specific context of use (the emic or from the inside perspective) (Headland *et al.* 1990). Thereby, it will be shown that, cultural patterns are inflected by events on the one hand, but their meaning also extends beyond the specific situations that underlie socially established roles and identities (Lucy 1992: 16).

Following the initial considerations outlined above, the key questions framing this article specifically involve, first of all, patterned language-culture interrelationships presented in media format, as exemplified in the Polish press. Second, the ethnographic and discourse analytical approach is presented as a methodological interface that allows for situating the analysis of speech events in the participatory mode taking place in everyday social life and their specific contexts (Papen 2018: 285). Taking this perspective on board, the integrative nature of both frames works to the benefit of this research as it consists of an interpretive and systematic analytical assumptions. Third, media (in this study, the Polish press) viewed as a social institution provides clusters of dynamic and context-specific discursive and ideological norms which are alternative representations of various realities (discourses) (Fairclough [1995] 2015: 42) characteristic of a given institution. Therefore, it is of interest to determine how media discourse in Poland provides the social formation of the analysed media event (the outbreak of war) and possibly identify some idiosyncratic, generic features (Duszak 1998) distinguished in this study. Finally, the observations of systematic language patterns in media discourse offer fertile ground for the research of language and society on culture since only within this configuration can ethnographers studying discourse gather information about institutional power, its resources, dynamism but also resistance and constraints.

1.1. Media ethnography and discourse analysis of media events

Media events of the kind explored in this article are regarded as types of communicative events identified in terms of categories of texts serving specific goal-oriented action. With the advent of media ethnography in the mid-1980s, it has significantly contributed to researching culture both as a discursive and a performative phenomenon (Jensen 2002: 164). Adopting the ethnographic approach to this study, this article explores patterns of communication as evident in media events which are indicative of cultural

vital signs recognised in media discourse consisting of texts, *i.e.*, “[m]oments in the material production of and reproduction of social life” (Fairclough and Graham 2002: 188). Furthermore, as Fairclough (2000) notes, texts, apart from being social constructs of reality, also consist of:

[s]emantic relationships between words, argumentative relationships between propositions, temporal relationships between processes, syntactic relationships between and within sentences, relationships between what is asserted and what is presupposed, etc. What it points to is a critical analysis of the whole formal and conceptual architecture and texture of ...[texts]... as relational work, texts as producing certain relations and not producing others, as foregrounding selected elements of those relations, as well as their being produced from within certain relations and not from within others. (Fairclough [1995] 2010: 328)

As regards to the above, one can envisage media events as prototypical social events fundamentally reshaping media institution itself, hence it is by means of and through texts that social formation of media discourse takes place resulting in a transformation of social life. Therefore, it is necessary to see that a systematic analysis of media texts plays out in a range of various forms of representations that are fundamentally reproduced through context-specific “[p]ractices which systematically form the objects of which they speak.” (Foucault 1972: 54). For this reason, the ethnographic description of discourse is an integral part of studying the ethnography of events which underlie social processes that are practices of communication consisting of a nexus of conceptualisations and categorizations (Wierzbicka 1996: 395) deriving from cultural environment.

The methodological focus preferred in this study emphasizes the patterned structure of media discourse distributed among the Polish society across the context of Russia–Ukraine war. With respect to ethnography, the distinctive generic features distinguished in the corpora allow to work with the situated data which is indicative of language resources, specifically viewed as cultural knowledge that forms cultural patterns. Ethnographic interpretive approach and its analytical procedures have been traditionally used in the ethnographic method, such as participant–observation and documentation of verbal practice of native speakers, but their application to the study of media discourse is also likely to bear significant results. In this perspective, we may regard the traditional print news media as a sort of speech community which can be studied within its dynamically changing speech events realised in texts viewed as a communicative occurrence (De Beaugrande ([1972] 1981). Furthermore, the institutional media frame has its own components of a communicative situation thoroughly described in Dell Hymes’s Speaking Grid (see Hymes 1974), *i.e.*, *Setting, Scene, Participants, Ends, Acts of sequence, Key, Instrumentalities, Norms, Genre*. Hence, the ethnographic orientation to discourse analysis facilitates to capture the process of social action and presents it within some tangible frames recognised by members of a society. It seems that the power of media lies in its function to both enable as well as constrain social action by society members (Fairclough [1995] 2015: 41). At this point it is worth mentioning the persistent agency constrained by that frame, which can be recognised through “[i]ts linguistic realisation (performance) and its linguistic representation (grammatical encoding)” (Duranti 2004: 451). For that matter, if agency always takes place through language, one analytical framework which helps to give insights on unconscious reality of patterned practices that are named and organised in a structured domain has been ethnographic semantics (Blount 2009: 33).

It is commonly held that the methods of ethnographic semantics vary considerably (Colby *et al.* 1966: 3), however the descriptive study of lexicographic data involves some preliminary steps which need

to be employed in order to meet some methodological requirements. The interplay of different procedural elements integrated to create a complex ethnographic semantic discourse analysis employed in this study involves: (1) the study of lexical patterns in the form of collocations (Sinclair 1991: 109, Fairclough 1995: 102, Baker 2006: 96) which occurrence triggers and identifies the already existing generic relations, (2) the analysis of specific lexical items (keywords) which provide information for the semantic import of words and their lexical environment, and (3) the identification of cultural keywords which represent core cultural values of the Polish society (Wierzbicka 1997: 16). Sharing the view of pragmatics that when people communicate they not only physically utter words and think about their combinations, but they *do things with words* in a patterned way (Austin [1962] 1975), this study accommodates data that goes beyond the news media texts and describes how language determines the surrounding news media reality traditionally regarded as “reporting events”.

1.2. Culture locked in key words

Cultures, as intangible as they may seem, can be revealingly studied by their key words which reflect cultural core values encapsulated in the key concepts characteristic of a given community (Wierzbicka 1991: 333). If it is widely acknowledged that every language has its key concepts which are central to practices of a community, locating and exploring them is not only a challenging task but also the one which is prone to misconceptions and speculations. However, it is through the descriptive process of semantic analysis that we may indicate the cultural centrality of key words and attempt to make an approximation in the interpretation of cultural patterns and their culture-specific meaning. The pending question is then how can we study lexicon in a nonspeculative and verifiable way so that it truly reflect social practice and agency, *i.e.*, in the reality that is formed by means of the communicative resources created by language (Duranti 2004, Reisigl and Wodak 2016). This implies more than just reference; it entails the construction of reality which is communicated unconsciously and according to certain rules (Eco 1984: 167) which “[e]ncode a socially constructed representation of the world” (Fowler 1991: 37). Similar view endorsed by Wierzbicka (1997) vindicates the importance of studying lexicon as the focal point of the patterning process of every discourse. Additionally, she rightly observes that words’ true content and its meaning can be legitimately studied by establishing their range of use (Wierzbicka 1997: 31). It is then possible to “unlock” cultural patterns if we study lexicon systematically and rigorously, and in its specific context of use. The tools that are at our disposal for performing this task are collocations that fundamentally provide information for the semantic import of words and their lexical environment. Furthermore, collocational patterns allow to distinguish frames of statistically significant co-occurrences that take on meaning in specific contexts of use (Sinclair 1991: 109, Fairclough 1995: 102, Baker 2006: 96), and facilitate the identification of the already existing generic relations.

In this article, one undertakes to distinguish some selected lexical patterns allocated within the specific contextual constraints of systematically formed discourse structure that form internally consistent practices (Berelson 1952: 18, Halliday 1978). Taking the lexical-grammatical approach to analysing news media discourse combined with the ethnographic exploration of discursive practices is a way of capturing the complexities of social practice distributed in the micro-macro levels of cultural patterns (Lemke 1995, Benke 2000). What I mean by saying this is that establishing the most significant word relationships in the form of collocations, preferably consisting of key words, which are one approach to studying culture at the level of particular contexts of use (Wierzbicka 1997: 16), allows to lead us to the

nexus of culture-specific cultural scripts, *i.e.*, “[r]epresentations of cultural norms which are widely held in a given society and are reflected in language” (Wierzbicka 2014: 339). In line with Wierzbicka’s study of culturally shaped *ways of speaking*, this study attempts to focus on three types of cultural manifestations which provide a collection of manageable chunks of patterns within the analysed discursive moment (Laclau and Mouffe 1985: 105): (1) the structural including cultural productions in the form of texts (*e.g.*, Geertz 1973: 452) that can form structures upon events and are accessed by means of a “universal code” which could be replicated in other systems (Lévi-Strauss [1958] 1963, Jakobson [1958] 1960), (2) the ideological (pertaining to a system of a system of beliefs, values and symbols communicated in a structured way (*e.g.*, Fairclough 1989: 42, Van Dijk 2006: 117, Irvine 2001: 25, Fiske and Taylor 2008: 20), (3) the topic-based ethnographic approach which studies context-specific events (Rampton 2007: 592) in terms of discursive reality disseminated through the knowledge of society. The point of departure for the current analysis is an assumption that doing ethnographic linguistic research is one useful method for documenting cultural practice which is reflected in linguistic patterns that underlie cultural scripts.

1.3. Methodology

The data of the present study investigated the corpus of Polish front-page newspaper coverage from six national newspapers during the first day of a Russian invasion on Ukraine in the year 2022. The data used for the current study consisted of texts which were found in the following newspapers: *Gazeta Wyborcza*, *Rzeczpospolita*, *Nasz Dziennik*, *Dziennik Gazeta Prawna*, *Super Express*, and *Fakt*. The choice of the articles included in the corpora was dictated by the fact that the characteristics of the front-page news coverage intends to reach a wide audience and allows to attract readers’ immediate attention. As is often the case of any breaking news, especially war-related ones, it is likely that the “newsworthiness” strongly corresponds to the allocation of press content. Common media practice is that front pages include high-profile stories that are of greatest prominence.

While studies abound on news media discourse about war, including their generic patterning (*e.g.*, Götz and Staun 2022, Semykina 2021, Chovanec 2010, Okulska and Cap 2010, Cap 2006, Chilton 2004) there is scarce research into the generic patterns evidenced in the Polish news media domain in this respect. By adopting the ethnographic discourse approach which is one way of studying events as active forms in the process of constituting culture I address them with a view to recognising the operations of media discourse and revealing socio-cultural roots which are exposed in cultural scripts. Therefore, this study aims to fill the gap by investigating Polish core cultural values in the cultural contexts of press reportage on a Russia-Ukraine war. Following a qualitative-quantitative approach of corpus-based content analysis, which allows to find semantic clusters and facilitate the identification of anthropolinguistic concepts, the corpora was coded through keyword and collocational analysis and provided further insight into themes and categorisations that give a broad account of social reality presented by the Polish press media on the first day of Russia-Ukraine military operations.

1.4. Analysis

The analysis based on the gathered corpora presents the most salient categories that create the ethnographic account of cultural scripts found in the front-page newspaper coverage on the first day of Russia-Ukraine military operations. Apparatus employed in the concordance-informed discourse

analysis was Korpusomat (<https://korpusomat.pl/>), a freeware concordance programme which allowed to conduct the basic lexical operations of corpus analysis such as looking for keywords and collocates. The data in the form of text files were uploaded to a database and a key word analysis using KeyWord list Tool was conducted. Each category was discussed with reference to collocational patterns that have been distinguished based on the most prominent keywords. In order to explore how the patterned collocational structures are distributed within the analysed corpora, the wordlist frequency of the collected corpus was correlated against another wordlist from the reference corpora (Narodowy Korpus Języka Polskiego). This part details cultural scripts based on selected collocations derived from dominant keywords. The keyword analysis shows the strongest occurrence of words UKRAINA (FREQ. 47), ROSJA (FREQ. 38), PUTIN (FREQ. 29) AND WOJNA (FREQ. 28) in the analysed corpus. To illustrate the context-specific relations in concordance lines with the strongest keywords in terms of their keyness (Subtirelu and Baker 2017: 113), the following cultural patterns in the form of collocations and their categories have been singled out.

1.4.1. Collocations with UKRAINA

It is to be noted that the lemma UKRAINA has the highest frequency of occurrence of all lexical items in the analysed corpora. The first level of the analysis points to the category of the keyword UKRAINA that is presented as the participant of social practice (Van Leeuwen 2008: 23). Since texts represent social practices, collocations have specific contributions in explaining and legitimating (or criticising/delegitimising) the representations of contextualised practice in question. Therefore, from Figure 1 it becomes apparent that the most frequent collocate with the noun lemma UKRAINA is a preposition [IN] stemming from the base form [NA UKRAINA] and its lexemes, e.g., *na Ukrainę* and *na Ukrainie*.

Pobierz			
Forma bazowa	Liczba wystąpień	P-stwo (bias)	P-stwo
<i>na Ukraina</i>	17	1.76	0.18

Figure 1. Screenshot of a distribution of a collocation frequency of the collocation [*na Ukraina*].

Comparing contexts of the function word [IN] with the keyword UKRAINA the concordance line shows a range of aspects worth noting. First of all, it gives us the patterns of meaning that deal with **role allocation**. Ukraine, being an impersonalized social actor represents a collective status of a Ukrainian nation recognised as objectivation realised by metonymical reference, *i.e.*, spatialization bound by the context it is closely associated with (Van Leeuwen 2008: 46). The abstract noun UKRAINA represents a submissive role of that of a victim– as being attacked and as being invaded. Such a representation strategically delegitimises Russia making it a reference of a negative public self–image and loss of face (Rheindorf and Wodak 2020, Chilton 2004, Brown and Levinson [1978] 1987, Goffman 1967). This script also puts Ukraine in the role of the defender who resists Russian attacks. Table 2. shows selected examples of the concordance lines with some patterns of meaning.

Lewy kontekst	Rezultat	Prawy kontekst
. godz . 4 nad ranem rozpoczęła się rosyjska inwazja	na [na:prep:acc] Ukrainę [Ukraina:subst:sg:acc:f]	. Agresor uderzył z ładu , wody i powietrza .
to jedno ze źródeł oczekiwań ekonomistów , że agresja Rosji	na [na:prep:acc] Ukrainę [Ukraina:subst:sg:acc:f]	podsyć i tak już najwyższą od ponad 20 lat inflację
atak Putin . Bombardowanie było wstępem do kolejnego ataku .	Na [na:prep:loc] Ukrainie [Ukraina:subst:sg:loc:f]	od wschodu , południa i od północy wdarły się pance
kara za agresję . Świat sportu protestuje wobec napaści Rosji	na [na:prep:acc] Ukrainę [Ukraina:subst:sg:acc:f]	. Jakie sankcje wobec tego kraju wyciągną międzynarodowe federacje ?
. Piłka w szponach Putina . Po niebywalej agresji Rosji	na [na:prep:acc] Ukrainę [Ukraina:subst:sg:acc:f]	wyjazd piłkarskiej reprezentacji Polski na mecz z Rosją 24 marca

Figure 2. Screenshot of a concordance line of [na Ukraina] collocation.

The social structure of asymmetrical power relations between Russia and Ukraine has also been one way of establishing the system of relations and social roles (Durkheim 1989, Halliday 1978) that are attributed by the language of media to Russia and Ukraine which become occupants of that roles. It is observed that the selection of these second-order roles dictated by discourse (Halliday 1978: 144) become systematic patterns of relations determined by acts of violence, *i.e.*, invading, being aggressive, attacking. The results show that the combination of collocates in the Table 2 relies on a frequently deployed pattern: news media discourse is constructing *us vs. them* dichotomised ideology (Van Dijk 1998, Okulska and Cap 2010: 3, Chovanec 2010: 63), *i.e.*, “us” referring to a positive representation of Ukraine as being a victim of a negatively represented Russia (“them” camp). This oppositional relation is here treated as an activity of encoding ideological reality (Van Dijk 1998: 4) which served rhetorical ends. Specifically, reporting Russia to be attackers over Ukraine rhetorically dehumanises them, *i.e.*, they are subject to delegitimation (Chilton 2004: 47) which takes the form of a negative representation that categorises Russians as adversaries devoid of humaneness.

Another recurrent pattern in the given collocation concerns a set of lexical items that impart negative meaning such as *inwazja/napaść/agresja/nalot na Ukrainę*. What emerges from the data is that all these lexical items serve to construe a negative representation of Russia reflected in its dominant role of an attacker and Ukraine being presented as a victim. At this point, it is of use to bring two elements together; the pathetic effect achieved through the reactions invoked by the patterns of actions that carry the emotions and attitudes that belong to these actions and the “informative load” of the type of performed actions (here, invading, attacking, being aggressive) which lie at the centre of a role establishment (*ibid.*). This implies persuading the audience by manoeuvring their emotions and achieving communicative ends. In terms of framing events by media discourse (Ensink and Sauer 2003) and displaying it from a certain perspective, the pathetic effect achieved by this lexical pattern is recognised as one of the cues that build the narration of dominance and establish asymmetrical power relations.

1.4.2. Collocations with ROSJA

Another script that surfaces in the analysis of the collocational patterns has been with lemma ROSJA. The table below shows the frequency of occurrence of this collocate in the analysed corpora.

Forma bazowa	Liczba wystąpień	P-stwo (bias)	P-stwo
rosyjska inwazja	5	0.95	0.26

Figure 3. Screenshot of a distribution of a collocation frequency of the collocation [*rosyjska inwazja*].

Lp	Lewy kontekst	Rezultat	Prawy kontekst
1	czwartek ok . godz . 4 nad ranem rozpoczęła się	rosyjska [rosyjski:adj;sg:nom:f;pos] inwazja [inwazja:subst;sg:nom:f]	na Ukrainę . Agresor uderzył z ładu , wody i
2	Różaniec przeciw przemocy	Rosyjską [rosyjski:adj;sg:voc:f;pos] inwazja [inwazja:subst;sg:nom:f]	na Ukrainę . Na różańcu błagajmy o pokój i zakończenie
3	, że wszyscy wielcy przywódcy Zachodu zawiedli i źle ocenili	Rosyjską [rosyjski:adj;sg:acc:f;pos] inwazję [inwazja:subst;sg:acc:f]	na Ukrainę . Na różańcu błagajmy o pokój i zakończenie
4	kilka razy występował z przesłaniem . Dwie godziny po rozpoczęciu	rosyjskiej [rosyjski:adj;sg:gen:f;pos] inwazji [inwazja:subst;sg:gen:f]	na pełnych obrotach pracowali też w stolicy deputowani Rady Najwyższej
5	Euroligi z Zenitem Sankt Petersburg . Protesty gwiazd . Przeciwno	rosyjskiej [rosyjski:adj;sg:dat:f;pos] inwazji [inwazja:subst;sg:dat:f]	protestują oczywiście gwiazdy ukraińskiego sportu . Czasem bardzo ostro .

Figure 4. Screenshot of a concordance line of [*rosyjska inwazja*] collocation.

A common pattern in this collocation is *rosyjska inwazja*, represented statically (Van Leeuwen 2008: 63) and realized by nominalisation. Even though this collocation is not realised dynamically, representing the behaviour of doing, it still represents an action of invading and emphasises a reaction of a negative evaluation thereby delegitimising Russia. In other words, the action of invading becomes objectivated (*ibid.*) so that its realisation is labelled and classified while at the same time a state of ritual disequilibrium becomes established (Goffman 1967: 19). Therefore, this discursive regularity offers an interesting turn towards the framework of ritual that derives its meaning from social situations in which actions are performed (Goffman 1967: 57). There appear to be two ways of a ritualised pattern within the studied collocate. One is about the negative evaluative meaning of invading and another aspect deals with the recipient toward whom the ritual is performed and who is given the conception “[t]hat others are obliged to maintain of him to him” (Goffman 1967: 58). Therefore, the dichotomous construct of an attacker–victim takes place through a ritual relation of delegitimation attributed and imposed by society on its members.

It is also to be noted that the collocation *rosyjska inwazja* alludes to constructing a representation of Russia as an outgroup member and produces at the same time a prejudiced syndrome. At the same

time, this pattern entails negative emotions towards Russia as an out-group which invades Ukraine, hence this representation is associated with the threatening attributes and negative cues (Hart 2010: 50). From the concordance line above it can be seen that the collocational interplay of words *rosyjska inwazja na Ukrainę* reflects the negative evaluative meaning. Looking at how evaluative prosody (Sinclair 1987, Louw 1993, Bublitz 2003) is distributed it emphasizes the collocational relation which builds a rhetorical effect of dehumanising Russia through the negative potential of a binary opposition of a Russia acting as an attacker and Ukraine being a victim.

This pattern also uses identification category of Russia as an initiator of the invasion which essentially involves a negative-other representation of Russia (Van Dijk 2008: 200). Importantly, the derogation of "the enemy" as evidenced in this collocational pattern directly refers to the group characterisation of Russia as invaders who are devoid of humaneness since they occupy the victimised Ukraine.

1.4.3. Semantic relations with PUTIN

Another significantly occurring keyword has been a lemma PUTIN. Since it belongs to the category of the keywords with relatively high keyness its analysis offers an invaluable insight into understanding Polish cultural scripts about the Russia-Ukraine war communicated via press. Even though the word PUTIN does not collocate with other lemmas in the corpus, it still remains a pivotal word that establishes legitimate semantic relations that extend across various cultural domains. Based on the context-specific concordance lines they reveal the following patterns:

demilitaryzacji i denazyfikacji Ukrainy mówił wykrzywiający się z gniewu Władimir	Putin [Putin:subst:sg:nom:m1]	. Ukrainę obudziły rakiety . Jak ,,demilitaryzacja "
. politykę ludobójstwa " . Tak jest ! Bandycki napad	Putina [Putin:subst:sg:gen:m1]	przypomina wzory ustanowione przez Hitlera i Stalina . Także po
Także po retorykę największych totalitarnych bandytów XX w .	Putin [Putin:subst:sg:nom:m1]	sięga obszernie i bez zażenowania .
Krwawy podbój	Putina [Putin:subst:sg:gen:m1]	Takiej tragedii Europa nie widziała od drugiej wojny światowej .
Chodorkowski , bo ośmielił się publicznie skrytykować korupcję w reżimie	Putina [Putin:subst:sg:gen:m1]	. Dziś uwięziony jest Aleksiej Nawalny , bo mówi głosem
powtarzają te słowa wbrew nikczemnym , podłym i kłamliwym deklaracjom	Putina [Putin:subst:sg:gen:m1]	. Ten podpułkownik KGB pojmuje świat jako własne , prywatne
jednak wykluczyć wymierzonych w nas prowokacji i działań hybrydowych .	Putin [Putin:subst:sg:nom:m1]	i jego otoczenie nienawidzą polskiej wolności nie mniej niż ukraińskiej
Obrońca Manchesteru City Oteksandr Zincenko zwrócił się bezpośrednio do Władimira	Putina [Putin:subst:sg:gen:m1]	. - Obyś zdecht w najgorszy możliwy sposób napisał
. Decyzja FIFA W najbliższych dniach . Piłka w szponach	Putina [Putin:subst:sg:gen:m1]	. Po niebywatej agresji Rosji na Ukrainę wyjazd piłkarskiej

Figure 5. Selected concordance lines of the lemma PUTIN.

As observed in the analysis, this script uses a pattern which shows a range of evaluational components that imply a moral judgement in constructing Putin's discursive identity. The first essential point which needs considering is (a) genitive case that expresses possession which carries a negative evaluation. Examples like *napad Putina*, *deklaracje Putina*, *korupcja w reżimie Putina*, *podbój Putina*, and *piłka w szponach Putina* can be adduced as evidence. Other evaluative terms which impart immoral behaviour are (b) adjectival formulations that contain a negative emotive tone such as *wykrzywiający się z gniewu*, *bandycki*, *podłym i kłamliwym*, and *krwawy*. Given these patterns, it is to be noted that the context-specific discursive representation of Putin as a dehumanised and immoral invader is a form of social cognition, *i.e.*, the type of discourse that gives "[a] definition of a legitimate perspective for the agent of knowledge in a given context" (Bouchard 1977: 199). This means that news media texts do not only carry representations of social actors and events but also serve purposeful function of explaining, justifying and evaluating reality. It seems that this axiological framework, which deals with beliefs, creates a script-like structure, with Putin as one of social actors associated with deligitimising attributes. We see how powerful the act of perspective-taking by media becomes. Mainstream Polish press therefore may regulate certain types of social practice and manipulate the public with evaluation-based narratives that emphasise the values that it tries the society to adopt. The obtained patterns demonstrate rather clearly the ideological framework of systems of representations consisting of beliefs shared and agreed on by a social group (*e.g.*, Van Dijk 1998, Charteris-Black 2011).

1.4.4. Semantic relations with WOJNA

An examination of the keyword list also points to a high keyness value of the lemma WOJNA in the analysed corpora. Again, it does not collocate with any lexical items within the gathered corpus, nevertheless, its significance cannot be underestimated since it offers a very good illustration of what the word WOJNA means on the first day of Russian military operations against Ukraine. By no means, it is no accident that this culture-specific keyword is one of the characteristics of the first-day mass media discourse produced in Poland that is situated only miles away from the occupied Ukraine. Clearly, the analysis of the word WOJNA not only reflects ways of thinking about the threatened social order but also about the ways of living and organising the society which directly translates into how language is manifested in the Polish culture (Hoijer and Beals 1918: 210).

The data presented in the concordance analysis of the keyword WOJNA can be considered a representative example of metaphorical patterns in news media discourse. One way of understanding these patterned associations is to consider WOJNA as a word that is used metaphorically to prime people to think in terms of **ideological** attachments underlying the type of a social strain and locate the deep and pervasive mechanisms for the observation, understanding, evaluating and manipulating social reality. Whatever the cultural symbol-system they reveal, they are sources of information, *i.e.*, the ideologies, that "[r]ender incomprehensible situations meaningful, [and M.S.] construe them as to make it possible to act purposefully within them, (...) they are most distinctively, maps of problematic social reality and matrices for the creation of collective conscience" (Geertz 1973: 220). Therefore, closer look at metaphorical patterns with the word WOJNA reveals ways of helping the society not only to address the controversial topic of war but most importantly to deal with the reality on the local and global scale.

After examining the concordance data, the significant concordance lines of metaphorical expressions surrounding the lemma WOJNA have been singled out, which is shown in the table below:

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konfesjonatach i wystawienie Pana Jezusa w Najświętszym Sakramencie . Zło	wojny [wojna:subst:sg:gen:f]	I jej skutki zbliżają się coraz bardziej do naszych granic
spadły o świcie . Wczoraj Ukraińcy obudzili się w piekle	wojny [wojna:subst:sg:gen:f]	. Bomby spadły na kilkadziesiąt ukraińskich miast , niszcząc domy
nie ma już wielkiego znaczenia . Mleko się rozlało .	Wojna [wojna:subst:sg:nom:f]	się rozlała , Prawdziwa wojna , w której płynie krew
. Mleko się rozlało . Wojna się rozlała , Prawdziwa	wojna [wojna:subst:sg:nom:f]	, w której płynie krew , giną ludzie . Zachód
mieszkaniec 80-tysięcznego miasta nie przypuszczał , że w ciągu sekund	wojna [wojna:subst:sg:nom:f]	na Donbasie dotrze za Dniepr . Rakiety doleciały także do
UE i NATO , trudno więc wyobrazić sobie bezpośrednie zagrożenie	wojną [wojna:subst:sg:inst:f]	. Nie można jednak wykluczyć wymierzonych w nas prowokacji i

Figure 6. Selected concordance lines of the lemma WOJNA.

1.4.5. WOJNA as an axiological construct

If we carry out a search on concordance lines containing the lemma WOJNA they are observed to capture value-negative **axiological (valuational)** concepts (Romanyshyn 2020, Pomeroy 2004, Hartman 2002, Krzeszowski 1997) which are universally recognised in the category of an evil and a threat. The axiological manifestation that become apparent in the analysed corpus include the phrases: *zło wojny, w piekle wojny, prawdziwa wojna, zagrożenie wojną*, and highlight the axiological binary distinctions of good vs. evil, heaven vs. hell, truth vs. lie, safety vs. threat which could imply the “emotive” aspects of meaning (e.g., Krzeszowski 1990: 135) and are major factors determining the concepts, e.g., that of legitimization/delegitimization (e.g., Cap 2008, Chilton 2004). As a result, patterns of moral reference echo in the shared discursive space between news media and the readers. Interestingly, they are the indication of the threatened reality and social disequilibrium that is created in people’s minds, therefore axiological underpinnings not only provide public with information about the world, but also make certain assumptions according to social categorizations which “[p]roject meaning and social values on the referents” (Richardson 2007: 50). Thus the cultural script based on dichotomous, ideological load of good/bad, true/false, safe/threatening polarity ascribed to the word WOJNA imparts meaning based on the deligitimisation of the temporally existing geopolitical context of war. This all creates a certain static pattern of social time and space inscribed within the spatial proximation strategy (Cap 2013) that reveals a clear, tangible, and real threat, as evidenced in the nominal forms like *zło, piekło, zagrożenie*, which aims at accomplishing specific discourse goals (Cap 2013: 27). Since nominalisations “[o]ffer extensive ideological opportunities” (Fowler 1991: 80) and are potentially mystifactory in terms of agency indication/overtness (*ibid.*), the axiological dimension marks a pattern that conflates with a specific representation of power relations that are presented by means of journalists’ attitudes and evaluations.

On the one hand, the status of things, *i.e.*, WOJNA, goes unexpressed in terms of agency due to the deletion of *who, did what to whom*, but on the other hand, this unexplicit reference involves ideologically powerful concepts of evil, social disequilibrium and threat which metaphorically proximate symbolic

construal integrating the “material danger” with the “abstract values”. This script suggests that the rationale for the war presented in news media press is based on the external physical threat of “geographical closeness of war” as well as the internal, “existential” threat which is an attack on values and beliefs.

1.4.6. WOJNA as a FLUID

Intriguing enough, the discursive representation of WOJNA is also correlated with “doing” and sensory–motor experience attributed to a **FLUID** (Kövecses 2005: 26). At the metaphorical level, the lemma WOJNA points to a considerable value of spreading and approaching which is explicitly manifested in the following expressions: *wojna i jej skutki zbliżają się*, *wojna się rozlała*, *wojna w której płynie krew*. The concept of imminent danger, involving the conceptual metaphor of WOJNA as a fluid that encroaches on Ukrainian territory, brings us to considerations of the metaphorical thought as a universal cognitive experience that maps its source (a physical domain) and a target (an abstract domain) (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, Kövecses 2005). The correspondences within the conceptual metaphor WOJNA as a fluid prompt contextual observations which serve as transparent linguistic articulations of WOJNA in terms of movement and action. The basic mapping that explains the mechanism underlying this conceptual metaphor includes the following:

SOURCE: fluid	TARGET: wojna
the fluid (blood)–war	
the movement of the fluid–the approaching war	
the active performance of the fluid (it spills out, spreads)–the status of the war–in progress	

These conceptualisations indicate that although threat or danger has not been used lexically in the corpora, they evoke the aura of fear that is recognised in the spatial/territorial reference by means of the embodiment in the form of a fluid. Given that universal metaphors, including the conceptual metaphors deriving from reference to a fluid, “[p]oint to an “overarching,” or “underlying” layer of cultural experience – over and above the metaphors that may be culture–specific” (Kövecses 2005: xiv), this metaphorical concept imparts significant information about the culturally shared understanding of war that characterises Polish people. By stating this, it is observed that news media press in Poland proximates a cultural pattern of being connected with all the war–related concepts based on the World War II experience. But not only that, it also captures the inherent cultural, war–related intangibles such as uncertainty, brutality, negative emotions and broken moral values. These observations allow a claim that the cultural script of WOJNA as a fluid draws on the understanding of war that is deeply inscribed in the Polish culture and provides a retrospective projection of the historical past that has not been forgotten. Since the existence of metaphors in language is determined by their existence in human thought (Kövecses 2005:8), they are notable cultural mirror reflections of social–cultural levels that still reside in a Polish conceptual system.

1.5. Discussion and Conclusions

The objective of this ethnographic study of discourse has been to distinguish linguistic patterns in the form of prevalent cultural scripts which are situated in the socio–cultural immediate context of Russia–Ukraine military conflict. It is believed that linguistic ethnography provides insight on socially regulated practice underlying a given community’s culture, *i.e.*, its communicational grammar. The linguistic

patterns which underlie Polish cultural scripts are observed to not only categorise social experience of here and now but are also intrinsically connected with Poland's past frames. The study has shown that the most prevalent scripts based on selected keywords and their collocations are concerned with three types of categorisations that make an explicit negative reference to Russian violent acts of war.

The first category merges two prevalent contextual co-occurrences which can be funnelled under the category of a role allocation. It specifically denotes a representation of (a) Ukraine in terms of its collective status and a submissive/victimised role. Russia on the other hand, performs as an attacker of Ukraine and therefore this salient role performance is mapping out a framework of *us vs. them* ideology that serves rhetorical ends. Specifically, this symbolic representation reports Russia as dehumanised nation that ideologically maintains negative-other trajectory.

In a similar vein, Polish cultural scripts offer another type of a dichotomy, this time with reference to (2) axiological (valuational) concepts. The corpora invokes scripts that highlight the category of evil and threat which imply the affective/evaluative aspects of meaning. The pattern of moral reference, expressed by means of nominal forms, points to the spatially determined dimension that reveals a tangible and direct threat of war. This mechanism also corroborates findings proposed by other scholars (e.g., Cap 2013: 126) who observe that the enactment of spatial proximization is primarily concerned with the so called ODC makers which denote antagonistic entities (here the words Russia and War).

The concept of explicit threat is also emphasised through (3) a metaphor-based cultural script involving the impact of a metaphorical thought that maps a universal cognitive experience of the war concept in terms of movement and action. This mechanism highlights the supreme role of a spatial framework recognised in the conceptual metaphor of a FLUID. In doing so, it allows for a projection of threat and imminent danger which consequently builds a communicative-*pathos* which thrives on fear of the upcoming war. This metaphorical mechanism would define the Polish society's cultural script as one of the prevalent linguistically oriented culture formation mechanisms (Chruszczewski 2009: 64). However, one more notable outcome that is marking the spatial/territorial reference visible at the metaphorical categorisation stage has been the dynamics underpinning the universal cognitive experience that somehow discloses retrospective patterns confronting the Polish society with its past times of war that cannot be forgotten.

In an attempt to provide an ethnographic discourse analysis of how communicative events of the first day of Russia-Ukraine military conflict have been presented in the form of linguistic patterns, it is to be concluded that the participatory culture of the Polish press discourse highlights the binary status assigned to Ukraine and Russia in terms of their social roles and attributed values. As a result, this outcome carries some implications about the asymmetrical power relations and defines both nations as groups of opposition which meaning goes beyond the system of language. Moreover, the metaphorical pattern observed in the study inherently involves reference to the past events which are still hidden in the collective unconscious of the Polish society embodied in language (Kövecses 2005, Deignan 2003). Given invasions of Poland throughout its history, not surprisingly for Polish society, their national metaphorical conceptual system has been put on a stand-by mode and is focused on the looming danger of war. Therefore, the analysis of cultural patterns has shown that these scripts have a ritual character since they replicate memories which trigger scripted productions projected in advance.

Finally, at the level of interaction between media and the Polish society, what is communicated is the common ground, *i.e.*, shared understanding through assumptions or connotations which are asserted

and accepted. Thus, cultural scripts provide insights not only into what is taken for granted within the Polish culture but also strive for building a high degree of cooperativeness that results in sharing the same goals and expectations. Therefore, there has been a high chance of news media texts being successfully shared, discussed and accepted within the Polish society. Overall, the prevalent scripts and their symbolic construals point to stretches of discourse that have the potential to become social facts which can become functional frameworks of the Polish culture.

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