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Laboratory of Approaches to Discourse



Editors

Akila Sellami-Baklouti

Fatma Benelhaj

Sabiha Choura

Nadia Abid

This special issue compiles papers from the 48th Systemic Functional Congress (ISFC48) organised in March 2023 by the Systemic Functional Linguistics Association of Tunisia (SYFLAT) and the Laboratory of Approaches to Discourse (LAD-LR13ES15), under the auspices of the Faculty of Letters and Humanities at the University of Sfax. This special issue, which explores the theme of power and empowerment in relation to language and systemic functional theory, is divided into two volumes. The contributions in this first volume provide some reflections on SFL notions, which can empower both the theoretical apparatus and its application to different types of discourse. The papers in the second volume showcase how SFL language descriptions can empower pedagogical practices.

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(Dis)empowering Ukraine/Russia through journalese: A Transitivity approach

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Abstract

Besides the devastating human losses, the Russia Ukraine war “can impact society within [...] and outside (e.g., supply shortage and inflation and threat of false information)” (Lim et al. 2022, 23). It can also affect “business within [...] and outside (e.g., test of business ethics and moral obligations and test of brand management) war-torn countries” (Lim et al. 2022, 23). These impacts might lead countries, and by extension their news outlets to stand by a side of the war depending on what is at stake for them. In this context, this paper aims at analyzing news articles supporting Ukraine and news articles supporting Russia to see how the same war is represented differently via transitivity choices. These choices will be annotated in the data using the UAM CorpusTool for semi-automatic annotation of texts. The system of transitivity is chosen since it treats the clause as “a mode of reflection, of imposing linguistic order on our experience of the endless variation and flow of events” (Halliday & Matthiessen 2014, 213). It is advocated, thus, that the journalese choices of experiencing this war event might empower or disempower one nation over another depending on the ideology supported by the news outlet. For instance, the results have shown that the Pro Ukraine narratives attribute the quality of animals, war criminals and savages to Russians and heroes to Ukrainians using attributive relational clauses and the Pro Russian narratives use relational identifying clauses to label Ukraine as a US tool to endanger Russia’s defenses.

Keywords

Ukraine; Russia; (dis)empowerment; journalese; transitivity

Introduction

According to Tosun and Eshraghi (2022, 1), “the full-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine since 24 February 2022 is a still unfolding international conflict with wide-ranging implications across geopolitical, military, and economic spheres”. This shows that the Russia Ukraine war does not only have an effect on the two nations at war, but also on the whole world. Indeed, nations have raced to support or denounce Russia or Ukraine from the very first day of the war depending on their profit relations with them. Profit in this context is not only economic since “although the consequences of this crisis have had a fatal impact on Russia’s

economy, the world economy has begun to feel the impact of this crisis” (Mbah & Wasum 2022, 144). The crisis is manifested through inflation, sharp increase in oil; natural gas; and food prices, negative impact on household consumption, unpredictable stock swings, supply chain disruptions, etc. This will be even worse if Russia decides to stop exporting vital commodities like oil, gas, wheat, etc. as a response to the sanctions imposed on it (Mbah & Wasum 2022, 144). Thus, the geopolitical profit surpasses the economic one here for some nations like the US and some organizations like NATO. This profit is summarized in Ukraine being a shield against Russia’s endeavors of international expansion. As for Russia and its supporters, Ukraine’s drift towards the west is a national security danger for Russia (Götz & Staun 2022).

In this war, it is international ideology towards the Russia Ukraine War that gained edge over international economy. The different ideologies towards this war have shaped its reporting in journals. One way of studying these journalistic reports is through using Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL henceforth) to investigate the different transitivity choices the reports opt for to narrate their own versions of the Russia Ukraine War depending on their ideologies. To do so, the experiential metafunction of language in SFL will be used, with a focus on the processes and participants chosen in reporting the war via the transitivity system. Indeed, when thinking of this system, there is always room for “choice in how to construe experience” (Martin et al. 1997, 101) since different people might have different versions of the same event, the Russia Ukraine war in this context, and accordingly different sets of processes, participants and circumstances. These choices in construing experience might advance one narrative over another leading to the empowerment of that nation’s narrative. Thus, in the context of this study, it is hypothesized that the journalese choices of experiencing the Russia Ukraine war event might empower or disempower one nation over another depending on the ideology supported by the news outlet. In order to study this hypothesis, this article will first review the variables of this study, then introduce the methodology used to annotate the data, provide an analysis of the findings of this annotation and end with a conclusion and a discussion of these findings.

1. Literature Review

This article studies the transitivity choices of Journalese in reporting the Russia Ukraine war. Thus, the main two axes of this study: the war and the use of transitivity in reporting the war news in journal articles will be reviewed.

1.1. The Geopolitical Impact of Russia's Invasion of Ukraine

In order to understand the different ideologies of nations towards the Russia Ukraine war, which might affect their reporting of the war, it is important to understand the international geopolitical impact of this war.

To start with, there are two strands in Russian political strategic culture: a long post-cold war sense of vulnerability vis-à-vis the West and a feeling of entitlement to great power status in its Eurasian neighborhood (Götz & Staun 2022). The sense of vulnerability is explained historically by the “wars of existence Russia fought in modern times” against the West: Napoleonic France (1803–1815) and Nazi Germany (1941–1945) and the cold war era with the United States and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) (Götz & Staun 2022, 484). Thus, the ties between Ukraine and NATO have been considered a “main risk” by Russia. This is furthered by the fact that “several invasions of Russia from the West came across the plains of Ukraine” (Götz & Staun 2022, 486). This vulnerability has manifested in the news headlines, following the current Russia Ukraine war. For instance, CNBC’s headline reads “Russia's Putin blames West and Ukraine for provoking conflict”, BBC’s headline is “Russia accuses US of direct role in Ukraine war” and that of TASS, the Russian News Agency, is “The head of state noted that the US pumps Ukraine with weapons despite Kiev’s public plans to obtain nuclear weapons”.

As for Russia’s strive for political power and regional dominance, the Kremlin’s elite have always thought that “it is an existential matter: Russia has to be a great power, or it will cease to exist” (Götz & Staun 2022, 485). In fact, Lavrov, Russia’s Foreign Minister, stated that “Russia can [...] only exist within its present borders if it is one of the world’s leading states” (as cited in Tsygankov 2008, 46). Thus, Russia perceived Ukraine’s drift

toward the West as a threat to Russia's national security and power aspirations. This explains the fact that Russians supported Putin in invading Ukraine to protect their country since he accused the west of "wanting to dismantle Russia" as the Guardian news headline reported it.

Facing this war, the world was divided depending on their political and economic ties with both countries and the United Nations rules as Figure 1 shows:

Figure 1: UN vote divide on Russia's invasion of Ukraine



(Source: *Credit: Forces network*)

According to this figure and to UN's report (March 2, 2022), 193 United Nations General members assembled to vote regarding Russia's invasion of Ukraine. 141 countries (including the UK, US, Australia, Germany, France, etc) voted against Russia, 35 (including China and India) abstained from voting, 12 did not vote and 5 countries voted for Russia's invasion of Ukraine (Belarus, Eritrea in East Africa, North Korea and Syria and of course Russia) (Map Shows Which Countries Backed Russia in Its Attack on Ukraine, n.d.).

This article seeks to see how this divide is reflected in the reporting of the news of Russia Ukraine war in the news outlets of these nations and whether this reflection shows their ideology towards Russia and Ukraine with the aim of studying how this

ideology may empower or disempower the two sides of the conflict in the international geopolitical sphere.

1.2. Transitivity in Journalese Discourse

Journalese discourse is ideologically marked. Indeed, “Fowler (1991, 209) argues that the way language is used to report news is “inevitably a structured process” which, if analyzed properly, should reveal the ideologies, values and “implicit propositions”, thus showing “that discourse is always representation from a certain point of view” (as cited in Barkho 2008, 278). This makes news an ideological construct that “does not neutrally reflect social reality or empirical facts at all [...] Events and facts do not have ‘intrinsic importance’ but become important because they are selected by journalists who adhere to a culturally and ideologically determined set of selection criteria” (Broersma 2010, 16). Besides, as Smith and Higgins (2013, 5) advocate, “journalism can only ever strive to be neutral or objective, and linguistic analysis can help to uncover the strategies and pitfalls of this endeavour”. This article will try to investigate this absence of neutrality as it hypothesizes that the ideology of a journal towards Russia or Ukraine might influence its editorial line in reporting the Russian invasion of Ukraine.

Journalese is a powerful discourse as it has the power to sway public opinion and change the beliefs of the audience since it uses, as a weapon, language which is “a medium of power and can be used to legitimate inequalities and unjust social relations for political ends. It can thus be used to empower as well as disempower” (Smith & Higgins 2013, 5).

This power can be displayed in the array of choices language offers to journalists to report a world important event like Russia’s invasion of Ukraine. One way to study how these choices reflect journals’ ideology is the experiential metafunction of the transitivity system in systemic functional linguistics. Indeed, journalists may use this experiential metafunction to construe different experiences of the world based on their own conception of this world.

In SFL, experience is construed through processes, participants and circumstances. This article will study how different news

articles opt for different processes and hence different participant roles to uncover their ideology towards the conflict at hand. The processes that will be studied are summarized in the following Figure:

Figure 2: Process types and participants

PROCESS TYPE	Category meaning	Participants, directly involved	Participants, obliquely involved
material: action event	'doing' 'doing' 'happening'	Actor, Goal	Recipient, Client; Scope; Initiator; Attribute
behavioural	'behaving'	Behavior	Behaviour
mental: perception cognition desideration emotion	'sensing' 'seeing' 'thinking' 'wanting' 'feeling'	Senser, Phenomenon	Inducer
verbal	'saying'	Sayer, Target	Receiver; Verbiage
relational: attribution identification	'being' 'attributing' 'identifying'	Carrier, Attribute Identified, Identifier; Token, Value	Attributor; Beneficiary Assigner
existential	'existing'	Existent	

(Source: Halliday & Matthiessen 2014, 311)

As Figure 2 shows, there are six transitivity processes with different participants and each process can be used to present a narrative of an event depending on how the reporter of the event wants to present it and its participants to the world. These processes are classified into material processes which are processes of describing the experience of the external world (mainly actions and events), mental processes of describing what is going on inside our inner world (mainly perception, cognition and affection), relational processes of identifying and classifying fragments of experience (mainly attributing and identifying), behavioral processes which are processes on the borderline between material and mental processes and they represent the outer manifestation of inner workings like laughing, sleeping, etc., verbal processes on the borderline between mental and relational processes representing the linguistic enacting of human thought like the act of saying, meaning, etc. and existential processes on the borderline between relational and material processes representing phenomena that exist or happen in

the world (Halliday & Matthiessen 2014, 214-215; Martin et al. 1997, 102-103).

All these processes have major participant roles, as shown in Figure 2. The most important ones are actor (the participant doing the action) and goal (the participant impacted by the doing) in material processes, senser (the entity that is going to perceive, think, want or feel) and phenomenon (the participant sensed) in mental processes, carrier (the entity being described or classified) and attribute (a quality, classification or a descriptive epithet assigned to the carrier) for attributive relational clauses, token (the participant which stands for what is being defined) and value (the participant that defines the Token) for identifying ones, sayers (the participant responsible for saying), receiver (the participant saying is directed at) and verbiage (the scope of saying in terms of a generic category (e.g. story, fable), a speech functional category (e.g. lie, question) or a lexico-grammatical one (word, phrase)) for verbal processes, Behavior (the participant behaving) and behavior (a restatement of the behaved process) for behavioral processes and existent (the participant which exists) for existential processes (Halliday & Matthiessen 2014; Eggins 2004 and Martin et al. 1997).

As “power and identity are important components in the language of journalism” (Smith & Higgins 2013, p. 5), every difference in choices of rendering experience of the same event can be a marker of ideology that might affect public opinion, which is what this article attempts to study.

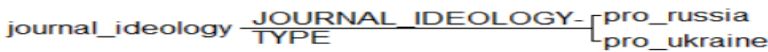
2. Methodology

The corpus of this study pertains to Journalese discourse, specifically to the Russia Ukraine war journal reports. Several online newspaper articles and News Agency reports are collected from pro Russia vs. pro Ukraine News Outlets from the period February 2022 to December 2022. The ideology of being pro Russia or Ukraine is explained in the literature review through the international geopolitical scene and the UN’s vote regarding Russia’s invasion of Ukraine. The pro Russia corpus counts 7577 words and is collected from the news outlets of TASS (The Russian News Agency), Nezavisimaya Gazeta, Rossiyskaya Gazeta, the Syrian Arab News Agency (SANA), etc. and the pro Ukraine

corpus counts 7575 words from the news outlets of The Daily Mirror, The Seattle Times, The Associated Press, Reuters, Agence France-Presse, etc. Thus, the corpora are balanced to engender a fair comparison between the news reports of pro Russia and pro Ukraine outlets.

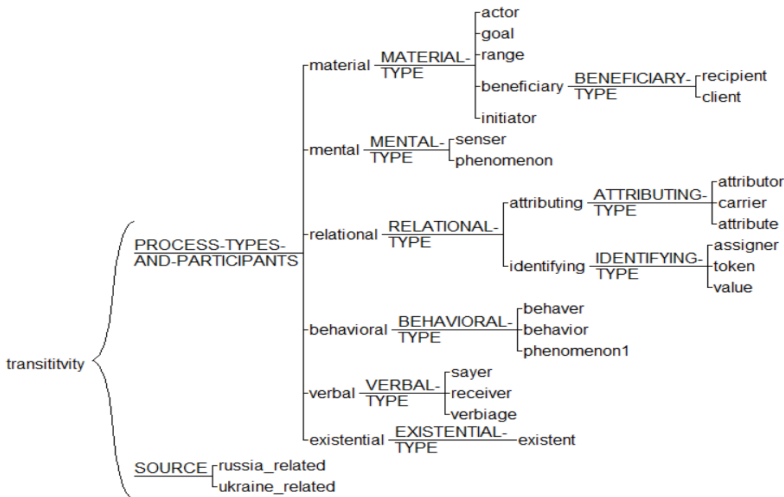
In order to do this comparison between both corpora, the UAM CorpusTool, a computational tool of text and image analysis (O'Donnell, 2008), is used to annotate the corpus according to the following schemes:

Figure 3: The Corpora of the Study Scheme



This scheme allocates the feature pro Russia or pro Ukraine to each news article or report, so that the comparison between both ideologies can be conducted later on.

Figure 4: The Transitivity Scheme



This scheme annotates the processes of the data using the transitivity system and then assigns each process according to whether it is reporting on Russia or on Ukraine. This will enable a comparison between the competing narratives of the news outlets concerning their views towards both Russia and Ukraine.

After annotating the corpus using these schemes, the UAM CorpusTool offers statistical results like frequency distributions, chi-square test, etc. that would generate a comparison between pro Russia and pro Ukraine news reports. This comparison is studied in the following analysis part.

3. Analysis

The annotation of the data aims to investigate the different war narratives of the journal articles and reports depending on whether they are pro Ukraine or pro Russia. To start with, the frequency of the processes each side uses to report about the two sides of the conflict is measured in Table 1.

Table 1: The presence of Russia and Ukraine in the pro Russia vs pro Ukraine news reports

	pro_russia		pro_ukraine			
Feature	N	Percent	N	Percent	Chisqu	Signif
SOURCE	N=749		N=744			
Russia_related	667	89.05%	211	28.36%	567.55	+++
Ukraine_related	82	10.95%	533	71.64%	567.55	+++

As Table 1 shows, Russia-related processes and participants are more present in pro Russia news and vice versa. This is because each journal is trying to narrate the events from the side it is supporting. The significant result in this case is that Pro Ukraine news report more Russia related news than Pro Russia News report Ukraine News. This can be explained by the fact that pro Ukraine news focus on the number of Russian casualties (450 & rising/24 February 2022) and how it surpasses that of Ukrainian casualties (137), but in pro Russia, there is no mention of Russian or Ukrainian casualties (The Daily Mirror). Thus, pro Ukraine news is empowering Ukrainian soldiers' defense of their country and disempowering Russian invaders who are less competent. This is evidenced in example 1 below:

E.g. 1 (Pro Ukraine): *“the Kremlin’s troops are just killing civilians because they can and they are militarily incompetent” (The Daily Mirror).*

As for pro Russian News, they focus on the injustices Russia is facing because of the economic sanctions, claiming that Russia can save the world from hunger as shown in example 2:

E.g. 2 (Pro Russia): *“sanctions kill hunger prevention”*
(TASS, Izvestia Gazetta).

This claim empowers Russia, giving it a worldwide crucial economic role.

Moving to the experiential differences in the narration of the Russian invasion of Ukraine, the most interesting results in the comparison between pro Russia and pro Ukraine news outlets can be found in verbal processes as Table 2 shows.

Table 2: The Distribution of Verbal Processes in the Data

Feature	pro_russia		pro_ukraine		Chisqu	Signif.
	N	Percent	N	Percent		
VERBAL-TYPE	N=247		N=224			
sayer	150	60.73%	160	71.43%	5.98	+++
receiver	16	6.48%	13	5.80%	0.09	
verbiage	81	32.79%	51	22.77%	5.85	+++

Though verbal processes are considered a generic feature of Journalese (33% of Pro Russia News processes and 30% of Pro Ukrainian ones), there is a significant difference in the use of the verbiage participant which is higher in Pro Russian news. Indeed, most of the Pro Russia news cover interviews with experts in economy to outline the drastic effects of the sanctions on Russia on World economy and experts in the military to talk about Russia's successful strategies in Ukraine. However, though experts' opinion on the Russia Ukraine war is interesting news worthy and empowering, it might lessen the credibility of the news since it would seem more talk than fact related. This is furthered by the sentence “TASS is not responsible for the material quoted in the interviews” which exists at the end of each TASS report. The following extracts from news outlets present some examples of verbal processes and participants:

E.g. 3 (Pro Russia): *“For Russia, it is extremely important to liberate not only Donbass from the occupying forces of the*

Kiev regime, but also the entire left bank of Ukraine, [...] other cities that have industrial and defense enterprises essential to the Russian Federation. If they are controlled by Moscow, this means that Russia has defeated the West and taken its Slavic partner out of the sphere of influence of the United States and NATO," retired military expert Colonel Nikolay Shulgin told Nezavisimaya Gazeta.

This is an example of a verbiage by an expert defending the military decision of Russia and branding it as a security necessity. The fact that the sayer is a military expert gives more credibility to the verbiage.

E.g. 4 (Pro Ukraine): Eastern European Chief Myroslava Gongadze said Friday that since Russia invaded, civilian casualties in Ukraine already total at least 42 civilians including 2 children (Daily Mirror) and VOA's Jamie Dettmer further reports: "More shootings inside Kyiv — Ukrainian intelligence say not the result of a main force penetration but carried out by saboteurs and Russian special forces, some in civilian clothing" (Voice of America News).

As the examples show, most of verbal processes in Pro Ukraine News are related to reporting the war as it happens to show the world the havoc the Russian army is wrecking in Ukraine. This type of reporting is more credible than experts giving their opinions on the war as in the pro Russia news reports.

Moving to material clauses, they make up 38% of Pro Russia News and 42 % of Pro Ukrainian News. The distribution of the participants of these processes is visualized in Table 3:

Table 3: Distribution of Material Clauses in the Data

Feature	pro_russia		pro_ukraine		Chisq u	Signif .
	N	Percent	N	Percent		
MATERIAL-TYPE	N=284		N=315			
actor	13	48.59	17	54.29	1.94	
	8	%	1	%		
goal	13	48.24	13	43.49	1.36	
	7	%	7	%		

range	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0.00	
beneficiary	2	0.70%	5	1.59%	1.01	
initiator	7	2.46%	2	0.63%	3.38	+
BENEFICIARY -TYPE	N=284		N=315			
recipient	2	0.70%	5	1.59%	1.01	
client	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0.00	

As can be seen in the table, there is no significant difference between the use of material clauses in both outlets since each of them tries to present their narrative as hard believable actions. However, the competing narratives are shown in the language of the news reports as the following examples show:

E.g. 5 (Pro Russia): Actors: “*the Russian Armed Forces* *unblocked the North Crimean Canal and restored water supply to the Crimean peninsula*” TASS News Agency.

“*Putin* [...] *to carry out a special military operation in order to protect people ‘who have been suffering from abuse and genocide by the Kiev regime for eight years’.*” TASS.

Thus, actors show Russia as a war winner and Putin as a protector of Nations’ rights.

E.g. 6 Goals: “we will not treat *Russian Patients*” TASS; “British media regulator Ofcom revokes *RT’s license* to broadcast in UK” TASS.

As for goals, they are related to the injustice of Western treatment of Russia and the sanctions they subject it to.

E.g. 7 Initiators: “*Western countries* *pushed Russia to take such a step*” Izvestia Gazetta.

So, the west is presented as the initiator of the war.

E.g. 8 (Pro Ukraine): “*Ukraine* *continues to fight invasion four front, and has been successful in repelling and holding up Russian forces on some occasions*” Daily Mirror; “But Mr Rushton says *the Ukrainians* *‘are still beating the Russians out of their country’*” Reuters.

Ukraine soldiers are presented as actors fending off Russian forces successfully.

E.g. 9 (Pro Ukraine): “Russian forces had carried out “unspeakable, deliberate cruelty and violence” directed toward the Ukrainian population.” The Mirror; “Russian troops are raping ‘numerous’ women” Daily Mirror, “Russians aim to eliminate as many Ukrainians as they can”. The Mirror

Russians are presented as actors of aggression and Ukraine is the goal of that aggression.

As for relational processes, both Pro Russia and Pro Ukrainian News have 18% of relational clauses distributed as Table 4 shows:

Table 4: Distribution of Relational Processes in the Data

Feature	pro_russia		pro_ukraine		Chisq u	Signif .
	N	Percent	N	Percent		
RELATIONAL- TYPE	N=142		N=136			
attributing	11	78.87	10	77.94	0.04	
	2	%	6	%		
identifying	30	21.13	30	22.06	0.04	
		%		%		
ATTRIBUTING -TYPE	N=142		N=136			
attributor	1	0.70%	3	2.21%	1.10	
carrier	58	40.85	58	42.65	0.09	
		%		%		
attribute	53	37.32	45	33.09	0.55	
		%		%		
IDENTIFYING- TYPE	N=142		N=136			
assigner	0	0.00%	1	0.74%	1.05	
token	14	9.86%	16	11.76	0.26	
				%		
value	16	11.27	13	9.56%	0.22	
		%				

These relational processes are used for different reasons depending on the ideology of the journal towards Russia or Ukraine as the following examples show:

E.g. 10 (Pro Russia): Attributes: *“Ukraine has become a tool of US Foreign policy”* TASS; *“Ukraine is an anti-Russian platform”* TASS.

TASS, a Russian news agency, is attributing negative qualities to Ukraine depicting it as a US tool that endangers Russia. This, in their opinion, justifies the invasion of Ukraine.

E.g. 11 (Pro Russia) *“The anti-Russia sanctions are the culprits”* Rossiyskaya Gazeta; *“London will remain Moscow’s most vehement opponent in Western Europe”* TASS; *“charging unfriendly countries in rubles is in fact the only way to overcome the dominant role of the dollar”* Izvestia Gazetta.

These processes identify the west as the problem by using Values like “culprits”, “opponent”, etc. and Ukraine being an aid to that west, must be stopped.

E.g. 12 (Pro Ukraine): *“Russian troops are lower than animals”* The Times; *“Russia is ‘worse than ISIS’ ”* The Mirror; *“Putin is out of his mind”* Voice of America; *“Vladimir Putin becoming desperate with Ukraine absolutely annihilating Russia”* The Mirror; *“they [Russian] are militarily incompetent”* The Mirror.

These western news outlets are disempowering Russians by attributing them qualities such as animals, terrorists, desperate, incompetent, etc.

E.g. 13 (Pro Ukraine): *“Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky hailed as a hero for the way he's defending his country”* The Mirror; *“Defence minister Dmytro Kuleba said he feared the situation in the besieged city of Mariupol would be even worse.”* The Mirror.

The opposite is true for Ukrainians who are empowered by describing them in E.g. 13 hereinabove as heroes and by empathizing with the dire situation in Ukraine through attributing it the quality of ‘worse’.

The rest of the processes do not show a significant difference in their use among the two corpora of the study. However, the ones presented and exemplified in this analysis have shown how the

ideology of the competing narratives adopted by pro Russia and pro Ukraine news outlets are construed by opting for different transitivity choices in reporting the Russian Invasion of Ukraine. This reporting has either empowered or disempowered one of the sides of the conflict depending on the ideology of the reporting outlet.

Conclusion

The impact of the Russian Invasion of Ukraine exceeded the two countries to create a worldwide social and economic crisis. This has divided the world into Pro Ukraine and Pro Russia supporters. One of the manifestations of this support is journalism. In fact, the Russian Ukrainian war is ideologically narrated by different news outlets supporting either Russia or Ukraine to reach the end of empowering/disempowering Russia or Ukraine. One way to study these ideologically competing narratives of the Russian invasion of Ukraine is SFL's system of transitivity and this study has shown how Pro Russia and Pro Ukraine journals have presented different experiences of the same war depending on the different processes and participant roles they choose to portray Russia or Ukraine and hence empower or disempower Russia or Ukraine. Indeed, Pro Russian news justified the invasion of Ukraine by presenting it as a tool of US foreign policy and a danger to Russian national security, while Pro Ukraine news denounced this invasion by branding the Russian soldiers as blood thirsty animals and war criminals.

This being said, the findings of this article put the integrity of journalism as a vehicle that supposedly broadcasts the truth into question. Indeed, "The current war of Russia-Ukraine once again challenges us with the ethical problem of war journalism, that is prone to worsening the ongoing global solidarity crisis through ideology polarization" which is caused by "the double standard that exists in war reporting where different wars are reported using different interpretations of the principles of objectivity and impartiality" (Susanto 2022, 139). For instance, Palestine was not given the empowerment Ukraine received from the west which "does not sanction Israel [...] because Israel and Ukraine are countries that are close to the West, where the right-extreme-radical view is not only widely embraced by the public but also by politicians and government elites" (Mas'odi 2022, 177). This

ideology is translated in the biased western presentation of Israel war on Gaza. Indeed, Mayaleh et al. (2024) criticized the western and North American double standard media coverage by stating that “Whereas Ukrainians receive sympathetic international attention and support, Palestinians are portrayed as terrorists and their lives are ignored due to international, specifically Western, indifference to their plight” (Mayaleh et al. 2024, 1).

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About the author

Ameni Hlioui is a teacher (Maître Assistante) of English Language and Linguistics at the Higher Institute of Languages of Gabes and a member of the LAD research Unit at the Faculty of Letters and Human sciences of Sfax. Her email is ammounafed@gmail.com. She holds a PhD entitled “A Cognitive and Systemic Functional Analysis of the Use of Personal pronouns in Legal Discourse: Life Insurance Contracts and Court hearings as a Case Study” obtained in 2018. Her research interests include Linguistics, Media and Journalism studies, Discourse Analysis, Legal Discourse, Systemic Functional Linguistics and Cognitive Linguistics.

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