CONSTRUCTING COMPETING DISCOURSES ON THE RUSSO-UKRAINIAN WAR: JOURNALISTIC TRANSLATION IN WARTIME

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Abstract
This study employs critical discourse analysis to examine two opinion articles published in Western press that propose divergent strategies for the West in the Russo-Ukrainian war. The analysis focuses on three key aspects: representations of the war, evaluations, and dialogicality. The study also analyses Ukrainian journalistic translations of the articles. One article argues for equipping Ukraine with all necessary weapons for a swift victory over Russia, while the other supports incremental weapons supplies, leading to a prolonged war. The findings reveal that the former article portrays the war as Ukraine's fight for independence and a battle to uphold international law, whereas the latter predominantly depicts it as territorial aggression that threatens global nuclear security. The former article employs a wide range of evaluative devices to underscore Russia's brutality and condemn the delayed provision of Western weapons to Ukraine. In contrast, the other article primarily employs evaluative language to amplify fears of nuclear escalation. Regarding dialogicality, one author structures his text as an implied dialogue with hypothetical opponents, employing rhetorical questions, imperative sentences, irony, and first-person narration, whereas the other author references individuals with institutional authority to validate his assertions. The divergent treatment of these articles by the Ukrainian media, both at the macro and micro levels – reflected in the significant disparity in translations (12 to 1) and the manner in which the articles were reframed during translation – reveals the gatekeeping function of translation and suggests the Ukrainian media's focus on positive news from the West as a means to keep up the country's morale.

Keywords: *critical discourse analysis, Russo-Ukrainian war, journalistic translation, gatekeeping, reframing, media.*

1. Introduction

The Russo-Ukrainian war, which began in 2014 and escalated with Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine in February 2022, has had significant implications for international relations. While Western leaders have expressed their support for Ukraine, varying perspectives have emerged regarding the most effective strategy to bring an end to the war. In the early stages of the war, a significant controversy revolved around two contrasting viewpoints: one arguing for the provision of all necessary weapons to Ukraine for a swift defeat of Russia, and the other advocating a cautious approach to prevent nuclear escalation, even if it meant a prolonged war.

The media play a crucial role in conveying these perspectives to the public, particularly through opinion articles. As observed by van Dijk (1995), securing press support is essential for the successful implementation of foreign policies. Many of these opinion articles are translated by Ukrainian media, and during the translation process, they are often reframed and recontextualised. Journalistic translation research, which burgeoned over the past two decades (Valdeón, 2015a, 2020), showed that translation in the media "obeys norms and configures practices that are different from those traditionally associated with translation" (Zanettin, 2021, p. 1). Journalist translators engage in various textual manipulations, such as restructuring the text, altering paragraph organisation, and adding or omitting information as they deem necessary, in order to align with the ideological agendas of their respective media companies and cater to the varied expectations of their readership (Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009). Valdeón (2022, p. 118) points out that journalistic translation performs a gatekeeping function, which can be traced on two levels:

> *...On a macro-level translation functions as filter to allow news writers/translators and companies to consider what should be published and what should not, and on a micro-level it serves to select the parts of the original articles that need to be adapted or omitted during the translational and editing process.*

Consequently, journalistic translation research "has been pushing the boundaries of the very concept of 'translation' and of the discipline of translation studies" (Schäffner, 2020, p. 120), and some scholars have argued for a broader definition of the term 'translation' to include the specifics of journalistic translation (Davier, 2015; van Doorslaer, 2010; Schäffner, 2012), and the author of this paper shares this view.

This study focuses on two opinion articles advocating opposing strategies for the West in the Russo-Ukrainian war and their Ukrainian translations. The articles were published in Western press, in English, at around the same time, following the "Ramstein talks" in January 2023, which addressed the potential delivery of battle tanks to Ukraine (NATO, 2023). My ***objective*** is twofold: first, to analyse the arguments and discursive strategies employed by the authors as they present their perspectives on the optimal strategy for the West in the Russo-Ukrainian war, and second, to examine how the Ukrainian media reframe these articles and explore the ideological implications of such reframing. It should be noted that some scholars consider opinion articles to be "stable sources" whose "content and integrity are respected" in the process of translation (Hernández Guerrero, 2009, p. 45; English translation cited from Valdeón, 2015b, p. 443), in contrast to most other journalistic texts. However, previous research (e.g., Kamyanets, 2023) showed that often opinion articles are also reframed in translation, mainly through modifications in their titles and leads.

2. Methodology

The analysis of discursive strategies draws on Fairclough's (1995, 2003) and van Leeuwen's (2008) models of critical discourse analysis (CDA). CDA aims to identify how text producers legitimise their representations of reality and promote their ideologies. It examines the construction of attitudes, opinions, and beliefs in discourse to appear 'natural' and 'common sense.' Discourse represents a particular perspective on a social practice, allowing ideologies to infiltrate people and institutions by presenting them as neutral rather than reflective of specific interests (Fairclough, 1995, p. 41). In CDA ideology is understood as "a system of ideas, beliefs, practices and representations which operate in the interests of an identifiable social class or cultural group" (Luke, 2001).

Fairclough's (2003) and van Leeuwen's (2008) models of CDA, despite their distinct theoretical perspectives and analytical focuses, can be combined to enhance the comprehension of discourse and its social implications. Fairclough's model highlights language's role in reproducing

and challenging power dynamics and social inequalities. Van Leeuwen (2008), on the other hand, focuses on recontextualisation, the process of transferring and adapting discourses across contexts, involving reshaping and reinterpreting texts while preserving or modifying their meaning and ideology.

The analysis in this paper also incorporates appraisal theory (Martin & White, 2005), which complements CDA by providing a framework to analyse evaluative language and its ideological implications.

It is important to note that comparative CDA of original and translated texts differs from monolingual CDA (Gu, 2022). Monolingual CDA focuses on analysing a text or set of texts as a coherent whole, to identify the underlying ideologies that shape the discourse. In contrast, comparative CDA of originals and their translations tends to examine shifts in translation and their ideological implications. By examining these shifts, bilingual comparative CDA can provide insight into the ways in which translators negotiate the relationship between source and target texts and how this negotiation may reflect broader ideological differences. Monolingual CDA has been actively employed in journalism studies (e.g., Bednarek & Caple, 2012; Kelsey, 2017; Khosravinik, 2010; Richardson, 2007; Tolson, 2006), while bilingual comparative CDA is increasingly utilised in journalistic translation research (e.g., Daghigh, 2024; Guangjun & Huanyao, 2015; Kamyanets, 2022; Kuo & Nakamura, 2005; Ping, 2022; Valdeón, 2005; Wang & Feng, 2018). In this present study, monolingual CDA is used to analyse discursive strategies in the original opinion articles, with a specific focus on three aspects: representations of the war, evaluations, and dialogicality. The analysis of translated articles draws on comparative CDA.

3. Analysis of the article *"What the hell is the West waiting for?"*
The first article to be analysed in this paper is authored by Boris Johnson (2023a), former UK Prime Minister. The Daily Mail, which published the articles, described it as an "extraordinarily powerful and emotional rallying cry" to the West (Johnson, 2023b.). Its publishing in the British tabloid may suggest that Johnson aimed to reach a wider audience and communicate his message to a broader cross-section of the population. The article was selected for analysis due to its translation and extensive discussion in numerous Ukrainian media. Johnson urges Western nations to promptly provide Ukraine with the necessary weapons to defeat Russian military forces. This section will examine the discursive strategies employed by Johnson to effectively convey this message.

3.1. What is at stake
Discourses are significantly shaped by representations. Fairclough (2003, p. 136) points out that while social events bring together various elements, normally not all of those elements are included in the representations of the events. Texts can be analysed in terms of which elements are included in the representations of events and which are excluded, and which of the elements that are included are given the greatest prominence. Besides, social events can be represented at different levels of abstraction and generalisation. Instead of comparing the 'truth' about an event with its portrayal in specific texts, Fairclough proposes comparing diverse representations of the same or broadly similar events.

At the most abstract level, Johnson portrays the war as Ukraine's war of independence and a broader fight to defend international law:

(1) *This is now a war of independence, and history teaches us that wars of independence only end one way.*
(2) *Those heroic people are fighting for all of us. The Ukrainians are fighting for the Georgians, for the Moldovans, for the Baltic states, for the Poles – for anyone who might in due time be threatened by Putin's crazed revanchism and neo-imperialism. They are fighting for the principle that nations should not have their borders changed by force* (Johnson, 2023a).

The portrayal of the war as Ukraine's war of independence underscores its existential significance for Ukraine. Presenting the war as a fight to uphold international law highlights the role played by Ukrainian resistance in upholding values that transcend Ukraine's borders. These representations put forth a persuasive case for Western support of Ukraine by appealing to both liberal values and the self-interest of Western audiences. In contrast, alternative representations in Western press may depict the war as a territorial dispute (Charap, 2023; Haass & Kupchan, 2023) or even as the West's war against Russia (Mishra, 2023).

Representations of concrete war events, influenced by evaluative language, will be examined in the following subsection.

3.2. Evaluation

Evaluative statements reflect the author's value system and serve to construct relations between authors and their readers (Fairclough, 2003; Thompson & Hunston, 2000). Evaluation can be directly 'inscribed' in discourse through the use of evaluative vocabulary, or it can be 'invoked', i.e. implicit (Martin & White, 2005, pp. 61-62). Martin (2000, p. 143) emphasises that expressing attitude is an interpersonal matter aimed at eliciting a response of solidarity from the addressee. Johnson employs a variety of evaluative devices, which will be discussed below.

3.2.1. Explicit evaluation. Through the use of explicit evaluation, Johnson commits himself explicitly to values, as in the following example:

(3) *All [Ukrainians] need to [take back the land bridge to Crimea] is the kind of kit the West has in abundance, and which right now <u>could have no higher moral or strategic purpose than to help Ukraine</u>* (Johnson, 2023a).

According to van Leeuwen (2008, p. 21), 'moral evaluations' are invariably linked to legitimations, meaning that the concept of something being 'morally good' inherently connects to a legitimising discourse. In this particular case, this discourse is centred around universal human values, such as compassion and justice, as is evident from further examples below:

(4) *What happened here in the suburbs of Kyiv <u>was sickening</u>. But it is happening in every part of Ukraine that Putin continues to occupy: <u>torture, rape, mass murder</u>.*
(5) *The Ukrainian expulsion of Russian troops from Kyiv will go down as <u>one of the greatest feats of arms</u> of modern times.*
(6) *It is a <u>brutal</u> and unprovoked attack on a <u>blameless</u> European country…*
(7) *Those <u>heroic</u> people are fighting for all of us* (Johnson, 2023a).

In examples 4–7 Ukraine is associated with positive evaluations such as '*the greatest feats of arms,*' '*blameless,*' and '*heroic,*' while negative evaluations including '*sickening,*' '*torture,*' '*rape,*' '*mass murder,*' and '*brutal*' are attributed to Russia. This pattern is evident throughout Johnson's article.

3.2.2. Implicit evaluation. In contrast to inscribed evaluation, which explicitly conveys judgements, implicit evaluation depends upon an assumption of shared familiarity with implicit value systems between author and interpreter (Fairclough, 2003, p. 173), as in examples below:

(8) *Come with me into the ochre mud of the churchyard in Bucha, past the bullet-ridden church of St Andrew.*
(9) *Stand over the graves of some of the 416 inhabitants of this town – nine of them children – who were shot by the Russians in an attempt to terrify the rest.*

(10) *Look at the photos of their corpses, their hands tied behind their backs, left in the streets to rot or to be eaten by dogs. Stand with me by the blackened remains of an apartment block in Borodyanka, the twisted plumbing and smashed children's toys…*

(11) *Try to meet the <u>pleading</u> eyes of the people who pulled 162 corpses from the rubble, and who searched for the 28 whose remains were never found* (Johnson, 2023a).

Examples 8–11 also feature inscribed evaluation such as "*terrify,*" and "*pleading*," but the key judgement in these examples is implicit. It is the condemnation of Russia for committing horrendous war crimes. This condemnation is based on the belief, presumably shared by Johnson's readers, that killing and torturing civilians, as well as destroying civilian infrastructure, are war crimes. "*Bucha*" in example 8, a Kyiv suburb where the Russian armed forces conducted a mass murder of Ukrainian civilians and prisoners of war in March 2022, has become an implicitly evaluative term synonymous with harrowing mass killings of civilians. Implicit evaluation, as Munday (2012, p. 38) argues, may be more persuasive for readers than direct inscription because it allows opinion to disguise itself as reporting.

Rhetorical questions

The title of Johnson's article, "What the hell is the West waiting for?" is a rhetorical question that suggests the West is not providing military support to Ukraine quickly enough, and expresses the author's frustration with this situation through the use of the colloquial phrase 'the hell.'

The article contains other examples of rhetorical questions, including:

(12) *What conceivable grounds can there be for delay? Why are we not giving the Ukrainians all the help that they need, now, when they need it?*

(13) *Why should we fear to provoke [Putin], when he has already shown what he will do without the slightest provocation?*

(14) *How can he 'escalate', when he has already reached such a pitch of barbarism that he is systematically pulverising the homes of civilians?* (Johnson, 2023a).

Through the use of rhetorical questions and also imperative sentences, which will be quoted further below, Johnson is implicitly entering a dialogue, or a polemic, with those who take a different view. The examples provided above clearly demonstrate that the rhetorical questions in the article effectively emphasise a single point: there are no valid reasons for the West to postpone the provision of weapons to Ukraine.

Irony

Johnson's article also uses irony, serving a dual purpose: as an evaluative device and as a means of enhancing the dialogical nature of the text. When using irony, the author echoes an opinion attributed to someone else, simultaneously dissociating themselves from it, tacitly expressing a disapproving attitude (Wilson & Sperber, 2012, p. 60). To comprehend irony, one must compare the seemingly expressed view with what is presumed to be true within the shared cognitive context (Hatim & Mason, 1990, p. 99). The effective use of irony, therefore, helps consolidate shared worldviews between the speaker and the hearer.

An example of irony in Johnson's article is shown below:

(15) *The Ukrainians need hundreds of tanks, and they should be getting them from the Americans, the Germans, the Poles, and many others. Where does the Western world need to station those tanks at the moment?*
Guarding North Rhine-Westphalia? Protecting Tennessee? Prowling the villages of Wiltshire? (Johnson, 2023a).

The rhetorical questions in example 15 are clearly ironic. By asking these questions Johnson effectively ridicules and critiques Western leaders who hesitate to provide tanks to Ukraine.

3.3. Dialogicality

Examples 8–11 above use imperative sentences. Imperative sentences open Johnson's article and recur repeatedly throughout the whole text. Coupled with rhetorical questions, they give the sense that Johnson is dialoguing with others rather than just doing a monologue. Besides, Johnson oscillates between writing personally ('I'-statements), writing impersonally, and writing on behalf of the Western community, for example:

(16) *I am proud that it is the UK that is once again making the running.*
(17) *Will he escalate with a battlefield nuclear weapon? Really? I don't believe it for a second.*
(18) *We cannot be blamed for the geo-strategic disaster that Putin has brought upon himself.*
(19) *It is not our job to worry about Putin, or where his career might go next, or to engage in pointless Kremlinology. Our job is to help Ukraine win – as fast as possible* (Johnson, 2023a).

Fairclough (2003, p. 180) observes that it is common for politicians to communicate their ideas as if they were engaging in polemical dialogue with others and speak both personally and on behalf of others. The first-person narration in a political text can have a few effects on the audience. It can establish authenticity and credibility, as the author is sharing their experiences and perspectives. It can also create an emotional connection by evoking empathy and understanding from the audience.

In summary, Johnson presents the war as Ukraine's war of independence and a broader fight to defend international law. By utilising explicit and implicit evaluations, he underscores Russia's brutality and criticises the delayed delivery of Western weapons to Ukraine. Johnson constructs his text as an implicit dialogue with hypothetical opponents, employing all these discursive strategies to bolster his case for swift weapons supplies to Ukraine.

4. Analysis of the article *"Ukraine gave up nuclear weapons at our behest. Here's what we owe them"*

The second opinion article to be analysed in this paper was published by the Washington Post and is authored by Jon Wolfsthal, "a senior adviser to the nuclear disarmament group Global Zero, a board member at the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists and an adjunct senior fellow at the Center for a New American Security" (Wolfsthal, 2023). This article was selected for analysis randomly from a pool of articles that were published around the same time as Johnson's article but advocate a contrasting strategy for the West. Wolfsthal's article, notably, expresses a similar moral standpoint regarding the war as Johnson's article. Wolfsthal believes that supporting Ukraine in its war with Russia is a moral obligation for the West. However, he argues against swift weapons supplies to Ukraine due to concerns about potential nuclear escalation. Instead, Wolfsthal advocates a strategy of "*a long and incremental war*," acknowledging that this approach is deeply distressing for the people of Ukraine but may be the only viable option to ensure Russia's defeat without further escalation. The following analysis examines discursive strategies employed by Wolfsthal to construct this case.

4.1. What is at stake

Wolfsthal portrays the Russo-Ukrainian war as an act of Russian aggression against Ukraine, as is evident from example 20 below:

(20) *This is a strong pragmatic case for supporting Ukraine that is distinct from the obvious moral one — that we simply must help a young democracy to defend itself against a neighboring aggressor state* (Wolfsthal, 2023).

In the broader context of the article, this perspective encompasses both "*territorial aggression*" and a violation of Ukraine's sovereignty:

(21) *Countries interested in <u>territorial aggression</u> will see nuclear weapons as an asset…*

(22) *<u>Any outcome to today's war that fundamentally undermines Ukraine's long-term sovereignty</u> would add to the argument that Kyiv made a fatal error in giving up on nukes* (Wolfsthal, 2023).

These representations support Wolfsthal's argument that the West bears a moral responsibility to assist Ukraine, considering it as a victim of aggression that gave up its nuclear weapons under the guidance of the West. Furthermore, examples 21 and 22 bolster Wolfsthal's "pragmatic case" for supporting Ukraine by highlighting the need to prevent nuclear proliferation. While these portrayals somewhat diminish the war's significance compared to Johnson's article by not emphasising its existential nature for Ukraine or its immediate implications for international order, they still make a compelling case for Western countries to support Ukraine, appealing to both liberal values and the self-interest of Western audiences.

As regards depicting specific war events, it is worth highlighting that Wolfsthal's article does not contain any representations of such events.

4.2. Evaluation

Although Wolfsthal employs fewer evaluative devices compared to Johnson's article, he still utilises evaluative statements to express his standpoint and elicit a sense of solidarity from the reader.

4.2.1. Explicit evaluation. Wolfsthal uses explicitly evaluative statements to convey the central message of his article, which emphasises both the moral obligation of the West to support Ukraine and the imperative for an "incremental" approach to such support, due to the real risk of nuclear escalation. In particular, in example 20 above Wolfsthal explicitly articulates his moral position regarding the war. However, where evaluative language is most prominently employed in Wolfsthal's article is in his depiction of the peril posed by nuclear escalation. The article starts with an ominous description of the present moment in history as a prelude to the future "Armageddon":

(23) *The world is on the cusp of a <u>dangerous</u> new nuclear era, and the war in Ukraine might be a glimpse of what is to come.*
Reflecting this, the hands of the iconic <u>Doomsday</u> Clock, an indicator reflecting the opinion of the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists as to how close humanity finds itself to <u>self-destruction</u>, were recently moved up 10 seconds — to 90 seconds to midnight. This is the closest they have ever been to <u>Armageddon</u> (Wolfsthal, 2023).

The above three opening sentences abound with negatively evaluative terms, such as "*dangerous,*" "*the war,*" "*Doomsday,*" "*self-destruction,*" and "*Armageddon,*" and set the tone for the whole ensuing text. The gloomy narrative is complemented by a vivid visual element, a photograph of the mushroom cloud from a nuclear test above the Pacific Ocean, which is placed right under the headline. This is an example of how news texts, especially in the online format, rely on the visual mode to convey their intended message. As Riggs (2021, p.356) points out, "online, visual content is omnipresent and multiform, so that its influence on the communicative situation sometimes equals or even rivals that of the previously dominant written content." The three opening sentences, paired with the image of a nuclear mushroom cloud, may be seen as an example of fearmongering – a manipulative technique that consists in deliberately arousing public fear about a particular issue. News media often use fearmongering as a tactic to compete for attention, because humans are naturally inclined to pay special attention to danger, which has been crucial for survival throughout our evolutionary history (Shoemaker, 1996). On the other hand, fearmongering can make people fear wrong things and use too many resources to avoid unlikely dangers while more probable

dangers are ignored (Glassner, 2000). Political leaders exploit public anxieties, particularly about terrorism, to achieve their political goals by creating and contributing to an environment of fear (Altheide, 2003; Furedi, 1997; Robin, 2004). Fearmongering in Wolfsthal's article serves a dual purpose: firstly, to capture the readers' attention, and more importantly, to bolster the argument against swift weapons supplies to Ukraine by stoking fears of a potential nuclear war.

4.2.2. Implicit evaluation. The most noteworthy instance of implicit judgement (Martin & White, 2005, pp. 42–43) is the article's title, as it implies that it is morally right for the West to support Ukraine, since it gave up nuclear weapons at the behest of the West. The title also suggests that the target audience of Wolfsthal's article are readers who think accordingly, not those who prefer to take a neutral stance saying that it is not "their" war (e.g. Mishra, 2023).

4.3. Dialogicality

As mentioned in subsection 3.2.1, one way to legitimise a representation is through "moral evaluation." Another approach is to reference individuals who possess some form of institutional authority (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 105). To substantiate his assertion that the risk of a nuclear war is highly tangible, Wolfsthal cites the "*opinion of the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*" (example 23). In advocating "incremental" assistance to Ukraine, Wolfsthal references the Biden administration's stance. Notably, he uses indirect reporting and narrative report of speech act – two ways of reporting that are often used manipulatively (Fairclough, 2003, p. 49-55). In particular, Wolfsthal says that President Biden and his key officials "clearly understood these risks from the start and have appropriately calibrated U.S. and NATO support for Ukraine to avoid, as they have said, World War III" (indirect reporting). For the same reason, continues Wolfsthal, "the [Biden] administration is clearly thinking ahead to the thorny issue of the end state of Crimea – a likely tripwire for possible Russian escalation" (narrative report of speech act). The latter sentence contains two hyperlinks – one to the author's own post published on his own website (Wolfsthal, 2022) and another – to the opinion piece "Blinken ponders the post-Ukraine-war order" (Ignatius, 2023) published by The Washington Post. It is hard to see how the hyperlinked post written by Wolfsthal himself can further support his claim that the Biden administration does not want Ukraine to de-occupy Crimea for fear of nuclear escalation. To read the whole post, one must subscribe to the website, which suggests that the purpose of the hyperlink is to promote Wolfsthal's website rather than provide supportive evidence for his claim. As regards the hyperlinked opinion article in The Washington Post, it does not explicitly state that the Biden administration believes that de-occupation of Crimea poses too great a risk of nuclear escalation. Granted, the article does say that an all-out Ukrainian campaign to seize the Crimean Peninsula seems unrealistic to "many U.S. and Ukrainian officials" – which is rather unspecific – "partly because Putin has indicated that an assault on Crimea would be a tripwire for nuclear escalation" (Ignatius, 2023).

At the same time, the opinion article clearly says that "The [Biden] administration shares Ukraine's insistence that Crimea, which was seized by Russia in 2014, must eventually be returned." As far as Mr. Blinken is concerned, the article points out that "he has been less worried about escalation risks than some observers". Consequently, Wolfsthal's implication that the Biden administration regards de-occupation of Crimea as a "tripwire for possible Russian escalation" appears unsubstantiated, as the hyperlinks do not provide any supporting evidence; in fact one of them suggests otherwise.

In summary, Wolfsthal portrays the war as Russia's aggression against Ukraine, which threatens global nuclear security. He employs evaluative language to amplify fears of nuclear escalation and cites the Biden administration as a source of support for his case for "incremental" weapon supplies to Ukraine and a long war.

5. Translations of Boris Johnson's article

Johnson's article was fully translated by three mainstream Ukrainian media outlets and one peripheral newspaper. Additionally, eight other media outlets published summaries of the article. Due to limited space, this section will focus on the analysis of only two translations – one full translation and another in summary form – both sourced from mainstream media. The objective is to showcase how the translations are reframed and recontextualised within the Ukrainian discourse surrounding the war.

5.1. Translation by Hromadske Radio

Hromadske Radio (Ukrainian for "Public Radio") is a Ukrainian media company that operates as both a radio station and a web platform. It was founded by a group of professional journalists and is well-regarded for its commitment to independent and objective journalism (Detector media, 2023). As a non-profit organization, Hromadske Radio sustains its operations through a diverse range of funding sources. These include financial support from international organizations, foundations, and individual contributions.

The translation of Johnson's article published by Hromadske Radio involved some reformatting. Its title is:

(24) *"Давайте дамо українцям усе, що їм потрібно для перемоги, вже зараз" – гучний меседж Бориса Джонсона у великій статті* (Hromadske Radio, 2023)
Gloss: *"Let's give Ukrainians all they need for victory, right now" – Boris Johnson's powerful message in a big article.*

The first five paragraphs, vividly depicting the horrors of the Russian occupation, are translated verbatim, presented in italics and formatted as a direct quotation. Following these paragraphs, there is an introduction from Hromadske Radio, describing Johnson as "Ukraine's great friend":

(25) *Так розпочинається стаття Бориса Джонсона, експрем'єр-міністра Великої Британії та без прикрас – великого друга України. Громадське радіо публікує переклад матеріалу, опублікованого в Daily Mail під заголовком: "Чого, в біса, чекає Захід"* (Hromadske Radio, 2023).
Gloss: *This is the beginning of an article by Boris Johnson, former UK Prime Minister and, without exaggeration, Ukraine's great friend. Hromadske Radio presents the translation of this piece published in the Daily Mail, titled: "What the hell is the West waiting for."*

The rest of the text closely follows the original but is divided into sections, with each section preceded by a subheading in the form of a quote from the article:

(26) *"Це війна за незалежність" ("This is a war of independence")*
"Де західному світу зараз потрібні ці танки?" ("Where does the Western word need those tanks at the moment?")
"Наша робота – допомогти Україні перемогти – якомога швидше" ("Our job is to help Ukraine win – as fast as possible") (Hromadske Radio, 2023).

One paragraph is formatted as a block quote, distinguished by being indented and styled in italics. This block quote corresponds to the following two paragraphs in the original text:

(27) *If they can take back that land bridge, or drive their way through it and cut it in two, the Ukrainians have won. It is game over for Putin.*
All they need to do it is the kind of kit the West has in abundance, and which right now could have no higher moral or strategic purpose than to help Ukraine (Johnson, 2023a).

By means of this reformatting, the translation published by Hromadske Radio frames the article as a voice of "Ukraine's great friend" in the West, while accentuating the ideas and representations that were central to the prevailing discourse on the war in Ukrainian society at the time when the article was published.

5.2. Summary translation by Focus

Focus, a weekly socio-political magazine and news website, is owned by Ukrainian businessman Olexandr Borshchevych, who has been linked to oligarch Ihor Kolomoisky in various reports (Riaboshtan et al., 2020). In April 2022, the media company ceased printing the magazine, citing challenges in organising printing and delivery to subscribers during the period of martial law. However, its website continues to maintain popularity.

The title of Johnson's article in the translation by Focus reads as follows:

(28) *Якого біса чекає Захід?! Українцям потрібні танки. І вони повинні отримати їх від США та Німеччини* (Johnson, 2023c)
Gloss*: What the hell is the West waiting for?! Ukrainians need tanks. And they should get them from the U.S. and Germany.*

The translation has an added lead quoting Johnson's first-person narration:

(29) *"Не розповідайте мені про "ескалацію" чи ризик того, що ми якось спровокуємо Путіна на якесь чергове жахіття. Чи піде він на ескалацію із застосуванням на полі бою ядерної зброї? Серйозно? Я не вірю в це ні на секунду!" Думка* (Johnson, 2023c).
Gloss*: "Don't talk to me about 'escalation,' or the risk that we will somehow provoke Putin to some fresh horror. Will he escalate with a battlefield nuclear weapon? Really? I don't believe it for a second!"* Opinion.

The main body of the summary translation consists of six paragraphs, beginning with the ironic rhetorical questions from example 15. Remaining paragraphs discuss the possibility of nuclear escalation and are a literal translation of the corresponding paragraphs in the source text (ST). One sentence is presented as a block quote, visually distinguished by bold formatting and a larger font size. This block quote corresponds to the following sentence in the original text:

(30) *How can he 'escalate', when he has already reached such a pitch of barbarism that he is systematically pulverising the homes of civilians?* (Johnson, 2023a).

Three segments are formatted in bold font. They correspond to the following segments in the ST:

(31) *Where does the Western world need to station those tanks at the moment? Guarding North Rhine-Westphalia? Protecting Tennessee? Prowling the villages of Wiltshire?*
(32) *He would become a global pariah, and plunge Russia into such a state of cryogenic economic exclusion as to make the current sanctions look moderate.*
(33) *He wants to make us talk about nuclear weapons, because he wants to portray his war of choice as a stand-off between Nato and Russia. It is no such thing* (Johnson, 2023a).

As a result, the summary translation published by Focus highlights two aspects: Johnson's assertion that the West has no valid reasons to postpone the supply of weapons to Ukraine and his belief that Putin's nuclear rhetoric is merely a bluff.

In summary, both above translations emphasise the ideas that strongly resonated with the Ukrainian public discourse at the respective point in time. It is noteworthy that the perception of Johnson's article in the new context differs. While Western audiences likely perceived it as a call to action, whether justified or not, the Ukrainian media framed it as the voice of a supportive friend and ally in the West.

6. Translation of Jon Wolfsthal's article

The article by Wolfsthal was translated by iPress, an internet media outlet with a peripheral presence, operating out of Lviv. iPress specialises in translating opinion articles sourced from Western press. No further information is available about this media outlet from open sources.

The translation published by iPress (iPress, 2023) is framed as an article discussing Wolfsthal's opinion. The article's title is modified in the target text (TT) to explicitly state that the United States has a moral obligation to support Ukraine's resistance to Russian aggression and hint that it is also in their interest to do so:

(34) *Україна відмовилася від ядерної зброї на вимогу США. Тож допомога Україні – <u>не лише</u> моральне зобов'язання Штатів – Washington Post* (iPress, 2023).
Gloss*: Ukraine gave up nuclear weapons at the behest of the USA. So assisting Ukraine <u>is not only</u> a moral obligation for the States – Washington Post.*

The original phrase "at our behest" in the title was translated as "at the behest of the USA," possibly due to the author's nationality. This emphasises the United States' role in ending the war.

The translation has an added lead section that incorporates author information sourced from the Washington Post's website and offers a concise overview of the article's main idea. Notably, the lead also says that a protracted war strategy is not in the best interests of Ukraine:

(35) *Джон Б. Вулфстал – старший радник групи з ядерного роззброєння Global Zero, член ради директорів Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists та позаштатний старший науковий співробітник Центру за Нову Американську Безпеку в своїй колонці для Washington Post переконує, що США зобов'язані допомагати перемогти росію не тільки через те, що вони вимагали ядерного роззброєння України, але й у власних інтересах – інакше всі держави: і агресори, і ті, що прагнуть захисту – захочуть набути ядерну зброю. Але він радить робити це довго і планомірно з метою уникнення ядерної ескалації. Це, звісно, не влаштовує нас, бо <u>Україна стікатиме кров'ю через помилки "гуру" міжнародної політики з Вашингтону</u>* (iPress, 2023).
Gloss: *Jon B. Wolfsthal, a senior adviser to the nuclear disarmament group Global Zero, a board member at the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists and an adjunct senior fellow at the Center for a New American Security, in his column for the Washington Post argues that the U.S. is obliged to help defeat russia not only because it demanded the nuclear disarmament of Ukraine, but also in its own interests; otherwise all states – both aggressors and those seeking protection – will want to acquire nuclear weapons. However, he advises that the assistance should be provided over a long period of time and in a systematic manner to avoid the risk of nuclear escalation. <u>This, of course, does not suit us, because Ukraine will bleed due to the mistakes of the 'guru(s)' of international politics from Washington</u>.*

By explicitly stating that the concept of a prolonged war as a means to prevent nuclear escalation is Wolfsthal's personal opinion and by questioning its legitimacy, the journalist translator underscored the particularity, rather than universality, of this perspective (Fairclough, 2003, p. 46). The mention of the "*guru(s)*" in the lead introduces some ambiguity, as it is unclear from the Ukrainian text whether this is an ironic reference to one or several individuals. In Ukrainian the singular and plural forms of the word "*guru*" are similar. Theoretically, the term could refer to both those who advised Ukraine to give up nuclear weapons in the past and those who support a prolonged war to avoid nuclear escalation today. However, it is evident that Wolfsthal is one of the individuals being referred to in this context. The decapitalisation of the word "*Russia*" is a manifestation of a recent trend in Ukraine to demonstrate disrespect for the aggressor country and its leader through the deliberate decapitalisation of corresponding proper names.

The remaining text largely adheres to the original, with the inclusion of some additional content, as shown in examples 36 and 37 below:

(36)**ST**: *Ukraine's decision to resist nuclear temptation, real and palpable at the time, remains a major security victory* (Wolfsthal, 2023).
TT: *Рішення України відмовитися від ядерної спокуси, реальної на той час, залишається великою перемогою у сфері безпеки (ми добре пам'ятаємо який тиск і шантаж чинили тоді західні лідери на Україну, щоб вона відмовилася від ядерної зброї і передала її росії. США та союзники власними руками створили монстра на кордонах Європи. І все це через доктрину Кіссінджера "про співпрацю з росією" – iPress)* (iPress, 2023).
Gloss: *Ukraine's decision to resist nuclear temptation, real at the time, remains a major security victory (we still remember the pressure and blackmail that Western leaders exerted on Ukraine to give up its nuclear weapons and hand them over to russia. The United States and its allies have created a monster on Europe's borders with their own hands, all because of the Kissinger doctrine of 'cooperation with Russia.' – iPress.)*

The comment added in the TT in example 36 highlights the role of the West in creating a situation where Russia was able to invade Ukraine.

(37)**ST**: *If we do get to celebrate Ukraine's victory, we would do well to then re-energize U.S. efforts to reduce the role and utility of nuclear weapons everywhere* (Wolfsthal, 2023).
TT*: "Якщо ми святкуватимемо перемогу України, нам варто було б активізувати зусилля США, спрямовані на зменшення ролі і корисності ядерної зброї в усьому світі", – резюмує автор. Додамо, що це можна зробити тільки в умовах, коли Україна завдасть поразки росії* (iPress, 2023).
Gloss: *"If we celebrate Ukraine's victory, we should intensify U.S. efforts aimed at reducing the role and utility of nuclear weapons around the world," the author summarises. We would add that this can only be achieved if Ukraine defeats Russia.*

The sentence added in the TT in example 37 seems redundant as it simply restates the previous sentence's first part. This addition may be explained by its position as the concluding line of the TT: the translator likely intended to underscore the importance of defeating Russia for any progress in global security.

Finally, fearmongering strategies are modified in the TT. The first sentence of the original article ("The world is on the cusp of a dangerous new nuclear era…") is omitted, which tones down the fearmongering rhetoric in the TT. Additionally, the TT uses a different visual element. While the photograph in the original depicts a real mushroom cloud from a nuclear test above the Pacific Ocean, the picture in the TT is a collage featuring a contented-looking Putin rubbing his hands, the Doomsday Clock displaying ninety seconds to midnight, all set against a fiery backdrop with a mushroom cloud. As a result, in the TT the visual focus is shifted from the objective threat of nuclear war to Putin's role in the current perilous state of affairs.

In summary, Wolfsthal's article is reframed in the Ukrainian translation to highlight the responsibility of the West for creating the conditions that enabled Russia to invade Ukraine, question Wolfsthal's perspective on a protracted war as his personal opinion, reduce fearmongering language, and emphasise Putin's role in contributing to the current precarious state of global affairs.

7. Conclusion

The analysis has revealed the specific mechanisms through which Boris Johnson and Jon Wolfsthal construct their respective discourses on the Russo-Ukrainian war. Both authors depict the war as Russia's aggression against Ukraine. However, Johnson, who advocates prompt weapons supplies to Ukraine, highlights the existential significance of the war for Ukraine and the critical role of Ukrainian resistance in upholding international law. In contrast, Wolfsthal, who argues for gradual provision of weapons leading to a long war, places a strong emphasis on the threat to nuclear security while downplaying the significance of the war for Ukraine and its broader implications for the international security system.

Both authors utilise evaluative language to convey their ethical stance on the war. They both assert that it is morally right for the West to support Ukraine as it has fallen victim to aggression. Johnson goes further by using a wide range of evaluative devices to underscore Russia's brutality and condemn the delayed provision of Western weapons to Ukraine. Conversely, Wolfsthal primarily employs evaluative language to amplify fears of nuclear escalation.

Regarding dialogicality, Johnson structures his text as an implied dialogue with hypothetical opponents, using rhetorical questions, imperative sentences, irony, and first-person narration, whereas Wolfsthal references individuals holding institutional authority to validate his assertions. In particular, Wolfsthal cites the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists to substantiate his argument that the threat of a nuclear war is palpable and references the Biden administration to bolster his case for incremental weapon supplies to Ukraine and a long war as a way to prevent nuclear escalation.

Ukrainian media tend to frame opinion articles on the war by Western authors as representing either supportive allies or opposing voices within the broader Western discourse. Of the twelve media outlets that translated Boris Johnson's article, arguing for swift weapons supplies to Ukraine, four explicitly referred to him as "Ukraine's friend." Both Ukrainian translations of Johnson's article discussed in the paper highlight the ideas and representations that were central to the prevailing discourse within Ukrainian society at the specific point in time. These included the notion that Ukraine is fighting a war of independence, the call for Western countries to hasten their supply of arms to Ukraine, and the dismissal of Putin's nuclear rhetoric as mere bluff, among others.

Wolfsthal's article, which advocates a slower pace of weapons supplies to Ukraine and a prolonged war, was translated by a single peripheral internet media outlet and underwent significant reframing in its Ukrainian translation. The translation ironically labels Wolfsthal as a "guru of international politics," emphasises the West's responsibility for creating the conditions that facilitated Russia's invasion of Ukraine, underscores that Wolfsthal's argument for a protracted war is his personal opinion, mitigates fear-mongering language, and highlights Putin's role in contributing to the current fragile state of global affairs.

Considering the gatekeeping function of journalistic translation (Valdeón, 2022), one could tentatively infer that the contrasting treatment of Johnson's and Wolfsthal's articles indicates a focus of Ukrainian media on emphasising positive news from the West in the research period. This observation could lead to a tentative conclusion that one of the aims of journalistic translation in Ukraine at that time was to keep up the country's morale. ***Further research*** is required to substantiate or challenge this conclusion, as well as to investigate how this dynamic has evolved in subsequent periods.

Funding

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КОНСТРУЮВАННЯ РІЗНИХ ДИСКУРСІВ ПРО РОСІЙСЬКО-УКРАЇНСЬКУ ВІЙНУ: ЖУРНАЛІСТСЬКИЙ ПЕРЕКЛАД У ЧАС ВІЙНИ

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Анотація
У цьому дослідженні проаналізовано дві аналітичні статті із західних ЗМІ, які пропонують різні стратегії для Заходу в російсько-українській війні, із застосуванням критичного дискурс-аналізу. Аналіз зосереджений на трьох аспектах: репрезентаціях війни, оцінюванні та діалогічності. Проаналізовано також українські журналістські переклади цих статей. Виявлено, що в статті, яка аргументує необхідність озброєння України усіма необхідними засобами для швидкої перемоги над росією, війну зображено як боротьбу України за незалежність та як битву за збереження міжнародного права. Тим часом у статті, яка агітує за поступове постачання зброї і затягування війни, війну переважно зображено як територіальну агресію, яка загрожує глобальній ядерній безпеці. Автор першої статті підкреслює брутальність російської армії та засуджує Захід за повільне постачання зброї Україні, використовуючи широкий спектр оцінних засобів. Натомість автор другої статті використовує оцінну лексику в основному для нагнітання страхів щодо ядерного ескалації. Що стосується діалогічності, то перший автор структурує текст як діалог із гіпотетичними опонентами, використовуючи риторичні запитання, наказові речення, іронію та мовлення від першої особи, тоді як інший автор посилається в своїй аргументації на осіб, які мають інституційну владу. Різне ставлення до цих статей від українських ЗМІ, як на макро-, так і на мікрорівнях – що відображено у різній кількості перекладів (12 до 1) і в тому, як статті були переформатовані під час перекладу – виявляє ґейткіпінг-функцію перекладу та припускає, що українські ЗМІ зосереджені на позитивних новинах із Заходу як на засобі підтримки морального духу країни.

Ключові слова: *критичний дискурс-аналіз, російсько-українська війна, журналістський переклад, переформатування, ґейткіпінг, ЗМІ.*