

HOW BBC TRKE TRANSLATES CONFLICT:  
NARRATIVE DISCOURSE AND THE WAR IN UKRAINE

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How BBC Türkçe Translates Conflict:  
Narrative Discourse and the War in Ukraine

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## DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I, Saliha Özçelik, certify that

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## ABSTRACT

### How BBC Türkçe Translates Conflict:

#### Narrative Discourse and the War in Ukraine

In times of global crisis, the intersection of translation and journalism has a particular importance as narratives are created, mediated, and disseminated across linguistic and cultural boundaries. The collaboration between these two fields is critical for shaping the public understanding of global events and conflicts. Within this context, this study explores how BBC Türkçe, the Turkish branch of the British Broadcasting Corporation, translates and reconstructs the news narrative about the Russo-Ukrainian War originally produced by BBC News in English. The study investigates how different kind of narratives are transformed or transferred in translation. Grounded in narrative theory and relevance theory, the study analyzes how ideological positioning, cultural expectations, and institutional limitations might shape translation decisions. The research uses two corpora compiled from BBC News and BBC Türkçe news articles published between February 2022 and September 2023 for the discourse analysis. It uses close reading and corpus-assisted discourse analysis to find patterns in word choice, omission, and recontextualization, and investigates the shifts in particular narrative elements. The study highlights the active role of translation in influencing the public's perception of conflict and adds to broader discussions in translation studies, media discourse, and international communication.

## ÖZET

### BBC Türkçe Çatışmayı Nasıl Çeviriyor:

#### Anlatı Söylemi ve Ukrayna Savaşı

Küresel kriz zamanlarında, anlatılar dilsel ve kültürel sınırların ötesinde inşa edildiği ve yayıldığı için çeviri ve gazeteciliğin kesiştiği alan büyük bir öneme sahiptir. Bu iki alan arasındaki işbirliği, küresel olayların ve çatışmaların kamuoyu tarafından nasıl anlaşıldığını şekillendirmek açısından kritik önem taşımaktadır. Bu bağlamda, bu çalışma British Broadcasting Corporation'ın (BBC) Türkçe servisi olan BBC Türkçe'nin, hareketle Rusya-Ukrayna savaşı hakkındaki haber anlatısını İngilizce BBC News içeriklerinden nasıl çevirdiğini ve yeniden inşa ettiğini incelemektedir. Çalışma, çeviri eylemi söz konusu olduğunda farklı anlatı türlerinin nasıl dönüştürüldüğünü veya aktarıldığını araştırmaktadır. Anlatı kuramı ve bağıntı kuramı temelinde şekillenen bu çalışma, ideolojik konumlanma, kültürel beklentiler ve kurumsal sınırlamaların çeviri kararlarını nasıl etkileyebileceğini analiz etmektedir. Söylem analizinde kullanılmak üzere, Şubat 2022 ile Eylül 2023 tarihleri arasında yayımlanmış BBC News ve BBC Türkçe haber makalelerinden derlenmiş iki derlem kullanılmaktadır. Çalışmada kelime seçimi, kelime çıkarımı ve yeniden bağlamsallaştırma gibi çeviri stratejilerindeki örüntüleri belirlemek ve belirli anlatı unsurlarındaki kaymaları incelemek için yakın okuma ve derlem destekli söylem analizi yöntemlerinden yararlanılmaktadır. Bu süreçleri irdeleyerek ve çeviri çalışmaları, medya söylemi ve uluslararası iletişim alanlarındaki daha geniş çaplı tartışmalara katkıda bulunarak, bu çalışma çevirinin çatışma algısını şekillendirmedeki etkin rolünü vurgulamaktadır.

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

In the digital age, the sharing of information across the globe happens almost instantly. At any given time, global news is being reported immediately, whether on social or traditional media, through various multimodal means of communication. This wide global communication network is highly dependent on translation practices in various languages. Through 21<sup>st</sup>-century technology, the information is almost simultaneously received, transformed, and transferred into other languages to address and inform audiences worldwide to ensure that information is accessible to them. The institutional responsibility of enabling intercultural communication via translation predominantly falls upon global news agencies. The news-making process in those agencies requires precise, rapid, and accurate transfer of information in whichever target language the agency aims at. This requirement builds a great network of journalists, language professionals, and other agents in both media and translation.

The global news network becomes especially engaged in cases of internationally relevant events, both advancements and fallbacks in human civilization, such as technological progress and wars. The current war in Ukraine is one of the most crucial global issues of our time. This war's significance does not only come from the magnitude and violence of the armed conflict. The geopolitical importance of Ukraine, its alliances, its history with Russia, Russia's relations with Ukraine's alliances, and all the other aspects of the war have political, cultural, and financial implications on a global scale (D'Anieri, 2023, p. x). This results in constant news production by major news media agencies, which do not produce only

for the local audience but also for a global audience, as most of the news media norms have now extended outside the agencies' own national limits. Among these global media agencies are Associated Press in the United States, Agence France-Presse in France, Reuters and BBC World Service in the United Kingdom, and Al Jazeera in Qatar, which have massive audiences worldwide and language services broadcasting almost simultaneously for different groups of people. Numerous previous studies have focused on news and narrative translation in conflict situations. Among these studies, some focus specifically on BBC News (Cheesman et al., 2017), translating conflicts (Inghilleri & Harding, 2010) and especially the conflict between Russia and Ukraine (Lazarenko, 2019; Kamyanets, 2022a, 2022b). The previous research also shows that state bodies and state-owned media agencies are still likely to pass on their own narrative discourse in their news production when it comes to politically sensitive issues, which shapes their international reporting as well (Walker & Orttung, 2014).

The translation process in news reporting involves more than just linguistic conversion. There is a high level of carefully calculated textual intervention through strategies such as omission, framing and recontextualization of the information. Thus, translation not only mediates the linguistic barriers between the source text and the target text but also influences how the events are perceived in different parts of the world. News translators are tasked with navigating target audience expectations and sensitivities, as well as institutional policies. To understand the dynamics of news translation in this context, this thesis applies Mona Baker's narrative theory. Narrative theory suggests that people make sense of the world through the stories they are told, which are constructed and mediated through language. In the context of translation, the translator holds the power to reconstruct and reframe the stories, thus

reshaping the perception of the audience. Baker distinguishes the types of narratives as being ontological, public, conceptual, and meta-narratives, which all function in different ways depending on the intended message behind the stories as explained in the Narrative and Framing chapter.

This study will critically explore the BBC Türkçe news articles about the conflict in Ukraine translated from the English-language BBC News. By examining the translation of war narratives, it focuses on how translation strategies contribute to the construction or transformation of narratives about war, conflict, and political responsibility. It looks at how translation strategies affect the final news product that target audiences receive and how translators play an active role in this process that is influenced by institutional policies as well as sociopolitical contexts. The research asks and answers the following questions:

What are the differences between narrative discourse observed in BBC News and BBC Türkçe articles about the war in Ukraine? Which translation strategies cause these differences?

Which translation strategies contribute to preserving or changing war-related narratives in the target texts?

To what extent do the translated narratives reflect institutional or audience-specific factors, including the broader political attitudes of the British and Turkish contexts?

In answering these questions, this thesis seeks to explore the relationships between language, power and ideology on the one hand and international media practices on the other, adding to larger discussions in the fields of translation studies, media studies, and political communication. To address the questions, this study uses a mixed-methods approach, combining qualitative textual analysis with quantitative

corpus-based discourse analysis. The data set consists of 553 BBC News articles and their corresponding 554 BBC Türkçe translations, covering the Russo-Ukrainian conflict from February 2022 to September 2023. By identifying keywords, collocations, and other linguistic patterns, followed by interlingual shifts in how those patterns manifest, the study aims to provide quantitative insights into narrative change.

The thesis is organized into eight chapters. The literature review and theoretical framework chapter will introduce the previous studies and methodologies used in the field of news translation, explain and relate the core theoretical concepts, such as narrative discourse and relevance theory, and set a base for understanding the main purpose of the thesis. The case study chapter starts with the contextualization of the ongoing Russo-Ukrainian conflict, which includes the historical background and international relations of the states involved in the study, notably Russia, the UK and Türkiye, as well as the media outlet that is under investigation, BBC News. It is followed by the contextualization of the media agencies that provide the source and target texts in reference to the aforementioned backgrounds. In the following chapter, the research methodology is thoroughly explained and illustrated with the help of a particular case selected from the war in Ukraine. The data collection and analysis chapter explain how the data was compiled and analyzes linguistic data by interpreting it based on the theoretical framework. Finally, the narrative case studies are analyzed in the broader context of the study and the outcome is interpreted based on the research goals.

Ultimately, this thesis aims to emphasize the importance of viewing translation not as an invisible, mechanical process but as an active practice that shapes global understandings of conflict. Since news stories strongly influence

global public opinion, understanding how translation shapes these stories is important not just for scholars but also for the global news audience.



## CHAPTER 2

### LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter aims to review the existing literature and outline the theoretical framework that guides the research, providing foundation for the analysis that follows.

#### 2.1 Translation and globalization

We are currently living in an age of rapid globalization. Although it is hard to find a single overarching definition of “globalization” that can be applied to the social sciences and humanities (Steger, 2024, p. 19), researchers have listed several features that can help to define the concept. The most relevant feature in this research is the speed with which information circulates around the globe as a consequence of technological advancements (Steger, 2024, p. 8). The process of globalization is vastly affected by media practices throughout the world, as media is one of the central tools of globalization in modern times. Bielsa and Hughes consider media to be “part of the global battlefields and central players of the information war” (Bielsa & Hughes, 2009). The media has been used to support causes, call for further support from others, and propagate political, social, and cultural messages throughout its history of use.

The propaganda element in media has been attracting great attention in recent scholarly research, especially in the context of the Russia-Ukraine war (Golovchenko, 2022; Levenstam, 2022; Geissler et al., 2023). There has also been independent in-house research on propaganda by media organizations themselves. For instance, Russia has been proven to controversially use social media influencers



that spread (mis)information about the war, as the BBC's disinformation team reports (Golovchenko, 2022; Atanesian, 2023). These social media figures are also known as “war influencers” or “Z-Bloggers”, as the letter Z has become a symbol of support for Russia. The influencers get paid to share government-supporting posts on multiple social media accounts on several platforms, such as Facebook, Twitter, TikTok, and Telegram, almost on a daily basis (Atanesian, 2023). Another well-known Russian propaganda platform is the official website for the President of Russia, launched in 2000, which publishes Presidential Press content such as political speeches and statements in both Russian and English. The selection of English as the only language on the website other than Russian is significant in the context of globalization, especially given the fact that there is no indication as to whether the English texts are translations, meaning that texts in English are presented as authentic texts. As of January 2024, English is the most commonly used media language worldwide and accounts for more than half of web content (DataReportal, & We Are Social, & Meltwater, 2024). Zanettin states that the wide currency of English in the context of news media translation directly causes the “translated news to affect issues of politics, conflict, and power” (Zanettin, 2021, p. 4).

The concept of power is especially significant from the translation perspective. Zanettin describes translation as “a locus of power differential, taking place between one more and one less prestigious variety of human language” (Zanettin, 2021, p. 4). Tymoczko and Gentzler recognize the role of language power differentials in cultural change, by also challenging power dichotomies (Tymoczko & Gentzler, 2002, p. xviii). According to Tymoczko and Gentzler, the word “dichotomy” here suggests a “rule or be ruled” logic, which does not hold up very strongly in the modern age. Nevertheless, even though this power imbalance cannot

be reduced to two polar opposites, one cannot deny the existence of unequal multipolar cultures in the international environment, especially if English is on one side of the spectrum.

The role of power becomes even more relevant in times of international conflict, when nations and cultures are engaged in a constant and shifting power play, and language is one of the main mediators of this assertion of power in both national and international narratives. Still, due to the imbalance in power dynamics, global news is mainly under the dominance of Western-centric media (namely the aforementioned English, French, and American media outlets), which results in the “homogenization of international news” (Bielsa & Hughes, 2009, p. 31). This dominance is eventually reflected in the international branches of these Western media companies, namely foreign language services such as BBC World Service. The same imbalance is also present on an organizational and governmental level. Today, only a few media organizations have the means to access instant news, and their high rank in the chain of global communication grants them great power over the ones with smaller budgets and fewer resources (Bielsa & Hughes, 2009).

There are also government policies that regulate the news-making process, which occasionally clash with the institutional policies of media agencies. There have been cases where governments banned media agencies, censored content, or limited access to their websites by giving national press laws as reasons (Herbert, 2013, p. ix). In Türkiye, some of the most popular social media platforms, such as YouTube, Wikipedia, and Twitter, have fallen foul of such government legislation in the past, not to mention politically controversial news agencies such as Deutsche Welle and Voice of America (Erem, 2020; “DW ve VOA’nın Türkçe Yayınları Neden Engellendi, Türkiye’den Nasıl Erişebilirsiniz?” 2022).

The issue of news content “homogenization” is enabled by media agencies by “multiplying the texts available within ... standardized discourses” (Boyd-Barett, 1997, p. 143, cited in Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009, p. 36). Cronin uses a closely associated term, “cosmopolitanism” as an elaboration of this concept, which also defines the age that is shaped by globalization (Cronin, 2003, p. 49). Moreover, he emphasizes the role of both technology and translators that leads to “a reticular cosmopolitanism of near-instantaneity” (Cronin, 2003, p. 49). In this sense, cosmopolitanism is a process that creates one body of international audience, which is created by and subject to a homogenized mass of news content. Eventually, enabling instant communication in the globalized world becomes the responsibility of the translators, who are expected to be among the crucial agents in this process. More than that, they can be considered the main gatekeepers between the linguistic and social borders and the decision-makers of the homogenization process. However, previous studies as well as this research confirm that translators’ crucial role may not be as evident in practice. Bielsa and Bassnett point out the lack of attention to the translator’s role in the dissemination of such fast-flowing news, even though it is often discussed in theory (Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009). This issue will be looked at in depth in the section 2.4 Translating News. That being said, we shall start by briefly revisiting news translation as a subfield of translation studies.

## 2.2 A brief overview of news translation research

News translation research is a sub-branch of translation studies that may be located at the intersection between translation and globalization (Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009). Translation scholars who specialize in news translation research often emphasize that this sub-branch has emerged relatively recently (Bielsa, 2010; Valdeón, 2015;

Zanettin, 2021). One of the reasons for this late development is that the nature of news translation challenges the traditional theoretical frameworks used for translation studies research, which mostly revolved around literary translation in the past (Bielsa & Hughes, 2009). Many scholars point out one fundamental difference between literary translation research and journalistic translation research (Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009; Valdeón, 2018; Aragrande, 2020; Zanettin, 2021): while the first type of translation usually involves identifiable and clearly delineated source and target texts, the latter is concerned with target texts that do not necessarily have corresponding source texts. News translation research has been and is still being developed with contributions from several disciplines, especially journalism, media, and globalization studies. Based on this engagement, Zanettin introduces the term “news media translation” to include different fields and interdisciplinary methods in translation research. The term “news media translation” also emphasizes the role of translation practices in digital media (Zanettin, 2021, p.86), and it will be used interchangeably with “news translation” from this point on. This thesis will present a case study focused on linguistic observations in the news articles with reference to the sociocultural context, as is common in journalistic translation research.

Although translation has always been considered the foundation of international journalism (Espejo, 2011, p. 191 cited in Valdeón, 2015, p. 636; see also Agence Havas), news translation research before the 21st century was more focused on “the role of translation in news production” rather than news translation as a separate field with its own standards (Palmer, 2009, p. 186, as cited in Valdeón, 2015, p. 634). Valdeón presents a detailed history of journalistic translation developed in the first 15 years of the current millennium (Valdeón, 2015). One of the first studies on journalistic translation was conducted by Maria Sidiropoulou, who

analyzed news translation strategies in English and Greek and correlated them with the construction of ideological positions in the two cultures (Sidiropoulou, 2004). Another early publication is the 2005 special issue of the *Language and Intercultural Communication* journal, edited by Susan Bassnett, which presents a collection of articles focused on news translation. In her own contribution to this collection, Bassnett deals with translation strategies from a sociological perspective, comparing the roles of journalists, translators, and interpreters (Bassnett, 2005). It is crucial to note that the scholarly developments around news translation have occurred not only in the field of translation studies, as pointed out before (Valdeón, 2015, p. 641). Jerry Palmer, a communication studies scholar, emphasizes the importance of news translation research by highlighting that “it can be considered an articulation of discourse which produces its own range of effects” (Palmer, 2009, p. 186, as cited in Valdeón, 2015, p. 635). These effects might include influence on news producers, as well as on the audience and how they interpret the news. Valdeón also states that “interdisciplinarity is highly desirable in journalistic translation studies”, mainly because it caters to shared interests between different disciplines, such as communication and translation studies (Valdeón, 2015, p. 636). These shared interests consequently lead to strong collaboration, thus constructing a rich, multidimensional field of research.

The production and dissemination of news are directly concerned with the practice of translation. If there is circulation or movement, the information needs to be shaped and reframed inside the borders of the languages that carry the facts, perspectives, and interpretations. This shaping and reframing occur mainly through the power of “narrative”, which is defined by Baker, in the simplest sense, as “the everyday stories we live by” (Baker, 2006, p. 3).

### 2.3 Narrative and framing

Baker elaborates her definition of narrative as encompassing “public and personal ‘stories’ that we subscribe to, and that guide our behavior” (Baker, 2006, p. 19). The subscription eventually becomes an understanding, which turns into certain values and beliefs about the world around us, shaped through narration. Therefore, narrative is the fundamental tool that “constructs reality” for human beings (Baker, 2006, p. 20). In news translation, narrative is not merely a retelling of events but a selective act that establishes meaning within specific sociopolitical contexts. News articles often integrate multiple narrative forms. The first one is the ontological narrative, which focuses on the self and provides elaborate details of any given event based on personal experience (Baker, 2006, p. 28). Personal interviews or statements in news articles are appropriate examples of this type of narrative. In Baker’s classification, they are followed by public narratives, which elaborate the ontological narrative on a greater scale but not necessarily in greater particularity. Public narratives are stories that appeal to groups of people rather than individuals. This type of narrative is often supported or challenged by means of ontological narratives. Baker identifies public narrative as the primary type of narrative transnationally circulated by translators (Baker, 2006, p. 33). Public narratives are common in news discourse, especially international news discourse, as it can be inconvenient to cover ontological narratives beyond national and cultural boundaries, since reflecting individual stories is often more challenging than reporting on collective stories. Conceptual narratives, which can be constructed with the help of ontological and public narratives, are stories told by scholars from a variety of disciplines to themselves and the world (Baker, 2006, p. 39). Conceptual narratives are relevant to the labeling strategy in narrative

framing, as will be illustrated in the case study. Labels are lexical items that identify specific elements in a narrative (Baker, 2006, p. 122). Therefore, we can argue that labels construct the concepts in narratives and, in that way, become a part of the conceptual narratives told by experts. The fourth type of narrative, “meta-narrative”, can be considered as the symbolization of an encompassing narrative that extends over time and place, almost like a cradle for future narratives to be laid within (Baker, 2006, p. 44). Meta-narratives are especially relevant in the conflict between Russia and Ukraine, where certain infamous narratives such as “Nazism” and “Cold War” frequently come up in discourse.

Baker’s narrative typology has been revisited in Sue-Ann Harding’s application of narrative theory to the Beslan hostage crisis that occurred in 2004 (Harding, 2012). Harding was concerned, like this thesis, with the news articles written about a violent incident and how they were (re)framed in the international media. She uses a dual typology of personal and collective narratives, with the latter including both conceptual and meta-narratives. Harding names her elaborated theory “socio-narrative theory”, as she combines narratological and sociological approaches and proposes that in order to understand a story that is constructed through and affected by different types of narratives, we must first understand these types of narratives in their social context (Harding, 2012). Thus, she advocates (Harding, 2012) for a more flexible view, where narrative types intersect and change scale depending on context, as supported by Boéri (2022). Another important addition to narrative theory by Harding is the emphasis on the narrators: the narrative construction is highly dependent on “actors to whom the function of narrating is temporarily transferred” (Harding, 2012, p. 302), suggesting there are temporary narrators alongside permanent narrators. She also calls attention to these narrators

and their roles, like who may narrate or not. Some of the questions she poses are how much control the permanent narrators have over their temporary narrators and to what extent these temporary narrators can decide not to narrate (Harding, 2012). Since the translators can be considered central narrators in translated texts, questions regarding narrators directly apply to translators and their activities. Boéri draws on the concepts ‘narrative locations’ and ‘narrative positions’ to bring out how different stories from personal life, work, and institutions are connected with one another (2022). All of the abovementioned concepts highlight the roles played by translators, not just as people who transfer words from one language to another but as active participants in shaping how stories are told and understood. Seeing translators as situated narrators allows us to better grasp how their choices can affect the direction, tone, and meaning of a story, especially when it is part of a larger social or political discussion.

The narrative approach has been applied by many translation researchers to many different types of translation products, including novels, folktales, websites, and holy scriptures (Wang & Munday, 2021). In a lot of these cases, narrative research evolves into socio-narrative research in the way Harding proposes when applied to translation studies, with a consideration of the social context in which the translation of the narrative is located (Harding, 2012). The role of translation in conflict narratives has been scrutinized in several studies, revealing the function and responsibilities of translators as well as positioning them in such conflicts (de Jong, 2025; Rosendo & Persaud, 2019). As one of the most prominent translation scholars who use narrative theory, Baker pays particular attention to news translation. She suggests that there are two choices for the news translator from the narrative side: “reproducing the ideologies in the text”, which may “imply complicity” on the



translator's end, or "dissociating themselves from the narrative" by rejecting them (Baker, 2006, p. 105). Both choices compel the translator to stand on one side of the ideological spectrum. One can debate the role of translators in such delicate media environments, describe them as simply the mediators of information and claim impartiality. However, Baker acknowledges the inescapability of "taking a position in relation to different narratives in order to act" in the world (Baker, 2006, p. 17). Bielsa and Bassnett support this argument by recognizing the difficulty of the translation task, especially "where there is a highly charged situation" (Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009). In the case of news translation, the act of "translating" requires making judgments about the existing narratives that construct reality, given that news is expected to report on reality. The point here is the acknowledgment of various narratives and, therefore, multiple measures of truth that may or may not be reconstructed by the translation act (Baker, 2006, p. 19).

According to Abbott, "narrative is the representation of events, consisting of story and narrative discourse" (Abbott, 2008). In contrast, Baker views narrative not as a fundamentally textual phenomenon but rather as a mental one that people believe and live by. Consequently, Baker's work on narrative also analyses textual material, but does not focus in detail on the specific role of "narrative discourse" in the formation of any given "narrative". However, this distinction is important for this study, which focuses not on the mental structures that narratives create, but on how narratives are produced in written texts, particularly in news translation. Therefore, this thesis will use the term "narrative discourse" to describe how stories are changed, reinterpreted, and transmitted between languages through specific translation practices. In this sense, news stories consist of narrative discourse, which turns story into language by articulating particular elements of any

given narrative. In this thesis, the mutability of stories between two languages is thus approached on the level of narrative discourse, where stories take shape.

Narrative and discursive theory in the news translation context is further supported by the concept of framing. The term “framing” has been previously employed by Valdeón in news translation research and has also been frequently used when describing media discourse in communication studies, as well as psychology and sociology (Valdeón, 2014). These fields also provide researchers with several useful definitions for “framing.” In the simplest sense, framing is “selecting some aspects of a perceived reality and making them more salient in a communicating text” (Entman, 1993, p. 52). In the context of news, “A frame is a central organizing idea for news content that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion, and elaboration” (Tankard et al., 1991, as cited in Ghanem, 2013, p. 6). As most translation scholars will recognize, some of these strategies are also discussed in translation studies under different names, such as addition and omission (Qin & Zhang, 2017). Gitlin argues that “symbol-handlers routinely organize discourse” by employing such techniques (Gitlin, 2003, p. 7).

Narratives and frames have several shared features. Just like narrative, framing also functions in the construction of meaning. David Morley has stated that “events come to be given one dominant meaning rather than another when they are presented in a basic conceptual and ideological framework” (Morley, 1976, p. 2). A similar definition by Gamson and Modigliani, which is related to the construction of meaning, suggests that “a frame is a central organizing idea...for making sense of relevant events” (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989, p. 3). These definitions allow us to say that narrating and framing processes work cooperatively. The “power” issue is also relevant in frame building, similar to narrative construction. Reese considers this

relevance a “politically pointed approach” and says that “frames are connected to asymmetric interests” (Reese, 2001, p. 19), suggesting that framing practices are influenced by political interests and unequal power relations. Who gets to have the power to construct these frames depends on their “access to resources, a store of knowledge, and strategic alliance”, therefore suggesting that framing is “an exercise in power” (Reese, 2001, p. 19). Yet, narrative and framing differ in how they work over time and in structure. Narratives involve a sense of movement and storyline, while frames focus on consistent but flexible interpretive patterns. In this thesis, narratives refer to the broader themes and concepts being told, and framing refers to the specific language and structure used to shape or question those concepts.”

As Baker points out, “translation may be seen as a frame in its own right” (Baker, 2006, p. 106), and this view raises important questions, as it identifies two layers of framing in news translation: one in the process of news-making in the source language and culture and the other one in the process of translation in the target language and culture. It can be challenging to identify the linguistic distinctions between these two layers of framing. News content may vary as a result of the agenda shifting between the news-making and translation processes. This shift presents a methodological challenge in the discourse analysis of such texts. For instance, when translators choose to omit parts of the source content, it becomes impractical to compare the source and target narratives. Since news translation often involves combining multiple source texts and making additions or omissions, there is no guarantee that the linguistic data in both versions will correspond. These layers also present themselves when news translation is regarded as a form of indirect translation, which is “understood broadly as translation of translation” (Pieta, 2019, p. 21).

According to Assis Rosa, globalization is a great factor behind the rapidly increasing recourse to indirect translation. The main reason is the infeasibility for every target culture to access raw news material in “geographically and/or structurally distant languages[s]”, so that the assistance of a mediator language becomes necessary for instant communication (Assis Rosa, 2017, p. 114). Reasonably, the mediator language would need to have the kind of resources to access source material, which is why the indirect translation process is often “mediated by dominant systems” (Assis Rosa, 2017). However, indirect translation is also often concealed, as “it arguably increases the distance to the ultimate source text” (Assis Rosa, 2017, p. 114). When one tries to determine if the translation is indeed an indirect translation, the indicators may be found in textual as well as paratextual material. Although this thesis is not specifically concerned with indirect translation research, it acknowledges the presence of indirect translation properties in the case study. After all, news-making is already a process of selection, interpretation, and rewriting before the translation act is conducted.

This thesis acknowledges that narrative in translation is a site of “renarration” and “framing,” rather than being static (Hermans et al., 2022). Framing highlights how translations are shaped by the culture and society they are part of, while renarration focuses on how the original message is rewritten when it enters a new linguistic and ideological landscape. Together, these concepts show that stories can change in translation, and translators play an active role in shaping how they are mediated in the new culture. Ultimately, the thesis takes a detailed socio-narrative approach, considering narratives as flexible rather than fixed, and looks at how they interact and how translators, working within institutional and ideological systems, influence the stories shared through news translation.

## 2.4 News translation research methods

As Bielsa and Bassnett emphasize, there is value in looking at both news translation practices and products if we want to get a better understanding of the field (Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009). Although many research approaches have been applied to news media translation, there are three main approaches that dominate the field, as identified by Zanettin: process-oriented research, product-oriented research, and culture-oriented research. These three approaches do not necessarily have strict boundaries and may overlap even within a single research design (Zanettin, 2021, p. 86).

Process-oriented research focuses on news media translation practices, their settings, agents, and institutional principles. Any questions regarding the steps in the news translation process, the roles of the agents involved and the guidelines to follow thus fall under process-oriented research. This approach is also concerned with the roles and tasks attributed to the news translators. This type of research can be split into two categories that rely on each other: ethnographic approaches and process research. The way news agencies function, to what degree translation takes part in their work, and how agents of journalism execute the translational activities in their daily practices fall under the ethnographic approach methods. Process research focuses on the cognitive aspect of news translation and news translators, using methods such as think-aloud protocols, discourse analysis and others from the cognitive sciences to determine what happens and how it happens when news is translated (Zanettin, 2021). In sum, process-oriented research deals with the translation process before the translation product, even though its findings may

become more informative regarding the translation process when combined with knowledge about the final product, namely the translated news.

Product-oriented approaches have been prevalent throughout the history of news translation research. The analysis of news articles, headlines, images, audiovisual material, and their written transcripts all fall under the category of product-oriented research. Before computational methods became prevalent in the humanities, product-oriented research depended on close reading methods for content analysis. A close reading of the selected text fragments presents the translator's choices and translation strategies in a given news product. Zanettin introduces four sub-approaches under product-oriented research: critical discourse analysis, systemic functional linguistics, corpus-based studies, as well as narratives and frames (Zanettin, 2021, p. 89). The narrative theory promoted by Mona Baker, which contributes considerably to the theoretical framework of this research, emphasizes the significance of storytelling in daily human experience (Baker, 2006, p. 9). Translators carry out the mission of spreading particular stories and thus become the storytellers in their target language and culture. Narrative theory has been elaborated on in the previous sections, but it is necessary to revisit it here since it creates a helpful foundation for understanding news media products.

One issue with previous studies involving narrative theory and translation is that the methodologies applied in them are not very diverse (Wang et al., 2020). These studies have tended to rely on a selection of a few articles and close-reading methods to determine the narrative differences in translated material. While valuable, this approach is not always well-suited to today's fast-paced news world, as they do not necessarily help us to get a better understanding of news translation phenomena on a large scale. Some researchers, in recognition of this limitation, have started to

incorporate mostly corpus-based quantitative analysis methods into their research. When introducing socio-narrative theory, Harding states that “its application is limited, ..., only by one’s imagination and the available data” (Harding, 2012, p. 304), emphasizing that data-driven methods can be used together with socio-narrative approaches. A recent example of narrative research on news translation that makes use of innovative corpus analysis methodology has been conducted by Gaia Aragrande. In her study published in 2020, she deploys a combination of corpus linguistics (CL) and critical discourse analysis (CDA) methods to work on news translation, especially for product-oriented research. Aragrande’s work illustrates that CL is a helpful tool for news translation research as it allows the researcher to consider on a range of linguistic elements across texts while minimizing biased focus on particular translation choices by providing quantitative data (Aragrande, 2020).

Finally, culture-oriented news translation research determines the conditions, norms, and expectations the translation is subject to in its cultural environment. When using this approach, it is crucial to consider the social, political, and cultural environment in which the target text is going to be constructed (Zanettin, 2021). Culture-oriented research adopts a broad perspective on news translation research. It questions the impact of news translation on cultural, social, and national images, views, and identities. It is highly related to other fields such as cultural studies and communication studies. It can be said that culture-oriented research is concerned with the implications of news translation in society rather than with translation itself.

The attempt to understand news translation thus requires researchers to take several factors into account, including aspects of the source and target language, culture, agency, and reception. Evaluating each and every one of these elements requires different perspectives and methods. Therefore, there is no single way to

taxonomize news translation processes or products, and every study on news translation has its own unique features. Many scholars choose to combine two or more of the approaches that have been presented above, and some develop their own methodology to conduct news translation research (Valdeón, 2015; Davier et al., 2018). Acknowledging the advantages of multi-methodological research, Xia (2019) proposes a three-dimensional analysis using the “product-process-power model” for news translation research. He applies this model to a case study of news translation in China, and supports his methodology with reference to Schäffner’s approach (2012) to media translation, particularly for political discourses:

...in order to fully understand and explain both the processes and the products of media translation, the whole framework of actions surrounding the translators, as well as the policies and ideologies that underlie these actions, needs to be taken into consideration. (p. 880)

Xia’s consideration of the wider political context of news translation is fully in line with the tendency in news translation research to relate product-oriented discourse analysis to considerations of socio-cultural factors. This thesis takes a similar approach, as it relates linguistic patterns to ideological orientations in the context of international news production.

## 2.5 News translators, consistency and relevance theory

The role of translators, whether based on their own code of conduct or decided by external figures such as patrons or the audience, is regarded as a highly “ethical” one, especially in times of conflict (Tymoczko, 2009, p. 173). Tymoczko suggests that if translators do not self-reflect on their translation practices, then translation can become “an instrument of domination and hegemony” (Tymoczko, 2009, p. 173). States that are culturally dominant in the international environment, and who already



deliver their cultural products (such as news media) to a global audience may strongly influence the translation protocols that are taught to translators, preventing them from performing their work with autonomy. For instance, Western conceptualizations of professional translation practice can “encourage a sort of amnesia about ideology”, thus preventing the translator’s agency from functioning (Tymoczko, 2009, p. 175). Tymoczko suggests that it is the translator who should have an awareness of this issue and whether they want to perpetuate this system and, implicitly, the attendant violence. She also suggests that even if translators do not contribute directly to the spread of political violence, they are still participating, and this active participation brings even more responsibilities to the profession (Tymoczko, 2009). This responsibility presents itself in some of the translations regarding highly controversial political content. One of the famous examples of this is the translation of the book *Mein Kampf* by the German political leader Adolf Hitler. The book was often translated into other languages with a translator’s preface, usually stating that the translator does not concur with the ideologies presented in the book, explaining why the book was translated and therefore justifying the act of translation for content of that nature (Baumgarten, 2007).

Another significant concept to consider in regard to the translator’s role and agency is “consistency.” In the context of narrative discourse, consistency refers to both the stylistic and thematic coherence of the text. Understanding Tymoczko’s concept of consistency is crucial in evaluating the narrative coherency in translated texts. Tymoczko understands “consistency” as a very difficult but also necessary ethical concern in translation. According to Tymoczko, “narrative consistency” is proof of the “coherence in the translator’s ethical orientation”; therefore, being consistent in the narrative is the news translator’s ethical responsibility (Tymoczko,

2009, p. 185). The occasional use of translation strategies like adding or omitting parts of a text, without any pattern aiming to comply with certain conventions, raises questions about the ethical consistency of the translator's underlying principles. Instead, this usage suggests that external factors, such as institutional demands, affect translators' opportunity to consistently reproduce the source narrative. This inconsistency might indicate a conflict between staying neutral as a language professional and the ethical obligation to either support or challenge the dominant ideas in the source text (Tymoczko, 2009). On the other hand, Pym emphasizes that "translation (i)s a form of cooperation" and "the translator's moral allegiance need not be entirely to one side or the other, not even if only one side is paying" (Pym, 2000, p. 8). This view highlights how a translator's ethics can be flexible enough to allow them to align with different groups. Therefore, Pym supports a more flexible ethical approach in translating, while Tymoczko emphasizes the importance of maintaining narrative consistency, especially in politically sensitive circumstances like war reporting. Drawing on this argument, the research will deal with "consistency" in detail when discussing the findings of the news content analysis.

Another concept that is related to the role of the news translators is Gutt's relevance theory, which provides a convincing framework for understanding how translation decisions are made with the aim of taking account of the effort that the target audience is expected to expend (Gutt, 1991). The theory suggests that the translation act aims for the most effective communication, which is only possible through making context-sensitive translation choices that prioritize target-audience comprehension. In news translation, especially in a multilingual and politically oriented media agency like the BBC World Service, relevance plays a key role in shaping the translation. Translators use context to determine what background

information the audience already knows and what extra details they need for clear understanding. However, Gutt's view also highlights the gap in understanding between the source and target audiences (Gutt, 1991). When there are significant cultural or ideological differences, the original message may change as a result of relevance-based translation changes, thereby changing the story to fit certain interpretations of global events. That way, relevance theory helps explain translation strategies that might otherwise appear inconsistent on the surface but are in fact consistent when considered in light of the translator's attempt to meet the expectations and needs of a specific target audience. Relevance theory can also contribute to our understanding of how translators navigate the expectations of the target audience, especially in the context of news translation. News translators often have to assess what the readers are likely to know already, and which details will help them comprehend the intended message with the least amount of cognitive effort. This becomes particularly important in the case of politically sensitive reporting, where the translator's work involves more choices, such as which parts of the story to highlight, simplify or remove entirely. These decisions are not necessarily about manipulating the news content for ideological or political purposes but about helping the audience connect with the information in an efficient way. Therefore, relevance theory becomes a way to understand how broader narratives are shaped by the translator's sensitivity to target context and readership.

The wide scope of literature that has been reviewed and the multidimensional theoretical framework necessary for the following case study cannot be understood without a broader perspective that takes into account the ambiguity of both news translation's definition and the news translator's role. The activity of news translators is often subject to high standards but is nevertheless concealed by the same

institutions that impose those standards. Furthermore, the expectations imposed on news translators are constantly changing and transitioning due to digitalization and globalization (Bielsa & Hughes, 2009). Consequently, the responsibilities of the news translator become difficult to assess, especially when we consider how little power they are granted over the source text. In this regard, the theoretical framework of this study is best supported by Tymoczko's (2003) statement on the ideology of the translator:

Thus, even in a simplified model, the ideology of a translation will be an amalgam of the content of the source text and the various speech acts instantiated in the source text relevant to the source context, layered together with the representation of the content, its relevance to the receptor audience, and the various speech acts of the translation itself addressing the target context, as well as resonances and discrepancies between these two 'utterances'. (p. 188)

As stated, translations' potential ideological implications may depend on several factors from both the source and target languages and cultures, and the incorporation of these factors into the analysis of news translation contributes to a better understanding of the phenomena. The data analysis for this study will be presented in three sections: In the first section, the social and political context of the case study will be examined. In order to identify the institutional policies that might have influenced the translation activity, the second section will examine BBC News, the main news agency in the case study, and its sub-branch, BBC World Service. Finally, in the third section, a corpus-based discourse analysis of news articles in English and Turkish will be conducted to examine whether the broader political and institutional factors discussed in the previous two sections influence the translation of news relating to the Russo-Ukrainian conflict.

## CHAPTER 3

### CASE STUDY CONTEXT AND BACKGROUND

This chapter provides background information about the war in Ukraine, the historical ties between states involved in the study, and the media organizations in question, all of which are necessary to understand the case study.

#### 3.1 War in Ukraine

The conflict between Russia and Ukraine, instigated by several political, economic, and cultural factors, can be traced back to the collapse of the Soviet Union when Ukraine's parliament declared independence from the Soviet Union (D'Anieri, 2023, p. 3). A detailed historical analysis of the conflict is not within the scope of this research, which primarily focuses on the news discourse produced during the ongoing war. Still, a brief review of the events that preceded the war may help in understanding the process of news production and translation on the topic, as well as understanding the political positions held by the states of the United Kingdom (UK) and Türkiye.

The 2022-armed conflict between Russia and Ukraine was a continuation of events that began in 2014 when pro-Russian authorities in Crimea held a referendum on March 16, that would decide whether Crimea should become a federal subject of Russia or remain a part of Ukraine (Cosgrove, 2020). According to official results, 97% of voters requested to join Russia. However, the referendum was widely condemned as illegal under international law, particularly given the presence of Russian military forces during the vote. Following the referendum, Russia invaded and annexed Crimea and attacked several Ukrainian cities in the south (D'Anieri,

2023, p. 1). In his official address, Russian President Vladimir Putin stated that Crimea had been added to Ukraine's territory by the Bolsheviks without consideration of the ethnic population and public opinion (President of Russia, 2014). That conflict was officially concluded, at least for the time being, when the parties signed the Minsk-1 agreement, or the Minsk Protocol, in September 2014. The ceasefire did not hold for very long, and after a period of further conflict, the Minsk-2 agreement was signed in February 2015. However, that agreement could not soothe the relations between Russia and Ukraine either, as both countries had utterly different demands for and expectations of a possible truce, and the articles in the agreement were never fully implemented (Allan, 2020). In 2015, Ukraine passed a number of laws that were not accepted by the Russian government, such as changing the language of education to Ukrainian regardless of students' ethnic backgrounds and previous experience of education and also official "recognition and honoring of the memory of fighters for independence of Ukraine in the 20th century", which included some people who were regarded as "Nazis" by the Russian state (D'Anieri, 2023, p. 250). Russia pointed to these new rules and presented them as justifications for the forthcoming attack, which was partly based on the alleged purpose of uniting Russia and Ukraine for the protection of both Russian and Ukrainian people and their cultures. This purpose was clearly expressed in an article titled "On the Historical Unity of Russians and Ukrainians", written by President Putin and published on the Kremlin's official website on July 12, 2021 (President of Russia, 2021). The article emphasizes the linguistic, cultural, and religious unity of Russia and Ukraine in the course of history and calls for a partnership with the Ukrainian people, condemning the Ukrainian authorities.

The armed conflict of 2022 officially started on 24 February with Russian President Vladimir Putin's announcement of a "special military operation (original: специальной военной операции [spetsial'noy voyennoy operatsii])" on Ukrainian territory. The term "special military operation" was perceived by some as a "calculated euphemism" that aimed to justify the attack on Ukraine (Martin & Maynes, 2022). President Putin gave grounds for the "operation" by claiming it was for the protection of Donbas, a city that was partly claimed by the separatist Donetsk and Luhansk People's Republic. These two states were officially recognized as separate independent states by the Russian state on February 21, 2022, right before the attack on Donbas. The armed conflict is still ongoing as of today.

From the very start of the conflict, UK officials announced full support for Ukraine, as did other EU states and almost all NATO members. The UK government provided "a range of economic, humanitarian and defensive military assistance to Ukraine" (UK Government, 2022) and kept its stand as an ally of Ukraine after Brexit, promising further support in the future if needed and help for the recovery of Ukraine (Ministry of Defence & Shapps, 2023). On the other hand, Türkiye's attitude towards the political tensions was somewhat neutral. Relations between Russia and Türkiye have always been complicated throughout their history. Türkiye was never an official ally nor enemy of Russia, even when there were political, economic, and military conflicts and collaborations between the two states in the 100-year history of the Turkish Republic (e.g., Türkiye's NATO membership and Russia's Syria intervention). Türkiye's membership in NATO requires the state to side with other NATO countries on many issues involving Russia, such as the annexation of Crimea by Russia in 2014. In 2015, Russia launched a military intervention in Syria with fighter jets, which created tension between Türkiye and

Russia, especially when Russian jets attacked the Turkmen regions in northern Syria (Özertem, 2017). The tension escalated when Türkiye shot down a Russian jet based on the claim that the jet had violated Turkish airspace, which was followed by sanctions from Russia concerning trade, tourism, and visa agreements with Türkiye. Nevertheless, the Turkish president apologized for the death of the Russian pilot, and the bilateral relationships started to improve after that. The relationship between the two states is said to be characterized by an ongoing history of “both antagonism and cooperation” (Cheterian, 2023, p. 1272), which the next paragraphs explore in more detail.

Once Imperial Russia collapsed in 1917, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) was founded in 1922, and when the Ottoman Empire became the Republic of Türkiye in 1923, armed conflicts between Türkiye and Russia almost ceased. Furthermore, the USSR became a political and also financial supporter of Türkiye in its War of Independence, which started in 1919 and ended in 1923 when the Republic of Türkiye was established (Oran, 2002, cited in Yılmaz, 2023).

Although the new republic espoused the principle of “Westernization”, this did not stop the attempts to establish good relations with the neighboring Soviets. A three-year Treaty of Friendship and Neutrality (Non-Aggression) Pact was signed on 17 December 1925 between The Turkish Republic and the Soviet Union, renewed several times in the following years, and on 7 November 1935 for the last time, but with ten-year validity. In the meantime, the Soviet Union was also trying to get on good terms with Western states, and their relations with Türkiye were not a “top priority” (Yılmaz, 2023, p. 27).

Nevertheless, the two states maintained their good relations through political and economic pacts, such as the Trade and Navigation Pact signed on 11 March



1927. However, the good terms came to an end during the Montreux Convention, when the situation of the Turkish Straits became a highly polemical issue. The disagreements between Türkiye and the Soviet Union led to a diplomatic note from the Soviets, wherein they announced that they would not be renewing the Friendship and Neutrality Treaty in 1945. This resulted in Türkiye's mistrust towards the Soviets and consequently led to Türkiye's membership in NATO in 1952. After Stalin's death, the Soviet Union announced that it did not recognize the previous note sent to Türkiye, and it withdrew its claims on the Turkish Straits. The diplomatic relations started to improve once again, and other pacts of friendship, vicinity, and cooperation were signed in 1978 and 1992, as well as a border and coast agreement in 1989. The most crucial agreements in the close history of Turkish and Russian relations concerned trade. Especially after the Cold War, Russia became Türkiye's main gas supplier, supplying almost 70% of its gas. There were several issues that challenged the diplomatic peace between the states in the 1990s, such as the Soviet's expansion to the Caucasus and South Asia. However, these issues did not necessarily have a negative effect on trade.

When new international conflicts arose in the 21st century, i.e., Russia's military intervention in Georgia and the annexation of Crimea, Türkiye stood with NATO and the Western states and declared its support for Ukraine. It has been pointed out that "whenever there was an issue between The West and Russia, the Turkish state always acted in its own interest" (Topsakal, 2016, cited in Yılmaz, 2023). During these times, Turkey sided with its official political and military allies, namely the NATO members, who did not establish policies as harsh as those of some Western states. Given its geopolitical position, which is between Europe and Asia, Türkiye has been trying to build political relationships with both East and West,

occasionally playing the role of a mediator between the two. These initiatives of mediation were also justified by Türkiye's unofficial status as a Muslim country and became more apparent after the 1990s (Sofos, 2022, p. 1). To illustrate, Türkiye offered mediation between Israel and Hamas in 2008 after Israel attacked Gaza and in the same year supported the African Union as a strategic partner and criticized the "Western-centered Orientalist approaches to the African continent" (Sofos, 2022, p. 6). As for the situation in Ukraine, Türkiye voted in favor of the resolutions that ruled for a ceasefire in all six United Nations General Assembly resolutions (United Nations Digital Library, 2022). Since the war started in 2022, Türkiye has hosted two peace meetings between Russian and Ukrainian officials (D'Anieri, 2023, p. 304). Moreover, Türkiye was one of the key figures in The Black Sea Grain Initiative that was signed on 22 July 2022. The purpose of this initiative was to allow food export from the ports of Odessa to meet the global grain supply demand. The initiative agreement was made between Russia and Ukraine, with the UN as the broker and Türkiye as the state charged with inspecting the grain that was being carried (Laborde & Glauber, 2022, p. 108). This agreement was an important event in the issue of global food security, thus making Türkiye's role as a mediator even more significant.

Past interactions between Russia and Türkiye, Russia and the UK, as well as Ukraine and Russia contribute to the interpretation of recent events. The relationship between Türkiye and the UK, on the other hand, is not explored thoroughly in this chapter, whereas the relationship between BBC News and BBC Türkçe will be analyzed in depth. The political relationships of the two countries are less relevant to this thesis than the dynamic between the two media branches. That being said, the

wider context of the conflict suggests the potential relevance of the intergovernmental alliances the UK and Türkiye are part of.

### 3.2 BBC News and the BBC World Service

Now that the brief political history between the states involved in the case study has become more apparent, it is crucial to understand how the media outlets in Türkiye and the UK operate. The British Broadcasting Corporation, widely known as the BBC, was founded in 1922 as a state-funded broadcasting service (Mills, 2016, p. 22). Since 1922, it has been used as an instrument of communication within the UK and the world, as well as serving as a tool for entertainment for both local and foreign audiences. As one of the major broadcasting agencies in the UK, BBC produces news for radio and TV and publishes the news on its own online platforms (Mills, 2016, p. 7).

The BBC World Service is the international sub-branch of BBC, established in 1932 under the name “BBC Empire Service” (Johnston & Robertson, 2019, p. 2). The primary purpose of this new broadcasting channel was to reach out to English-speaking communities outside the UK. After six years of broadcasting in the English language, BBC Empire Service started broadcasting in Arabic, followed by several European languages, namely Portuguese, German, French, and Italian (Johnston & Robertson, 2019, p. 60). Broadcasting in Turkish started in 1939, earlier than in many European and non-European languages such as Bulgarian, Swedish, Finnish, Dutch, Hindi, Cantonese, Chinese, and Persian (Johnston & Robertson, 2017, p. 135). BBC News went online in 1997, followed by BBC World Service languages in subsequent years (Allan & Thorsen, 2010). Today, BBC News is primarily available on its online website, which people can access through their computers or mobile

devices. The agency also has a social media presence on several social media platforms, namely Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and LinkedIn. The official social media accounts of BBC News share excerpts from breaking news written by their journalists, as well as hyperlinks that redirect the reader to the original content on the BBC News website. This approach is similarly used by BBC World Service and its various language channels, including BBC Türkçe. Semrush's December 2023 traffic analytics show that it is one of the most popular newspaper websites, preceded only by CNN and the New York Times (Semrush, 2023).

BBC stands out as a media agency with a unique website design that is iconic and shared between all BBC WS language services. The user interfaces of the BBC News and BBC World Service (WS) websites are almost identical, arguably to enable the same reading experience for people all around the globe. In contrast to BBC News, in other well-known localized news websites it is relatively difficult to trace news articles back to their origins. The relationship between CNN and CNN Türk is a relevant example. The name brand and license for CNN Türk were bought by Demir Medya Holding in 1999, and the channel was later sold to Demirören Holding in 2018. The licensing agreement states that CNN Türk “has access to CNN content, training, and services” (CNN Press Room, 2024). Although CNN Türk keeps up with international news, its headquarters are based in Istanbul and its articles are “written, produced and presented by Turks for the Turkish market” (CNN Press Room, 2024). Unlike BBC WS, this allows CNN International, including CNN Türk, to operate more independently, although it is still subject to CNN inspection. In 2021, a committee from CNN International was sent to Türkiye to conduct an investigation into the allegations that CNN Türk was not broadcasting impartially (Gazete Duvar, 2021). These allegations were scrutinized in research by

Metin and Ramaciotti in 2022, who investigated changes of media ownership and the media polarization in Türkiye in relation to the political and democratic changes in the state, as well as drawing out the differences between state-funded and foreign-funded news sources (Metin, 2022). As mentioned above, the BBC World Service thus operates differently from other localized news media websites, and this can be expected to influence translation practices.

In the BBC's long history of broadcasting, the issue of state funding has been a major controversy. The funding of the BBC was provided partly from license fees and partly from grant-in-aid. The former was used to fund domestic broadcasting, whereas the latter met the costs of overseas broadcasting. In 2010, HM Treasury announced that from that year on, the BBC was responsible for funding the BBC World Service. Although this has placed BBC and BBC WS under financial pressure, many people were pleased with the new arrangement as it could end the discussions about state influence on the "editorial independence" of BBC and BBC WS (Johnston, 2019, p. 8). Nevertheless, from 2016 on, BBC World Service started to receive funding through the Foreign & Commonwealth Office (FCO), a governmental body of the UK, which reinforced public suspicion about the reputation of BBC as "an arm of the welfare state" (Hewlett, 2010, p. 1).

Historically, such accusations had partly stemmed from statements by the Foreign Office, such as the 1951 declaration that they "put their anti-Communist material at the disposal of the BBC Overseas Services, who make excellent use of it" and admitted that their "official intervention has remained a secret from the public at home and overseas" (Johnston, 2019, p. 9). Some people justify these actions by invoking the importance of counter-narratives against communist propaganda, which was prevalent during the Cold War Era. Contemporary historian Tony Shaw defines

the Cold War as “a propaganda conflict...of words, sounds and pictures” and points out the BBC’s position “as a broadcaster of news ... at the very center of this propaganda conflict” (Shaw, 2006, p. 1353). He acknowledges that BBC has a unique role, as “no other media organization combined such a powerful domestic and external reach, with a reputation for independence, impartiality and accuracy” (Shaw, 2006, p. 1353). Such statements can seem to justify the government’s use of BBC News as a political tool. Still, concerns about the independence and impartiality of the BBC remain and were addressed in The Royal Charter and The Agreement, which was published in the BBC Governance and Regulations section (Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport, 2006). These documents clearly state that the BBC World Service shall get the approval of the Foreign Secretary for the introduction of new language services as well as the closing of existing language services and may consult with the Foreign Secretary but will be independent when it comes to editorial and creative decisions (Johnston, 2019, p. 7).

Regardless of all the official changes of ownership and the declarations in official charters in the recent history of BBC, the credibility and impartiality of BBC WS are occasionally questioned (Wahl-Jorgensen et al., 2017). The previous direct involvement of the state as the primary funder inevitably leads to a certain degree of intervention or influence on the content. Despite the financial reforms undertaken in the corporation, BBC WS News has been scrutinized for its ideological motivations, agenda-setting strategies, and partial framing (Cheesman, 2011; Jaber & Baumann, 2011; Kamyaneets, 2022a, 2022b). Still, no matter how controversies may affect the readership, BBC News continues to hold its status as one of the major broadcasting agencies in the world.

Even though there is a wide range of discussions about the independence, impartiality, and general practices of the BBC World Service, reference to translation practices is scarce in official reports and academic works, except in studies that directly concern news translation (see Baumann et al., 2011; Cheesman et al., 2011; Kamyane, 2022b). This is a further indicator of the invisibility of translation in the news, even when the service providers acknowledge the presence of a source text produced in the English language and target texts produced in the BBC WS languages. News translation is a core prerequisite for the global circulation of information, yet is still understudied, despite recognition that news translation is often a site of “radical rewriting” (Bassnett, 2006). Therefore, it is crucial for translation scholars to scrutinize the translation agents, processes, and products in the news context. No official BBC sources publicly detail the in-house translation process of BBC WS, let alone BBC Türkçe. However, the BBC Trust Report published in 2007 states that BBC Türkçe has ideological and operational principles similar to those of BBC News, as it is a direct sub-branch of the media agency (BBC Trust, 2007). Baumann et al. (2011) interprets the report as follows:

The BBC World Service provides a unique cross-cultural laboratory for the detailed analysis of journalistic practices of translation across its (currently) 32 different language services, all of which operate under the insignia of BBC objectivity and impartiality (p. 136).

As mentioned, some news translation research has explicitly focused on the BBC World service. In their project titled “Tuning in: Diasporic contact zones at the BBC World Service” by the Open University, several scholars collaborated to understand the politics of translation in BBC World Service branches such as the Arabic, Serbian and Turkish (Baumann & Issawi, 2010; Bulić, 2011; Nohl, 2010). This project mainly focused on the role of BBC World Service as a soft power in

world politics and approaches translation practices as a method for the execution of this power. Research conducted on BBC World Service translations in specific languages includes Valdeón's corpus-based discourse analysis on BBC News' Spanish branch, BBC Mundo. Valdeón analyzes 134 texts from BBC News and BBC Mundo to determine whether the texts are "specifically conceived for a Spanish readership or this medium resorts to translating source texts from the English website" (Valdeón, 2005, p. 195). His research concludes that BBC Mundo mainly functions as a translated version of BBC News rather than an independent Spanish-language news service. The cultural adaptation for the Spanish speaking audience was limited, which led to ambiguity and ideological bias in content and eventually weakened its relevance and credibility. Studies previously conducted on the BBC Türkçe branch have primarily focused on the agenda-setting function of the news media, and how it enables intercultural influence and communication. This focus highlights the relevance of further investigating how political factors may influence the translation practices of BBC Türkçe (Onay, 2018; Şahin & Uçak, 2020). In this context, many of the articles selected for the analysis of this thesis feature strong political themes. In other studies, BBC Türkçe was compared to other news agencies that broadcast in foreign languages to understand differences in institutional practices, in order to understand whether news media translation practices are universally shared (Ertekin, 2012; Yerlikaya et al., 2021).

BBC News has been selected as the main source for analysis in this thesis due to its international renown and status as an authoritative agency expected to reflect, to some degree, UK official and public opinion regarding international matters. The BBC website interface allows readers to navigate through translated articles easily while also enabling a comparative reading involving the original texts. Consequently,



news translation practices become more transparent and present themselves as manageable research material. That said, the amount of material in BBC News and BBC WS makes it challenging to see and compare the news content. A useful method to overcome this challenge is to conduct corpus-assisted research, as will be explained in the following section.



## CHAPTER 4

### METHODOLOGY

This research adopts corpus-assisted discourse analysis (CADA) as its main methodological approach. The use of corpora in discourse analysis goes back more than three decades (Baker, 2023, p. 6). Pioneering studies conducted using CADA aimed to examine, for instance, the frequencies of lexical items related to gender, race, and ideological views and use the findings to identify relationships between different social groups and power dynamics (Caldas-Coulthard, 1995; Krishnamurthy, 1996; Shalom, 1997). The political inclination of such early studies attests to CADA's established use in examining the expression of ideology in discourse, which is of central concern in this thesis as well (Baker, 2023, p. 7). Baker points out several advantages of using corpora for conducting discourse analysis. The first one is that corpora reduce researcher bias, an advantage that is also valid for other research methods with a quantitative component, as numerical observations can preclude cherry-picking (Baker, 2023, p. 13). No research method can guarantee that the researcher will not show some degree of bias. After all, bias often operates unconsciously, and it may occur at any step of the research process, from data collection to analysis. However, the selection of a comprehensive quantity of data helps reduce bias to some extent (Baker, 2023, p. 15).

A second important advantage of CADA is that it helps researchers to recognize, categorize, and interpret "discourse features" by pointing towards patterns across large collections of text (Baker, 2021, p. 15). This is especially relevant for media studies, as people are intuitively aware of the patterns in media discourse but cannot identify them only by reading the texts (Blommaert, 2005, p. 108, cited in

Baker, 2021, p. 16). Corpora can help the researcher break down a written text and then computationally analyze it by rendering particular features quantifiable. Then, it becomes easier for the researcher to categorize and highlight the most salient elements of the text and construct a database for research purposes by labeling them appropriately.

CADA is an umbrella term, and the variety of specific approaches it encompasses also incentivizes researchers to combine quantitative and qualitative methods as well as triangulate the data (Baker, 2023, p. 18). Data triangulation, which refers to using “multiple methods of data collection and analysis” (Patton, 1999), is especially useful for translation studies because the discipline’s objects of study often cannot be accurately captured by means of a single method, especially if one wants to answer questions about translated texts and translation strategies concerning an interconnected group of elements. Moreover, triangulation also allows the validation of findings through cross-checking, therefore ensuring a more reliable analysis.

The strength of CADA methods also involves a number of inherent challenges. For one thing, corpus research tends to examine small linguistic elements, such as terms or phrases, in large amounts of textual data and, therefore, does not easily “facilitate close readings of texts” (Baker, 2023, p. 8). This point is especially relevant for this thesis, which includes hundreds of news article texts for examination. To bridge quantitative and qualitative observations, and to enable a degree of contextual analysis, corpus analysis tools often include a Keyword in Context (KWIC) display. KWIC allows users to see the designated words or phrases in the texts they have been excerpted from and thus to engage with broader stretches of text when it is necessary to see the overall perspective.

Another limitation of corpus use is that researchers must be very clear and specific about what it is they are looking for in the corpora they consult, and why they opt to interpret findings in a certain way, given the sheer amount of information corpora offer (Baker, 2023, p. 21). Even if methodological transparency is ensured regarding the various research stages, the interpretation of the results may still be influenced by the researcher's personal point of view, cultural and educational background, and motives, as well as by the particular tools they used to carry out the analysis.

The corpus analysis tool used to carry out the news discourse analysis in this research is AntConc, which was created by Laurence Anthony in 2002 as a KWIC program designed to be used in classrooms (Anthony, 2005). The later updates presented more research features to improve the tool, such as clusters, collocations, N-grams, and frequency lists, most of which were used in the case study presented in this thesis. The cluster tool shows recurrent "sequences of two or more tokens", at least one being the search term determined by the user (Baker, 2023, p. 91). A token is a linguistic unit bounded by blank spaces, generally corresponding to a word, and the cluster function thus contextualizes the search words by revealing the tokens that frequently surround it in the texts under scrutiny, thereby helping the researcher understand the bigger picture the words appears in and making sense of the text in relation to its smaller structures.

AntConc's N-gram function presents similar information to that retrieved by the cluster tool but does not require the preliminary choice of a search term and thus retrieves frequent patterns involving a variety of lexical items. The collocation tool shows the words usually found near the search term but not necessarily directly adjacent to it. Determining collocations proved to be an especially effective method

to understand narrative frameworks in this case study, as will be illustrated in the next chapter. The range tool shows how many different files or texts a word appears in, helping the researcher to understand the importance of the search word in the overall discourse rather than in just a few texts. Finally, the keyword tool, whose functionality depends on a comparison of the study corpus with a reference corpus, provides the researcher with a list of words based on their keyness, which means the “occurrence with unusual frequency in a given text” or corpus (Scott, 1997, p. 236; cited in Evert, 2022). The notion of ‘keyness’ is closely related to the notion of ‘aboutness’, which refers to the combined meaning of the main concepts, topics, or attitudes discussed in a text or corpus (Phillips 1989: 7–10, 26, 53–54, cited in Gabrielatos, 2018, p. 225). Philips argues that aboutness can also be established based “on the examination of collocation patterns within a (sub-)corpus” (Phillips, 1989, as cited in Gabrielatos, 2018, p. 226). Indeed, in this thesis collocation and keyness analysis are both used in similar ways to understand the formation of narrative discourse.

I use the AntConc 4.2.4 version, last updated at the end of 2023. It has a relatively simple, user-friendly interface, and a user manual to guide researchers. It is also cost-free, which was an important aspect of my selection of tools as a graduate student. Paul Baker, an expert on corpus-based discourse analysis, recommends that researchers who want to get into corpus-assisted discourse studies start with AntConc (Baker, 2023, p. 48). The following table presents an overview of terms and abbreviations, as well as their definitions, derived from the AntConc interface and frequently referred to in Chapter 4. The normalized frequency was calculated per 1.000.000 words, and the decimal precision was set to three digits, using AntConc’s default settings.

Table 1. AntConc Terms and Abbreviations (Anthony, 2022)

| Term       | Definition                                                              |
|------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| NormFreq   | Normalized frequency of the search term in the text                     |
| NormRange  | Normalized distribution of the search term across the corpus texts      |
| FreqLR     | The frequency of the collocate to the left and right of the search term |
| FreqL      | The frequency of the collocate to the left of the search term           |
| FreqR      | The frequency of the collocate to the right of the search term          |
| Freq_Tar   | Number of times the word appears in the target corpus                   |
| Freq_Ref   | Number of times the word appears in the reference corpus                |
| Range      | The number of files in which the search term appears                    |
| Range_Tar  | Number of texts in the target corpus where the word appears.            |
| Range_Ref  | Number of texts in the reference corpus where the word appears.         |
| Likelihood | A statistic measure of saliency, or keyness                             |

A total of 554 articles from BBC Türkçe and 553 corresponding articles from BBC News, spanning from February 25, 2022, to September 4, 2023, were compiled for analysis using the AntConc corpus analysis software. To illustrate the use of corpora in news media discourse analysis, the issue of news labeling the conflict in Ukraine can provide a basic example. As previously mentioned, and will be emphasized throughout this thesis, the discourse around the conflict in Ukraine has been debated extensively in the international community. As the Russian state crossed the borders of Ukraine with armed forces on 24 February 2022, President Vladimir Putin announced a “special military operation” conducted by his country. This label for the armed conflict was not accepted by many other states, who preferred to use other terms such as “war”, “invasion”, or “conflict”. As stated in the theoretical framework, the labeling of the problem in this case is an illustration of public narrative discourse. This labeling process not only categorizes the narratives in a particular way but also plays a key role in shaping how the public understands

and forms opinions about the issue. To determine how frequently the Russian President’s discursive choices were presented in the BBC News articles and how frequently the same discursive choices were found in translation, I searched for the words “special military operation” and the Turkish equivalent “özel askeri operasyon” in AntConc.

Table 2. BBC News and BBC Türkçe Corpus Search for “special military operation” and “özel askeri operasyon”

| Type                       | Freq | Range | NormFreq | NormRange |
|----------------------------|------|-------|----------|-----------|
| special military operation | 68   | 57    | 164.748  | 103       |
| özel askeri operasyon      | 21   | 17    | 81.268   | 31        |

The table shows that the phrase “special military operation” appears 68 times across 57 English articles among 553, with a high normalized frequency and wide distribution. In contrast, its Turkish equivalent “özel askeri operasyon” appears only 21 times in 17 articles among 554, with much lower normalized values. This suggests that the Russian state's framing is more commonly and widely reflected in the BBC News content, and BBC Türkçe uses the phrase less frequently and generally. The 68 instances of the words “special military operation” were all given in quotation marks except for one instance. In that instance, the phrase “special military operation” is preceded by the phrase “so-called”. Considering the debate over the labeling of the conflict, the quotation marks and the adjective phrase “so-called” function in the same way: they draw attention to the fact that even though the words “special military operation” are in English, they are borrowed from the Russian president, and they cannot be used as a legitimate label to describe what is happening in Ukraine, at least not in articles aimed for the BBC News audience.

Article no. 523

EN: Ever since the start of the war, opponents of Russia's *so-called special military operation* in Ukraine have been handed lengthy jail terms for far milder remarks.  
[emphasis added]

There was also one case of addition to the BBC Türkçe news translation, which added the context of the “special military operation” narrative that was not present in the source BBC News article. Presumably, the aim of this translation strategy was not to provide clarity regarding a culture-specific phenomenon for the benefit of the Turkish audience, as the narrative had previously been introduced in other articles. Nevertheless, this example also shows that the “special military operation” label was adopted by some BBC Türkçe translators, and even if was absent from BBC News occasionally, it was employed by BBC Türkçe.

Article no. 459

EN: Mr Kara-Murza, 41, has spent years speaking out against Russian President Vladimir Putin and, alongside the war in Ukraine, has also been critical of the government's crackdown on dissent.

TR: 41 yaşındaki Kara-Murza, Kremlin'in "*özel askeri operasyon*" olarak adlandırdığı Ukrayna savaşını eleştirmesinin yanı sıra, Rusya Devlet Başkanı Vladimir Putin ve hükümetinin muhaliflere baskı uygulamasına da tepki gösteriyordu.



In other instances of translation into Turkish, the label was fully omitted from the news articles, shifting the emphasis away from President Putin’s public narrative and focusing on the rest of the news content. In the case below, “special military operation” was replaced by the term “savaş (war)”, even though its function in the original text was to highlight its unjustified use in the Russian discourse. Considering that the term “savaş (war)” was not accepted by the Russian authorities and was mainly used by the Russian-critical European media, this translation decision appears to favor the European account of the events, thus projecting the source text discourse and attitude into the target culture.

Article no. 366

EN: Minsk is coming under increasing pressure from Moscow to step up its support in the "*special military operation*".

TR: Ancak Moskova’nın, *savaşa* katılması yönünde Minsk üzerinde baskısını artırdığına yönelik haberler var.

It is also important to point out the inconsistent translations of the phrase “special military operation”. The examples below illustrate the different translation strategies employed in the translation of this controversial label. The inconsistency might have several explanations: the translators might not be working in a collaborative environment and might not be aware of each other’s translation decisions. Or they might be aware of the previous translations but consciously make different terminological choices. Either way, the translations of this particular

termfail to build a narrative discourse that is consistent across both the English BBC News articles and Turkish articles.

Article no. 287

EN: The authorities say the vast majority of Russians support what the Kremlin refers to as the *"special military operation"* in Ukraine...

TR: Rus yetkililer halkın büyük bölümünün Kremlin'in *"özel bir harekat"* olarak nitelendirdiği Ukrayna işgaline destek verdiğini söylüyor...

That being said, the corpus of texts from BBC Türkçe includes examples that emphasize the “special military operation” label and that explain how it came to be a central narrative element of the war as presented by the Russian side. This emphasis is realized through simple additions in the news texts, such as the one below. Thus, the Turkish translations are occasionally concerned with conveying the controversial nature of the “special military operation” label and contextualizing the issue more broadly.

Article no. 506

EN: "He was informed that Wagner would not participate in the Special Military Operation”, he used Russia's euphemism for its war on Ukraine. "It also would get no financing or material resources."

TR: "Wagner'in, Özel Askeri Harekat'a katılmayacağı; grubun ayrıca herhangi bir finansman veya maddi kaynak alamayacaktı da Prigojin'e bildirildi."

*Rusya, Ukrayna savaşı için "Özel Askeri Harekat" ifadesini kullanıyor.*

It can thus be concluded that President Putin’s framing of the conflict was frequently challenged in BBC News discourse as well as by BBC Türkçe, although BBC Türkçe did not act as consistently in this regard as its parent institution, BBC News.

The example of the “special military operation” trope shows how corpora can provide the researcher with useful quantitative data that can then guide a further analysis of the data from a qualitative perspective. While the corpus tools such as frequency, range, and likelihood can assist in determining any possible patterns in the corpora, the interpretation of the data makes it possible to get a more nuanced perspective on the overall discourse. Both approaches can be combined in discourse analysis and can thus inform a study that consists of both numerical information and textual interpretation. The cases presented below will use AntConc’s word, keyword, and collocation tools to generate data-driven insights about the texts under scrutiny but will also attempt to make sense of the translation process through close reading of the articles.

## CHAPTER 5

### DATA ANALYSIS

554 articles from BBC Türkçe gathered under the tag “Rusya-Ukrayna Savaşı (Russia-Ukraine War)”, and the corresponding 553 articles from BBC News, starting from February 25, 2022, to September 4, 2023, were collected for analysis using the AntConc corpus analysis toolkit. The BBC Türkçe articles under the tag were collected chronologically and cross-referenced with the BBC News articles using keywords and metadata, namely the publishing dates, authors’ names, and related recommended articles. The majority of articles on the website consist of a body of news text, audiovisual content such as images or video clips, and the previously mentioned metadata. Because the corpus analysis is applied on the textual level, all the articles were reduced to only textual news content and converted into plain text files (.txt). The metadata were removed from the text, but the article titles were preserved in their designated place in the article. In the BBC Türkçe corpus, Turkish suffixes that cannot stand alone as separate words and that are attached to the words with punctuation marks were also excluded from the corpus results as they interfere with the word frequency ranking and do not provide a meaningful pattern in the news texts<sup>2</sup>. When more than one corresponding article could be found for a single source text, all the articles were included. The selection of texts was limited to those translated articles that can be linked to correspondent source articles, making it possible to compare the same news articles, thus avoiding the interference of other

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<sup>1</sup> E.g., the Turkish possessive suffix “nın” was identified as keyword in the Turkish corpus by AntConc. As its category suggests, it is attached to nouns and functions the same as the English suffix “’s” or the proposition “of.” In the corpus, it was frequently used with the state name translations, such as “Rusya’nın (Russia’s/of Russia)” and “Ukrayna’nın (Ukraine’s/of Ukraine)” but it does not function as a separate semantic unit.

articles in corpus results even if they report on the same news event. For the reference corpora, 550 articles in both languages were collected randomly from 5 tags of BBC News and BBC Türkçe (World, Business, Tech, Entertainment & Arts, Health in BBC News; Sağlık, Yaşam, Bilim, Spor & Ekonomi in BBC Türkçe). The reference corpora served to determine the keywords in BBC News and BBC Türkçe articles about the war in Ukraine.

The BBC News corpus has 554 corresponding files with a token number of 413,134, whereas the BBC Türkçe corpus has 553 files with 259,410 tokens. The token numbers reveal that the news texts in Turkish were generally shorter. This suggests that, in the war coverage, some elements of the content are left out in translations of BBC News articles into Turkish. It should also be pointed out, though, that BBC Turkish articles on any topic are typically shorter than BBC News articles. The randomly selected 550 articles on different topics that make up the reference corpora show 317,693 tokens for the English corpus and 282,087 for the Turkish corpus. Again, these numbers suggest that BBC News articles tend to be longer than BBC Türkçe articles, even though the difference is less pronounced. The corpus analysis will illustrate the scope of the omissions and related strategies on a lexical and contextual level, in order to determine if they have a significant effect on the narratives elaborated in the articles.

Another important detail to address before the content analysis concerns the issue of authorship in BBC News and BBC Türkçe. Of the 554 articles published by BBC News, 396 provide the name of the source author among the other paratextual elements. For BBC Türkçe, this number goes down to 244. Not a single article in BBC Türkçe displays the name of the translator of the article, regardless of whether the name of the original author is mentioned. Given BBC Türkçe's effort to credit

the source text author to a certain degree, the complete lack of credit to the translator, who can be said to have authored the Turkish text, suggests an indifference to the linguistic transfer of news content. The act of translation is thus concealed by the lack of any paratextual inscription indicating that a linguistic activity took place. Whether this results from the policies of the news agency or from the translator's own orientation towards their work is a question that requires access to institutional information, which was outside the scope of this thesis.

For several years and up to 2025, BBC News had been using the tag “War in Ukraine” on its main tab to create an organized news section reserved for news about the conflict. A brief look at the BBC World Service (BBC WS) websites shows that only five countries still had similar tags on their main page, with different language versions often framing the conflict slightly differently: the Japanese tag reads “ウクライナ侵攻 (Invasion of Ukraine)”, the Russian tag “Война в Украине (War in Ukraine)”, the Serbian tag “Ukrajina (Ukraine)”, the Ukrainian tag “Війна з Росією (War with Russia)” and the Turkish tag “Rusya-Ukrayna Savaşı (Russia-Ukraine War)”.<sup>3</sup> The Japanese tag refers to the conflict as “invasion”, thus challenging the Russian framing of the conflict. Interestingly, the Ukrainian branch does not use the word “invasion” but uses the preposition “with” to emphasize the antagonism of Russia in the conflict with the word “war”. It also positions Ukraine as one of the parties in the conflict and thus establishes the audience as the people of Ukraine. The tag of the Russian BBC branch arguably distances itself from the conflict by avoiding a reference to Russia and directing the issue to Ukraine. Still, the word “war” is significant in the sense that it is not used by the Russian government to

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<sup>2</sup> The tags were translated word-for-word by native speakers.

describe the ongoing events. The Serbian tag does not elaborate on the topic and solely uses the name “Ukraine”, whereas BBC Türkçe has a rather neutral attitude with the tag “Russia-Ukraine War”. In this example, BBC Türkçe seems to adopt neutralization as a translation strategy that is also evident in the localization of news websites. This first impression of the different translation strategies used for BBC News articles shows an audience-specific approach among BBC WS platforms to framing a particular conflict.

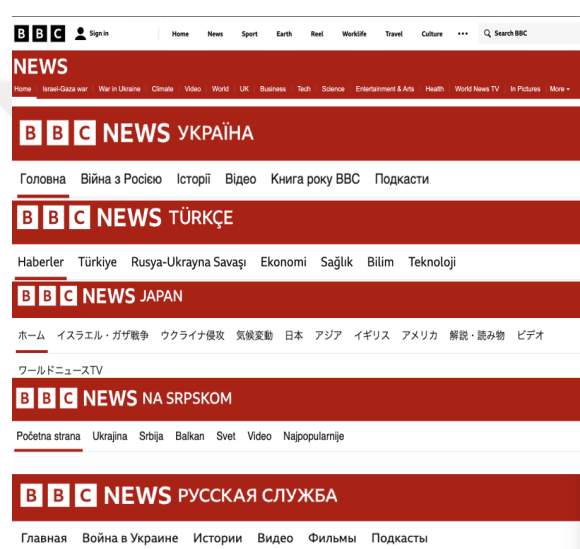


Figure 1. BBC News and BBC World Service website labels

As illustrated in Figure 1, the discourse revolving around the events occurring in Russia and Ukraine shows differences in the most fundamental definitions. As mentioned previously in the methodology chapter and illustrated above in Figure 1, the conflict was labeled as a “special military operation” by President Vladimir Putin, while the majority of international media mainly covered it as a “war” or “invasion.” If and when the conflict was referred to as a “special military operation” in the news articles, usually when President Putin was directly quoted, it was written in quotation marks, challenging its use as a legitimate label.

This issue has been scrutinized in detail previously and illustrates the target-specificity of news translation practices in major news agencies. The next section will initiate the corpus-assisted analysis of news articles and illustrate the main features of English and Turkish narrative discourse on the Russia-Ukraine War, as presented by the BBC.

### 5.1 Keywords

AntConc's keyword tool lists the words that frequently occur in a given corpus in comparison with another designated corpus. The keyword tool thus requires a reference corpus (in this case, articles about random topics on both websites, such as business, technology, world, etc.) and then cross-referencing of two corpora to illustrate the specific linguistic features of the particular target corpus. In this case, the two target corpora are the ones consisting of the BBC News and BBC Turkish articles about the war in Ukraine, the first one in English and the second one in Turkish.

Table 3. BBC News Corpus Keyword List

| Type      | Rank | Freq_Tar | Range_Tar | Keyness (Likelihood) |
|-----------|------|----------|-----------|----------------------|
| ukraine   | 1    | 4075     | 549       | 4526.178             |
| russia    | 2    | 3702     | 525       | 4071.073             |
| russian   | 3    | 3608     | 526       | 4023.731             |
| ukrainian | 4    | 1660     | 408       | 1878.946             |
| war       | 5    | 1922     | 493       | 1760.855             |
| putin     | 6    | 1234     | 320       | 1370.350             |
| military  | 7    | 1188     | 378       | 1063.771             |
| moscow    | 8    | 716      | 314       | 802.785              |
| forces    | 9    | 836      | 305       | 752.696              |
| invasion  | 10   | 664      | 366       | 743.617              |



Table 4. BBC Türkçe Corpus Keyword List

| Type      | Rank | Freq_Tar | Range_Tar | Keyness (Likelihood) |
|-----------|------|----------|-----------|----------------------|
| ukrayna   | 1    | 4451     | 542       | 6089.643             |
| rusya     | 2    | 4011     | 537       | 5289.921             |
| rus       | 3    | 2110     | 477       | 2914.184             |
| putin     | 4    | 1153     | 283       | 1610.224             |
| savaş     | 5    | 798      | 321       | 903.579              |
| askeri    | 6    | 679      | 288       | 825.295              |
| kiev      | 7    | 498      | 225       | 708.142              |
| wagner    | 8    | 462      | 58        | 678.688              |
| zelenskiy | 9    | 454      | 159       | 653.996              |
| savunma   | 10   | 507      | 225       | 640.232              |

As anticipated, the two most distinct keywords in both corpora are “Ukraine (Ukrayna)” and “Russia (Rusya)”. In the English corpus, these are directly followed by the nationalities “Russian” and “Ukrainian”. In the Turkish corpus, the nationality “Rus” is in the third place in the keyword list, whereas “Ukraynalı” is down in the twelfth. However, this difference can be explained by the Turkish use of the word “Ukraynalı”, which is replaced with “Ukrayna” in many instances without the derivational morpheme “-lı.” See the examples below for the different translations of the word “Ukrainian” into Turkish.

Article no. 478

EN: *Ukrainian officials* say air defences downed 15 Russian cruise missiles which were launched overnight against the capital, Kyiv.

TR: *Ukraynalı yetkililer*, sabaha karşı başkent Kiev’i hedef alan 15 Rus seyir füzesinin düşürüldüğünü açıkladı.

EN: *Ukrainian forces* have been holding the line in Donbas since 2014, against Russian-backed separatists.

TR: *Ukrayna güçleri* 2014'ten bu yana ülkenin doğusundaki Donbas'ta Rusya destekli ayrılıkçılarla çatışıyor.

The frequencies of the first four English keywords show that the geographical focus is on Ukraine more frequently than on Russia, whereas the subjective focus is more on Russians than Ukrainians. In other words, the discussion of the conflict is likely to revolve around Russian people on Ukrainian territory. The keyword lists show that BBC Türkçe generally covers the same topics in a similar manner, and that the Turkish translations thus maintain key narrative elements such as basic concepts and proper nouns, including names of key figures such as Russian President Vladimir Putin.

However, there is an interesting difference in the corpora once again when it comes to the terms used to refer to the conflict. In the English corpus, the noun “war” is the fifth most frequently used word, whereas its lexical equivalent does not appear among the keywords of the Turkish corpus. This is significant because, as discussed, the labeling of the conflict in Ukraine has been a controversial issue. To determine the frequency of several elements of the “war (savaş)” narrative in BBC News and BBC Türkçe, the wild cards “war\*” and “savaş\*” were entered in the word search tool. The word “war” as a verb and the variations of the corresponding translation “savaşmak” were removed from the results.

Table 5. BBC News Corpus Search for “war\*”

| Type      | Freq_Tar | Freq_Ref | Range_Tar | Range_Ref | NormFreq | NormRange |
|-----------|----------|----------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|
| war       | 1922     | 59       | 493       | 31        | 4644.083 | 890       |
| wars      | 31       | 9        | 29        | 7         | 74.905   | 52        |
| warfare   | 27       | 1        | 21        | 1         | 65.239   | 38        |
| warship   | 15       | 1        | 8         | 1         | 36.244   | 14        |
|           |          |          |           |           |          |           |
| wartime   | 13       | 1        | 11        | 1         | 31.412   | 20        |
| warheads  | 11       | 0        | 6         | 0         | 26.579   | 11        |
| warplanes | 10       | 0        | 8         | 0         | 24.163   | 14        |
| warhead   | 6        | 0        | 4         | 0         | 14.498   | 7         |
| warships  | 6        | 0        | 6         | 0         | 14.498   | 11        |
| warrior   | 2        | 0        | 2         | 0         | 4.833    | 4         |
| warriors  | 2        | 0        | 2         | 0         | 4.833    | 4         |
| warchest  | 1        | 0        | 1         | 0         | 2.416    | 2         |
| warlord   | 1        | 0        | 1         | 0         | 2.416    | 2         |
| warlords  | 1        | 0        | 1         | 0         | 2.416    | 2         |
| warplane  | 1        | 0        | 1         | 0         | 2.416    | 2         |
| Total     | 2049     |          |           |           |          |           |

Table 6. BBC Türkçe Corpus Search for “savaş\*”

| Type           | Freq_Tar | Freq_Ref | Range_Tar | Range_Ref | NormFreq | NormRange |
|----------------|----------|----------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|
| savaş          | 798      | 40       | 321       | 31        | 3076.211 | 579       |
| savaşı         | 316      | 32       | 209       | 26        | 1218.149 | 377       |
| savaşın        | 294      | 7        | 165       | 6         | 1133.341 | 298       |
| savaşa         | 115      | 0        | 86        | 0         | 443.314  | 155       |
| savaşta        | 109      | 3        | 73        | 2         | 420.184  | 132       |
| savaştan       | 66       | 4        | 54        | 4         | 254.423  | 97        |
| savaşının      | 32       | 6        | 30        | 6         | 123.357  | 54        |
| savaşla        | 28       | 0        | 25        | 0         | 107.937  | 45        |
| savaşında      | 28       | 0        | 27        | 0         | 107.937  | 49        |
| savaşçı        | 18       | 0        | 12        | 0         | 69.388   | 22        |
| savaşçılarının | 16       | 0        | 13        | 0         | 61.678   | 23        |
| savaşını       | 16       | 2        | 12        | 2         | 61.678   | 22        |
| savaşına       | 14       | 0        | 14        | 0         | 53.969   | 25        |

Table 7. Continuation of BBC Türkçe Corpus Search for “savaş\*”

|                  |      |   |    |   |        |    |
|------------------|------|---|----|---|--------|----|
| savaşçıları      | 12   | 1 | 11 | 1 | 46.259 | 20 |
| savaşları        | 11   | 4 | 7  | 3 | 42.404 | 13 |
| savaşçılar       | 11   | 0 | 9  | 0 | 42.404 | 16 |
| savaşıyla        | 9    | 0 | 9  | 0 | 34.694 | 16 |
| savaştaki        | 7    | 0 | 7  | 0 | 26.984 | 13 |
| savaşlar         | 6    | 0 | 4  | 0 | 23.129 | 7  |
| savaşçıların     | 6    | 0 | 6  | 0 | 23.129 | 11 |
| savaşlarına      | 5    | 0 | 4  | 0 | 19.275 | 7  |
| savaşındaki      | 5    | 0 | 4  | 0 | 19.275 | 7  |
| savaşlarda       | 4    | 0 | 4  | 0 | 15.420 | 7  |
| savaşçılarına    | 4    | 0 | 3  | 0 | 15.420 | 5  |
| savaşçıların     | 4    | 0 | 4  | 0 | 15.420 | 7  |
| savaşçısı        | 4    | 0 | 4  | 0 | 15.420 | 7  |
| savaşçının       | 3    | 0 | 3  | 0 | 11.565 | 5  |
| savaşçısının     | 3    | 0 | 3  | 0 | 11.565 | 5  |
| savaşımız        | 3    | 0 | 2  | 0 | 11.565 | 4  |
| savaşından       | 3    | 0 | 3  | 0 | 11.565 | 5  |
| savaşlara        | 2    | 0 | 2  | 0 | 7.710  | 4  |
| savaşlardaki     | 2    | 0 | 2  | 0 | 7.710  | 4  |
| savaşlardan      | 2    | 0 | 2  | 0 | 7.710  | 4  |
| savaşların       | 2    | 0 | 2  | 0 | 7.710  | 4  |
| savaşlarında     | 2    | 0 | 2  | 0 | 7.710  | 4  |
| savaşlarının     | 2    | 0 | 2  | 0 | 7.710  | 4  |
| savaştayız       | 2    | 0 | 2  | 0 | 7.710  | 4  |
| savaşçılarla     | 2    | 0 | 2  | 0 | 7.710  | 4  |
| savaşlardır      | 1    | 0 | 1  | 0 | 3.855  | 2  |
| savaşlarından    | 1    | 0 | 1  | 0 | 3.855  | 2  |
| savaşlarını      | 1    | 0 | 1  | 0 | 3.855  | 2  |
| savaşçılara      | 1    | 0 | 1  | 0 | 3.855  | 2  |
| savaşçılardan    | 1    | 0 | 1  | 0 | 3.855  | 2  |
| savaşçılarımızın | 1    | 0 | 1  | 0 | 3.855  | 2  |
| savaşçılık       | 1    | 0 | 1  | 0 | 3.855  | 2  |
| savaşçıydı       | 1    | 0 | 1  | 0 | 3.855  | 2  |
| savaşıdır        | 1    | 0 | 1  | 0 | 3.855  | 2  |
| savaşımızın      | 1    | 0 | 1  | 0 | 3.855  | 2  |
| Total            | 1976 |   |    |   |        |    |

The total frequency of the words listed above is 2049 in the English corpus and 1976 in the Turkish corpus. As the difference between numbers is less than 100, it would be safe to assume that although “savaş” did not appear as a keyword in the Turkish corpus, the concept occupies a similar place within the entire discourse, and the difference in numbers can be traced back to the general differences between the language pairs. This example alone thus shows how important it is to scrutinize the numbers when employing a corpus-assisted methodology, especially when the two languages are syntactically very different. Therefore, the preliminary findings require more context to them in order to determine what was transferred in translation and what was not, and the use of other terms invoked to label the conflict must therefore be examined more closely.

Indeed, the controversy about the labeling of the conflict presents itself again in relation to another keyword, namely “invasion (işgal).” The word “invasion” occupies the 10<sup>th</sup> place in the keyword list drawn from the BBC News corpus, whereas the corresponding word “işgal” is in 17<sup>th</sup> place in the BBC Türkçe corpus. But once again, the Turkish word “işgal” requires us to make use of the wildcard function in order to retrieve variant forms. The word feature of AntConc shows high frequencies for both invasion and işgal, as presented below. As the verb “invade” is translated as “işgal etmek” and contributes to the word count of “işgal” as both a noun and verb, the wildcard “invad\*” was also included in the English table. Both the nouns “invader” and the equivalent “işgalci” were retained in the search results. This suggests a similar degree of lexical visibility across both corpora, as the overall combined frequency for "invasion" and its English variants (827 occurrences) is quite similar to the frequency of the corresponding Turkish terms. The similar use of the word “invasion” in both corpora suggests that BBC News and BBC Türkçe are

aligned in how they frame Russia’s actions in Ukraine. Both versions seem to present the conflict as a case of unjustified aggression, reinforcing a common interpretation across languages. Even though English and Turkish differ in structure and expression, the consistent choice of this particular term helps create a unified narrative that portrays Russia’s military activity in Ukraine as illegitimate.

Several examples retrieved via the KWIC tool are presented below to determine some of the translation strategies for the label “invasion”. In most cases, the translation did not change the account of “Russia invading Ukraine”. When there are omissions of the word “invasion”, as in the example below, it does not necessarily conceal or justify the “invasion” in question.

Table 8. BBC News Corpus Search for “invasion” and “invad\*”

| Type     | Freq_Tar | Freq_Ref | Range_Tar | Range_Ref | NormFreq | NormRange |
|----------|----------|----------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|
| invasion | 664      | 1        | 366       | 1         | 1604.411 | 661       |
| invaded  | 86       | 3        | 81        | 3         | 207.800  | 146       |
| invading | 35       | 1        | 34        | 1         | 84.570   | 61        |
| invade   | 25       | 0        | 22        | 0         | 60.407   | 40        |
| invaders | 14       | 0        | 13        | 0         | 33.828   | 23        |
| invader  | 2        | 0        | 2         | 0         | 4.833    | 4         |
| invades  | 1        | 0        | 1         | 0         | 2.416    | 2         |
| Total    | 827      |          |           |           |          |           |

Table 9. BBC Türkçe Corpus Search for işgal\*

| Type          | Freq_Tar | Freq_Ref | Range_Tar | Range_Ref | NormFreq | NormRange |
|---------------|----------|----------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|
| işgal         | 296      | 9        | 175       | 8         | 1140.607 | 316       |
| işgali        | 214      | 6        | 158       | 4         | 824.628  | 285       |
| işgalinin     | 95       | 1        | 88        | 1         | 366.073  | 159       |
| işgalin       | 72       | 0        | 62        | 0         | 277.445  | 112       |
| işgale        | 66       | 1        | 63        | 1         | 254.324  | 114       |
| işgalini      | 54       | 1        | 44        | 1         | 208.084  | 79        |
| işgalinden    | 43       | 1        | 40        | 1         | 165.696  | 72        |
| işgaline      | 25       | 3        | 24        | 3         | 96.335   | 43        |
| işgalden      | 20       | 1        | 16        | 1         | 77.068   | 29        |
| işgalinde     | 17       | 0        | 15        | 0         | 65.508   | 27        |
| işgaliyle     | 15       | 1        | 14        | 1         | 57.801   | 25        |
| işgalci       | 14       | 0        | 14        | 0         | 53.948   | 25        |
| işgalde       | 8        | 0        | 8         | 0         | 30.827   | 14        |
| işgalcilerin  | 4        | 0        | 4         | 0         | 15.414   | 7         |
| işgalle       | 4        | 0        | 4         | 0         | 15.414   | 7         |
| işgalciler    | 2        | 0        | 2         | 0         | 7.707    | 4         |
| işgalcileri   | 2        | 0        | 2         | 0         | 7.707    | 4         |
| işgalcilere   | 1        | 0        | 1         | 0         | 3.853    | 2         |
| işgalcilerini | 1        | 0        | 1         | 0         | 3.853    | 2         |
| işgalcinin    | 1        | 0        | 1         | 0         | 3.853    | 2         |
| işgalindeki   | 1        | 0        | 1         | 0         | 3.853    | 2         |
| işgalininin   | 1        | 0        | 1         | 0         | 3.853    | 2         |
| işgaliyse     | 1        | 0        | 1         | 0         | 3.853    | 2         |
| işgalleri     | 1        | 0        | 1         | 0         | 3.853    | 2         |
| işgallerinin  | 1        | 0        | 1         | 0         | 3.853    | 2         |
| Total         | 959      |          |           |           |          |           |

Article no. 438

EN: The claims focus on the unlawful deportation of children from Ukraine to Russia since *Moscow's invasion in 2022*.

TR: ICC'nin Putin'e yönelttiği suçlamalar arasında, Ukrayna'daki bazı çocukların yasa dışı şekilde Rusya'ya götürülmesi de yer alıyor.

There are also instances, as in the example below in article no. 32, where the source text does not refer to the conflict as an “invasion”, but the target text does.

This is a noteworthy translation choice when aimed at an audience whose country has been playing the role of the political mediator in the conflict and has been careful about the terms used in political discourse.

Article no. 32

EN: *Ukraine war* 'catastrophic for global food'

The war in Ukraine will deliver a shock to the global supply and cost of food, the boss of one of the world's biggest fertiliser companies has said.

TR: *Rusya'nın Ukrayna'yı işgali* küresel gıda zinciri için felaket olabilir

Dünyanın en büyük gübre firmalarından birinin sahibi, Ukrayna işgalinin, gıda fiyatlarında ve tedarikinde şok dalgaları yaratabileceğini öngördü.

Up to this point, the occurrence of keywords in both corpora has been compared numerically and contextually to show the shared overarching war narrative dominant in BBC reporting on the conflict, both in English and in Turkish. There are, however, more specific narratives shaping perceptions of this conflict, which



may be more significantly shaped by the social and political context separating news circulated by either BBC News or BBC Türkçe.

This thesis presents three sub-narratives identifiable through corpus analysis, which have different implications across different states. The first sub-narrative concerns moral judgments in the news articles, particularly alleged “Nazism” in Ukraine and the alleged “war crimes” committed by Russia. Such allegations illustrate the persistent relevance of historical discourse, particularly in relation to the metanarratives that frame our current understanding of World War II. The second sub-narrative focuses on hypothetical scenarios involving the global escalation of the conflict in Ukraine and, thus, the potential threat of a future world war. Since the developments discussed in such scenarios have not occurred yet, one could presume that there is more space for interpretation and adaptation when such content is presented in translation. The third sub-narrative is concerned with concrete, logistical issues, such as the food and energy crises in Europe and possibly in Türkiye, as well as other issues linked to economic problems. These narratives were selected due to their high dependence on cultural, political, and economic norms. Essentially, both the UK and Türkiye audiences could be said to have different moral grounds and different concerns regarding this international conflict, as well as their own economic considerations. In addition to these three angles, the thesis also investigates the narrative around the “Wagner” group, a semi-private paramilitary group used by Russia in the war, which changed the course of actions unexpectedly. Since Wagner does not have organic ties to either the UK or Türkiye, the translation strategies can be analyzed without assuming any strong political motives. Still, it should be noted that the UK officially recognized the Wagner Group as a “terrorist” organization in

2023 (UK Government, 2023), and this recognition might be apparent in the articles by BBC News.

## 5.2 Moral judgements

### 5.2.1 Case 1: “war crime”

According to the United Nations, the concept of war crimes was developed between the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. War crimes include but are not limited to willful killing, torture, extensive destruction of property, taking hostages, and unlawful confinement (United Nations, 1998). In the case of an international armed conflict, intentional attacks on civilians, buildings with religious, cultural, or charitable significance, using poison as a weapon, or starvation of the enemy are also considered war crimes (United Nations, 1998). The “war crime” accusations towards the Russian state in the current conflict have been addressed by states and politicians in several international proceedings in an attempt to describe the atrocities that have happened in the Ukraine conflict (Bowen & Weed, 2023). Ever since the war started, various media agencies have recorded witness statements and pieces of video footage in Ukraine that support these claims; many of them have been broadcast in audiovisual or printed media. This part of the case study examines the “war crime” narrative about the Russian state, the Russian military, and President Vladimir Putin.

The corpus analysis presented in this section takes as its starting point basic quantitative data related to the words “war” and “crime” and a list of variants and derivations, as presented below. In the AntConc Word tool, the wildcard “crim\*” returns 333 results in the English corpus, and the words included in the wildcard search are “crime(s)”, “criminal(s)”, “criminality”, and “criminalise\*”. In the case of

the “International Criminal Court (Uluslararası Ceza Mahkemesi), which is an official institutional name, the word is excluded from the word count and analyzed separately.

Table 10. BBC News Corpus Search for “crim\*”

| Type         | Freq_Tar | Freq_Ref | Range_Tar | Range_Ref | Freq_Tar | NormRange |
|--------------|----------|----------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|
| criminal     | 85       | 32       | 56        | 20        | 205.384  | 101       |
| criminals    | 13       | 0        | 12        | 0         | 31.412   | 22        |
| crime        | 66       | 0        | 48        | 0         | 159.475  | 87        |
| crimes       | 164      | 27       | 74        | 11        | 396.270  | 134       |
| criminalised | 2        | 0        | 2         | 0         | 4.833    | 4         |
| criminalises | 1        | 0        | 1         | 0         | 2.416    | 2         |
| Total        | 331      |          | 193       |           |          |           |

Out of 333 instances of “crim\*” in the English corpus, 174 were preceded by the word “war.” The collocation results for “crim\*” also show that “war” is the most frequent word that collocates with “crim\*.” These numbers demonstrate that almost half of the “crime” discourse consists of “war crimes”, which justifies the investigation of the “war crim\*” collocation in more depth as a central example of a legal designation that implies a strong moral judgment. It is not only the frequency that makes the “war crime” narrative notable but also its range across the articles. In contrast, the “war criminal” collocation is neither frequent nor widely distributed compared to the rest of the related collocations.

Table 11. BBC News Corpus Search for “war crim\*”

| Cluster       | Freq_Tar | Freq_Ref | Range_Tar | Range_Ref | NormFreq | NormRange |
|---------------|----------|----------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|
| war crime     | 31       | 0        | 25        | 0         | 1.000    | 45        |
| war crimes    | 130      | 0        | 65        | 0         | 1.000    | 117       |
| war criminals | 6        | 0        | 5         | 0         | 1.000    | 9         |
| war criminal  | 10       | 0        | 4         | 0         | 1.000    | 7         |
| Total         | 177      |          | 99        |           |          |           |

As for the translations of the “war crime” discourse, the wildcard “suç\*” shows 256 results in the Turkish corpus. That wildcard includes the words “suç”, “suçlu”, “suçlar”, suçlular”, all linguistic equivalents of the English words presented above. It would be useful to note again that Turkish is an agglutinative language, and even though the words with suffixes are considered separate words in the corpus, they can be lemmatized to some extent and counted in the same category. The results show a slight increase in the word “suç\* (crime\*)”, and a decrease in the word “suçlu\* (criminal\*)” compared to the source text equivalents.

Table 11. BBC Türkçe Corpus Search for “suç\*” and “suçlu\*”

| Term   | Freq |
|--------|------|
| suç*   | 240  |
| suçlu* | 16   |

The collocations show similar results for the wildcard search words “suç\*” and “suçlu\*.” The search word “suç\*” has the word “savaş (war)” as the most frequent collocation, whereas “suçlu\*” does not collocate with “savaş” with noticeable frequency. The verb “suçlama” was removed from the table as its English

equivalent is not “crime\*” but “accusation\*/allegation\*.” Instances of “suçsuz (innocent)” and “suçüstü (red-handed)” were also excluded, as their equivalents in English are etymologically very different.

The results point to a considerable parallel between the English and Turkish articles. In most cases, the “war crime” and “war criminal” accusations are delivered in both languages. Still, contextual analysis shows some omissions, especially in direct quotations and in ontological narratives about the overall “war crime” narrative.

Table 12. BBC Türkçe Cluster Search for “suç\*” and “suçlu\*”

| Cluster            | Freq_Tar | Freq_Ref | Range_Tar | Range_Ref | NormFreq | NormRange |
|--------------------|----------|----------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|
| savaş suçu         | 64       | 0        | 42        | 0         | 418      | 76        |
| savaş suçları      | 42       | 0        | 27        | 0         | 275      | 49        |
| savaş suçlarını    | 10       | 0        | 6         | 0         | 65       | 11        |
| savaş suçlarına    | 8        | 0        | 8         | 0         | 52       | 14        |
| savaş suçlarının   | 8        | 0        | 7         | 0         | 52       | 13        |
| savaş suçlusu      | 8        | 0        | 2         | 0         | 52       | 4         |
| savaş suçlarından  | 4        | 0        | 3         | 0         | 26       | 5         |
| savaş suçlarıyla   | 3        | 0        | 3         | 0         | 20       | 5         |
| savaş suçunu       | 3        | 0        | 3         | 0         | 20       | 5         |
| savaş suçlularını  | 1        | 0        | 1         | 0         | 7        | 2         |
| savaş suçlularının | 1        | 0        | 1         | 0         | 7        | 2         |
| savaş suçudur      | 1        | 0        | 1         | 0         | 7        | 2         |
| Total              | 153      |          | 104       |           |          |           |

For instance, the excerpt below Table 12 taken from article no. 127 was about the ban on the UK's prime minister and other senior ministers preventing them from entering Russia. The excerpt was placed at the end of the article, along with other statements made by the UK government about the ban. Since omission is a frequent translation strategy in BBC Türkçe translations, this omission could simply be regarded as an attempt to shorten the article and deliver the BBC Türkçe audience more compact content.

Article no. 127

EN: The UK government said it remained "resolute" in its support for Ukraine despite the move, adding that it condemned Russia's "reprehensible actions" in the country.

Scotland's First Minister Nicola Sturgeon also reacted to the sanctions, describing President Putin as "a war criminal" and vowing that she would not "shy away from condemning him and his regime".

TR: \*paragraph fully omitted\*

However, there are instances where the “war criminal” accusations are omitted mid-article. In the example below, a section titled “[t]he wanted war criminal” points to the existence of some special Russian schools as “evidence against Vladimir Putin as a suspected war criminal.” These schools are claimed to have taken Ukrainian children from the invaded territories, without giving notice to any possible relatives, and educating them under strict Russian doctrines. Although the BBC Türkçe article discusses the schools in the translation, it does not mention the “war crime” allegations regarding these schools.

Article no. 488

EN: The wanted war criminal

For Ukraine, the story of Kupyansk Special School is part of a growing body of evidence against Vladimir Putin as a suspected war criminal.

The International Criminal Court issued an arrest warrant for Russia's president in March, accusing him and his children's ombudswoman, Maria Lvova-Belova, of the unlawful deportation of Ukrainian children.

Russia insists that its motives are purely humanitarian, evacuating children to protect them from danger. Senior officials scorn the ICC indictment, even threatening retaliatory arrests against its representatives.

TR: \*paragraph fully omitted\*

Contextual analysis of the content following the phrase “war criminal” shows that emotional statements regarding particular incidents are sometimes slightly altered in translation. See the excerpts below, taken from articles that report on an attack on a theatre in Mariupol, which was sheltering civilians.

Article no. 68

EN: Both Dmytro Kuleba, the Ukrainian foreign minister, and the city council accused Russia of a “*war crime*” in the wake of the attack.

Ukraine's President Volodymyr Zelensky denounced the bombing and said Russia had deliberately targeted the theatre.

"Our hearts are broken by what Russia is doing to *our people*. To our Mariupol", he said in a video address late on Wednesday evening.

TR: Ukrayna Dışışleri Bakanı Dmitro Kuleba ve vali bombalamanın ardından Rusya'yı "*savaş suçu*" işlemekle itham etti.

Ukrayna Devlet Başkanı Volodimir Zelenskiy ise dün akşam yayımladığı videoda, Rusya'nın kasten tiyatro binasını hedef aldığını söyledi. Rusya'nın Mariupol'ü ve *sivilleri* hedef almasından dolayı derin üzüntü duyduklarını ekledi.

In the example, the quote by Ukraine's President Volodymyr Zelensky was reported directly on BBC News, whereas it was quoted indirectly on BBC Türkçe, and the paraphrasing minimized the effect of Zelensky's personal narrative. The president carefully uses the words "hearts broken", "our people", and "our Mariupol" when describing the national sentiments towards the attack. Yet, BBC Türkçe reframes the statement in less emotional words, removing the words "our" that embraces the people and the city and translating the word "people" as "siviller (civilians)". This example supports the idea that BBC Türkçe's translation strategies might occasionally aim to reframe the public narratives according to the target text reader who would not necessarily sympathize with the Ukrainian president, which could also explain the frequent omissions. By that logic, BBC Türkçe recognizes the audience as a distant observer of Ukrainian issues and tries to provide a translation that requires less effort to understand the content.

Different word choices for "war crime" also emerge from a close perusal of specific translations, as in the excerpt below. In this example, the word "atrocitiy" is compensated with "savaş suçları (war crimes)" in BBC Türkçe. At this point, one could argue that the "war crime" sub-narrative has already been introduced, constructed and settled in news discourse as a common topic of discussion. The translation may thus signal an attempt to emphasize the established narrative of war



crimes or to neutralize the effect of “atrocities.” Either way, even though the choice does not signify a larger pattern, it can be considered as an example of how consolidated narratives can influence translation choices.

Article no. 282

EN: Galkin condemned Russian troops' alleged *atrocities* and said there could be no justification for the Ukraine invasion.

TR: Galkin Rus askerlerinin işlediği iddia edilen savaş suçlarını kınamış ve Ukrayna'nın işgal edilmesini hiç bir şeyin mazur gösteremeyeceğini söylemişti.

The next step of the analysis is concerned with collocations. The tables below show the most likely 15 collocations of *war crim\** in both corpora. Excluding the conjugations, both corpora display the frequent words “commit (işlemek)”, “claim (iddia etmek)”, “investigation (soruşturma)”, and “prosecution (yargılama)” in different forms along with the wildcard “war crim\* (savaş suç\*)”.

One word that stands out in the BBC News corpus but is missing in the BBC Türkçe corpus is “evidence”, which would translate into Turkish as “kanıt”. Comparative contextual analysis shows the translation strategies used in translating “the evidence of war crime.” Once again, some elements of the discourse present in the BBC News corpus that support the war crimes allegations towards Russia, particularly through official statements, were omitted from the Turkish translation in the two examples below.

Table 13. BBC News Collocation Results for “war crim\*”

| Collocate     | FreqLR | FreqL | FreqR | Range | Likelihood |
|---------------|--------|-------|-------|-------|------------|
| committing    | 12     | 12    | 0     | 12    | 93.490     |
| alleged       | 14     | 14    | 0     | 14    | 79.711     |
| evidence      | 13     | 10    | 3     | 10    | 54.929     |
| investigation | 10     | 5     | 5     | 6     | 53.190     |
| suspected     | 8      | 8     | 0     | 7     | 52.444     |
| allegations   | 9      | 4     | 5     | 9     | 49.397     |
| committed     | 9      | 2     | 7     | 7     | 47.773     |
| abuses        | 6      | 1     | 5     | 6     | 42.947     |
| accused       | 13     | 12    | 1     | 13    | 41.525     |
| investigating | 6      | 6     | 0     | 6     | 39.475     |
| trial         | 6      | 1     | 5     | 5     | 33.151     |
| crimes        | 9      | 1     | 8     | 7     | 29.560     |
| humanity      | 4      | 0     | 4     | 3     | 25.371     |
| prosecute     | 3      | 2     | 1     | 3     | 25.320     |
| warrant       | 4      | 4     | 0     | 4     | 24.374     |

Article no. 104

EN: "There are reports and images of a nightmare litany of atrocities," said state department spokesman Ned Price. The Pentagon said it was "fairly obvious" that Russia had been behind the atrocities in Bucha, but that more investigation was needed to ascertain which units were responsible. *Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky also accused Russia of war crimes during a televised address on Monday night and suggested Mr Putin's regime would attempt to cover up evidence of other atrocities.*

TR: Dışişleri Bakanlığı Sözcüsü Ned Price, Buça’da sivillere yönelik saldırılara dair çok sayıda rapor ve fotoğraf olduğunu söylerken Pentagon’un açıklamasında

“Buça’daki saldırıların arkasında Rusya’nın olduğu aşîkar. Ama bunlardan hangi birliklerin sorumlu olduğunun belirlenmesi için daha fazla araştırma yapılması gerekiyor” denildi. *\*omitted\**

Table 14. BBC Türkçe Collocation Results for “savaş suç\*”

| Collocate    | FreqLR | FreqL | FreqR | Range | Likelihood |
|--------------|--------|-------|-------|-------|------------|
| işlediği     | 14     | 6     | 8     | 11    | 105.102    |
| işlemekle    | 12     | 1     | 11    | 10    | 97.443     |
| işlediğini   | 5      | 2     | 3     | 5     | 42.186     |
| mahkemesi    | 7      | 2     | 5     | 4     | 39.354     |
| inceleyen    | 5      | 2     | 3     | 2     | 33.205     |
| işlendiği    | 4      | 4     | 0     | 4     | 31.887     |
| yargılanması | 4      | 0     | 4     | 2     | 30.384     |
| soruşturuyor | 3      | 1     | 2     | 1     | 27.893     |
| amelina      | 4      | 1     | 3     | 1     | 27.082     |
| tanımladı    | 5      | 0     | 5     | 3     | 26.724     |
| iddia        | 10     | 9     | 1     | 9     | 25.943     |
| işlenen      | 4      | 4     | 0     | 3     | 25.467     |
| uluslararası | 11     | 4     | 7     | 8     | 25.317     |
| başsavcılığı | 3      | 3     | 0     | 2     | 25.308     |
| işlendiğini  | 3      | 1     | 2     | 3     | 25.308     |

Article no. 101

EN: Human Rights Watch has called for a centralised system of uploads from conflict zones for years, without success.

"At the moment, it doesn't exist", senior conflict researcher Belkis Wille says.

She describes the haphazard and convoluted process prosecutors have to follow to obtain evidence removed from social media.

"Authorities can write to the social-media companies, or ask for a subpoena or court order.... but the way the process works right now, no-one has a very good picture of where all this content is", Ms Wille says.

And that is a real problem for investigators.

*Even before Ukraine, those trying to document atrocities highlighted how increased moderation was having a detrimental effect on evidence gathering.*

"This pace of detection means that human-rights actors are increasingly losing the race to identify and preserve information", a report into digital evidence of atrocities, by the Human Rights Center, at Berkeley School of Law, said.

TR: İnsan Hakları İzleme Örgütü yıllardır savaş bölgelerinden yüklenen fotoğrafların toplandığı bir sistem kurulması için çağrıda bulunuyor ancak şu ana kadar başarılı olamadı.

Savaş araştırmaları uzmanı Belkis Wille, "Şu an için böyle bir şey mevcut değil" diyor. Bu kaldırılan görüntülere ulaşmak için uygulanması gereken prosedürü açıklıyor:

"Yetkililer sosyal medya şirketlerine yazabilir ya da mahkeme emri için başvurabilir. Fakat şu an işleyen süreçte kimse tüm bu içeriğin nerede olduğuna dair kesin bir bilgiye sahip değil".

Bu soruşturma için gerçek bir sorun. *\*omitted\**

Even though President Zelensky’s accusation can be taken to only represent a personal viewpoint, and even though the second article does not provide a direct judgment, the omissions diminish the gravity of the war crime narrative by concealing the potential presence of supporting evidence.

Further lexical items that are relevant to the discourse of *war crime(s)* and interesting in terms of translation choices are the words “alleged/allegation” and “claim”. Both “claim” and “allegation” can be translated as “iddia”, and this term is among the top collocates in the Turkish articles. The patterns and lexical associations surrounding those words are interesting in the sense that they have an effect on the framing of the narrative and thus provide insight into the narrators’ perception of the issue at hand. The same argument is also valid for the word “suspected”, which was not among the collocations with “war crime” but can be translated the same as the word “alleged (iddia edilen)”, as in the example below. The semantic difference between “suspected” and “alleged” is noteworthy, given that the former term invokes a vocabulary of evidence, whereas the latter foregrounds the aspect of accusation.

Article no. 356

|                                                                                                                                |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| EN: He was arrested after he condemned <i>suspected</i> Russian war crimes in the Ukrainian town of Bucha.                     |
| TR: Ukrayna'nın Buça kentinde Rusya'nın işlediği <i>iddia edilen</i> savaş suçlarını kınamasının ardından gözaltına alınmıştı. |

Article no. 464

EN: Wagner is called a "private military company" in Russia and now has international notoriety for *alleged war crimes and other abuses* in Ukraine.

TR: Wagner, Rusya'da "özel askeri şirket" olarak tanımlanıyor. Şirket, Ukrayna'da *savaş suçları işlemek ve insan haklarını ihlal etmekle suçlanıyor*.

Article no. 168

EN: Ms Shelipova told the BBC: "I feel very sorry for him but for a *crime* like that - I can't forgive him."

Since President Putin sent Russian troops into Ukraine on 24 February, at least 3,838 civilians have been killed and 4,351 injured, according to the UN.

Among the dead are numerous *suspected* victims of war crimes in occupied towns such as Bucha.

Earlier this month, the BBC obtained CCTV footage of the killing of two civilians in cold blood *allegedly* by Russian soldiers, a case now being investigated by prosecutors as a *suspected* war crime.

TR: Şelipova daha sonra BBC'ye yaptığı açıklamada, "Ona çok acıdım ama böyle bir *suç* işlemiş, onu affedemem" diye konuştu. *\*omitted\**

Article no. 452

EN: It means the Security Council is being led by a country whose president is subject to an international arrest warrant for *alleged war crimes*.

TR: BMGK başkanlığının Rusya tarafından devralınması, ilk kez devlet başkanı hakkında uluslararası bir mahkeme tarafından 'tutuklama emri' çıkarılan bir ülkenin BMGK başkanı olması anlamına geliyor.

Both BBC News and BBC Türkçe clearly state that Russia's actions in the conflict are considered war crimes. References to the International Criminal Court (ICC) support this view. While the ICC's name was not always mentioned directly, its presence in various articles established it as a key institution in the coverage. Therefore, it can be concluded that neither of the news agencies conceals information regarding Russia's image and its position in the international debate about war crimes.

Table 15. BBC News Corpus Search for “international criminal court” and “ICC”

| Type                         | Freq_Tar | Freq_Ref | Range_Tar | Range_Ref | NormFreq | NormRange |
|------------------------------|----------|----------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|
| international criminal court | 21       | 1        | 20        | 1         | 50.878   | 36        |
| ICC                          | 23       | 7        | 8         | 1         | 55.574   | 14        |
| Total                        | 44       |          | 28        |           |          |           |

Table 16. BBC Türkçe Corpus Search “uluslararası ceza mahkemesi” “ICC” and “UCM”

| Type                        | Freq_Tar | Freq_Ref | Range_Tar | Range_Ref | NormFreq | NormRange |
|-----------------------------|----------|----------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|
| uluslararası ceza mahkemesi | 20       | 0        | 16        | 0         | 77.398   | 29        |
| ICC                         | 8        | 0        | 3         | 0         | 30.827   | 5         |
| UCM                         | 4        | 0        | 2         | 0         | 15.414   | 4         |
| Total                       | 32       |          | 21        |           |          |           |

Another slight difference between the two corpora concerns the International Criminal Court (ICC) collocations. The search term “international criminal court” was very likely to collocate with the word “arrest” in the English corpus, whereas the Turkish translation for this word “tutuk(lamak)” seems to be missing from the Turkish corpus in this context.

The word “arrest” has a high probability of collocation within the “war crime” sub-narrative because the main function of the International Criminal Court would be to determine whether war crimes were committed and, if necessary, enforce the necessary penalties in international criminal law, which is mainly imprisonment that may be accompanied by a fine to be paid to the court. The lower likelihood of the word “arrest” in Turkish, therefore, implies less attention to the possible arrest of Russian authorities. This is further examined through the comparative contextual reading below.

The excerpt below is taken from an article about Chinese President Xi Jinping’s visit to Moscow to meet with Russian President Vladimir Putin. Omitted from the middle of the article is the reminder that an arrest warrant for President Putin had been issued.

Article no. 443

|                                                                                                                                                  |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| EN: His visit to Russia came days after the International Criminal Court issued an arrest warrant for President Putin on war crimes allegations. |
| TR: *omitted*                                                                                                                                    |



The example below covers President Putin’s visit to the Ukrainian city of Mariupol and contains official statements by the international organization the United Nations about the possible legal sanctions on Russia, which were omitted in the translation.

Article no. 440

EN: Ukraine and human rights groups say the attack amounted to a war crime.

*It is among incidents for which Mr Putin and his regime could be held legally responsible, the United Nations has said.*

*The International Criminal Court said on Friday it had issued a warrant for the arrest of Mr Putin over involving the illegal deportation of Ukrainian children to Russia. It means he could now be arrested if he sets foot in any of the court's 123 member states.*

TR: Ukrayna ve insan hakları grupları, saldırının bir savaş suçu teşkil ettiğini söylüyor. *\*paragraph fully omitted\**

Another omission from the same article is again related to the accusations against President Putin and his motivations for visiting the city. This time, the omission was applied to the interview conducted by BBC News with the previous Mariupol mayor, who labels the Russian president “a criminal” and the city of Mariupol “a crime scene”.

EN: An official video shows Mr Putin driving a car through streets at night and speaking to people. The Kremlin says it happened late on Saturday.

It is believed to be his first trip to a newly-occupied Ukrainian territory. *Mariupol's exiled mayor told BBC News that Mr Putin was a "criminal" who had "returned to the scene of the crime".*

*"He has come in person to see what he has done", Vadym Boychenko said. "He's come to see what he will be punished for."*

*Other exiled Ukrainian city officials said Mr Putin had visited at night so he would not see the destroyed city in daylight.* Tass news agency says he travelled to Mariupol by helicopter.

TR: Rus devlet medyası Rusya Devlet Başkanı Vladimir Putin'in ele geçirilen Ukrayna'daki liman şehri Mariupol'e sürpriz bir ziyaret gerçekleştirdiğini bildirdi. Yayımlanan resmi videolarda Putin'in gece vakitlerinde kentte araba kullandığı ve ardından da bir konser salonunu ziyaret ettiği görülüyor. Ancak BBC, videonun konumunu doğrulayamadı.

Bu, Putin'in işgal edilmiş yeni Ukrayna topraklarına yaptığı ilk ziyaret.

Tass haber ajansı, Putin'in bölgeye helikopterle gittiğini ve bazı yerel insanlarla da bir araya geldiğini aktardı. *\*omitted\**

The corpus results show that the “war crime” sub-narrative is not avoided in BBC Türkçe translations despite its controversial nature. However, there are occasional instances of omissions regarding the allegations against Russia and the Russian president. The sub-narrative is sometimes approached carefully, especially

when it is embedded in a personal or institutional statement, but the Turkish translations mostly comply with the narrative established in the source material. Whether this compliance regarding matters of moral judgement is consistent will be investigated in the next section, where another politically and ethically sensitive matter is scrutinized.

### 5.2.2 Case 2: “Nazism”

The “Nazism” narrative has been one of the main points of justification by Russia in the invasion of Ukraine. As stated previously, the Russian President alleged that there were several Ukrainian government officials ideologically associated with Nazism, which required Russia’s military intervention in Ukraine. The word “Nazism” is derived from the ideology of National Socialism, which is a far-right totalitarian ideology especially prominent during World War 2 (Rossoliński-Liebe & Willems, 2022). It has been mentioned regularly in the context of the Russia-Ukraine War, as President Putin claimed that Russia was trying to protect the people of Russia by “de-nazifying” Ukraine. By doing so, he also compared Ukraine to Nazi Germany, which invaded Russia during World War 2 (Rossoliński-Liebe & Willems, 2022). The word “Nazi” was present both in BBC News and BBC Türkçe corpora in several forms, such as “Nazis”, “Nazism”, “neo-Nazi” in the English corpus, and “Naziler”, “Nazileri”, and “neo-Naziler” in the Turkish corpus. The numbers below show the context in which the words were used.

Table 17. Contexts for the Word “Nazi”

| Context | TR | EN |
|---------|----|----|
| Ukraine | 47 | 56 |
| WW2     | 25 | 27 |
| Other   | 1  | 1  |

The “Nazi” narrative was occasionally used as part of a reference to World War 2 and the Nazis of that time. However, as the numbers suggest, the word was predominantly used in the allegations against the contemporary Ukrainian government and politicians. In the English corpus, occurrences of the reference to Nazis and Nazism are mostly derived from official statements by Russian politicians and signaled in quotation marks. Consequently, BBC News discourse maintains distance from the label when it is used to describe the Ukrainian side. In the Turkish translations, the use of quotation marks is not consistent. This shows that, although this narrative was transferred in translation, the function of such punctuation and emphasizing the narrative difference between direct and indirect quotation were not as substantial in the Turkish translation.

Article no. 173

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>EN: Mr Lavrov said the "liberation" of the eastern region was an "unconditional priority" for Russia.</p> <p>He repeated the Kremlin's widely discredited line that Russia is fighting a <i>"neo-Nazi regime"</i>.</p> <p>Noting that President Putin regularly appeared in public, Mr Lavrov told TF1...</p> |
| <p>TR: Dışişleri Bakanı, bölgenin "özgürleştirilmesinin" Rusya'nın koşulsuz önceliklerinden biri olduğunu söyledi.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                           |

Rusya'nın *neo-Nazi bir rejime* karşı savaştığı söylemini de tekrarlayan Lavrov, Putin'in düzenli olarak kamuoyu önüne çıktığını ve kendisinde hiçbir hastalık izi görülmediğini belirtti.

On the other hand, some examples illustrate the transfer of punctuation that affects the narration, such as the one presented below. In this case, doubts about the legitimacy of Russia's justifications for the invasion were emphasized with quotation marks.

Article no. 170

EN: It's a tiny contingent compared with the Russian state TV correspondents who stride through eastern Ukraine in military clothing, "Z" patches on their arms in support of Russian soldiers, talking about "*denazification*" and the "liberation" of cities like Mariupol.

TR: Ukrayna'nın doğusunda askeri üniforma içinde dolaşp, kollarına Z işaretleri takıp, Rus askerlerini destekleyen, Mariupol gibi şehirleri "*Nazilerden arındırmaktan*" ya da "özgürleştirmekten" bahseden Rus devlet televizyonu muhabirlerine kıyasla çok dar bir kadro.

In BBC Turkish translations, omissions were occasionally applied to the Nazi narrative, just as they were applied to the abovementioned cases. There were instances where the allegations were removed from the middle of texts and not simply cut out from the end of the article. The fact that the word Nazi was selected for removal in those instances suggests that, in the mind of the translator, its transfer

might not be a priority compared to the rest of the news content. Article no. 2 presented below, for instance, delivers the “de-Nazification” discourse that is not acknowledged by the UK as well as the family background of Ukrainian president Zelensky, whereas the translated text omitted these two connected statements.

Article no. 183

EN: In an interview for BBC News, World Trade Organization Director General Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala warned that the food crisis could last for years without intervention. African countries could be hit especially hard by wheat and fertilizer shortages, she said. Millions of tonnes of grain are sitting in warehouses and Ukrainian ports, unable to be exported because of the war. Global banking experts believe Russia's economy will shrink 15% by the end of the year - and a further 3% in 2023 - because of Western sanctions, a mass exodus of companies and a collapse in exports. The figures could be even worse if Europe fully weans itself off Russian energy, the Institute of International Finance warned. *Russia invaded on 24 February, saying it was seeking to demilitarise and "de-Nazify" Ukraine - a claim that has been widely discredited.*

TR: Dünya Ticaret Örgütü Genel Direktörü Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala da, BBC'ye verdiği bir mülakatta, gıda krizinin herhangi bir müdahale olmazsa yıllarca sürebileceği uyarısı yaptı. Okonjo-Iweala buğday ve gübre kıtlığından özellikle Afrika ülkelerinin etkileneceğini söyledi. Savaş nedeniyle milyonlarca ton tahılın Ukrayna limanları ve depolarında bekletildiği, ihraç edilemediği belirtiliyor.

*\*omitted\**

EN: While Russian President Vladimir Putin has appeared increasingly erratic - accusing Ukraine of "genocide" in the breakaway Donetsk and Luhansk republics, and talking of the need to "de-Nazify" the country - President Zelensky, from a Russian-speaking Jewish family, has remained dignified, resolute and articulate.

TR: \*omitted\*

The collocations linked to the Nazi narrative in English and Turkish show some difference again in numbers, but not with regard to overall patterning. The frequencies slightly decrease in the Turkish articles, but the most frequent ten words do not indicate much disparity.

Table 18. BBC News Collocation Search for “Nazi”

| Collocate    | FreqLR | FreqL | FreqR | Range | Likelihood |
|--------------|--------|-------|-------|-------|------------|
| neo          | 12     | 11    | 1     | 10    | 124.168    |
| de           | 12     | 12    | 0     | 11    | 92.505     |
| nationalists | 7      | 4     | 3     | 6     | 59.521     |
| germany      | 9      | 0     | 9     | 9     | 39.238     |
| ultra        | 3      | 0     | 3     | 2     | 31.976     |
| ukraine      | 27     | 12    | 15    | 19    | 29.746     |
| fighting     | 8      | 8     | 0     | 8     | 27.417     |
| regime       | 5      | 0     | 5     | 4     | 26.539     |
| liberating   | 3      | 2     | 1     | 3     | 25.913     |
| ghetto       | 3      | 0     | 3     | 1     | 25.913     |

Table 19. BBC Türkçe Collocation Search for "Nazi"

| Collocate     | FreqLR | FreqL | FreqR | Range | Likelihood |
|---------------|--------|-------|-------|-------|------------|
| neo           | 9      | 8     | 1     | 8     | 88.444     |
| almanyası     | 8      | 0     | 8     | 8     | 78.606     |
| arındırılması | 6      | 0     | 6     | 5     | 57.003     |
| ukrayna       | 42     | 32    | 10    | 24    | 42.714     |
| arındırmak    | 4      | 0     | 4     | 4     | 37.417     |
| kutlandığı    | 4      | 0     | 4     | 4     | 37.417     |
| ikinci        | 6      | 5     | 1     | 6     | 37.088     |
| ultra         | 3      | 0     | 3     | 2     | 32.048     |
| iddia         | 8      | 3     | 5     | 6     | 27.624     |
| milliyetçiler | 3      | 1     | 2     | 2     | 25.157     |

When Nazism is mentioned in an article, it is mostly in the context of the “neo-Nazis” who are alleged to be the Ukrainians in this case. The next most common collocation is the “de-Nazification” process, which has been the root of several political discussions about Russia’s actions, as explained above. There is also a consistent presence of references to “Nazi Germany”, which is compared to both Ukraine and Russia, to support both parties in their arguments about the conflict. The omission strategy is proven to be present in the case of Nazi ideology, and it is very likely to be applied to the Neo-Nazi allegations towards Ukraine, as can be seen in the examples below.



Article no. 166

EN: The regiment emerged in 2014 as a highly effective volunteer militia with far right and, in some cases, neo-Nazi affiliations, before being folded into Ukraine's National Guard.

TR: \*omitted\*

Article no. 166

EN: "Together they formed a 'Nazi' battalion and intimidated the entire Russian army", he writes.

TR: \*omitted\*

Article no. 430

EN: Russia's Federal Security Service (FSB) said FSB forces and regular troops on Thursday clashed with "Ukrainian nationalists" who had crossed into Russia and taken hostages. The FSB said the "nationalists" were then hit with a massive Russian artillery strike and pushed back into Ukraine. They left a large cache of explosives in the village, the FSB alleged. *When Russia launched its large-scale invasion of Ukraine in February 2022 President Putin branded the Kyiv government "nationalists" and "neo-Nazis", arguing that Russia had to act against them.*

TR: Rusya Federal Güvenlik Servisi (FSB) güvenlik güçlerinin, sınırı geçip insanları rehin alan "Ukraynalı milliyetçileriyle" çatıştığını ve onları geri çekilmeye zorladıklarını açıkladı. FSB, Ukraynalıların geri çekilirken arkalarında patlayıcılar bıraktığını da ekledi. *\*omitted\**

For the most part, the analysis of the moral judgments shows that, just as with the war crime narrative discourse, the Nazi narrative discourse was not avoided in BBC Türkçe's translated articles. Although Türkiye does not have the same historical perspective as the United Kingdom on either the Nazis in World War II or the alleged Nazis in Ukraine, a different strategy was not followed in the Turkish translation when it came to the frequent mention of Nazis and the hesitancy towards labeling Ukrainians as Nazis. On the contrary, the latter-mentioned hesitancy could be said to have been reinforced through the omission from the translation of references to neo-Nazis. The translators have not introduced a separate judgment on Nazi ideology nor reproduced the Russian position on the supposedly "neo-Nazi" Ukrainian regime that is narrated in the Russian discourse. In BBC Türkçe, the narrative was not explored further through strategies such as additions, meaning that the narrative framework provided by BBC News was uncritically reproduced in most cases.

This chapter shows that the moral judgments present in BBC News articles about either Russia or Ukraine were not particularly reframed by BBC Türkçe translators. Although in some instances a particular accusation or judgment was not retained in translation, the majority of the cases indicate a transfer of moral judgments directly into the Turkish language and news environment. The only strategy that is conspicuous in the translations is the omission of the emphasis on moral judgments and, in the case of war crime and Nazism allegations, direct judgment towards either Russia or Ukraine. This chapter's analysis has suggested that BBC Türkçe does not apply a strict target audience-oriented narrative approach when it comes to the translation of moral issues, which would have resulted in differences between news the articles, as they address two different audience groups

with different historical backgrounds. The next section will delve into hypothetical scenarios regarding the conflict and the construction of narratives about undesirable prospects, including nuclear war.

### 5.3 Hypothetical scenarios

#### 5.3.1 Nuclear concerns

The attack on Ukrainian territory by Russia, which is one of the most powerful countries in terms of nuclear arsenal, resulted in the concern of a possible nuclear attack that would disrupt the current nuclear peace in the world. Although it was previously armed with nuclear weapons, Ukraine became a non-nuclear weapon state by signing a memorandum with the United States of America, Russia, and the United Kingdom in 1994 (Cosgrove, 2020). Russia, as of 2023, has the highest number of nuclear warheads among the states that possess nuclear weapons within their arsenals (Stockholm International Peace Institute, 2023). The global anxiety over Russia's nuclear power is not just paranoia based on Russia's possession of that massive nuclear arsenal. From the first day of the war, the Russian president, as well as several Russian ministers and politicians kept reminding the nations of the world that the use of nuclear weapons was never ruled out in any conflict. In March 2024, The Russian President stated that he believes the situation will not escalate into a nuclear confrontation at this time, but that they are ready for it should it occur (Faulconbridge & Kelly, 2024). Russian journalist Dmitry Muratov, while addressing state propaganda in Russian media, said nuclear weapons were "promoted as if they're advertising pet food" (Rosenberg, 2023). Such statements attract international

media attention to the possibility of a nuclear war and result in an abundance of news about nuclear armament.

Although Türkiye is not among the states that have nuclear weapons, it has played and still plays a central role in this issue. During the Cuban missile crisis of 1963, the United States deployed some of its nuclear missiles in Türkiye, and this agreement between Türkiye and the United States consequently led to political tension between Türkiye and Russia (Varlı, 2006). Today, Türkiye still hosts United States missiles in its İncirlik Air Base as per the nuclear-sharing agreement among NATO members and is thus one of the geographically closest states to Russian territory that holds nuclear weapons (Varlı, 2006).

Another global concern related to the nuclear powers is the attacks by Russia on nuclear plants in the Ukraine territory, which could have catastrophic nuclear consequences on a global scale. Although this is not the equivalent of a direct nuclear weapon attack, it is analyzed in the same category due to the hypothetical and nuclear-related nature of the controversy. The concerns about a nuclear disaster that could happen as an outcome of the Russia-Ukraine War present themselves clearly in BBC News and BBC Türkçe articles.

Table 20. BBC News and BBC Türkçe Corpus Search for “nuclear” and “nükleer”

| Type    | Freq_Tar | Freq_Ref | Range_Tar | Freq_Ref | NormFreq | NormRange | Keyness(Likelihood) |
|---------|----------|----------|-----------|----------|----------|-----------|---------------------|
| nuclear | 410      | 24       | 97        | 6        | 990.676  | 175       | 321.686             |
| nükleer | 369      | 42       | 81        | 13       | 1421.905 | 146       | 326.961             |

As seen above, the omission strategy is still occasionally applied to the ‘nuclear discourse’ in the Turkish translation, but the overall normed frequency and the keyness of the Turkish word “nükleer” are higher than its English equivalent.

Due to linguistic nuances, the collocation results for the word “nuclear” are easier to retrieve for English than for Turkish when using corpus analysis tools.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, the most frequently collocated words were again analyzed using the wildcard feature, which retrieves all forms starting with a specified string of characters. One of the most visibly collocated word with the words “nuclear (n kleer)” is “weapon[s] (silah[lar])”, including several other suffixed forms. Other collocations worth mentioning are with the words “Zaporizhzhia (Zaporijya)”, “plant (santral)” and “warhead (savař bařlıęı)”. These examples are noteworthy because they illustrate the key themes of the nuclear narrative and associate the word "nuclear" with actual war zones, weapons, and infrastructure.

The contextual analysis begins by examining the collocation “nuclear war” to explore the broader discourse surrounding the possibility of nuclear conflict. Frequencies for the collocation “nuclear war” are very similar in both corpora, with 25 mentions in BBC News and 24 in BBC T rk e articles. However, the range for the collocations shows difference, indicating that not all English instances were translated into Turkish. One of these omissions includes a paragraph particularly referencing a detention site for Ukrainians, where the phrase “nuclear war” appeared in the article that was not included in the Turkish version. This example might have been left out for being irrelevant because it made no major contribution to the larger story of nuclear concern.

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<sup>3</sup> Because Turkish is an agglutinative language, as explained before, the English collocation “nuclear plant” is the equivalent of the Turkish “n kleer santral”, “n kleer santrali”, “n kleer santraline”, or “n kleer santrallerin”, among other word combinations.

Article no. 163

EN: Hundreds of Ukrainian soldiers - Marines, the National Guard - including the Azov regiment - border guards, police and territorial defence units - as well as a number of civilians with young children have been holed up at the site since advancing Russian troops encircled the southern city in early March. *The sprawling four-square mile complex is a maze of tunnels designed to survive a nuclear war.*

TR: Mariupol'e Rus askerlerinin ilerlediği Mart ayından bu yana direnişin kalesi haline gelen fabrikada, iki aydan uzun süredir yüzlerce asker ve sivil mahsur kalmıştı. Şu an fabrikada ve yer altındaki tünellerde kaç kişinin kaldığı net olarak bilinmiyor. Kalanların da tahliye edilmesi için çalışmalar devam ediyor. *\*omitted\**

Another reference to a hypothetical nuclear war between the US and Russia, which has been on the global agenda since the Cold War era and has become strongly associated with the idea of general nuclear armament leading to a possible Third World War, was omitted from the article's last paragraphs.

Article no. 237

EN: The suspension comes a week after US President Joe Biden said he was ready to work on a new nuclear arms deal with President Vladimir Putin. The current one will expire in 2026. *The ministry accused the US of ignoring "existing realities" such as "the suspension of normal" air links. New START followed years of arms reduction talks between the US and former USSR, aimed at preventing nuclear war. Russia's invasion of Ukraine in February sparked hostile rhetoric on both sides, including warnings that the conflict could escalate into a third world war.*

*Some commentators on Russian state media have boasted about Moscow's nuclear arsenal in the context of current tensions with Nato.*

TR: ABD Başkanı Joe Biden geçen hafta yaptığı açıklamada, Rusya Devlet Başkanı Vladimir Putin'le, nükleer silahların sınırlandırılmasına yönelik yeni bir anlaşmayı müzakere etmeye hazır olduğunu söylemişti. *\*omitted\**

The example below is taken from an article that reports the UN's condemnation of the war on its first-year anniversary. Biden's personal comments on the suspension of the STAR treaty by Russia were omitted in translation, along with the last paragraphs of the article. Since this statement follows previous comments on the nuclear agreement and since the perspective of the US president did not deviate from the general view expressed in the article, the omission does not have a major impact on the narrative. Nevertheless, it exemplifies that BBC Türkçe seems less concerned than BBC News with conveying personal statements to illustrate a broader narrative.

Article no. 420

EN: Mr Biden has called the decision to suspend the treaty, designed by the US and Russia in 2010 to prevent nuclear war, a big mistake.

TR: *\*omitted\**

In sum, as in the previous section, the most frequent translation strategy proved to be omission. There is little to no evidence to suggest that omission was used consistently as a tool for reframing the narrative discourse. Rather than by any

obvious ideological motivations, the non-inclusion of particular stretches of text seems to be fundamentally guided by BBC Türkçe's general tendency to shorten articles, which is evident in articles on any subject. Other than the omissions, there are no visible alterations to the source text articles and no independent commentary on the issues by the Turkish translators. However, the examination of this narrative does not end here, as the discussion about a nuclear war is part of a larger concern, namely the danger of another world war.

### 5.3.2 Disruption of the world order

The war in Ukraine initiated by Russia in 2022, is considered one of the most significant disruptions to world peace since World War 2 (Brunk & Hakimi, 2022). The number of states that are politically involved and the scale this war may reach have raised concerns of a third world war. These concerns are especially prevalent in NATO member states, which agreed to support other members of the organization in the case of an attack from third parties. The discussion about Ukraine's NATO membership not only contributed to Ukraine's political disagreements with Russia but was also presented as one of the justifications for Russia's military attack (Wilhelmsen & Hjermann, 2022). As mentioned in the previous section, there are frequent statements about nuclear attacks, answered by threats of retaliation from other states who also own nuclear weapons, and if such violence erupts, it is likely that worldwide chaos will ensue. As of today, it is still not clear whether the war in Ukraine will evolve into a world war, but the risk persists. It has also been pointed out that, even though the war in Ukraine has not turned into a world war, there have been significant consequences. Several states have encountered challenges based on



the political and logistical problems that resulted from this war. Therefore, World War 3 scenarios occasionally come up in political discourse, as well as in the news.

The possibility of a third world war is mentioned in seven instances in the BBC News articles in the corpus. Four mentions of nuclear war, three of them from a single article that is directly concerned with the possibility of a nuclear war, were translated into Turkish. The other three sentences mentioning a world war were omitted in the translated Turkish texts.

Table 21. Contexts for the Phrase “World War”

| Context | TR | EN |
|---------|----|----|
| WW1     | 4  | 4  |
| WW2     | 38 | 46 |
| WW3     | 2  | 7  |

Article no. 10

|                                                                                                                                             |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| EN: Let's cut right to the chase here: are we witnessing the prelude to <i>World War 3</i> ?                                                |
| TR: Hemen kritik soruyu sorarak başlayalım: 3. <i>Dünya Savaşı</i> 'nın başlangıcına mı tanık oluyoruz?                                     |
| EN: "That's <i>a world war</i> when Americans and Russians start shooting at each other", said US President Joe Biden earlier this month... |
| TR: ABD Başkanı Joe Biden bu ayın başlarında, "Amerikalılar ve Ruslar birbirlerine ateş ediyorsa bu <i>bir dünya savaşıdır</i> " dedi...    |

EN: As long as there is no direct conflict between Russia and Nato then there is no reason for this crisis, bad as it is, to descend into *a full-scale world war*.

TR: Rusya ile NATO arasında doğrudan bir çatışma olmadığı sürece bu krizin, ne kadar kötü olursa olsun, büyük çaplı *bir dünya savaşına* dönüşmesi için hiçbir neden yok.

Article no. 16

EN: But even the faintest hint of *a world war* which could become a nuclear war means, in spite of terrible scenes of civilians under attack, the likelihood of any no-fly zone in Ukraine is slim to none.

TR: Fakat nükleer silahların kullanılabileceği *bir dünya savaşının* hafifçe ima edilmesi dahi, sivil halkın saldırı altındaki tüyler ürpertici görüntülerine rağmen, Ukrayna üzerinde bir uçuşa yasaklı bölge ilan edilmesi olasılığının sıfıra yakın olması demek.

The fact that these articles were selected to be translated shows that the probability of a world war has not been omitted from the discussion for the Turkish reader. However, the examples below show that the same concern is occasionally omitted in translations when it is addressed directly by key international figures, whose statements can be regarded as personal narratives. The political statement by the Ukrainian president Volodymyr Zelensky in article no. 63 and the speech by Pope Francis about the war in article no. 373 were both stripped of the World War 3 narrative.

Article no. 63

EN: He added that Vladimir Putin's invasion had undermined European security infrastructure and that fears of World War Three were allowing Russia to bombard peaceful cities.

TR: \*omitted\*

Article no. 373

EN: While the war in Ukraine occupied much of his 10-minute speech, he spoke of "a grave famine of peace also in other regions and other theatres of this *Third World War*".

He singled out conflicts and humanitarian crises in the Middle East, Myanmar, Haiti, and the Sahel region of Africa.

TR: Bu, Papa'nın göreve gelmesinden beri 10. Noel Günü konuşmasıydı. 10 dakikalık konuşmanın büyük kısmında Ukrayna'ya değinirken, Suriye, Myanmar, İran, Haiti, Afrika'daki Sahel bölgesinden de bahsetti ve dünyanın bir "barış açlığı" çektiğini vurguladı.

Article no. 237

EN: Russia's invasion of Ukraine in February sparked hostile rhetoric on both sides, including warnings that the conflict could escalate into a third world war.

TR: \*omitted\*

The avoidance of World War 3 in the examples above is significant.

Although the global agenda is delivered similarly to the Turkish reader and the UK

reader, further commentary on the issue, which has the capacity to make particular anxieties about a world war more concrete, was avoided. It might also be the case that, although the aforementioned figures are highly influential worldwide, they do not have the same effect on the British and Turkish reader. This might be especially relevant to the Pope, who is seen by many people in Europe, especially Catholics, as a clergyman advocating for world peace but who does not enjoy such mass appeal in Türkiye, where the majority of the population is Muslim. Either way, the narrative discourse on this issue was not enforced via personal narratives but was nevertheless delivered through the general news discourse.

The results of the analysis of translations related to hypothetical scenarios suggest that both the “Third World War” narrative and the “nuclear war” narrative are generally retained in BBC Türkçe translations of BBC News articles, the former more consistently so than the latter. Even so, the statements by politically influential figures regarding the nuclear conflict were omitted in mid-article in the Turkish translations and sometimes even mid-sentence. This suggests that the possibility of a Third World War might not be a scenario of which BBC Türkçe constantly wants to remind its audience. Still, when the numbers are compared, most of the instances were translated, and the narrative frame was mostly protected in translation. The conclusion drawn from this analysis is that, although BBC Türkçe does not try to reframe the discussion about a potential world war, it also chooses not to translate a number of utterances that enforce this concern. That way, BBC Türkçe introduces this specific public narrative to the Turkish reader but does not persistently confront the reader with the particular personal statements. The next section addresses, rather than hypothetical scenarios, concrete economic problems that affect people’s access to resources in daily life.

## 5.4 Present events

### 5.4.1 Food crisis

One of the major concerns on the global agenda due to the war in Ukraine is the dangerous situation with respect to the provision of food for the world. Russia and Ukraine are two major food suppliers worldwide, with a combined wheat export amount of almost 40% of the global total (Lin et al., 2023). The political and armed conflict has had several implications for the global food supply chain. First, the allies of Ukraine imposed sanctions on international trade with Russia, which were met with reciprocal sanctions from the Russian side. Then Russia limited its international grain exports, which caused a major imbalance in the global wheat market. The sanctions affected not only the food trade but also goods and services necessary for agriculture, such as fertilizer, transportation, and fuel. Russia and its ally Belarus have the upper hand in gas and potash exports in particular, which are crucial for fertilizer manufacturing (Hellegers, 2022). These sequential events resulted in a global economic crisis, especially affecting third world countries reliant on the food trade with either Russia or Ukraine. Türkiye is among the countries that rely on Russia and Ukraine for trade and has been importing grain from Ukraine (Lin et al., 2023). It has played a major role in the resolution of the food crisis caused by this conflict (Black Sea Grain Initiative Joint Coordination Centre, 2023). In 2022, Russia and Ukraine agreed on a grain deal that allowed Ukrainian grain to be exported despite the Russian blockades that have surrounded the Ukrainian ports, namely Odessa, Chornomorsk, and Pivdennyi, through “a humanitarian corridor” (Glauber & Laborde, 2023). The deal was called “Initiative on the Safe Transportation of Grain and Foodstuffs from Ukrainian Ports”, or “The Black Sea Grain Initiative”, and the meetings for the agreement took place in Istanbul, Türkiye.

Türkiye was one of the states represented in the meetings, along with Russia, Ukraine, and the United Nations, and acted as one of the inspector states in these meetings. Although the initiative worked successfully at first and was described as “a beacon of hope”, the deal was not renewed after its expiration on 17 July 2023 (Black Sea Grain Initiative Joint Coordination Centre, 2023).

The degree of international attention paid to food-related issues calls for a review of the discourse used in those discussions. For that purpose, the English words “food” and “meal”, and three Turkish equivalents “yiyecek”, “gıda”, and “yemek” were queried in both corpora.

Table 22. BBC News Corpus Search for “food” and “meal”

| Type | Freq_Tar | Freq_Ref | Range_Tar | Range_Ref | NormFreq | NormRange |
|------|----------|----------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|
| food | 207      | 155      | 87        | 71        | 500.170  | 157       |
| meal | 1        | 2        | 1         | 1         | 2.416    | 2         |

Table 23. BBC Türkçe Corpus Search for “yiyecek”, “gıda” and “yemek”

| Type    | Freq_Tar | Freq_Ref | Range_Tar | Range_Ref | NormFreq | NormRange |
|---------|----------|----------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|
| yiyecek | 33       | 26       | 22        | 17        | 127.162  | 40        |
| gıda    | 103      | 123      | 41        | 46        | 396.900  | 74        |
| yemek   | 28       | 66       | 20        | 42        | 107.895  | 36        |

The frequencies for the words “food” and “meal” and the three equivalent words “gıda”, “yiyecek” and “yemek” are very close in numbers but not quite the same. The difference can be largely explained with reference to the previously mentioned omission strategies prevalent in BBC Türkçe news translation. The collocation results for the most prominent words in the list (“food” in English and “gıda” in Turkish) present a very similar discourse around the issue.

Table 24. BBC News Collocation Search for “food”

| Collocate  | Rank | FreqLR | FreqL | FreqR | Range | Likelihood | Effect |
|------------|------|--------|-------|-------|-------|------------|--------|
| global     | 1    | 28     | 27    | 1     | 13    | 150.059    | 5.248  |
| crisis     | 2    | 16     | 1     | 15    | 10    | 81.355     | 5.050  |
| prices     | 3    | 16     | 1     | 15    | 14    | 73.705     | 4.696  |
| water      | 4    | 14     | 5     | 9     | 13    | 57.613     | 4.328  |
| insecurity | 5    | 6      | 0     | 6     | 3     | 52.326     | 7.650  |
| and        | 6    | 92     | 29    | 63    | 58    | 42.472     | 1.087  |
| supplies   | 7    | 12     | 0     | 12    | 12    | 41.872     | 3.852  |
| medicine   | 8    | 6      | 0     | 6     | 6     | 39.531     | 6.148  |
| energy     | 9    | 14     | 3     | 11    | 12    | 38.375     | 3.263  |
| fuel       | 10   | 8      | 3     | 5     | 5     | 36.824     | 4.696  |

Table 25. BBC Türkçe Collocation Search for “gıda”

| Collocate   | Rank | FreqLR | FreqL | FreqR | Range | Likelihood | Effect |
|-------------|------|--------|-------|-------|-------|------------|--------|
| küresel     | 1    | 16     | 13    | 3     | 8     | 91.199     | 5.499  |
| fiyatları   | 2    | 7      | 0     | 7     | 7     | 41.873     | 5.711  |
| ilaç        | 3    | 5      | 0     | 5     | 4     | 36.961     | 6.728  |
| temel       | 4    | 6      | 6     | 0     | 4     | 31.846     | 5.218  |
| krizinin    | 5    | 4      | 0     | 4     | 3     | 31.045     | 6.991  |
| dünya       | 6    | 9      | 9     | 0     | 8     | 27.472     | 3.510  |
| fiyatlarına | 7    | 3      | 0     | 3     | 2     | 25.777     | 7.576  |
| programı    | 8    | 4      | 0     | 4     | 3     | 24.522     | 5.821  |
| enerji      | 9    | 9      | 2     | 7     | 9     | 24.311     | 3.230  |
| krizine     | 10   | 3      | 0     | 3     | 2     | 22.342     | 6.769  |

As can be seen, the issue of food on a global scale is the first concern in the English and Turkish articles. Although the likelihood of the word “global” is higher than that of its Turkish equivalent, “küresel”, they are the words most collocated

with “food/gıda” in both corpora. The global scale of the issue is followed by two core concerns related to food, namely “crisis”, and “prices.” Despite small changes in the ranking of the collocates, the tables suggest that the discourse around food retains its core features in translation. However, once again, a close comparative reading of two articles can complement the numerical reading of the data.

The excerpt below reports on a warning by the World Bank regarding a worldwide major recession. Despite the fact that the article is about a global issue, the original BBC News article addressed to the UK audience includes a paragraph starting with the situation in UK households before moving on to discuss food trade policies. This paragraph was omitted in translation, most likely due to its perceived irrelevance to the Turkish audience. Although the word “crisis” disappeared due to this decision, the fact is that an article that reports on the crisis regarding food prices was still selected for translation. This means that the narrative framework around economic concerns is delivered through translation, but the UK news agenda, which was not designed for the Turkish audience, was not transferred into Turkish. Once again, this translation strategy raises the issue of relevance. As the local British prices would not be of interest for the Turkish, it can be said that there is an attempt to keep the content fitting for the target audience as much as possible.

Article no. 182

EN: But soaring food and energy costs threaten to throw livelihoods further into reverse, spelling misery and hardship for the most vulnerable. And that's not just true for poorer countries. One survey shows one in six British households have turned to a food bank.



That global struggle could be compounded by the higher interest rates being used to ease inflation, just as government support to ease the impact of the pandemic is evaporating.

The World Bank is urging immediate action, from debt relief, to urging nations not to put restrictions on food exports.

Instead they want policymakers to show they are acting together to safeguard food and energy supplies, reassure volatile markets, and ease price spikes,.

Policymakers have already had to tackle an extraordinary battle.

But if we down tools now the World Bank suggests we could face an even more prolonged and painful crisis.

TR: \*omitted\*

A similar example is presented below.

Article no. 165

EN: Russia and Ukraine produce 30% of the world's wheat supply and - prior to the war - Ukraine was seen as the world's bread basket, exporting 4.5 million tonnes of agricultural produce per month through its ports.

But since Russia launched its invasion in February, exports have collapsed and prices have skyrocketed. They climbed even further after India banned wheat exports on Saturday.

The UN says around 20 million tonnes of grain are currently stuck in Ukraine from the previous harvest which, if released, could ease pressure on global markets. *While the number of people facing food insecurity had been growing even before the*

*invasion, German Foreign Minister Annalena Baerbock, accused Moscow of making a difficult situation even worse on Wednesday.*

*"Russia has launched a grain war, stoking a global food crisis", Berlin's top diplomat said. "It is doing so at a time when millions are already being threatened by hunger, particularly in the Middle East and Africa."*

*Meanwhile, US Secretary of State Antony Blinken said the world faced the "greatest global food security crisis of our time" which had been exacerbated by what he called Russian President Vladimir Putin's "war of choice".*

TR: Savaş öncesinde Rusya ve Ukrayna, dünyanın tahıl ihtiyacının yüzde 30'unu karşılıyordu. Ukrayna dünyanın "ekmek sepeti" olarak anılırken limanlarından her ay 4,5 milyon ton tarım ürünü ithal ediliyordu.

Rusya'nın 24 Şubat'ta başlayan askeri hareketinden bu yana arz büyük oranda azaldı ve dünya genelinde fiyatlar uçtu. Cumartesi günü bir diğer kritik tahıl üreticisi olan Hindistan'ın da ihracatı durdurduğunu açıklamasının ardından fiyatlar daha da yükseldi.

BM'ye göre şu an bir önceki hasattan elde edilen yaklaşık 20 milyon ton tahıl, Ukrayna'dan çıkarılamıyor. Eğer küresel piyasaya çıkışına izin verilirse dünya genelinde büyük bir rahatlama yaratacak. \*omitted\*

The examples above show that BBC Türkçe translators sometimes opt to omit information that is not deemed particularly relevant to news readers in Türkiye. Often, such omissions concern quotations or personal viewpoints that are evidently not addressed to Turkish citizens. However, in the excerpt below, the sentence that aims to inform the reader about Kyiv's resources was omitted, though other facts

pointing to the situation in the city were translated. This does not fully allow for an explanation based on relevance, since one could say that the precautions taken in the Ukrainian city of Kyiv either may or may not be relevant to the Turkish audience. The fact that only half of the information was translated appears random, and the selection is confusing. Translation strategies within this narrative framework do not show complete consistency and therefore cannot be explained with recourse to clear motivations.

Article no. 330

EN: Kyiv's three million residents should make arrangements to stay with friends or relatives who live in the suburbs who still have water and power, so that they have a plan in the "worst case" scenario if the supply to Kyiv is lost, the 51 year old said. *He added that the authorities were stocking up on fuel, food and water, and residents should do the same.* At least 1,000 heating shelters are being set up across the city where people will be able to get warm in an emergency.

TR: 51 yaşındaki belediye başkanı, olası kötü senaryonun yaşanması halinde, üç milyon şehir sakininin akrabalarına gitmek için hazırlıklı olması gerektiğini de kaydetti.

Cenevre Sözleşmesi sivil altyapıyı korumaya alıyor

Şehir genelinde ısıtmalı 1000 toplanma noktası oluşturmak için çalışılıyor.

As an example of textual intervention resulting in a more subtle reframing, the excerpt below presents a statement by a Norwegian fertilizer company, which advises that the world should be less dependent on Russia for food. The Turkish

translation, however, avoids the frame of collective dependence by omitting the word “world” and thus excludes Türkiye from this dependency and the attendant recommendation.

Article no. 32

EN: But Yara's boss says the world must, in the long-term, reduce *its dependency on Russia* for global food production.

*"On the one hand, we're trying to keep fertiliser flowing to the farmers to keep up the agricultural yields."*

*"At the same time... there has to be a strong reaction. We condemn the Russian military invasion of Ukraine so this is a dilemma and one that frankly is very difficult."*

*Climate change and growing populations had already been adding to the challenges the global food production system faces - all before the pandemic started.*

*The Yara International chief executive describes the war as "a catastrophe on top of a catastrophe", highlighting just how vulnerable to shocks the global food supply chain now is.*

*It will increase food insecurity in poorer countries, he adds.*

*"We have to keep in mind that in the last two years, there's been an increase of 100 million more people that go to bed hungry... so for this to come on top of it is really worrying."*

TR: Yara'nın patronu, üzerlerindeki üretim sorumluluğunun farkında olduklarını ancak uzun vadede, "*Rusya'ya olan bağlılığın*" azaltılması gerektiğini savunuyor.

This excerpt also shows the application of the omission strategy with respect to the last paragraph of the article. The condemning statement by the CEO of Yara International was omitted from the translation. However, as previous examples show, BBC Türkçe does contain translations of condemnations of Russia, so this omission is very likely to have been executed for practical reasons instead of political or ideological ones. In one instance, the cluster “global food crisis” was mistranslated as “küresel dünya krizi (global world crisis)”. The example shows that the omission of a certain label is not necessarily due to the conscious avoidance of a particular narrative but might at times be because of translation mistakes on the part of BBC Türkçe.

Article no. 325

EN: What we saw and heard today was the world according to Vladimir Putin. It is a world in which Russia is squeaky clean, and the West is to blame for everything, from the war in Ukraine to the *global food crisis*.

TR: Bugün gördüğümüz ve işittiklerimiz Vladimir Putin’e göre dünyaydı. Rusya’nın pırıpak olduğu, Batı’nın ise Ukrayna’daki savaştan tutun da *küresel dünya krizine* kadar pek çok şeyden sorumlu olduğu bir dünya.

The analysis of the “food crisis” narrative shows that BBC Türkçe is very much concerned with the food crisis on a global level but not as much with particular crises such as those in Africa or the United Kingdom. Therefore, the representation of this narrative appears to be dependent on the relevance to the target culture. The

translation strategies related to this sub-narrative arguably demonstrate a modest attempt by BBC Türkçe at agenda-setting for the Turkish audience. The news articles are altered in a way that does not distance the Turkish audience from the wider narrative but, at the same time, does not occupy them with specific updates from particular states. Nevertheless, it is still important to point out that, for this particular narrative, there are no additions to the content that would make the articles more relevant to the Turkish audience, whereas we occasionally do encounter such additions in previous sections.

A final word that stands out in the English collocation results, notwithstanding the fact that it is anyway very common throughout the English language, is “and”, which attests to a strong association with “food” and any other material that could be relevant to “global crisis.” In order to determine the relation between the discourse around the food crisis and other concerns on the agenda, the N-gram feature of AntConc was used. The N-gram size was set to 3, and the open slot was set to 1.

Table 26. BBC News N-Gram Search for “food”

| Type                | Rank | Freq | Range | NormFreq | NormRange |
|---------------------|------|------|-------|----------|-----------|
| food + energy       | 1    | 7    | 6     | 16.959   | 11        |
| food + water        | 2    | 6    | 6     | 14.537   | 11        |
| food + agriculture  | 3    | 3    | 3     | 7.268    | 5         |
| food + fuel         | 3    | 3    | 3     | 7.268    | 5         |
| food + drink        | 5    | 2    | 2     | 4.846    | 4         |
| food + medicine     | 5    | 2    | 2     | 4.846    | 4         |
| food + a            | 7    | 1    | 1     | 2.423    | 2         |
| food + agricultural | 7    | 1    | 1     | 2.423    | 2         |
| food + medicines    | 7    | 1    | 1     | 2.423    | 2         |

The N-gram containing both the words “food” and “energy” in the English corpus occurs three times more than “gıda” and “enerji\*” in the Turkish corpus. The reason for this difference will be uncovered in the following section, where the “energy” narrative is examined in more detail as it is a related, major global concern covered by both BBC News and BBC Türkçe.

Table 27. BBC Türkçe N-Gram Search for “gıda”

| Type             | Rank | Freq | Range | NormFreq | NormRange |
|------------------|------|------|-------|----------|-----------|
| gıda + ilaç      | 1    | 4    | 4     | 15.480   | 7         |
| gıda + enerji    | 2    | 3    | 3     | 11.610   | 5         |
| gıda + tarım     | 2    | 3    | 3     | 11.610   | 5         |
| gıda + ilaçların | 4    | 2    | 2     | 7.740    | 4         |
| gıda + enerjiye  | 5    | 1    | 1     | 3.870    | 2         |
| gıda + içme      | 5    | 1    | 1     | 3.870    | 2         |
| gıda + yiyecek   | 5    | 1    | 1     | 3.870    | 2         |

#### 5.4.2 Energy crisis

As explained previously, the war triggered sanctions and imposed measures on almost every state that has participated in the conflict or declared support for one of the parties involved in the conflict. As one of the major gas suppliers in the world, Russia’s decision to stop the export of natural gas to a large part of Europe was a blow to the gas market and inevitably led to an energy crisis (Kutcherov et al., 2020). European countries choose to reduce energy use by reducing consumption and turning to alternative sources of gas after the collapse of energy relations. (Tastan, 2022). The media coverage of this energy crisis was loaded with facts, numbers,

statements, and possible outcomes, as will be shown in the examples below. The search words “energy” and “enerji” were queried via the “word” feature of AntConc, resulting in the numbers below.

Table 28. BBC News Corpus Search for “energy”

| Type   | Freq_Tar | Freq_Ref | Range_Tar | Range_Ref | NormFreq | NormRange |
|--------|----------|----------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|
| energy | 293      | 128      | 126       | 52        | 707.971  | 227       |

Table 29. BBC Türkçe Corpus Search for “enerji”

| Type   | Freq_Tar | Freq_Ref | Range_Tar | Range_Ref | NormFreq | NormRange |
|--------|----------|----------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|
| enerji | 244      | 168      | 89        | 55        | 940.230  | 161       |

Although the range and frequency of the word are higher in the English corpus, the normed frequency is higher in the Turkish corpus. As previously mentioned, normed frequency shows how frequently a word occurs in relation to the overall size of the corpus, which helps when comparing corpora of different lengths. It is thus not the case that the narrative around energy is not prominent in BBC News articles. Rather, BBC Türkçe appears to put even greater emphasis on the energy narrative than BBC News does. The collocation results for “energy (enerji)” are presented below. Even though Turkish morphology complicates assessments of collocation, the most likely 15 collocates show great similarity.

One interesting difference in the collocation results concerns the word “renewable (yenilenebilir)”, which has very high effect sizes in both corpora, but seems especially prominent in the Turkish corpus. Taking into account the ongoing green energy initiatives in Europe, and the comparably minor concern for such matters in Türkiye, it can be said that this is an unexpected outcome.



Table 30. BBC News Collocation Search for “energy”

| Collocate      | FreqLR | FreqL | FreqR | Range | Likelihood | Effect |
|----------------|--------|-------|-------|-------|------------|--------|
| prices         | 23     | 0     | 23    | 17    | 130.138    | 5.461  |
| atomic         | 14     | 14    | 0     | 14    | 127.843    | 7.891  |
| infrastructure | 21     | 2     | 19    | 18    | 115.347    | 5.341  |
| agency         | 17     | 0     | 17    | 17    | 78.366     | 4.693  |
| iaea           | 11     | 0     | 11    | 11    | 73.808     | 6.222  |
| renewable      | 7      | 7     | 0     | 3     | 61.869     | 7.699  |
| giant          | 9      | 0     | 9     | 9     | 55.726     | 5.852  |
| food           | 14     | 11    | 3     | 12    | 51.717     | 4.005  |
| gazprom        | 8      | 0     | 8     | 8     | 49.476     | 5.847  |
| international  | 15     | 15    | 0     | 15    | 47.337     | 3.589  |
| efficiency     | 5      | 0     | 5     | 2     | 45.632     | 7.891  |
| bills          | 6      | 0     | 6     | 4     | 44.040     | 6.669  |
| targeting      | 9      | 9     | 0     | 8     | 41.575     | 4.704  |
| supplies       | 11     | 0     | 11    | 10    | 40.070     | 3.967  |
| sector         | 5      | 0     | 5     | 5     | 34.832     | 6.406  |

Let us take a closer look at the instances where the collocation “renewable energy” was translated or not translated. In article no. 96, renewable energy was mentioned in relation to the gas crisis in Germany yet omitted in translation.

Article no. 96

EN: However, Mr Ruseckas said there was a small chance "the brinksmanship leads very quickly towards a cut-off". This would force Germany to run more coal plants, import as much liquified natural gas as possible, and in the longer term build more renewable energy production.

TR: \*omitted\*

Table 31. BBC Türkçe Collocation Search for “enerji”

| Collocate     | FreqLR | FreqL | FreqR | Range | Likelihood | Effect |
|---------------|--------|-------|-------|-------|------------|--------|
| yenilenebilir | 13     | 11    | 2     | 5     | 109.171    | 7.369  |
| tasarrufu     | 9      | 1     | 8     | 5     | 79.324     | 7.646  |
| şirketi       | 12     | 0     | 12    | 10    | 53.096     | 4.553  |
| altyapısını   | 7      | 0     | 7     | 6     | 48.622     | 6.376  |
| altyapısına   | 7      | 0     | 7     | 5     | 45.237     | 6.035  |
| fiyatları     | 8      | 0     | 8     | 8     | 44.484     | 5.388  |
| kaynaklarını  | 6      | 0     | 6     | 5     | 42.525     | 6.476  |
| fiyatlarının  | 6      | 1     | 5     | 5     | 36.896     | 5.813  |
| crystol       | 4      | 4     | 0     | 2     | 34.209     | 7.476  |
| tesislerini   | 5      | 1     | 4     | 5     | 33.560     | 6.213  |
| gıda          | 9      | 7     | 2     | 9     | 32.718     | 3.959  |
| fatih         | 4      | 1     | 3     | 2     | 32.287     | 7.154  |
| devi          | 5      | 1     | 4     | 5     | 31.290     | 5.891  |
| kaynaklarına  | 4      | 0     | 4     | 2     | 30.743     | 6.891  |

However, in the article below, Boris Johnson’s actions regarding green energy initiatives were shortened and translated into Turkish under the umbrella term “renewable energy”.

Article no. 62

EN: He [the prime minister Boris Johnson] also said his promised Energy Security Strategy for the UK would step up wind energy, exploit solar power and make a "series of big new bets" on nuclear energy. Further drilling for oil and gas in the North Sea was one suggestion he made.

Boris Johnson is talking about taking back control again, but this time of the country's energy supply and, along the way, increasing efforts to make the UK a "net zero" carbon emitter. "Green electricity isn't just better for the environment, it's better for your bank balance", says the prime minister in his article in the Daily Telegraph. "There's nothing [Putin] can do to stop the North Sea wind."

Mr Johnson has been talking about making the UK "the Saudi Arabia of wind" for some time now so this is not a new policy, but it would represent a significant acceleration of the move towards low carbon power.

Yes, he is backing new drilling in the North Sea, but there's also the promise of "big new bets" on nuclear power and - a surprise for many - no mention of the return of fracking, a controversial method of shale gas mining.

TR: Johnson aynı zamanda İngiltere için çizdiği Enerji Güvenliliği Stratejisi'nin rüzgar ve güneş enerjisine odaklanacağı, nükleer enerji için ise yeni yöntemleri araştıracağını vurguladı. Kuzey Denizi'nde sondaj çalışmalarını artırmak, Johnson'ın teklifleri arasında.

BBC'nin İklim Muhabiri Justin Rowlett'in analizine göre Boris Johnson'ın *yenilenebilir enerji* kaynaklarına yöneliyor olması yeni bir gelişme değil.

Johnson, uzun zamandır İngiltere'yi "Rüzgarın Suudi Arabistan'ı" haline getirmekten bahsediyor.

Ancak Rowlett, Rusya'ya bağımlılığı azaltmak yolunda bu sürecin hızlanmasının iyi bir haber olduğunu ifade ediyor.

Rowlett, Kuzey Denizi sondajı planlarına rağmen Johnson'ın nükleer enerji konusunda söylediklerinin ümit verici olduğunu belirtiyor, yazısında yer alan "Yeşil elektrik sadece çevre için değil banka hesabınız için de daha verimli" ve "Putin'in Kuzey Denizi rüzgarlarını hiçbir zaman durduramayacak" ifadelerine dikkat çekiyor.

As can be seen in the excerpt, the “renewable energy” narrative is occasionally revised, and some of its elements are left out in instances when it does not seem as relevant to the Turkish audience. However, the omission of references to “renewable energy” does not consistently indicate adaptation to the Turkish context. On the other hand, the expectations of the Turkish audience seem to be considered when additions are made to the content to keep them informed about the news in warzones, as in the example below. The addition strategy in the translated article shows an effort to contextualize the situation for the audience, also contributing to relevance for the reader as communicating the whole story would make it easier for the audience to comprehend the news.

Article no. 30

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| EN: *absent*                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| TR: Ukrayna neden nükleer enerjiye ihtiyaç duyuyor?<br>Nükleer enerji, Ukrayna'da giderek daha önemli bir enerji kaynağı haline geldi.<br>2014 yılında Rus destekli ayrılıkçı gruplar, güneyde kömür üreten Donbas bölgesinin kontrolünü ele geçirdi.<br>Bu tarihten önce kömür, ülkenin enerjisinin %41'ini karşılıyordu, Ukrayna açığını kapatmak için nükleer ve yenilenebilir enerjiye yöneldi. |

In addition to the issue of renewable resources, a core item significantly associated with “energy” in the corpus is “price”. The wildcards “price\*” and “fiyat\*” were used to search for translation strategies relating to discourse about energy prices, but it must be kept in mind that, due to lexical variation, there is no

single equivalent for “price” in the Turkish corpus. The search returns 21 results in the English and 18 in the Turkish corpus. Although the English corpus contains the collocation “energy price\*” more frequently, the Turkish corpus has a wider range for the collocation “enerji fiyat\*”. The reason for this wider range is the occasional use of the translation “enerji” for “fuel” or “gas”, as below.

Article no. 223

|                                                                             |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| EN: Right now, of greatest concern is the spiralling cost of food and fuel. |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|

|                                                                       |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| TR: Bugün ise kıtanın en büyük sorunu artan gıda ve enerji fiyatları. |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|

Once again, we see that omissions sometimes depend on the relevance of the source text information to the Turkish target text audience. Since Türkiye is not an EU country and its inhabitants are presumably not overly concerned with the financial issues of UK households, the omissions presented below can also be easily explained in terms of relevance.

Article no. 174

|                                                                                                                                                            |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| EN: Sky-rocketing energy prices - among other things - have curtailed some EU countries' appetite for sanctions which could also hurt their own economies. |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

|               |
|---------------|
| TR: *omitted* |
|---------------|

Article no. 510

EN: Domestic gas and electricity bills in the UK fell at the weekend after a change to the energy price cap came into force, and a further, smaller fall is expected this winter.

TR: \*omitted\*

As has been shown previously, there are additions to the content to contextualize the narrative for the Turkish reader. This is evident from the examples below in an article about the energy cuts in France.

Article no. 224

EN: The ban on neon signs is already in force in areas with a population under 800,000. Airports and stations are exempt.

Shell has warned energy rationing cannot be ruled out in the EU, as the region struggles to cope with disruption to gas supplies from Russia.

TR: Ülkede neon tabela yasağı nüfusu 800 binden az yerlerde uygulanıyor. Havalimanları ve tren istasyonları ise bu kararın dışında tutuluyor. *Avrupa’da enerji fiyatları Rusya’nın Ukrayna’yı işgalinin ardından büyük oranda arttı.* Enerji şirketi Shell, Rusya’dan Avrupa Birliği’ne (AB) giden gazın azaltılması nedeniyle bu kış AB’de enerji kesintileri yaşanmayacağının garantisi olmadığını açıklamıştı.

The example above contextualizes the current crisis in Europe for the Turkish reader by adding an informative sentence, which both summarizes and emphasizes why this issue and, therefore, this article is important in the first place. There is also another minor addition to the content, which briefly explains what the brand “Shell”, which also operates in Türkiye, stands for.

Article no. 4

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>EN: Some nations - such as Germany, France and Italy - were initially reluctant to take action against Russia's use of Swift.</p> <p>There were concerns that companies owed money by Russia would have to find alternative ways to get paid.</p> <p>There were also fears it could impact the global banking system, although there is no evidence of this yet.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| <p>TR: Rusya'nın sistemden dışlanması Rusya'ya mal ihraç eden ya da ithalat yapan şirketleri, özellikle de Alman şirketlerini zor durumda bırakabilir.</p> <p>Rusya, Avrupa Birliği ülkelerine en çok doğal gaz satan ülke ve buna alternatif bulmak kolay değil. <i>Enerji fiyatları zaten bir süredir artıyor ve birçok hükümet fiyatların daha da yükselmesine sebep olacak adımlar atmak istemiyor.</i></p> <p>Rusya'dan alacağı olan şirketlerin böyle bir dışlama durumunda paralarını tahsil edebilmek için alternatif yollar bulması gerekecektir. Uluslararası bankacılık sisteminde kaos yaşanması ihtimalini göze almamak gerektiğini düşünen bir çok çevre var.</p> |

The addition of contextualizing information is the most salient translation strategy encountered in the production of BBC Türkçe news items that aim to

address the needs of the target readership. It is the furthest that BBC Türkçe translators seem to go in terms of textual interference, other than omissions, the latter of which are not necessarily carried out to make texts more meaningful to readers within the target culture. Moreover, the strategy of adding contextualizing information was most prominent when real-life scenarios and daily facts were in question rather than speculations and interpretations. Nevertheless, the additions do not seem to aim at the reframing of overarching narratives, as the perspective of the stories remains largely unchanged in translation. The next section examines the special case of the Wagner group. The aim is to determine whether the translations by BBC Türkçe translators present any differences when the issue that is addressed in source and translated texts does not directly concern either the source or the target culture.

## 5.5 Wagner

The Wagner Group is “a semi-state private military company (PMC)” founded in Russia in 2014 and operating worldwide ever since (Marten, 2019, p. 181). Their first operation was in Crimea, followed by operations in Syria and later several locations in Africa, such as Sudan and Libya. Other than these the conflicts overseas, the Wagner Group was also hired by the Russian state for the conflict in Ukraine. The Wagner group has been closely associated with Vladimir Putin’s presidency. It was founded and led by Yevgeny Prigozhin, who was known to be an “oligarch caterer” and was in the close circle of Russian President Vladimir Putin (Marten, 2019). During the conflict, Wagner was provided with considerable resources by the Russian government, and Yevgeny Prigozhin was authorized to recruit prisoners



from Russia to fight the war. Unlike private security companies, which are legitimate force providers according to the Russian Constitution, private military companies are not legally recognized by the same Constitution. Whether Wagner can be called a “mercenary group” has been a subject of debate, because this labeling makes the group’s operations “pejorative”, as “mercenaries” are illegal by definition according to the Russian Criminal Code 8 (Marten, 2019). The ill repute of the group is not limited to the conceptual dichotomy of “private military company” and “mercenary”. Indeed, Wagner was officially proscribed as “a terrorist group” by the UK government in 2023 (UK Government, 2023).

The Wagner group has been known internationally since the annexation of Crimea and is also notorious for its significant role in the Ukraine conflict. However, the group became especially interesting for the media when Wagner's leader, Yevgeny Prigozhin, and the fighters under his command rebelled against the Russian defense ministry on June 23, 2023. In a telegram video, Prigozhin claimed that the Ministry of Defense was deceiving the Russian government and that the invasion of Ukraine was not justified. He particularly accused the Minister of Defense Sergei Shogu of promoting this war as a means of ladder-climbing, using very profane language. The same day, he released a video again on Telegram, which showed footage of a Wagner rear camp that was hit in an attack which left many Wagner fighters dead. Prigozhin announced that the Ministry of Defense had attacked the camp with missiles and declared that Wagner was not in an armed conflict with the ministry. President Putin gave an emergency speech on TV regarding the mutiny, saying that Wagner was committing treason. In response, Wagner captured the Russian city of Rostov-on-Don, and a convoy was sent to Moscow on June 24. However, before the insurgents arrived in Moscow, the mutiny was stifled through

negotiations between Yevgeny Prigozhin and Russian politicians, for which the president of Belarus acted as a broker. Neither Yevgeny Prigozhin nor his fighters were punished for their actions. However, the Wagner leader died in a plane crash that occurred on August 27. Although the Wagner incident did not last more than two days, it drew great international attention, during which breaking news was broadcast all around the world on almost an hourly basis.

The word “Wagner” stands out particularly in the Turkish corpus, as it takes up the eighth place in the keyword ranking, whereas it is in 15<sup>th</sup> place in the English corpus. Relatively speaking, the word thus has very high keyness in the Turkish corpus, even though the state of Türkiye does not have any particular relation to the Wagner group. One reason for this outcome might be that the Turkish corpus has less tokens than the English corpus but retains almost all the content about the Wagner group. The top ten collocation results for the search term “Wagner” are presented below to determine the outline of the relevant narrative framework for both languages.

Table 32. BBC News Corpus Search for “Wagner”

| Type   | Freq_Tar | Freq_Ref | Range_Tar | Range_Ref | NormFreq | NormRange |
|--------|----------|----------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|
| Wagner | 484      | 0        | 61        | 0         | 1169.480 | 110       |

Table 33. BBC Türkçe Corpus Search for “Wagner”

| Type   | Freq_Tar | Freq_Ref | Range_Tar | Range_Ref | NormFreq | NormRange |
|--------|----------|----------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|
| Wagner | 462      | 0        | 58        | 0         | 1780.271 | 105       |

Both corpora primarily present the Wagner group as a paid paramilitary organization. The examples below were selected to illustrate translation strategies concerning the controversy surrounding the group.

Table 34. BBC News Collocation Search for “Wagner”

| Collocate    | FreqLR | FreqL | FreqR | Range | Likelihood |
|--------------|--------|-------|-------|-------|------------|
| group        | 112    | 8     | 104   | 53    | 551.727    |
| fighters     | 57     | 5     | 52    | 26    | 305.120    |
| mercenary    | 44     | 14    | 30    | 37    | 257.407    |
| prigozhin    | 50     | 18    | 32    | 32    | 179.469    |
| mercenaries  | 29     | 3     | 26    | 23    | 151.494    |
| yevgeny      | 25     | 5     | 20    | 23    | 123.930    |
| mutiny       | 21     | 6     | 15    | 15    | 99.901     |
| boss         | 15     | 2     | 13    | 11    | 78.511     |
| paramilitary | 10     | 4     | 6     | 8     | 62.329     |
| belarus      | 21     | 4     | 17    | 9     | 54.285     |

Table 35. BBC Türkçe Collocation Search for “Wagner”

| Collocate | FreqLR | FreqL | FreqR | Range | Likelihood |
|-----------|--------|-------|-------|-------|------------|
| grubu     | 74     | 31    | 43    | 36    | 421.439    |
| paralı    | 78     | 53    | 25    | 54    | 397.114    |
| asker     | 61     | 51    | 10    | 45    | 238.984    |
| prigojin  | 52     | 26    | 26    | 21    | 182.409    |
| yevgeni   | 25     | 1     | 24    | 25    | 132.038    |
| prigozhin | 27     | 6     | 21    | 18    | 113.186    |
| belarus   | 30     | 11    | 19    | 13    | 77.193     |
| isyanı    | 14     | 2     | 12    | 10    | 77.109     |
| lideri    | 32     | 3     | 29    | 22    | 74.644     |
| patronu   | 13     | 0     | 13    | 9     | 69.653     |

Article no. 503

EN: Earlier this year, the US Treasury accused the *mercenaries* of engaging in an ongoing pattern of serious criminal activity, including "mass executions, rape, child abductions, and physical abuse in the Central African Republic and Mali".

TR: Bu yılın başlarında ABD Hazinesi, *paralı askerleri* "Orta Afrika Cumhuriyeti (OAC) ve Mali'de toplu infazlar, tecavüz, çocuk kaçırma ve fiziksel istismar" dahil olmak üzere süregelen ciddi suç faaliyetlerinde bulunmakla suçladı.

Article no. 193

EN: I asked him about two British men recently sentenced to death by Russian separatists in occupied eastern Ukraine.

When I pointed out that in the eyes of the West, it was Russia that was responsible for their fate, he responded: "I am not interested in the eyes of the West at all. I am only interested in international law. According to international law, mercenaries are not recognised as combatants."

I replied that *the men* had served in the Ukrainian armed forces and *were not mercenaries* and Mr Lavrov said that should be decided by a court.

TR: Lavrov'a, Rus yanlısı ayrılıkçıların kontrolündeki Doğu Ukrayna'da yakalanıp, buradaki yönetimler tarafından idam cezasına çarptırılan iki İngiliz'in akıbetini soruyorum.

Ona Batı'nın gözlerinde bu adamların kaderinin Rusya'nın elinde olduğunu söylüyorum. Lavrov "Batı'nın ne gördüğü umurumda değil. Beni sadece uluslararası

kanunlar bağlar ve uluslararası kanunlara göre *paralı askerler* savaşçı olarak tanınmaz" dedi.

Ona *bu iki kişinin* Ukrayna ordusunda görev yaptığını söyleyince cevabı ise "buna mahkeme karar verir" oldu.

In Article 193, the word “mercenary” was translated into Turkish literally as “paralı asker”, but the second reference to the mercenaries was omitted. BBC Türkçe does include the Wagner narrative within its articles and is often consistent with the translations of the collocating terms such as “mercenary” and “mutiny”. Still, the omissions strategy sometimes counterbalances the emphasis on these terms, as illustrated in article no. 193. Nevertheless, these omissions often occur towards the end of articles, suggesting that they may not be deliberately chosen for removal but rather just cut off for the purpose of shortening the article. The example below illustrates a translation decision that reframes the “mutiny” as a “mutiny attempt”. Whether this makes a difference to the image of the Wagner group is a question of perception. The general lack of interventions in the text makes it more challenging to come to a conclusion about occasional translation choices, and once again, there seems to be no consistent pattern as regards translation strategy.

Article no. 531

EN: After the failed Wagner *mutiny* on 24 June, President Vladimir Putin invited fighters from the group who did not take part in the uprising to sign contracts with the Russian defence ministry.

TR: 24 Haziran'daki başarısız *isyana girişiminden* sonra Rusya lideri Vladimir Putin, isyanda yer almayan Wagner savaşçılarını, Rusya Savunma Bakanlığı ile sözleşme imzalamaya davet etmişti.

Two notable words that invite analysis in the context of the Wagner incident narrative are “treason” and “betrayal”. Such accusations are also relevant to the analysis presented in the “moral judgments” section. Yet, since the incident was primarily an internal conflict in Russia, it is treated here separately. The wildcard “treason\*” retrieved 19 instances in the BBC News corpus. Eight of these instances mention the Wagner group in the context of the mutiny, and 4 of them were translated into Turkish. One instance was used by Yevgeny Prigozhin in defense of Wagner’s actions and addressed the Russian Defense Minister Sergei Shoigu and the Russian Chief of the General Staff Valery Gerasimov. It was not translated into Turkish, and the statements in question were only labeled as “criticisms”. Therefore, the only “treason” allegation by Prigozhin was omitted in the translation. Since this allegation is significant in the Wagner narrative as it is meant to justify the mutiny, the omission can be said to have an impact on the overall narrative.

Article no. 548

EN: He claimed repeatedly that the defence ministry starved Wagner of ammunition - and at one point, he even accused Defence Minister Sergei Shoigu and Chief of the General Staff Valery Gerasimov of treason.

TR: Prigojin, Savunma Bakanı Sergey Şoygu ve Genelkurmay Başkanı Valeri Gerasimov’a eleştirilerin dozunu artırdı. Rus ordusunun Wagner’e gerekli cephaneye silah sağlamadığını savunuyordu.

A notable difference between the collocational profiles of the two corpora concerns the image of Yevgeny Prigozhin, as shown in Tables 36-38. It should be noted that the news articles are not always orthographically consistent, and the use of various transliterations of the names of key figures such as Yevgeny Prigozhin can make corpus analysis more challenging. Again, the inconsistencies may point to a lack of translation methodology, as well as a lack of collaboration and follow-up among the news translators, which will be commented on later in connection with the translation practices of BBC News. The collocation results for the search terms “Prigozhin” and “Prigojin” in both corpora are presented below.

Table 36. BBC News Collocation Search for “Prigozhin”

| Collocate   | FreqLR | FreqL | FreqR | Range | Likelihood | Effect |
|-------------|--------|-------|-------|-------|------------|--------|
| yevgeny     | 58     | 55    | 3     | 43    | 444.749    | 6.888  |
| wagner      | 48     | 28    | 20    | 32    | 167.690    | 3.846  |
| mr          | 56     | 49    | 7     | 26    | 104.878    | 2.533  |
| group       | 22     | 13    | 9     | 19    | 61.101     | 3.290  |
| mercenary   | 13     | 11    | 2     | 12    | 57.497     | 4.558  |
| leader      | 19     | 18    | 1     | 18    | 56.438     | 3.444  |
| boss        | 10     | 8     | 2     | 9     | 54.165     | 5.292  |
| rebellion   | 8      | 5     | 3     | 6     | 42.096     | 5.180  |
| whereabouts | 6      | 3     | 3     | 5     | 38.904     | 6.064  |
| founder     | 6      | 3     | 3     | 6     | 34.343     | 5.517  |

Table 37. BBC Türkçe Collocation Search for “Prigozhin”

| Collocate | FreqLR | FreqL | FreqR | Range | Likelihood | Effect |
|-----------|--------|-------|-------|-------|------------|--------|
| wagner    | 50     | 23    | 27    | 21    | 170.760    | 3.779  |
| yevgeni   | 21     | 20    | 1     | 18    | 136.274    | 6.057  |
| lideri    | 20     | 17    | 3     | 13    | 58.104     | 3.390  |
| belarus   | 17     | 3     | 14    | 11    | 50.550     | 3.445  |
| lukaşenko | 7      | 5     | 2     | 5     | 33.629     | 4.840  |
| patronu   | 6      | 6     | 0     | 5     | 32.173     | 5.250  |
| dönmesini | 4      | 2     | 2     | 2     | 31.223     | 6.987  |
| isyan     | 6      | 2     | 4     | 5     | 29.537     | 4.928  |
| haziran   | 8      | 2     | 6     | 7     | 26.765     | 3.739  |
| anlaşma   | 6      | 5     | 1     | 4     | 25.290     | 4.402  |

Table 38. BBC Türkçe Collocation Search for “Prigojin”

| Collocate  | FreqLR | FreqL | FreqR | Range | Likelihood | Effect |
|------------|--------|-------|-------|-------|------------|--------|
| yevgeny    | 14     | 14    | 0     | 13    | 122.391    | 7.686  |
| wagner     | 26     | 20    | 6     | 18    | 107.010    | 4.312  |
| yevgeni    | 13     | 12    | 1     | 8     | 98.175     | 6.842  |
| kurucusu   | 8      | 8     | 0     | 7     | 62.176     | 7.004  |
| grubu      | 10     | 7     | 3     | 8     | 52.660     | 5.185  |
| bahmut     | 11     | 4     | 7     | 4     | 52.276     | 4.804  |
| nezdindeki | 4      | 2     | 2     | 2     | 39.386     | 8.463  |
| lideri     | 10     | 10    | 0     | 8     | 35.125     | 3.866  |
| kadirov    | 5      | 3     | 2     | 1     | 29.226     | 5.615  |
| prigozhin  | 6      | 3     | 3     | 3     | 28.602     | 4.819  |

The collocation results above illustrate the main words that are used to describe Yevgeny Prigozhin’s role in the events, as well as his image as a political figure in the war. The frequencies and the range of occurrence across documents



present a clear public narrative that is partly shared by BBC News and BBC Türkçe. One of the most visible differences between the corpora is the use of the honorific “Mr.” for Yevgeny Prigozhin, which arguably indicates a degree of respect for the Wagner leader. In the English corpus, “Mr” is a strong collocates of Prigozhin’s name, whereas the omission of an honorific title in the Turkish texts might suggest that BBC Türkçe has a different opinion of the person than BBC News. There is only one instance of a Turkish translation of the contraction “Mr” for Yevgeny Prigozhin, from a quote by Andrei Kartalopov, as the example below shows. Arguably, the title could have been translated throughout the rest of the articles as it was translated in that example, but it would also be valid to suggest that common language practices in Turkish were taken into account, and that this is why the honorific title “Mr” was omitted altogether in translation.

Article no. 506

EN: "The defence ministry said all groups...must sign contracts, and they all began doing that. Everyone except *Mr Prigozhin*", Andrei Kartapolov commented, referring to his mutiny as an act of treason.

TR: Kartapolov, isyanı bir ihanet eylemi olarak nitelendirerek, "Savunma Bakanlığı tüm grupların sözleşme imzalaması gerektiğini söyledi ve hepsi bunu yapmaya başladı. *Bay Prigojin* dışında herkes..." dedi ve ekledi:

The Wagner Group was occasionally mentioned in translated BBC Türkçe articles prior to the mutiny, but always in the context of the current conflict, and as a tool of Russian military power. It would appear, however, that, other than in the context of the mutiny, which could have significantly changed the course of the war,

the group itself was not a major concern in the agenda of BBC Türkçe. The overall indifference to the paramilitary group is evidenced by the fact that very few articles are dedicated particularly to Wagner, and no evidence of a specific and consistent translation and narration strategy can be observed with regard to the group.



## CHAPTER 6

### DISCUSSION

This chapter reflects critically on the findings of the thesis and emphasizes how particular translation choices shape the narrative discourse on the Russo-Ukrainian conflict in translated content produced by BBC Türkçe. It also comments further on the ideological and professional motives behind these findings and considers their implications. Firstly, it is important to point out that a large set of articles was examined and that overt translatorial interventions in the narratives presented were nevertheless very scarce. The study found a number of instances of paraphrasing and addition and thus some evidence of clear attempts at reframing the information provided. However, the most common strategy used in BBC Türkçe articles was omission. In most cases, this strategy seemed to be employed simply to shorten the length of text and cut down on repetition. In some instances, omissions targeted emotionally or politically charged content, sometimes even entire paragraphs. Indeed, translators occasionally removed content like direct allegations, emotional statements, ideological meta-narratives, and references to legal accountability, such as ICC arrest warrants. Such omissions reshaped the source narrative, often by de-emphasizing its ideological consistency or by shifting its emotional tone. When a BBC News article used a combination of ontological, public, and conceptual narratives to create a multilayered story, such as a civilian victim's comment backed up by references to international law, leaving out one of these narrative types in translation arguably impacts the story's force and coherence. Nevertheless, the omission strategy did not follow a consistent pattern, suggesting that it might be

employed on a case-by-case basis or driven by individual translators' judgments rather than set editorial guidelines.

In BBC Türkçe articles, addition was used to give background information or explain foreign references for the Turkish audience, though it was less common than omission. Usually, additions included putting international events in context, mentioning the role of Türkiye in mediation between the states, or explaining organizations and ideas that Turkish readers might not be familiar with. Unlike the omission strategy, which affects both the scope and the depth of the story, the addition strategy usually makes the news item more relevant to the target audience. However, any additions were typically minor. For instance, headlines were contextualized by mentioning the NATO membership of Türkiye or Türkiye's role in the grain trade. Such additions serve as further explanations with minimal impact on the overall narrative.

When translating statements that were emotionally or ideologically charged, the Turkish translators occasionally resorted to paraphrase. For example, accusations of war crimes by Russia or references to Nazi ideology made by Ukrainian officials or Western politicians were frequently reframed in a less accusatory language, thus enabling the dissemination of public and conceptual narratives without sounding politically aggressive. In this manner, the translated story sacrifices some of its emotional tone and, arguably, impact, in order to achieve a measure of diplomatic balance in a media environment where explicit bias could result in negative political responses. The omission of strong accusations, such as references to "war criminals" or "Nazism", and the careful framing of politically sensitive topics like NATO escalation or ICC warrants suggest a deliberate effort to maintain a tone of diplomatic neutrality. The complicated geopolitical situation of Turkey between the

West and Russia may be the cause of this ideological balancing. In order to avoid offending or drawing political attention, BBC Türkçe may be purposefully distancing itself from openly critical Western narratives in this situation.

Nevertheless, the discourse produced by BBC News was often indiscriminately reproduced by BBC Türkçe to a surprising degree, as evident from the complete preservation of narrative elements like the military assault by Russia and the war's traumatic effect on people. This led to the emergence of a hybrid ideological position that acknowledges basic facts without going into full confrontation. In this sense, relevance was a complicated factor to capture through textual analysis. Paraphrases and additions show attempts to alter the content based on implied Turkish audience expectations, for instance regarding Türkiye's involvement in the grain deal, which was added to news reports concerning the world food crisis. However, a perceived lack of relevance can also be a motive behind omission, and in this sense any translation choice aimed at increasing relevance can become a double-edged sword that seeks to increase reader participation while decontextualizing the story. This interpretation is supported by comparative studies of the BBC's other foreign-language services. For example, Valdeón's (2005) study on BBC Mundo discovered that, although local sensitivities occasionally led to selective omission or recontextualization, the Spanish-language output frequently depended on translated BBC News content with few and minor alterations. Similar to this, Kamyants (2022a, 2022b) investigated ideological reframing in BBC Ukrainian coverage, demonstrating the importance of national context in determining translation strategies. This thesis expands on this tradition by including a systematic, corpus-assisted comparison between BBC News and its Turkish branch, BBC Türkçe.

Finally, one of the most interesting findings of the analysis was the inconsistency in translation strategies. Critical phrases such as “special military operation” or “war crime” were translated differently across articles; labels of this kind were sometimes simply transferred, sometimes paraphrased, and sometimes omitted. Labeling the conflict as “a war” or “a special military operation” significantly changes the narrative frame, and the inconsistent reframing of these narratives in the Turkish translations resulted in an ambiguity of political perspective. Such inconsistency disrupts narrative coherence across BBC Türkçe’s output and raises ethical questions about the translators’ position within the news agency. Tymoczko’s (2009) concept of consistency in translation emphasizes the need for coherent narration. When ideologically sensitive concepts are translated inconsistently, the reader's comprehension may be disturbed, and the translated news's moral authority might be questioned. Inconsistencies also suggest that translation is not guided by a well-defined editorial policy from the BBC but is done in a scattered way by individual translators. This indicates a broader institutional indecision regarding the role of translation within the field of international news production.

From the perspective of relevance theory, many of the omissions and paraphrases in BBC Türkçe translations can be interpreted as being not so much random inconsistencies as deliberate choices influenced by the intended target audience. Given the social and political background of Turkish readers, the translator's task changes from aiming for an ideal match with the original to making the message as clear and relevant as possible. This could include omitting institutional references or ideological language that might be unfamiliar or cause resistance. In this way, relevance theory helps explain why certain changes, which

might at first seem to weaken the narrative's clarity, indicate a deliberate intention to communicate more successfully within particular institutional and cultural limitations.

Overall, while both BBC News and BBC Türkçe address the same core events, BBC Türkçe was seen to embrace a more restrained and neutralized narrative. This tendency resulted in the transformation of complex narratives into flatter ones for the Turkish audience. Since BBC Türkçe was more likely to remove certain layers of the narrative, such as personal or meta-narrative components, the stories became more focused on factual reporting rather than ideological framing. Therefore, Turkish translations ended up being more ambiguous in their ideological orientation. Looking at it from the institutional perspective, it is safe to assume that BBC Türkçe attempts to find a balance between maintaining the institution's alignment with BBC News and adapting content to the Turkish sociopolitical environment. While the UK media outlet BBC News explicitly supports Ukraine's independence and condemns Russia's aggression, BBC Türkçe as the Turkish branch tends to maintain a more cautious tone. This tendency may be guided by the subsidiary's desire to uphold a strategic neutrality, which reflects Türkiye's diplomatic stance.

## CHAPTER 7

### LIMITATIONS & FUTURE IMPLICATIONS

This study has both theoretical and methodological limitations. A significant limitation arises from the inherently invisible nature of news translation and translators. Since the source and the target texts were not clearly distinguished online, the collection of the original news articles and translated news articles was conducted based on the corresponding metatextual data, such as the publication dates, author credentials, and occasionally audio-visual elements. The often-fragmented nature of news translation and the invisibility of BBC Türkçe's news translators, who could not be contacted for further information and clarification on the material, severely complicates research on the translated news content. Additionally, there is a lack of public information about BBC News translation policies, policies that are mentioned very briefly and in little detail in the royal charters that have been publicly shared by the Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport (Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport, 2006).

Another methodological limitation stems from the method of corpus analysis, and particularly from the heavy reliance on keyness statistics, which require reference corpora in both English and Turkish in order to determine token frequencies and keywords. As mentioned, the reference corpora were compiled through random selection of BBC News and BBC Türkçe articles that present comparable, but not parallel, data. Although an equal number of articles was extracted, taken from the same website sections in both languages, it is still necessary to acknowledge that the comparative keyword lists referred to throughout this thesis tell a limited story that requires further contextual interpretation. Finally, it



should be pointed out that even though the research provides an extensive case study of BBC Türkçe's coverage of the war in Ukraine, its findings might not be applicable with respect to the other politically charged news items covered by BBC Türkçe or other language services.

This study only looks at one aspect of the complex process of translating news for large news agencies. Although scholars such as Bassnett, Bielsa, and Schäffner have already examined the news translators' agency, their accountability and the political or cultural interventions they are allowed, many questions still remain open, including the level of autonomy granted to translators, the transparency of editing guidelines, and the role of new technologies such as machine translation. Given the limited transparency of BBC Türkçe's internal translation process and the invisibility of translators in published articles, it is difficult to determine whether and to what extent machine translation is used in practice. Some patterns in the translations, such as inconsistent key terms (special military operation, war crimes) and frequent omissions, suggest that, even if machine translation might play a role in producing initial drafts, these drafts are later edited by human translators or editors. Financial pressures and time constraints may further encourage the use of machine translation tools, though this has not been officially confirmed. These developments raise further questions about institutional norms, translator agency, and accountability in news translation. Future studies should explore these areas through closer investigation of editorial practices and translation workflows. Raising awareness of such institutional and technological influences would not only improve public understanding of news media narratives but also support the development of future translator training programs.

## CHAPTER 8

### CONCLUSION

This study has investigated the news translation practices of the BBC World Service sub-branch BBC Türkçe when reporting a politically sensitive international crisis, namely the ongoing Russo-Ukrainian War. It has examined the findings through the lens of narrative theory and, to some extent, relevance theory. The main methodological tool was corpus-based discourse analysis, used to conduct research that merges both quantitative and qualitative aspects. The aim of this mixed methodology was to increase the credibility of the study through the use of measurable numerical data that have been interpreted within the framework of social and cultural observations about both the source and target texts. The research has examined the changes that occurred in the process of translating BBC News articles about the war in Ukraine into articles for BBC Türkçe, with a focus on the continuity or shifts in narrative discourse.

It has been determined that the textual intervention observed does not seem to follow a fixed pattern that aims at consistent adaptation towards the target culture but rather occurs randomly in the translation of BBC news articles. Although almost half of the BBC News articles' content is omitted in translation, and the omissions are occasionally applied to the central elements of the discourse as well, the specific narratives that construct the larger narrative of the war in Ukraine were mostly transferred into Turkish without omission or reframing through different translation strategies. These results are slightly unexpected given the expectation aroused by the literature on news translation that news is often subjected to radical reframing in line with a perceived target culture agenda, particularly in the context of conflict

situations. This does not mean, however, that the target context was completely disregarded.

Judging from the keyword and collocation statistics, it can be concluded that BBC Türkçe articles closely transfer the existing narrative discourse of BBC News into the Turkish language. However, both quantitative and qualitative analysis of the data suggest that transfer of the lexicon does not necessarily imply word-for-word translation. Even if there seems to be no significant narrative reframing in translation, there are slight alterations to news discourse. Omissions are frequent, and highly visible in both numerical and textual analysis. Additions did not manifest clearly in frequency lists and were therefore more often detected through a comparative reading of the source and target texts. The addition strategy was the one significant strategy that appeared to have clear motivations. For instance, the additions to the narrative about real-life issues, such as the financial crises, aimed to remind and inform the Turkish reader about the context and to keep them up to date about relevant aspects of the news.

The results of the analysis of the news translation product turned out to be different than expected based on the news translation research theories, which anticipate target-oriented, culture-specific interventions from the news translator depending either on their own agency or on that of the patron. This type of intervention, however, requires autonomy. BBC News is a very dominant media agency in the UK cultural system, with a long history of broadcasting all around the world. Its authority clearly extends to BBC Türkçe as a sub-branch, which displays only minimal reframing of political messages, in those cases when reframing does occur. It is known that BBC Türkçe makes use of Turkish journalists who take part in the news-making process for specifically Turkish-oriented news content.

However, these people are not necessarily considered “language professionals” by either themselves or the institutions they work for (Turan, 2023).

The analysis of this case study suggests that, where translation and translators are not deployed in a systematic way, inconsistencies are likely to be observed in the translation product. This may be due partly to the lack of collaboration between news translators, to the ambiguity of the news translation activity, or to complex editorial policies that fail to provide the translation agents with guidelines that can help shape their work. However, despite the invisibility of the news translator, the lines between news translation and editing remain blurry, and substantial changes are often introduced in the translation process. Nevertheless, we should once again note that this alteration is not always very apparent.

An important insight from this research is the tendency of BBC Türkçe to adopt a more cautious tone in its reporting on Russia. As explored in the discussion chapter, emotionally or politically charged content, such as accusations of war crimes or references to Nazi ideology, was frequently paraphrased or omitted in Turkish translations. This recurring tendency may not be arbitrary, and it is likely to reflect among other things Türkiye's diplomatic balancing act between Russia and the West. Given Türkiye's unique position between Western alliances and its ongoing economic and diplomatic relations with Russia, a neutral narrative may be seen as a pragmatic editorial approach. The translated texts, therefore, appear to strike a delicate balance: maintaining alignment with the BBC's core reporting while avoiding overt political confrontation.

These and other translation choices can also be understood through the lens of Relevance Theory, which helps explain the apparent inconsistencies in translation strategies. Instead of treating omissions or paraphrases as signs of inconsistency,

Relevance Theory suggests that translators are making calculated choices to ensure the intended meaning is appropriate for the target audience. In the case of BBC Türkçe, these choices often involve minimizing ideological references that may be unfamiliar or potentially polarizing for Turkish readers. The goal, in such cases, is not to distort but to adapt news in a way that remains effective within a specific cultural context. Understanding these decisions through the lens of relevance theory offers a clearer view of how news translation functions in practice, particularly in politically sensitive reporting.

In sum, this research has discovered that BBC Türkçe translators aim primarily for the transfer of the narrative discourse first produced by BBC News for the UK audience, without much adaptation for the Turkish audience. In this sense, the priority in the translations is neither the translator's own agency nor the target-culture expectations. Rather, BBC News' institutional narrative has dominance over the homogeneous dissemination of news in both geographically and politically distant states, such as Türkiye in this case. This research contributes to our understanding of news translation in BBC Türkçe by presenting how particular narrative elements in a conflict situation are translated: often, as it turns out, with minimal intervention from the translator.

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