

https://doi.org/10.31516/2410-5333.054.11

УДК 070.1:327.5] (477:470)

К. О. Темчур, graduate student, Oles Honchar Dnipro National University, Dnipro

https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6162-7614

karina-aleksandrovna@meta.ua

CONFLICT DISCOURSE IN UKRAINIAN MEDIA DURING THE RUSSIAN AGGRESSION IN THE AZOV SEA

This article explores the pathogenic rhetoric of the Ukrainian media during the Russian attack on Ukrainian ships in the Kerch Strait. The purpose of the study is to define the terms of hate speech, dysphemisms and euphemisms used by journalists. To date, their functioning in the Ukrainian media discourse in the period of aggression in Azov has not been studied. The knowledge of these expressions and the application mechanisms of their usage helps to withstand some methods of hybrid war. The sources of these statements, including journalists, politicians, experts, activists, are found out. The author argues that the tendencies of conflict discourse in the Ukrainian media continue. Moreover, hate speech is constantly spread by the same media. The reason for this phenomenon is the lack of legislative regulation of coverage of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict and self-regulation of the media in Ukraine.

Keywords: Russian-Ukrainian conflict, war, Kerch Strait, hate speech, euphemism, dysphemism.

К. А. Темчур, магистр, Днепровский национальный университет имени Олеся Гончара, Украина, Днепр

КОНФЛИКТНЫЙ ДИСКУРС УКРАИНСКИХ МЕДИА ВО ВРЕМЯ АГРЕССИИ РОССИИ В АЗОВСКОМ МОРЕ

Исследуется патогенная риторика украинских медиа во время нападения России на украинские корабли в Керченском проливе. Цель исследования — рассмотреть термины языка вражды, дисфемизмы и евфемизмы, которые использовали журналисты. На сегодняшний день их функционирование в украинском медиа дискурсе периода агрессии на Азове не изучено. Знание этих выражений и механизмов их применения помогает противостоять некоторым методам гибридной войны. Выявлены источники этих высказываний, среди которых — сами журналисты, политики, эксперты, активисты. Установлено, что тенденции конфликтного дискурса в украинских медиа сохраняются. Более того, язык вражды постоянно распространяется одними и теми же медиа. Причина этого явления — отсутствие в Украине законодательного регулирования освещения российско-украинского конфликта и саморегулирования медиа.

Ключевые слова: российско-украинский конфликт, война, Керченский пролив, язык вражды, эвфемизмы, дисфемизмы.

К. О. Темчур, магістр, Дніпровський національний університет імені Олеся Гончара, Дніпро

КОНФЛІКТНИЙ ДИСКУРС УКРАЇНСЬКИХ МЕДІА ПІД ЧАС АГРЕСІЇ РОСІЇ В АЗОВСЬКОМУ МОРІ

Актуальність. Досліджено патогенну риторику українських медіа періоду нападу Росії на українські кораблі в Керченській протоці. На сьогодні її функціонування в українському медіадискурсі під час агресії на Азові не вивчено.

Мета. Визначити терміни мови ворожнечі, дисфемізми та евфемізми, які використовували журналісти.

Методологія. Проаналізовано термінологічний апарат, який використовували українські медіа під час оперативного висвітлення агресії на Азовському морі. За допомогою контент-аналізу проаналізовано тексти інтернет-ресурсів, які висвітлювали хроніку подій у реальному часі. Також досліджено тексти інтернет-медіа, представлені в пошуковій системі Google.

Результати. Розглянуто мову ворожнечі, дисфемізми та евфемізми в текстах журналістів, зокрема в так званому «текстовому онлайні». Якщо дисфемізми лише розпалюють ненависть у суспільстві, то евфемізми допомагають зменшити напруження. Проте обидва механізми є негативними, адже призводять до викривлення реальної ситуації.

Новизна. Під час висвітлення українськими медіа агресії на Азовському морі використовувалися і дисфемізми, і евфемізми. З'ясовано джерела цих висловлювань, серед яких — самі журналісти, політики, експерти, активісти. Таким чином, журналісти поширюють патогенні висловлювання також, цитуючи слова третіх осіб.

Практичне значення. Знання цих висловів та способів їх застосування допомагає протистояти деяким методам гібридної війни. Актуальне розроблення механізму законодавчого регулювання конфліктного дискурсу українських медіа та пошуку шляхів його усунення.

Висновки. Визначено, що тенденції конфліктного дискурсу в українських медіа існують. Більше того, мову ворожнечі постійно поширюють одні й ті самі медіа. Причина цього явища — відсутність в Україні законодавчого регулювання висвітлення російсько-українського конфлікту та саморегулювання медіа.

Ключові слова: *російсько-український конфлікт, війна, Керченська протока, мова ворожнечі, евфемізми, дисфемізми.*

Introduction. Today Ukraine is in a state of hybrid war with Russia. Under such conditions, a powerful means of propaganda and incitement of conflict is the use of hate speech. At the same time, the definition of this concept, which would be in line with international standards, is still not regulated by law. Also, the Ukrainian legislation lacks punishment for using hate speech. Thus, the use of hate speech in the Ukrainian media is not controlled. Misunderstanding of the nature and the mechanism of this phenomenon by the journalists makes the country weak in the face of the military aggression of the enemy.

The notion of «hate speech» in general terms can be interpreted as «any expression of discrimination and hatred of people through their identity» (Countering hate: monitoring «hate speech» against LGBT people and responding to its manifestations in Belarus, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia and Ukraine, 2018). Researchers have identified the most widespread hate speech in the Ukrainian media for coverage of Russian-Ukrainian relations. These are nine words: «vatnik», «moskal'», «rashizm/rashist», «lugandon», «mordor», «benderi», «separi» (Morgun, 2016). It is noted that such disparaging names («pejorative») arise on the basis of negative ethnostereotypes and artificially split society (Hnatiuk, 2015). They also humiliate the enemy («dehumanize the enemy»), therefore, is a way of psychological protection (Karpiak, 2014).

The following types of hate speech in the media are distinguished:

- calls for violence;
- direct incitement to discrimination, including in the form of general slogans;
- veiled calls for violence and discrimination;
- creation of a negative image of an ethnic, religious or a certain social group;
- justification of historical cases of violence and discrimination;
- publications and statements that doubt generally acknowledged historical facts of violence and discrimination;
- statements about the inferiority of a particular ethnic or religious group or a certain social group as such;
- statements on historical crimes of an ethnic or religious group as such;
- statements on the criminal nature of a particular ethnic or religious group;
- statements about moral shortcomings of a particular ethnic or religious group;
- allegations of negative influence of one or another ethnic, religious or certain social group on society or state;
- mentioning a certain group or its representatives in a humiliating or offensive context;
- quoting obviously xenophobic statements and texts without comment;
- accusing of a group of attempts to seize power or of territorial expansion;
- denial of citizenship because of ethnicity (Ahmetieva, 2007).

Thus, during a hybrid war between Ukraine and Russia it is simply impossible to avoid using the hate speech.

In addition to hate speech, the media use euphemisms and dysphemisms. The former mitigates the statement, the latter, on the contrary, gives

it a negative coloring. Euphemization is substitution of words with rude or indecent meaning by words that express this content covertly. Dysphemization is a reverse phenomenon, the use of the more rude word instead of the stylistically and emotionally neutral one. Both mechanisms lead to distortion of the true meaning of the message.

A number of scientific publications deal with to the study of neologisms in the period of the Ukrainian-Russian conflict. These are various language aggressions that occur on both sides. They are used to cover events in the Crimea, the Donbass and Russia. Researchers note the intensification of the use of hate speech in Ukrainian media space with the onset of events on Maidan in 2013-2014.

Lexical changes in Ukrainian media space caused by socio-political transformations of 2013-2017 years were studied by M. Stepanenko, A. Morhun, V. Hnatiuk, T. Bondarenko, O. Taranenko, N. Lysiuk and others. Today there are no studies of hate speech during the military clash in the Azov Sea.

On November 25, 2018, a navy ship group were sailing from the port of Odessa to the port of Mariupol. Near the Kerch Strait, one of the Russian coast guard ships rammed the Ukrainian tug «Jany-Kapu», Ukrainian sailors were wounded and captured. The Russian side assured that they did not receive any request for permission to pass, that is Ukrainian ships were illegal in Russian territorial waters. The Naval Forces of the Armed Forces of Ukraine, in turn, reported that the march was planned, that is, they had been warned about it in advance.

The purpose of the article is to define the manifestations of hate speech, euphemization and dysphemization in the Ukrainian media during the aggression of Russia in the Sea of Azov.

The objective of the article is to analyse hate speech, euphemisms and dysphemisms in the texts of Ukrainian Internet resources during this period.

Methodology. The study was conducted using the method of content analysis. The author analysed Ukrainian Internet resources that provided online chronology of events around the zone of conflict in the real time (news.liga.net and newsone.ua) and their post-analysis (gazeta.ua, 24tv.ua, 112.ua).

In the texts of these Internet resources, words that contained hate speech, dysphemisms and euphemisms were singled out. It was found out that their source was not only journalists, but also political and public figures. This fact prompted the thought that responsibility for spreading such statements lies not only with journalists.

Results. All Ukrainian media begin their reports about the Russia's aggression in the Sea of Azov with reference to the press center of the

Ukrainian Navy. Some of them resorted to this way of presenting information in real time as a chronicle. With this way of reporting dynamic information, the announcement of new related events seems to be authentic. Among such resources are news.liga.net and newsone.ua. They updated the information in real time over the next few days. In this way, the media create something like a newsletter (it is also called «text online») (Fig.1). In addition to brief operational information, reports of these resources also contained comments from politicians and experts.

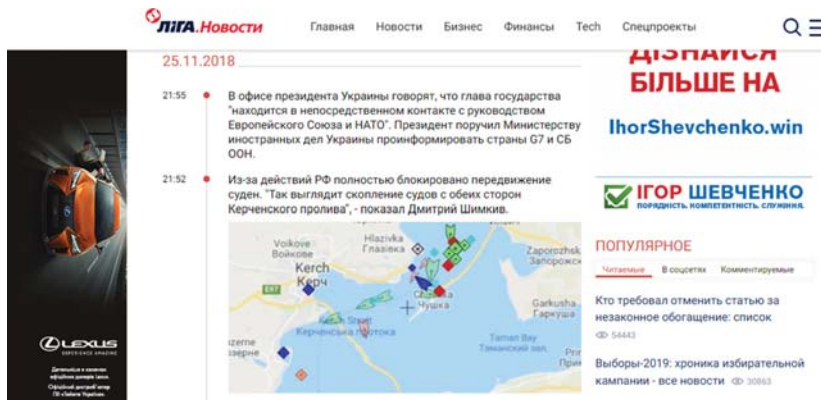


Figure 1. «Text online» on news.liga.net resource dated November 25, 2018.

Source: <https://news.liga.net/politics/chronicle/rossiya-napala-na-ukrainu-v-azovskom-more-hronika/page5> (28.02.2019)

Besides, some media resources, for example, gazeta.ua, 24tv.ua, 112.ua, began to submit a post-chronology of the conflict. Such materials were posted during the following months and can be classified as correspondence according to the genre.

Such actions of Russia are classified as an act of aggression. In accordance with Resolution 3314 (XXIX) of the General Assembly of the United Nations of December 14, 1974, the act of aggression is, in particular, an attack of the armed forces of the state on land, naval, air forces, or naval and air fleets of another state. Thus, according to international law, the events on the Azov Sea are precisely «aggression».

In their reports, in addition to the term «aggression», the media used the following concepts: «the conflict in Azov», «the collision in the Azov Sea», «Russian escalation in the Kerch Strait», «the incident in the Kerch Strait», «the sea provocation», «the war in the Sea of Azov». In particular, resources news.liga.net and newsone.ua, which provided a timeline of events in real time, used the following expressions:

- 1) news.liga.net – «Russian aggression against Ukrainian ships», «armed attack and seizure of Ukrainian ships», «Black Sea incident».

- 2) newsone.ua — «use of force by Russia», «aggressive actions of Russia», «the Russian Federation used weapons for defeat», «an attack on Ukrainian ships», «provocative actions of Russia», «exacerbation in the Sea of Azov».

Consequently, the media continues to use commonly accepted euphemisms to denote military aggression.

All expressions that contain hate speech and dysphemisms can be divided into four groups according to the source.

1. Hate speech in the statements of politicians. 1) «Having torn Ukraine into pieces, Poroshenko and the entire *maidannaia gopkompaniia*, will then make a tour around the world with lectures on the benefits of democracy, just as Saakashvili is doing now. Peace has already been established in Donbass. At present they have started with Kerch Strait. They are *highwaymen*. And the methods of *highwaymen* are: first provocation, then force pressure, and then accusation of aggression», — said Maria Zakharova, speaker of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation (25.11.2018, newsone.ua) (Fig.2).

"Разорвав Украину на части, Порошенко и вся майданная гопкомпания, как сейчас это делает Саакашвили, потом будут гастролировать по миру с лекциями о пользе демократии. В Донбассе мир уже установили. Теперь за Керченский пролив принялись. Бандиты с большой дороги. И методы бандитские: сначала провокация, затем силовое давление, а потом обвинение в агрессии", - заявила спикер МИД РФ Мария Захарова.

Fig. 2 Message in «text online» on the resource newsone.ua containing hate speech and dysphemisms. Source: <https://newsone.ua/news/accidents/rossijskij-spetsnaz-obstreljali-i-zakhvatil-ukrainskie-korabli-v-azovskom-more-vse-podrobnosti-eskalatsii.html> (28.02.2019)

2) «Urgent! On the way out of the Kerch Strait *rosiyane* used weapons against the ship of the Naval forces of Ukraine. One injured is on board. The Army Navy forces are deploying assistance measures. Before that, *rosiyane* threatened to use weapons during the release of naval vessels from the so-called «territorial sea of the Russian Federation» near the Crimea» (Permanent Representative of the President of Ukraine to the Crimea Boris Babin, 25.11.2018, newsone.ua) (Fig. 3).



Borys Babin

29 мин. · 🌐



Терміново! На виході з Керченській протоці росіяне застосували зброю проти корабля ВМС України. На борту є поранений. Сили ВМС ЗСУ розгортають заходи допомоги. До того росіяне погрожували застосуванням зброї під час виходу кораблів ВМС з так окупованого ними "територіального моря РФ" біля Криму



256

Коментарі: 19 Репости: 269

Fig. 3. Post on Facebook of the permanent representative of the President of Ukraine in the Crimea, Boris Babin, which resource newsona.ua has republished. Source: <https://newsona.ua/news/accidents/rossijskij-spetsnaz-obstreljali-i-zakhvatil-ukrainskie-korabli-v-azovskom-more-vse-podrobnosti-eskalatsii.html> (28.02.2019)

3) «In social networks, they published photos of two captured Ukrainian sailors: Andrey Artemenko and Andrei Aydar. «Cadets. Ukrainian sailors. Wounded by **Russian bandits** and captured, – wrote Irina Herashchenko, vice speaker of parliament in Facebook» (news.liga.net, 11.26.2018).

2. Hate speech in the statements of journalists. 1) «**The ringleader of the Crimean separatists** Aksenov: «Hysterics and provocations from the neighboring country will continue until the authorities in Kiev have a **Russophobic regime**» (news.liga.net, 25.11.2018).

2) «Together with the reports of the incident near Crimea, the Russian **propaganda media** massively made the strongest shelling of residential areas in the occupied part of the Donetsk region from the Ukrainian side» (news.liga.net, 25.11.2018).

3. Hate speech in the statements of experts. 1) Today, the ships (I mean the Russian Navy), of the «**zaporebrikovye**» group on Azov is in a state of permanent expansion <...>. In the long run, it should be the basis of the naval power of «**vatoboytsy**» in the Sea of Azov and be able to solve the widest range of combat tasks. <...> The Command of the Russian Navy <...> is already working on deployments a permanent naval operational unit in the north-eastern part of its water area (this is a «reinforcement» of already deployed naval «**Chekists**»», – says military expert Konstantin Mashovets» (gazeta.ua, 05.05.2018).

4. Hate speech in the statements of activists. In «text online» journalists also cite civic activists. In particular, the post by Alexander Gagaev contains direct calls for action. «In connection with the events in the Kerch Strait, we are rushing out to **rashistske** embassy in Povitroflotskaya. Join us!» (Alexander Gagaev, newsona.ua, 25.11.2018) (Fig. 4).



Fig. 4. The post by activist Oleksandr Gagaev calling for a meeting under the Russian embassy in Kyiv has republished by newsone.ua.

Source: <https://newsone.ua/news/accidents/rossijskij-spetsnaz-obstreljali-i-zakhvatil-ukrainskie-korabli-v-azovskom-more-vse-podrobnosti-eskalatsii.html> (28.08.2019)

Discussion. The research shows that today in the Ukrainian media space, the tendencies of conflict discourse, which began in 2013–2014, are maintained. The reason for this phenomenon is the lack of legislative regulation of the coverage of the Russian-Ukrainian Conflict. So far, the Ukrainian legislation does not even provide a definition of hate speech, to say nothing about the punishment for its use. Internet resources have the greatest freedom of action. This condition contributes to the circulation and multiplication of examples of hate speech and dysphemisms.

At the same time, the media that had used hate speech earlier, go on using it. The resources *news.liga.net*, *gazeta.ua*, *24tv.ua*, in which we found hate speech, often used it before (Avoiding hate speech will bring peace, 2015). The reason for this is the lack of self-regulation of these media.

Recent studies indicate a sharp increase in the amount of hate speech and the substitution of euphemisms to dysphemisms. This situation can be characterized as about the transformation of journalism and acquisition of its signs of propaganda. In particular, modern journalistic texts contain direct calls for action, a black-and-white picture of the world, they change the system of values and behavior of the audience (Taranenko, 2017). Our research confirms such conclusions. But according to our results, the media actively continue to use euphemisms in the coverage of hostilities.

The problem of conflict of the Ukrainian media discourse requires further research. In particular, it is necessary to develop legal mechanisms for regulating linguistic aggression, possible ways of reducing it.

Conclusions. In the media discourse of Ukraine, which is in a state of hybrid war with Russia, there is a hate speech towards the opposite side.

Today, the media have also developed a series of sustained euphemisms and dysphemisms that are used in reports of hostilities.

Hate speech and dysphemisms occur both in the statements of the journalists themselves and in quoting politicians, experts, and public figures. Journalists also continue to use euphemisms to disguise the real content of the message.

The coverage of aggression in the Azov Sea by the Ukrainian media shows that the tendencies of conflict discourse that began during the events of the Maidan continue.

References

- Ahmetyeva, V. (2007). *Hate speech in the regional elections (winter 2006–2007)*. Moscow: IAC «Owl» [in Russian].
- Avoiding hate speech will bring peace*. (2015). Retrieved from: http://osvita.mediasapiens.ua/ethics/standards/unikannya_movi_vorozhnechi_nablizit_mir/ [in Ukrainian].
- Countering hate: monitoring «hate speech» against LGBT people and responding to its manifestations in Belarus, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia and Ukraine*. (2018). Retrieved from: <https://www.article19.org/ru/resources/challenging-hate-monitoring-anti-lgbt-hate-speech-responses-belarus-kyrgyzstan-moldova-russia-ukraine/> [in Russian].
- Hnatiuk V. (2015). «Hate speech» in the Russian-Ukrainian war of 2014-2015 and the national consciousness of Ukrainians. *Historical and cultural studies*, 2 (1), 47–52. [in Ukrainian].
- Karpiak O. (2014). *Woolwithdill: the language of political memes*. Retrieved from: https://www.bbc.com/ukrainian/entertainment/2014/08/140807_new_words_ko [in Ukrainian].
- Morhun A. (2016). The Russian war against Ukraine: contemporary discourse trends in modern Ukrainian mass media. *Scientific papers of I.F. Kuras national academy of sciences of Ukraine*, 3–4 (83–84), 352–362. [in Ukrainian].
- Taranenko O. V. (2017). Euphemization in the Ukrainian media discourse of the hybrid war period. *Social Communication: Theory and Practice*, Vol. 4, 19–27. [in Ukrainian].

Надійшла до редколегії 05.03.2019 р.