



Doping at the Olympics – the Picture of Russian Sportspeople in the British Press

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Anotace

Tato diplomová práce se věnuje prezentaci ruských sportovců v briském tisku v souvislosti s Olympijskými hrami v roce 2016. Jejím cílem je poukázat na to, jak je nahlíženo na ruské sportovce ve vztahu k dopingu a Olympijským hrám.

Teoretická část nabízí základní informace o Olympijských hrách, dopingu, novinovém diskurzu a využití korpusové lingvistiky v analýze novinového diskurzu. Praktická část se zaměřuje na analýzu novinových článků zabývajících se problematikou dopingu ruských sportovců na Olympijských hrách v Riu. Analýza je postavena na identifikaci nejčtetnějších a klíčových slov, která jsou vygenerována pomocí softwarového programu Sketch Engine na základě porovnání frekvencí slov v korpusu DOPING a referenčním korpusu EnTenTen 13. Tato slova jsou následně podrobena dalšímu manuálnímu rozboru, kdy je důraz kladen především na typické kolokace klíčových slov.

Provedená analýza poukázala na tendenci prezentovat ruské sportovce účastnící se Olympijských her v Riu převážně negativně.

Klíčová slova: Olympijské hry, Rio, doping, Rusko, ruští sportovci, britské noviny, seriózní tisk, bulvární tisk, webové zpravodajství, korpusová analýza, klíčová slova, kolokace

Abstract

This MA thesis deals with the presentation of Russian athletes in selected British online newspapers in the context of the 2016 Olympic Games. The aim of the thesis is to demonstrate how Russian athletes are viewed in connection to doping and the Olympic Games.

The theoretical part offers fundamental information on the Olympic Games, doping, newspaper discourse and the use of corpus linguistics in a discourse analysis. The practical part focuses on the analysis of the selected British online newspaper articles dealing with the doping issues of Russian athletes in the Olympic Games in Rio. The analysis draws on the list of frequent and key words which are generated by the software programme Sketch Engine. These words are further manually examined, and detailed information on them and their collocations is collected and analysed.

The results of the analysis show the tendency of the selected British online newspapers to portray Russian athletes and sport representatives negatively.

Key words: Olympic Games, Rio, doping, Russia, Russian athletes, British newspapers, broadsheets, tabloids, online newspapers, corpus analysis, key words, collocations

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Introduction

This MA thesis analyses bias/subjectivity present in selected British online newspapers towards Russian athletes. One event is considered the 2016 Olympic Games.

The Olympic Games are considered to be a monumental sporting event which attracts millions of people from all over the world. The most important values of the Olympic Games are the purity of sports and fair play both of which were violated by the behaviour of Russian athletes prior to the Olympic Games (Gremion 2018, 814). The 2016 Olympic Games became a synonym for unfair practices, cheating and state-sponsored doping (cf. Chapter 2). The acts committed by Russia went against the fundamental principles of the Olympic Games and infringed the rights of honest competing athletes.

The aim of this thesis is to establish how the Russian athletes are presented in the British press in connection with doping and the 2016 Olympic Games. As the Olympic Games are viewed as symbolic of decency and fair play, the writer assumes that the British newspapers will present the Russian athletes in a negative way because of their bad reputation and their connection with the illegal practise of doping.

The method employed to ascertain whether bias was present is known as Keyword analysis. This method was chosen because it reveals particular words which are specific for particular kinds of texts. The software programme used for the analysis, Sketch Engine (SE), examines how key words tend to appear in the texts, how they co-occur with other words, and whether they carry positive or negative meaning. The biggest advantage

of the electronic analysis is that it enables us to see the recurring language patterns that would be very difficult to note when reading intuitively (see Chapter 4).

1 Olympic Games

1.1 The Beginnings of the Olympic Games

The Olympic Games are considered to be the oldest and the best of the Greek festivals (Young, 2004, 12). Young (2004, 16), Girginov and Parry (2005, 14) agree that the first Ancient Olympic games began in 776 BC. The Olympic Games were held every four years for more than a thousand years until the last days of the Roman Empire when they were banned by the Roman Emperor Theodosius I in 394 AD and the period of antiquity was replaced by the early Middle Ages.

The program of the Ancient Olympic Games developed gradually over time and it included disciplines such as short and long distance running, wrestling, boxing, horse chariot races and pentathlon (Young 2004, 20 and Girginov and Parry 2005, 18). According to Smith (1875) pentathlon included five different sport events in one day – leap, run, discus throwing, spear throwing and wrestling. The more disciplines there were, the more difficult it was to manage everything in one day, so more and more days were added and the final length of the Olympic Games was five days. Girginov and Parry (2005, 19 – 20) provide a typical programme of the Olympic Games which can be found in Appendix 1.

The first attempts to fight against cheating in the Olympic games can be observed already around the 4th century BC when the athletes and their trainers had to swear in front of the statue of Zeus that they would not cheat; in addition the judges as well had to swear that their words would be fair and honest and that they would not accept any bribes on the first day of the Olympic Games (ibid. 19 – 20).

After the Peloponnesian war in the 4th century BC the thousand year long tradition of the Olympic Games started to disappear until it finally ceased to exist at the end of the 4th century AD. Reasons were numerous: changes in politics and the economy, the influence of the Roman Empire as Girginov and Parry (2005, 25) claim invasions of barbarians, earthquakes and floods and a prohibition of all pagan worship and the rise of the Christianity as Young (2004, 134 – 137) suggests.

1.2 Reinvention of the Olympic Games

Even if Guttmann (2002, 11) argues that the Olympic Games were forbidden by the Roman Emperor Theodosius I in 394 AD, the spirit of sport did not die and Christianity never forgot about them. Girginov and Parry (2005, 26 – 27) believe that there were many other sport contests held in the Early Middle Ages, such as chariot races and beast fights in Rome, Celtic Games or the Highlands Gatherings of Scottish Celts. The disciplines the athletes competed in were for example: a run, a high jump, a long jump, a triple jump and a hammer throw.

Girginov and Parry (2005, 27 – 28) and Goldblatt (2016, 7) agree that despite the fact sports events were held in the Middle Ages, the real re-birth of the Olympic Games begins more than a millennium later. Olympia, which was flooded and destroyed by earthquakes, was rediscovered by the English traveller Richard Chandler and teams of French and German archaeologists whose work influenced the French aristocrat Pierre de Coubertin. He is believed to be the father of the Modern Olympic Games. However Goldblatt (2016, 7) and Guttmann (2002, 11) claim that Pierre de Coubertin was hardly the first one to speak about the reestablishment of the Olympic Games. There was a Greek nationalist publisher, Panagiotis Soutsos, who dreamed

that the newly independent nation might relive the greatness of the Greek art and athletics more than fifty years before Pierre de Coubertin. He suggested that the Olympic Games be revived. The Modern Olympic Games were to rotate every four years around important locations. These locations were: Athens as the new capital city of Greece, Tripoli because it was situated in the heart of the Peloponnese, Messolonghi, where a stronghold is located which represented the Greek resistance during the war, and the Hyrda island, which was an important location in which key naval forces were docked ready to fight the Turkish.

De Coubertin initiated the re-birth of the Olympic Games based on his interest in sporting events in Renaissance times. He found this era fascinating and believed that an international contest where sportspeople could compete in various disciplines would be very beneficial (Guttman 2002, 10, 13 – 14; Girginov and Parry 2005, 30 – 31). Consequently he established Union des Sociétés Francaises de Sports Athlétiques in 1887 and La Revue athlétique in 1890, which were the most important steps in the revival of the Olympic Games.

In the early 1890s de Coubertin travelled to America where he met many important politicians, academics and trainers, such as William Milligan Sloane, who became an important person in the re-birth of the Olympic Games. Pierre de Coubertin was aware of the economic and political power of both Great Britain and the United States, so he decided to make himself, Charles Herbert and William M. Sloan the immovable trinity of the Olympic Congress in Sorbonne. The members were chosen for geopolitical reasons which ensured that the support would come from different parts of the world. Charles Herbert was responsible for Great Britain and the British Empire; William M. Sloane was responsible for the American continent and Pierre de Coubertin was accountable for support from France and Continental Europe. The

International Olympic Committee (IOC) was born at the first Olympic Congress, in Sorbonne, in 1894, and it consisted of members from different countries, such as Sweden, Russia, Hungary and the USA (Guttmann 2002, 15). The Congress agreed that the first Modern Olympic Games would be held in April 1896 in Athens because the town represented the link to the Ancient Olympic Games. The Olympic Games was to exhibit "...the same spirit, the same dedication to the pursuit of excellence, and the same goal of bringing out the best in people. Guttmann (2002, 12 – 13) emphasizes that the Modern Olympic Games should have been amateur as the Ancient Olympic Games were. He believes that the amateur athletes were "... those who competed for the intrinsic pleasures of the contest, not because sports provided them with the material basis for their existence. Unfortunately, the aim of this definition was to exclude the lower class people from the Olympic Games and guarantee that only the upper class people could participate.

1.3 The 2016 Olympic Games in Rio

The Olympic Games were held in Rio de Janeiro in Brazil between the 5th and 21st August 2016. The selection of the host city for the Olympic Games is done a few years before the event, so the IOC had announced that on the 2nd October 2009 (Olympics 2016: online). It was the first time a South American country had been selected to host the Olympic Games, even though Rio de Janeiro had had experience with hosting great international events, e.g. the Pan American Games in 2007 or the FIFA World Cup in 2014. There were 11 238 athletes from 207 countries who participated in 39 sports in the 2016 Olympic Games in Rio (Olympics 2016: online).

Halchin and Rollins (2016) and Nascimento et al. (2018) agree that there were a lot of problems which were connected with the organization of the 2016 Olympic Games and emphasize that the doping issue seems to be very problematic and attracts the most attention. Nascimento et al. (2018, 108 – 110) identifies two of the biggest problems in drug testing. The first problem was the shortage of staff. There should have been 70 000 volunteers recruited but the number was reduced to only 56 000 because of the lower budget. Another problem connected with volunteers was that their training was not correct and that only 70% of them did what they were supposed to do. It was admitted by the organizers that the unauthorized people could access restricted areas where the anti-doping testing was done. The authorities also claimed that the drug testing was done properly and no urine or blood sample could have been affected, still it was revealed that up to fifty percent of doping tests were not done because the volunteers were not able to find the athletes, which was the second problem. The plan was to do 5 380 tests, but there were only 4 882 drug test performed in the 2016 Olympic Games. It was planned to do 450 blood tests but only 47 were done. As there was only 28, 62% of the athletes tested, one must conclude that the approach to testing was amateur at best.

2 Doping

Even though there are many definitions of doping, the definition by World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA) is presented alone as it is the only official one. Doping is defined as the occurrence of one or more of the anti-doping violations set forth in Article 2.1 through Article 2.11 of the World Anti-Doping Code (WADC), namely

(1) the presence of a prohibited substance or its metabolites or markers in an athlete's sample, (2) the use or attempted use by an athlete of a prohibited substance or a prohibited method, (3) evading, refusing or failing to submit to sample collection by an athlete, (4) whereabouts failures by an athlete, (5) tampering or attempted tampering with any part of doping control by an athlete or other person, (6) possession of a prohibited substance or a prohibited method by an athlete or athlete support person, (7) trafficking or attempted trafficking in any prohibited substance or prohibited method by an athlete or other person, (8) administration or attempted administration by an athlete or other person to any athlete in-competition of any prohibited substance or prohibited method, or administration or attempted administration to any athlete out-of-competition of any prohibited substance or any prohibited method that is prohibited out-of-competition, (9) complicity or attempted complicity by an athlete or other person, (10) prohibited association by an athlete or other person, and (11) acts by an athlete or other person to discourage or retaliate against reporting to authorities.

It is widely known that sport plays an important role in contemporary society. It is a great social and economic activity which contributes positively to health. The professional and amateur achievements in sport aim to motivate all the athletes. Last but not least the aim of sport is entertainment. When the athletes win, they gain prestige, fame and even prize money. These aspects of victory may tempt the athletes to participate in unfair practices. The athletes tend to cheat and they use the performance-enhancing drugs in spite of the fact that doping may damage their health and put their lives in danger (Boye et al. 2017, 351). Not only does doping damage the athletes' health, it also violates the principle of fair play and ethics of sport (Gremion 2018, 814). Yet winning in sports brings prestige and is highly bound to national pride for many countries, therefore some sportspeople are prepared to take the risk and use prohibited substances to achieve this pride and prestige. WADA tries to prevent the use of performance-enhancing drugs, by laying down the rules which are written in the WADC. In spite of the fact that the Code is adopted

by most countries, there is still the problem of doping misuse. The transgressors still use the prohibited performance-enhancing drugs and unfortunately they are often not caught (Boye et al. 2017, 351).

2.1 State-sponsored doping in Russia

Cuffey (2018, 665 – 666) claims that since the Olympic Games are believed to be the Holy Mecca of all athletic competitions and they are held at four year intervals, many athletes long to become the best by any means possible. Nascimento et al. (2018, 101) add that there is a lot of money involved in the prestigious sport events such as the Olympic Games and that there is a big difference between the gold and silver medal or between the world and personal record. Moreover, the use of performance-enhancing drugs is also interconnected with politics as states want their athletes to excel at the international levels (Gerrard 2015, 16 – 17).

Kalinski (2003, 445 – 449, 2017, 1 – 3) describes the growth of state-sponsored doping in the former Soviet Union. The Soviet Union started to take part in international sporting events after World War II and it soon became very successful in the Olympic Games. The achievements of the Soviet Union athletes led to accusations of unfair practices but it was very difficult to prove the charges because of the secrecy, so the state continued cheating. Sharing of information between the East and West was discouraged because of the rivalry between the two superpowers – the Soviet Union and the United States. The success of the Soviet athletes in the Olympic Games was achieved not only by training but also by the development of biochemistry over which the State Sport Committee of the USSR, a branch of the Soviet government, took patronage. The Soviet Union was active in researching the development and the

use of doping by elite Soviet athletes in the Olympic Games; not surprisingly, these studies were top secret. Between the years 1970 and 1990 the State Sport Committee researched the effects of performance-enhancing drugs on the Soviet athletes who were preparing for the Olympic Games. As a result of the experiments, the government recommended the athletes to use performance-enhancing drugs on a regular basis to increase their physical performance. Since the Soviet Union wanted to succeed in all the disciplines at the Olympic Games, they searched for drugs and methods which would increase the physical performance of athletes during short-time activities and in the endurance events as well.

Gremion (2018, 815) argues that the state-sponsored doping in Russia has shaken the world. Kalinski (2017, 1) claims that already in 2002, there was some evidence that the former USSR's government encouraged the Soviet elite athletes to use anabolic steroids. A year later, in 2003, it was revealed that the state-sponsored doping was a common practice of the USSR. Even though the political circumstances have changed, the doping issue has moved from the former USSR to contemporary Russia. In March 2014 the documentary movie "The Secrets of Doping" was shown in which it was claimed that there was a usage of systematic doping among the Russian athletes that was responsible for many achievements of the Russian sport people. After the documentary was released, WADA conducted an investigation into the accusation of doping abuse in Russia and impeached Grigory Rodchenkov (cf. Chapter 5.3.2.1), who was the director of Russia's anti-doping laboratory and who later after his resignation conceded that he provided banned substances to many Russian athletes, that he was the main actor in hiding of the doping. However, the reaction of the Russian government was predictable, as Kalinski (2017, 3) claims. Russia contended that the WADA's investigations and its findings were twisted by the Western countries in order

to disparage the good name of Russia. They also asserted that Grigory Rodchenkov was a part of the conspiracy which aimed at discrediting Russia. Nascimento et al. (2018, 113) concurs with Kalinski's (2017, 3) statements and mentions that the Russian officials, especially the Russian Minister of Sport Vitaly Mutko, who was involved in the cover up scheme (McLaren 2016, 54) denied the conspiracy that there was a doping practice orchestrated by the government in Russia.

The investigation was executed by Professor Richard McLaren, an independent individual from WADA. The first McLaren Report was published on 16 July 2016. The key findings of this Report were:

(1) The Moscow Laboratory operated, for the protection of doped Russian athletes, within a State-dictated failsafe system, described in the report as the Disappearing Positive Methodology. (2) The Sochi Laboratory operated a unique sample swapping methodology to enable doped Russian athletes to compete at the Games. (3) The Ministry of Sport directed, controlled and oversaw the manipulation of athlete's analytical results or sample swapping, with the active participation and assistance of the FSB, CSP, and both Moscow and Sochi Laboratories (McLaren 2016, 1).

Nascimento et al. (2018, 103) comments on the findings of the first McLaren Report that there is a deep-seated culture of cheating in Russia which has become widespread and acceptable at all levels. The abuse of athletes is admissible and the unethical behaviour and practices have become a standard. On 9 December 2016, the second part of the McLaren Report was released which confirmed the findings of the first McLaren Report and it even sharpened the picture of state-sponsored doping in Russia. The second McLaren found out that there was an institutional conspiracy across summer and winter sports athletes who participated with Russian officials within the Ministry of Sport and its infrastructure. Moreover, the systematic and centralized cover up and the manipulation of the doping control developed for many

years and continued in spite of the WADA regulatory changes and interventions. The Report also specified that 84% of Russian athletes competing in summer sports were involved or could benefit from the state-sponsored doping (McLaren Report 2 2016, 1 – 3).

Cuffey (2018, 671 – 672) and Kalinski (2017, 2) argue that WADA as a result of the first part of the McLaren Report suggested placing a blanket ban on the Russian Olympic Team because athletes were caught doping in the 2008 Olympic Games in Beijing and the 2012 Olympic Games in London. Whereas the International Association of Athletics Federations (IAAF) resolved to ban the Russian athletes from all the IAAF competitions in November 2015, the IOC decided not to ban Russian athletes from competing in the 2016 Olympic Games in Rio because the ROC promised to cooperate with international organizations in the doping inquiries. Another reason why the IOC did not ban the Russian athletes from the 2016 Olympic Games was that they guaranteed to re-structure the Russian anti-doping system. The result was that only those Russian athletes who had never been sanctioned for doping and were able to provide enough evidence that they had undergone an international effective reliable drug testing and were able to pass all the criteria in an additional out-of-competition testing program could enter the 2016 Olympic Games. Nevertheless, they were not allowed to compete for Russia but under the neutral flag (Cuffey 2018, 671 – 672; Duval 2014, 178 – 180).

Cuffey (2018, 673 – 675) points out that even though the IOC had experience with doping, it had never dealt with such an immense magnitude of state-sponsored doping. The IOC's decision aroused public reactions which were mostly against the decision. It was believed by many nations that the IOC failed in its leading position, in protecting the clean athletes and in the punishing of those athletes who had used

prohibited substances. Concerns were raised that it was unfair to clean athletes if Russian athletes were allowed to compete in the Olympic Games.

Cuffey (2018, 675 – 677) mentions that the discussion about current anti-doping laws and their effectiveness in dealing with the Russian state-sponsored doping began to show its head. Before 2004 each country had its own rules and laws concerning the use of prohibited performance-enhancing drugs, which meant that the athletes could be banned in one country but not in another. Since this situation was chaotic, the WADC was adopted and it originated the first global policy which went against the use of banned substances. The Code is still a valuable document which deals with the doping control, for example it defines doping and deals with anti-doping rule violations and testing. It also suggests sanctions for the athletes or teams that violate the WADC. Its two main purposes are: (1) “to protect the athletes’ fundamental right to participate in doping-free sport and thus promote health, fairness and equality for athletes worldwide, and (2) to ensure harmonized, coordinated and effective anti-doping programs at the international and national level with regard to detection, deterrence and prevention of doping” (WADC, 2019, 11).

Cuffey (2018, 677 – 678) emphasizes that there were three suggestions made concerning the upcoming Olympic Games:

(1) to exclude ROC from the 2016 Rio Olympic Games, (2) to prohibit Russian athletes who were nominated by ROC to enter the Olympic Games in Rio and (3) to do a uniform testing of the Russian athletes which should decide whether they would be allowed to compete in the 2016 Olympic Games under a neutral flag.

Although these suggestions were in accordance with WADA’s recommendations and thus easily employed by the IOC, the IOC did not apply them

but passed the responsibility to the athletes' international federations (Gremion 2018, 816).

Reality has shown that the current anti-doping rules are not an effective means for controlling doping. Firstly, Cuffey (2018, 679 - 680) claims that even though there are many organizations which adopted the Code, the WADA cannot prevent the athletes from participating in the Olympic Games. Duval (2014, 196) supports Cuffey's idea (Cuffey 2018, 680) that WADA is a weak organization when it comes to dealing with doping issues alone. It can only give recommendations for a solution to the IOC, which has the right to impose a ban. Despite the fact that the WADA came with recommendations dealing with the state-sponsored doping in Russia, the IOC did not accept them. The IOC delegated the responsibility concerning the athletes who were caught doping to their international federations, so the Russian athletes had to prove to the RUSADA that they were clean. Since the IOC gave the decision-making power to the international federation with limited time and resources and it did not give it clear guidelines and did not require a minimum level of evidence which would demonstrate that the Russian athletes were clean, the IOC violated the Code. Another problem which goes hand in hand with the delegation of the responsibility to the international federations is a lack of coherence in how sanctions are used. Lastly, the state-sponsored doping violated the principle of clean sport, which is one of the main roles of the IOC (Cuffey 2018, 681 – 684), the IOC went “from its zero tolerance stance to the unprecedented level of criminality” (ibid. 682). Instead of giving an example to other countries not to participate in state-sponsored doping, the IOC permitted the Russian athletes to take part in the 2016 Olympic Games. This decision, of course, led many anti-doping organizations to the question when will a blanket ban be assigned?

3 British newspapers and online newspapers

The British people are the second most committed nation to reading newspapers in Europe, which demonstrates how important a role the newspapers play in the British society. Newspaper reading has been important for their cultural and political life, especially for its functions, such as provision of information and entertainment (Williams 2010, 1). When looking at the British newspapers in general, there is a basic division of the newspapers – broadsheets, such as The Guardian, The Telegraph and The Times, and tabloids, for instance The Sun, The Mirror and The Mail.

3.1 Broadsheets

Connell (1998, 16) states that the broadsheets news discourse should adopt the rationalist view of journalism, which means it should expose, explain and report about particular events. In other words, it should describe how things seem to be and try to explain them with “reference to the social forces and historically inherited structures that organize social affairs” (ibid.). Khalid and Ahmed (2014, 6) and Nasir (2013, 408) believe that the newspapers inform their readers about facts and events, not only about those of political striking but also about weather forecast, finances or science. The information provided by the newspapers enables the readers to create their own decisions and judgements in the society which is saturated with complex information. Nasir (2013, 409) adds that the newspapers bring the ordinary people closer to the state leaders and function as a watch-dog of the government without being judgmental in their reports, which is

seen as the strongest pillar of democracy. Khalid and Ahmed (2014, 7) state that except for the informative function, the newspapers should also provoke debate and entertain.

3.2 Tabloids

There are several features which characterize the tabloid news, such as the use of short articles and a large quantity of pictures, bold headings, entertaining rather than informative articles,, scandals and stories of famous people. The Sun is amongst the most successful ones (Williams 2010, 10). Other characteristics of the tabloids are screaming and bold headlines with a small amount of words used, bigger colourful pictures and less text. In order to fill the white space, the newspapers have integrated sections like sport, television and entertainment (ibid. 231). Trampota (2010, 15) adds that scandalisation is another typical feature of the tabloid newspapers and defines the term as the fact that boundaries between the public and private sphere are being destroyed. As a result of that the tabloid newspapers prefer writing about private life of celebrities, not about their professional achievements. Another typical feature of tabloid newspapers are: (1) format, (2) price, (3) social position of readers, (4) content, (5) objectivity and (6) news values (ibid. 18). The size of tabloids is usually smaller, more precisely the tabloids are half the size of a page of broadsheets (Collins and Tulloch 2000, 92). The price of tabloids is normally lower because it should assure the large volume of purchase (ibid. 122). The tabloid newspapers are generally bought and read by the readers of lower class (ibid. 29). The objectivity is disproved because of the strong political orientation of the tabloid newspapers which present themselves “as speaking for the common citizen and common sense” (Hallin and Mancini 2004, 211). The tabloid newspapers are usually seen in a negative way because they are believed

to contaminate the broadsheet newspaper (Connell 1998, 14), which may dumb down the content of the serious press (Williams 2010, 197). Another unfavourable feature of the tabloids is the fact that they emphasize the emotions and sympathy rather than providing information (ibid. 17). Trampota (2010, 15) suggests that reading tabloids makes the readers to become consumers instead of active participants of public life. The changing society and economic problems led to the fact that the broadsheets had to adapt to the then situation in order to save themselves (Williams 2010, 197 – 203). News underwent a process called tabloidization, which refers to the changes in their quality and the character of information they provide to their readers (Urribe and Gunter 2004, 388), which may negatively influence the relation of the newspapers to democracy or society (Trampota 2010, 15). Connell (1998, 12) defines tabloidisation as “a series of processes that are transforming supposedly rationalist discourses into sensationalist discourses” or in other words that a discourse which function was primarily reporting have been becoming more a narrative discourse. Sparks and Tulloch (2000, 10 – 11) provide another explanation of what tabloidisation is. Tabloidisation is “a form marked by two major features: it devotes relatively little attention to politics, economics, and society and relatively much to diversions like sports, scandal, and popular entertainment; it devotes relatively much attention to the personal and private lives of people, both celebrities and ordinary people, and relatively little to political processes, economic developments, and social changes” (ibid.). It is a change of priorities from news and information towards entertainment. Williams (2010, 10) claims that tabloidisation is “a euphemism for declining standards” in the newspaper discourse.

3.3 Online newspapers

The invention of the internet is regarded as one of the biggest innovations since the 1990s. The internet introduced to the world new concepts of entertainment and gaining information, including the production of news (Filistrucchi 2005, 1). The promotion of the World Wide Web around 1995 led to the increase in reading online newspapers (Boczkowski 2004, 4). At that time, the printed newspapers experienced more rivalry than ever before (Williams 2010, 221). The national newspapers started to launch their online editions in the 90s; however, the press effort to get online seemed to be slow. There was a lack of motivation to create an online edition as an alternate version of the printed newspapers. The only incentive which made the press get online was the public interest in modern technology. Indeed, most of the newspapers separated the online and printed versions from each other or viewed the online versions as secondary to their printed ones, for instance the front pages of the online and printed newspapers were the same with the difference, that the online versions prodded the readers to buy the printed version of the newspaper to get all the content (ibid. 239). It was the advertisement which became the biggest reversal concerning the development of online newspapers because there was a radical decline of advertisements in the printed newspapers as the online versions were preferred by the advertisers (ibid. 240). For example the Guardian in order to become the biggest and the most read news website ended its pre-eminence among the printed newspapers by publishing the articles first online and then in the printed versions (ibid. 239).

There are some specific features which can be assigned only to the online versions. The most typical feature of the electronic news is its interactivity and customization. The term interactivity is understood as the ability of the readers to use

tools which help them to control their experience with the web page and give feedback. The interactivity enables the communication of many-to-many in the setting which was traditionally aimed at one-to-many (Chung 2008¹ in Bokesoy 2008, 3). Navigation tools, forums, comments and various chat rooms are some of the most commonly used interactive components of online newspapers. These constituents which give voice to ordinary people and connect them with one another are a very empowering factor (Bokesoy, 2008, 3). The term customization is, in comparison to interactivity, which is aimed at user-to-user connection understood as a user-to-system communication (ibid.). The online newspapers also use significant amounts of opinion journalism, or in other words blogging. The online versions invite the readers to take part in online discussions, to vote in online polls and to react to particular content. The existence of blogs confirms the contemporary trend of moving from information to opinion, which distinguishes them from the traditional 18th century newspapers (Williams 2010, 240 – 241). It is typical for the online newspapers to create original articles for the online versions of the newspapers rather than copying the identical content of the printed editions (Filistrucchi 2005, 9).

The online versions offer a great amount of advantages when they are compared to the traditionally printed ones. The online news, even though it is often similar to that in the printed newspapers is usually fresher (Filistrucchi 2005, 2) and delivered to the readers very quickly (Flavián and Gurrea 2008, 27). Moreover, the online newspapers offer the possibility to go through additional content and services, such as discussion forums, weather forecasts for smaller regions, audio and video recordings, for which there is no place in the printed versions. Another indisputable

¹ Chung, D. S. (2008). "Interactive features of online newspapers: Identifying patterns and predicting use of engaged readers." *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 13 (3): 658-679.

privilege of the online newspapers is the simple process of subscription, even of the printed edition. Furthermore, the electronic news also attracts also the price-sensitive readers because of their low price or the readers from other countries for whom it can be impossible to get a paper copy (Filistrucchi 2005, 2 – 3). The online news also provides the opportunity to search in the archives of the particular newspapers (ibid. 10). The online newspapers provide the readers the option to choose the content they want to read, which is beneficial for the environment because: (1) the online newspapers are not printed on the paper; (2) the search on the internet is driven by specific aims of the readers, which limits the time the readers spend on the electronic device; and (3) the power used by the devices is made of renewable sources (Hischier and Reichart, 2003, 207).

However, there are some disadvantages of using online newspapers as well. The reading of online news can have a negative impact on the environment because the manufacturing of electronic devices has the same, or even worse, impact on the environment as the printed newspaper and the consumption of power can rise because of possible distractions from the intended aim (Hischier and Reichart 2003, 205). Bokesoy (2008, 3) sees the customization as a negative side of the online newspapers because it may isolate the readers rather than connect them. The possibility to filter the news divides the readers into several groups according to their interests, for example the group of those who are interested in politics and those who are not (Schoenbach 2007² in Bokesoy 2008, 3). Finally, the online versions lead to the decline of printed newspapers because the printed editions are less sold and less advertising is published there which is closely interwoven with the earnings (Filistrucchi 2005, 3).

² Schoenbach, K. (2007). "The own in the foreign: Reliable surprise an important function of the media?" *Media Culture & Society* 29(2): 344-353.

4 Electronic Analysis of Texts

Adolphs (2006, 1) claims that due to the progress in hardware and software of information technologies and due to the fact that computers are becoming more and more accessible to everybody, electronic text analysis has become very popular and widespread. Lindquist (2009, 1) defines corpus linguistics as “a methodology, comprising a large number of related methods which can be used by scholars of many different theoretical leanings”. In other words corpus linguistics is the study of language based on examples of real life language use (McEnery and Wilson 1996³ in Baker 2008, 1). Corpus linguistics employs rather quantitative methodology and electronically encoded texts for analysis which are called corpora. Corpora are “generally large representative samples of a particular type of naturally occurring language, so they can therefore be used as a standard reference with which claims about language can be measured” (Baker 2008, 1 – 2).

In comparison to the traditional language analysis, electronic analysis has a lot of indisputable advantages. The traditional language research is reliant on the use of the intuition of native speakers, so a high degree of researcher’s bias may be present in the analysis. For this reason electronic analysis is used because it reduces the bias of the researcher and the results can be checked by other researchers. Furthermore, the use of electronic analysis can identify aspects of the language (for instance word frequency and co-occurrence) which may stay hidden to intuitive inspection. Electronic analysis also enables the manipulation with the language data, which results in more accurate outcomes in a short period of time and allows the researchers to find patterns which are not founded on an intuitive basis, such as semantic concepts that

³ McEnery, A. and Wilson, A. (1996). *Corpus Linguistics*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

gather around individual words or whether a word has a positive or negative connotation. Electronic analysis for example offers a frequency list which provides an overview of the language data and further analysis can be based on this information (Adolphs 2006, 7 – 8). Baker (2008, 13) adds that electronic analysis can establish repeated patterns (e.g. grammatical patterns, collocations, bundles) which present common ways of viewing the world. However, the dominant advantages of electronic analysis over the traditional language research are speed and reliability (Lindquist 2009, 5).

Although electronic analysis has many advantages, there are still some limitations to its use. Even if electronic analysis relies less on the intuition, the researcher's personality is still visible. Since absolute objectivity is impossible and everybody looks at the world from a perspective, it is important that the researchers admit their involvement in their research (Baker 2008, 10). Electronic analysis can deal only with texts, other representations, for example visual and audio elements or hypertext links, cannot be analyzed with electronic analysis even though they contribute to the meaning of the texts (Baker 2008, 19, Adolphs 2006, 8).

Another limitation of electronic analysis lies in the corpus which the researcher has chosen. All the findings have to be assessed in relation to the language data which have been chosen. It means that if a phrase does not occur in the corpus, it does not mean that it is not used in the language in general but it only points to the particular corpus (Adolphs 2006, 8).

4.1 Basic Information about the Text

There are a lot of software programmes which enable the analysis of texts. They are also able listing of basic information about the analysed text, such as average length of sentences or words and number of lexical or grammatical words. The information may be expressed in terms of ratio, for example the ratio between lexical and grammatical words, also known as lexical density, and this tells us how informative a text is. However, the ratio between types and tokens is more commonly used. The term types is used to describe different words in the text while the term tokens refers to the total number of words which are used in the text. The type-token ratio is calculated by dividing the number of types by the number of tokens in the text and multiplying it by hundred. The resulting number provides the information about variation of the text: the higher the type-token ratio is, the more varied the text is. This information is very useful when researchers assess the complexity of the text, for instance when texts which are written for different types of recipients are compared (Adolphs 2006, 39 – 40).

4.2 Word Lists

World lists are another important part of electronic analysis because they provide an important look into the use of the language. World lists consist of a number of words which are used in particular texts (Scott and Tribble 2006, 27). The world list can be organised in alphabetical order or on the basis of frequency order. Frequency is a very important aspect of electronic analysis because the frequency lists provide the information about the words which are most common in the particular texts. The lists show the frequency or how often a word occurs in the texts. Since these lists are

generated by computer programmes, it ensures that they are very objective, which is one of the advantages of electronic analysis (Biber et al. 2004, 28 – 29). Fischer-Starcke (2010, 57) adds that the word lists typically consist of function words (cf. Chapter 4.3.3).

4.3 Key Words

There are various definitions of key words. Key words can be defined as “words which are important in some way, either in individual texts or in a given culture” (Stubbs 2010, 21). Culpeper (2009, 3) defines key words as the words which are statistically characteristic of a particular text or they are statistically significant lexical items. Key words are based on relative frequency, which means that in order to get the keywords the frequency information of a particular corpus has to be compared with a reference corpus.

4.3.1 Proper nouns

There are typically three kinds of key words: proper nouns, content words and function (grammatical) words (Scott, 1998; Scott and Tribble, 2006; Mahlberg, 2007). Scott and Tribble (2006, 72) claim that proper nouns and nouns in general form almost 70% of the key words because of their uniqueness in the world. If proper nouns were often replaced by pronouns, it would probably lead to ambiguity (ibid. 70). Since proper nouns stand for a particular person, place or thing, Chovanec (2000) uses the term ‘proper names’ when talking about people.

Chovanec (2000, 221) mentions two methods of identification of news actors. People are referred to either with their social role or they are personalized and referred to with their proper names. The use of names presents the news actors as unique individuals while reference by social role marks them as certain types and stereotypes come to the foreground. Brown and Gilman (1960, 258) emphasize that proper names are used as linguistic expressions of solidarity.

Fischer-Starcke (2010, 95) considers proper nouns as irrelevant for analysis of texts because it is improbable that proper nouns can be evenly found in the two sets of the data. Similarly, Scott (1998, 71) states that proper nouns are not relevant for the analysis of the text because the software programmes may identify them as key words even though they are not related to the main topic of the text. However, as this thesis aims to analyse how Russian sports people are presented in the newspaper discourse, proper nouns proper names respectively are analysed in detail in the practical section.

4.3.2 Content Words

Richards et al. (1985, 61⁴ in Scott and Tribble 2006, 96) describes content words as those which pertain to “a thing, quality, state or action and which have meaning when the words are used alone.” This group usually consists of nouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs (Lipka 1992, 133). Scott (1998, 71) claims that content words are easily recognized by the readers and they provide good information about the aboutness of the text. Culpeper (2009, 36) illustrates how content words function as key words in Shakespeare’s play

⁴ Richards, Jack C., John T. Platt, and Heidi Weber. 1985. *Longman Dictionary of Applied Linguistics*. London: Longman.

Romeo and Juliet. The most important key words of Romeo's speech are *love* and *beauty*, from which the readers could guess what Romeo is talking about.

4.3.3 Function Words

Lipka (1992, 45 – 46) describes function (grammatical) words as words which “have grammatical function rather than lexical content”. Closed classes, such as prepositions, pronouns, determiners, conjunction and auxiliary verbs, are usually categorized among the function words (ibid. 133). Scott (1998, 71 – 72) adds that the function words are not usually identified by the readers as key words because they do not normally reveal the aboutness of the text; however, they may help the researchers with identification of the style of the text and he emphasizes that they should scrutinize the reasons why these words occur so frequently in the text.

Culpeper (2009, 36) claims that even function words may be important key words and gives an example from Shakespeare's Romeo and Juliet. Function words *if*, *be*, *yet* and *would* are commonly used in Juliet's speech and they refer to a particular grammatical style which direct at the Juliet's “state of anxiety for much of the play” (ibid. 36).

4.4 Multi-Word Expressions

As was mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the aim of this thesis is to analyse how Russian athletes are presented in newspaper discourse, therefore it is important to identify cluster/bundles or collocates that appear in the vicinity of the sports people's names. These (clusters/bundles or collocates) then can provide us with relevant information on how these sports people are presented and whether the co-occurring words (content or grammatical) add positive or negative load.

4.4.1 Collocations

Collocations are defined as “the relationships that a lexical item has with items that appear with greater than random probability in its textual context” (Hoey 1991⁵, in Hyland 2008, 5 – 6). Crystal (2003, 162) explains that there have to be reciprocal expectations between the items or in other words that lexical items which are used in the collocation need to be to some extent foreseeable, for instance all native speakers say *monumental ignorance* and not *monumental brilliance*. This shows that “one item ‘calls up’ another in the mind of the native speakers” (ibid. 162). Brezina et al. (2015, 140) revise the traditional criteria for identifying collocations. They are distance, frequency and exclusivity. The distance is specified by the so called “collocation window” which is usually set as one to five words on each side of the node⁶. Then frequency is “an important indicator of the typicality of a word association” (ibid.). Yet, Brezina et al. (2015) use the example of *love*, where *love* frequently appears with the preposition *in*, therefore *in love* can be considered as an important lexical item in

⁵ Hoey, M. (1991). *Patterns of lexis in text*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

⁶ Node is seen here as the analyzed/researched item.

the English language; however, the preposition *in* also frequently appears in the collocation window in front of other nouns, such as *school*, or *case*; therefore the relationship between *love* and *in* is not so exclusive. On the other hand, the relationship between *love* and *affair* is very exclusive as the probability of these two items appearing together is very high. It is obvious that each researcher can view a collocation differently, based on different criteria. This paper views a collocation as a set of words which frequently appear together, are within the 5-word span and have strong log-dice ratio⁷.

4.4.2 Clusters

There is another group of multi-word expressions which Hyland (2008, 5) calls multi-word units clusters. Clusters can be defined as “words which follow each other more frequently than expected by chance”. Adolphs (2006, 42) refers to these units as recurrent continuous sequences and emphasizes that some words tend to co-occur intentionally. Lists of clusters can help researchers to define especially different types of language. As an example of different types of language Hyland (2008, 5) presents collocations like *as can be seen* or *as a result of* which indicate that the text is probably a piece of academic writing. However, expressions like *in pursuance of* or *in accordance with* mark the text as a legal one.

⁷ Log dice ratio is further explained in section 5.2.

5 Research

5.1 Methodology

5.1.1 Material

The aim of the thesis is to establish how Russian sports people are portrayed in selected British online newspaper articles in connection with doping and specifically the Rio Olympic Games, 2016. The analysis itself mainly builds on the list of key and frequent words, which were further thoroughly analysed in terms of their collocations and semantic load. To be able to create frequent and key word lists, a focus corpus had to be designed.

First of all, it was decided that the focus corpus would be named DOPING and would be made up of articles from broadsheet and tabloid newspapers. Articles from the Guardian and the Telegraph representing the broadsheets, and the Sun and the Mirror representing the tabloids. The lexical expressions which were used to identify the suitable articles were: *Russia, Russian, athletes, Olympic Games, Rio, and doping*. Secondly, the retrieved articles were checked for their suitability so that a representative collection of text could be built. In total 166 articles were selected. 105 from the broadsheets and 61 from the tabloids. A more detailed description of the DOPING corpus is displayed in Table 1. In addition, the list of the articles can be found in Appendix 2.

Table 1: Numeral description of the focus corpus DOPING

	Articles No	Tokens No
Tabloids	61	27964
Broadsheets	105	85936
Total	166	113900

As this thesis deals with the analysis of frequent and key words, it was necessary to decide which corpus would serve as the reference corpus, which would be used in turn to generate the key word list. Initially, it was decided to compile a corpus with the help of Sketch Engine. The web search option was used; the phrases/lexical items which were searched for were identical with those used in the focus corpus. The difference in these two corpora was displayed in the number of tokens and the newspapers used. The number of newspapers used was to be much higher than in the DOPING corpus. However, during an initial analysis it was observed that the reference corpus could not be used as it was too similar to the DOPING corpus. Therefore, it was decided to use English Web 2013 as the reference corpus as it contains billions of words of general English, and it is offered by Sketch Engine. The description of English Web 2013 is displayed in Table 2.

Table 2: Numeral description of reference corpus English Web 2013

Domains	Tokens No
Australian domain .au	411 683 298
Canadian domain .ca	359 525 503
UK domain .uk	1 182 251 470
US domain .us	164 190 640
Wikipedia	2 194 535
Total	2 119 845 446

5.2 Method

The main method used for the research of this thesis is a key word analysis. The software programme Sketch Engine (SE), which is available online and free for academic members, is used for the analysis of the key words, which are statistically characteristic of a text (for more information see Chapter 4.3 Key words), and enable us to compare the corpora.

The most frequently used tools for the analysis are the Word List tool, which displays the most frequent words of the DOPING corpus, and the Keywords tool, which generates key words through the use of keyness⁸ score. Other tools which are used for further examination of both, frequent words and key words, are Concordance (KWIC), Word Sketch, Collocation, and Visualization. In addition to the use of the visualisation tool in SE, the GraphColl tool⁹ from LancsBox software was utilised. The strength of the collocations of the key words and frequent words were defined by LogDice¹⁰.

Firstly, I used the Word List tool to generate the most frequent words in the DOPING corpus and analysed them through the use of the Concordance, Word Sketch, Collocation, and Visualization tools. These steps provided me with further information about the most frequent words in the DOPING corpus.

Secondly, I used the Keywords tool which generated the key words of the DOPING corpus. The Keywords tool calculated the keyness of the key words by using

⁸ Keyness is a measuring tool which enables us to compare two corpora of different size by taking into account the relative size of both corpora and the relative frequency of all words (Baker 2008, 125).

⁹ Brezina, V., Weill-Tessier, P., & McEnery, A. (2020). #LancsBox v. 5.x. [software]. Available at: <http://corpora.lancs.ac.uk/lancsbox>.

¹⁰ LogDice is a statistic measure which identifies collocations by expressing their typicality. It is based on the frequency of a central word in a collocation. As LogDice is not affected by the size of corpora, it can be used to compare keyness between different corpora (Sketchengine: Logdice)

simple maths¹¹, which is set as a default measure in SE. The top 100 key words which were sorted by the score of keyness were further manually analysed, more precisely their tendency to co-occur with other words. This was done with the help of the Concordance, Collocation, Word Sketch, and Visualization tools.

As the Collocation tool is used to provide information about other words which tend to co-occur with particular words, I frequently use the expressions *collocation* or *collocate* to indicate that these words typically occur together even though I am aware of the fact that these words are not collocations in the true sense. Finally, conclusions were drawn based on the information which was gathered throughout the analysis.

¹¹ Simple maths is a method which is used for the identification of keywords of one corpus in comparison with another. Its variable allows the users to focus either on high or low frequency words. A higher value of simple maths marks higher-frequency words, whereas a lower value of simple maths stands for more rare words. (Sketchengine: simple math)

5.3 Analysis

5.3.1 Frequent Words

This part of the thesis analyses the most frequent words in the DOPING corpus (see Table 3) and compares these to the reference corpus English Web 2013 shown later in the chapter.

Table 3: List of 20 most frequent words in the DOPING

Rank	Item	Frequency	Rank	Item	Frequency
1	the	7,889	11	it	1,017
2	to	3,540	12	athletes	1,013
3	of	3,158	13	on	1,002
4	and	2,451	14	be	896
5	in	2,280	15	from	847
6	a	2,149	16	doping	8,24
7	that	1,386	17	was	765
8	Russian	1,243	18	have	721
9	for	1,150	19	by	719
10	is	1,086	20	Russia	719

The list in Table 3 is not significantly revealing as it mainly contains grammatical words such as determiners (*the, a*), prepositions (*in, for*), conjunctions (*and*) and pronouns (*it*), which are very typical features of a frequency list (Adolphs, 2006, 41, Baker 2006, 53). However, the list also includes some lexical words. There are four lexical words which deserve our attention as they define the DOPING corpus. The words are *Russian, athletes, doping, and Russia*. It is not surprising that these lexical items appeared in the list as the corpus itself was created by finding articles consisting of these lexical items. These lexical expressions help us identify how the Russian sports men and women are presented in the newspaper discourse.

According to the wordlist in SE, the lexical item *Russian* occurs in the corpus 1 243 times. It mainly functions as a modifier of the noun *athlete* (ex. 1), and it further co-occurs with the nouns *ban* (ex. 2) and *doping* (ex.3), see Figure 1.

1 ...whether all **Russian athletes** should be banned...; ...hundreds of positive tests by **Russian athletes** ... were covered up by the Moscow anti-doping laboratory...; ...damning findings that suggest **Russian** officials and **athletes** went to great lengths to avoid cooperation...

2 ...a collective **ban** of **Russian** athletes from the Rio 2016 Olympics...; ...upholds Rio Olympics **ban** on 68 **Russian** athletes; ...impose a blanket **ban** on the **Russian** team competing...

3 ...the former head of the **Russian doping** lab who fled to the United States...; ...found systematic **doping** by **Russian** competitors at the London Olympics and elsewhere...; ...detailed widespread, state-sponsored **doping** in **Russian** track and field.

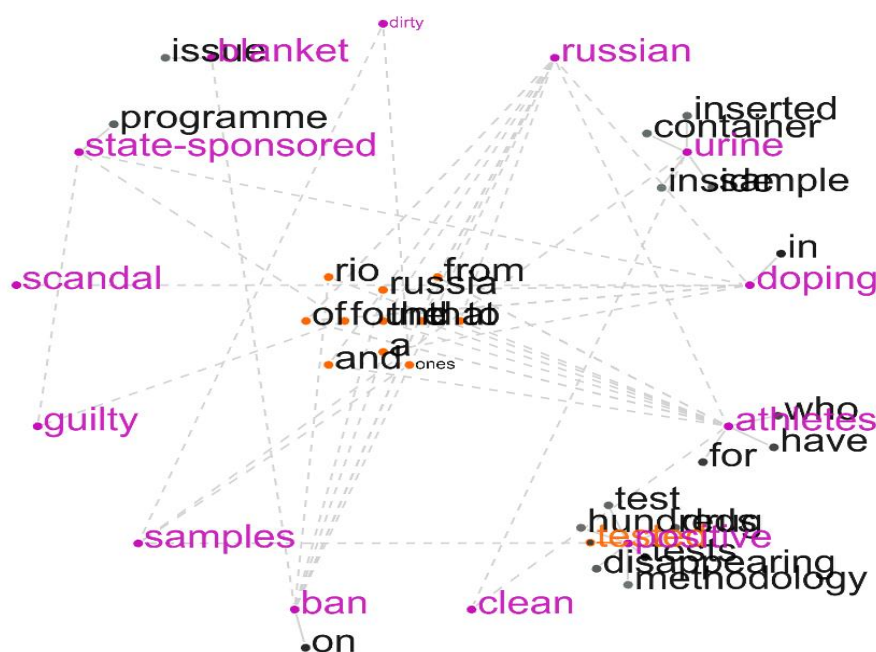


Figure 1: Collocation network of “Russian”

The noun phrase *Russian athletes*¹² occurs in the corpus 298 times (which represents almost 24 per cent of all the collocations with *Russian*). When further analysed, this generic expression often appears with determiners in the form of

¹² It is 7th 2 word N-gram in the corpus, after of the, in the, to the, at the, the IOC, the Russian.

quantifiers such as *a number of*, *handful of*, *dozens of*, and e.g. numeral expressions such as *more than 10*, *100*, *250-plus*, these numerals mainly indicate the number of Russian sportspeople who have been banned from the Olympic games or who have been given a “cocktail of drugs” (ex. 4). On the other hand, there are also a few occurrences, when the numerals help to identify ‘clean’ Russian sportspeople. The noun phrase *clean athletes* is used to emphasise that not all the Russian athletes were involved in the proclaimed state-sponsored doping (ex. 5). Moreover, the noun *athlete* co-occurs the adjective *neutral* which refers to the fact that the *clean athletes* were allowed to participate in the Olympics but not as the representatives of Russia (ex. 6).

4 ...over 100 **Russian athletes** were banned from competing...;... **more than 1000 Russian athletes** benefited from the biggest doping scandal...; ...he helped **dozens of Russians athletes** with...; ...a **small number of Russian athletes**...

5 need to protect **clean athletes** from a country where state-sponsored doping...; ...thing all **clean athletes** have in common is...; ...opportunity for the **clean athletes** to compete in Rio de Janeiro...

6 ...not for Russia but as a **neutral athlete**...; ...as an independent **neutral athlete**...; ...a so-called "**neutral athlete**" not representing a particular country...

Doping is another lexical item *Russian* strongly collocates with (8 per cent of all the *Russian* collocations). The word itself collocates with the expressions *state-sponsored* and *scandal*, cf. Figure 1, which displays the whole collocation network of the lexical item *Russian*. Based on the observation of these strong collocations, it could be presumed that when the adjective *Russian* appears in this given corpus, it is embedded there to pursue negative connotation.

The lexical item *Russia* can be found 719 times in the corpus and it makes strong collocations with the lemma *ban* (ex. 7), moreover, lemmata such as *allegation*, *sanction* and an adjective predicative *guilty* (e.g. found Russia guilty) can be found in the close vicinity. All these lexical items semantically fall into the category of law/justice/permission. Similarly to the lexical item *Russian*, *Russia* collocates with

doping (ex. 8). The example shows that *Russia* and *Russian* are embedded in the discourse in a similar way, prevailing they convey negative meaning. The lemma *suspend* (ex. 9) which shows the negative consequences of the state-sponsored doping for Russia also signalizes that the Russian athletes are viewed in a negative way as the verb *suspend*¹³ can be typically found in phrases regarding crime and punishment.

7 ...final verdict on possible **Russia ban** for Rio 2016...; ...more legal advice before deciding whether to **ban Russia** from Rio...

8 ...states-sponsored **doping** in **Russia**; ...state-backed **doping** in **Russia**; ...systematic widespread of **doping** in **Russia**; ... **Russia doping** scandal...

9 The International Association of Athletics Federations voted to **suspend Russia** in the wake of the verdict...; **Russia** was **suspended** by the...; ... **suspended Russia** in November following an investigation...

After the analysis of the most frequent words in the DOPING corpus, I decided to generate a list of the most frequent words in the reference corpus (cf. Table 4) to compare it with the focus frequency word list. The list mostly consists of grammatical words which are a very common feature of the general language (Scott and Tribble 2006, 15). When comparing the reference corpus with the DOPING corpus, the DOPING corpus includes besides other things a few lexical words which already specify the topic of the corpus, such as *Russian*, *athletes*, *doping* and *Russia*. On the other hand, the top 20 most frequent words of the reference corpus include personal pronouns I and you which the DOPING corpus does not, and this could suggest, that the articles in the DOPING corpus, do not incorporate phrases where the athletes speak for themselves, presumably only articles which report about them, and their actions.

¹³ <https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/suspend?q=suspend>

Table 4: List of 20 most frequent words of the reference corpus

Rank	Item	Frequency	Rank	Item	Frequency
1	the	1,086,322,084	11	you	182,453,085
2	and	570,238,088	12	it	178,836,372
3	to	567,125,659	13	with	156,119,520
4	of	520,616,100	14	on	144,467,343
5	a	450,818,768	15	as	131,550,003
6	in	347,194,633	16	are	127,182,849
7	is	248,380,169	17	be	121,334,041
8	that	224,519,835	18	this	118,313,376
9	for	208,388,402	19	was	101,276,933
10	i	182,655,261	20	have	98,995,039

5.3.2 Key Words

The key word list in Table 5 offers a better opportunity to observe the lexical words which are worth a further examination because it provides saliency in comparison to the frequency list which presents only the frequency (Baker 2008, 125).

Table 5: Top 100 key words of the DOPING corpus

Rank	Item	Keyness	Rank	Item	Keyness
1	IAAF	2376.150	51	Games	129.520
2	IOC	2236.330	52	Tygart	119.480
3	Wada	2006.900	53	Paralympics	119.340
4	dope	1552.150	54	Doping	116.510
5	Mutko	896.990	55	Rusada	116.390
6	Stepanova	682.550	56	Sharapova	113.920
7	McLaren	514.770	57	Lamine	113.200
8	Rio	485.680	58	Nagornykh	108.820
9	Vitaly	485.500	59	cheating	107.430
10	Sochi	477.090	60	scandal	96.920
11	Rodchenkov	455.530	61	Lausanne	96.910
12	athletics	417.190	62	Fifa	95.910
13	Coe	414.460	63	weightlifter	95.320
14	Isinbayeva	410.530	64	ARAF	93.190
15	Federations	405.650	65	vaulter	92.350
16	federation	397.660	66	Seb	91.560
17	Efimova	358.680	67	Mariya	87.940
18	Olympics	332.550	68	provisionally	86.550

19	Klishina	330.320	69	Massata	85.750
20	Reedie	319.880	70	Lobintsev	85.610
21	Yuliya	310.530	71	Araf	85.160
22	Athletics	299.430	72	Sport	83.830
23	athlete	299.180	73	medal	83.820
24	Bach	287.500	74	Dmitry	82.460
25	Diack	281.120	75	Moscow	80.910
26	Russian	277.130	76	Tass	80.430
27	Yelena	254.080	77	implicate	80.420
28	Putin	244.490	78	allegation	80.080
29	Olympic	242.170	79	Morozov	79.420
30	Russia	234.230	80	IWF	79.230
31	Grigory	220.370	81	judo	78.080
32	Cas	217.980	82	Sozykin	78.050
33	Ukad	216.690	83	Hovorov	78.050
34	Pound	209.660	84	Poistogova	78.000
35	Yulia	200.980	85	Zabelinskaya	77.970
36	Arbitration	199.560	86	Pengilly	77.430
37	meldonium	193.620	87	Fina	77.290
38	Vladimir	178.310	88	Weightlifting	76.930
39	medallist	175.150	89	Gatlin	73.570
40	weightlifting	161.560	90	Sayers	72.880
41	Zhukov	159.010	91	Andersen	71.840
42	Darya	157.010	92	VTB	71.760
43	Peskov	150.820	93	Coates	69.130
44	ban	149.720	94	breaststroke	68.490
45	Russians	146.320	95	compete	67.440
46	doper	143.890	96	complicit	67.370
47	whistleblower	143.090	97	ROC	66.100
48	Paralympic	135.970	98	Federation	65.560
49	Kremlin	134.040	99	Judo	65.430
50	FSB	132.210	100	Sailing	65.410

The first hundred key words were generated by the comparison of the DOPING corpus (focus corpus) with the reference corpus (English WEB 2013 (enTenTen13)) by using the simple maths method, which is set as default in Sketch Engine. According to Chapter 4.3, the key words will be divided into two basic categories: proper nouns and lexical words. As grammatical words do not appear among the top 100 key words, this category will not be described.

5.3.2.1 Analysis of Proper Nouns

As mentioned in Chapter 4.3.1, it is very likely that proper nouns will appear in a key word list and, in the case of this analysis, the names of athletes, organizations and places are repeated to a great extent in the DOPING corpus. At the same time, it is improbable that the same proper nouns occur in the reference corpus. Generally proper nouns are not considered relevant for the analysis of a text because the software programme can identify them easily as key words despite the fact that they are not linked to the main topic of the text (Scott 1998, 71). However, the proper nouns are of high importance for this analysis because they refer to the Russian athletes, and other people and organizations that play important roles in the analysed articles. Therefore, it is necessary to look at them in more detail. In order to maintain the clarity, all the proper nouns which were found among the top 100 key words in the key word list were divided into a separate table (see Table 6). When looking at the table, it can be observed that there is a high number of proper nouns (64% of the key words) among the key words.

Table 6: Proper nouns within the top 100 key words ordered by keyness

Item	Keyness	Item	Keyness
IAAF	2376.150	FSB	132.210
IOC	2236.330	Tygart	119.480
Wada	2006.900	Paralympics	119.340
Mutko	896.990	Rusada	116.390
Stepanova	682.550	Sharapova	113.920
McLaren	514.770	Lamine	113.200
Rio	485.680	Nagornykh	108.820
Vitaly	485.500	Lausanne	96.910
Sochi	477.090	Fifa	95.910
Rodchenkov	455.530	ARAF	93.190
Coe	414.460	Seb	91.560
Isinbayeva	410.530	Mariya	87.940
Efimova	358.680	Massata	85.750
Olympics	332.550	Lobintsev	85.610
Klishina	330.320	Araf	85.160
Reedie	319.880	Dmitry	82.460
Yuliya	310.530	Moscow	80.910
Bach	287.500	Tass	80.430
Diack	281.120	Morozov	79.420
Yelena	254.080	IWF	79.230
Putin	244.490	Sozykin	78.050
Russia	234.230	Hovorov	78.050
Grigory	220.370	Poistogova	78.000
Cas	217.980	Zabelinskaya	77.970
Ukad	216.690	Pengilly	77.430
Pound	209.660	Fina	77.290
Yulia	200.980	Gatlin	73.570
Vladimir	178.310	Sayers	72.880
Zhukov	159.010	Andersen	71.840
Darya	157.010	VTB	71.760
Peskov	150.820	Coates	69.130
Kremlin	134.040	ROC	66.100

The proper nouns identified by the software were first manually divided into four categories. Table 7 displays the categories with their relevant items. It is clear that Russian athletes' names form the biggest group, followed by non-Russian representatives' names, Russian sports representatives' names, and the category of Acronyms, which mainly consists of acronyms of organisations. In order to distinguish the names of human beings from the rest of the proper nouns, Chovanec (2000) uses

the term “proper names” when referring to people and suggests that the use of proper names in the news represents the individuals who have achieved an elite status (ibid. 264).

Table 7: Sorting of proper nouns in the key word list

Russian athletes	Representatives of Russian sport	Non-Russian representatives	Acronyms
Stepanova, Isinbayeva, Efimova, Klishina, Yuliya, Yelena, Yulia, Darya, Sharapova, Mariya, Lobintsev, Morozov, Sozykin, Hovorov, Poistogova, Zabelinskaya	Mutko, Vitaly, Rodchenkov, Putin, Grigory, Vladimir, Zhukov, Peskov, Nagornykh, Dmitry,	McLaren, Coe, Reddie, Bach, Diack, Pound, Tygart, Lamine, Fifa, Seb, Massata, Pengilly, , Gatlin, Sayers, Andersen, Coates	RUSADA, ARAF TASS, VTB, ROC IAAF, IOC, WADA, CAS, UKAD, IWF, FINA

Firstly, the surname *Stepanova* deserves our attention not only because it has the highest keyness of all the proper names of Russian athletes but also for its strong bond with the lexical item *whistleblower* (ex. 10). The Oxford Learner’s Dictionaries¹⁴ state that it typically appears in newspaper discourse semantically construing the meaning of crime and punishment. Notably, when searched for in BNC¹⁵, it was observed that it appears only 0.07 per mil, while in the DOPING corpus the normalised frequency is 385.24 per mil. Therefore, it can be concluded that this word plays an important role in the focus corpus, *whistleblower* is not only used as a premodifier but also as a postmodifier (ex 11). The newspapers might try to establish a negative perception of the sportswoman. Figure 2 visualises the most important collocates of the surname *Stepanova*.

¹⁴ <https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/whistle-blower?q=whistleblower>

¹⁵ British National Corpus

10 ...not allowed Russian **whistleblower Yulia Stepanova** to run as an independent athlete...;

11 ...**Yulia Stepanova**, the **whistleblower** whose allegations about cheating...

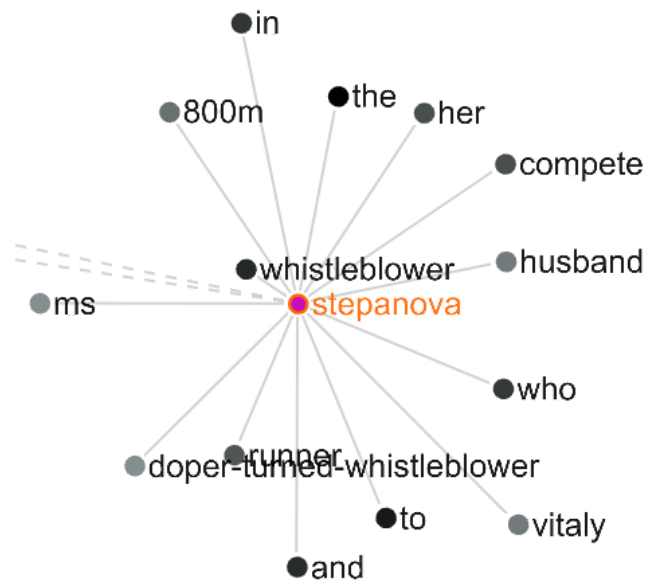


Figure 2: Collocation network of "Stepanova"

A different approach is applied to *Yelena Isinbayeva*, her full name is mainly premodified by the phrase *double Olympic pole vault champion*, presumably to state how important this sportswoman is in the Russian sport. Her sporting achievements are publically emphasised, cf. Figure 3.

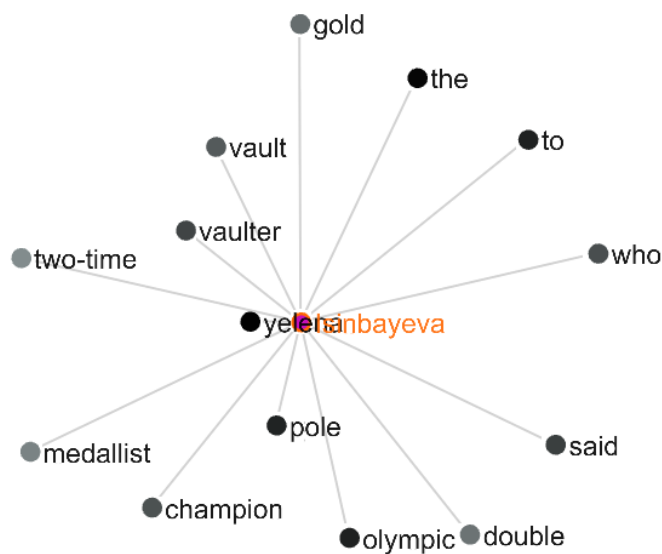


Figure 3: Collocation network of "Isinbayeva"

The full name *Yulia Efimova*, is mainly premodified by her sporting specialisation – *swimmer*, in order to be easily identified by the readers (cf. Figure 4).

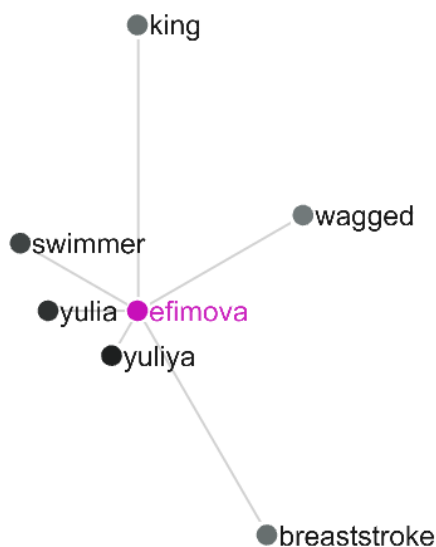


Figure 4: Collocation network of "Efimova"

The individual manual examination of the athletes' names showed that the newspaper articles tend to represent the athletes with their full names which are premodified by the event they compete in, their achievements and /or both of the them and achievements, (ex. 12).

12 ...included the whereabouts of **Yuliya Stepanova** , the **whistleblower** who blew the lid...; ...**gold-medallist** pole vaulter **Yelena Isinbayeva** has been representing...; ...**Nikita Lobintsev** and **Vladimir Morozov** , the first two athletes to take their cases...

The analysis also revealed that the names of all the Russian athletes have a lot in common. Even though the names collocate with nouns that describe them as successful athletes, such as *champion*, *medallist*, *superstar* or *ace* (ex. 13), on the contrary there is also a large number of verbs, for instance *dope*, *accuse*, *suspend*,

disqualify or *ban* that co-occur with the lexical expression Russian athletes, especially those who had broken the law (ex. 14).

13 Tennis **superstar Maria Sharapova** is also waiting to hear...; ...Olympic pole vault **champion Yelena Isinbayeva**, who was present...; ...Olympic **champion Mariya Savinova** and the **bronze medalist Ekaterina Poistogova**...

14 Last week **Klishina** was **suspended** by...; ...despite **failing** her **test**, **Sharapova** could still be selected...; ...relevant tribunal may **disqualify** Mr **Sozykin** from any results obtained...

The articles do not only describe the sportsmen but also the representatives of the Russian sport (cf. Table 7), and among them is the surname *Mutko*, which is the top key word in the category of representatives of Russia appearing regularly in the DOPING corpus. When examining its collocations, it can be observed that *Mutko* co-occurs frequently with *sports* and *minister* (ex.15), which refer to his job position. *Mutko* also collocates with nouns, such as *suspension* and *verdict* (ex. 16), and the verb *accuse* (which suggests that he might be guilty of something), which are semantically linked to crime, law and punishment (ex. 14).

15 ...Russian **Sports Minister Vitaly Mutko** said the suspension was...; ...Russia's **Sports Minister Vitaly Mutko** said on Monday...; ...the **Sports Minister Vladimir Mutko** told Russian television...

16 Russian **Sports Minister Vitaly Mutko** has slammed Russia's **suspension** from...; ...Refusing to accept the CAS **verdict**, **Vitaly Mutko**, Russia's **sports minister**, said the athletes...

What is more interesting is the fact that these collocations show how *Mutko* is presented by the newspapers. The combination of the title Sports Minister and words connected with crime and punishment emphasize the seriousness of the situation around the state-sponsored doping scandal.

Another person that is very notable is Mr. *Rodchenkov* (cf. Chapter 2.1). Figure 5 shows that the surname *Rodchenkov* is frequently premodified by the honorific *Dr*,

which points to his academic achievements and his high status (ex. 17). Moreover, the collocations with *laboratory* and *director* introduce his important role in the Russian doping affair. The strong collocate *former* suggests that *Rodchenkov* resigned from his function. All these collocations accompanying the name *Rodchenkov* aim to emphasize how important in the stated doping he was (ex. 18).

17 ... **Dr Rodchenkov** resigned his post and fled...; ...**Dr Rodchenkov** was awarded the prestigious...; ...**Dr Grigory Rodchenkov** , who was at the centre of the scandal...

18 ...allegations by **Dr Grigory Rodchenkov** , the **former** head of Russia's national anti-doping **laboratory**...; ...the anti-doping **lab director Grigory Rodchenkov**, who resigned on Wednesday...; ...with the **former director** of Moscow's anti-doping **laboratory** , **Grigory Rodchenkov** , in which he described an elaborate plan...

Rodchenkov was frequently associated with the lemma *allege* which refers to doing something illegal¹⁶ (ex. 19). Since *Rodchenkov* used to be the head of the anti-doping laboratory, the item *allege* presents that he was also responsible for state-sponsored doping in Russia.

19 ...Kamaev and the director of the Moscow anti-doping laboratory **Grigory Rodchenkov** are **alleged** to have asked...; response to the **allegations** by **Dr Grigory Rodchenkov** , the former head...

When comparing the two representatives of Russian sport, it can be stated that both *Mutko* and *Rodchenkov* tend to co-occur with their titles in order to highlight that they are even more involved in the state-sponsored doping because of their high position (cf. Chapter 2.1). Both names collocate with lexical items from the semantic group of crime and punishment, for example *deny*, *suspend* or *allege*, which creates a stereotype viewing *Mutko* and *Rodchenkov* as people who have allegedly gotten involved in crime.

¹⁶ <https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/allegation?q=allegation>

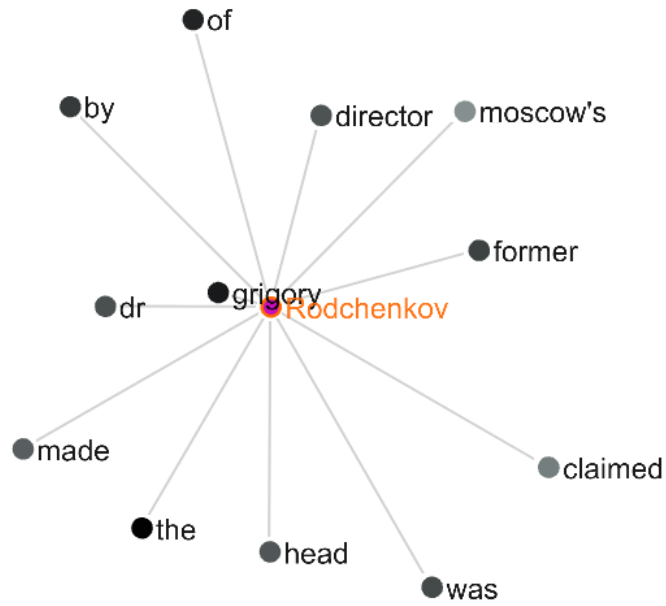


Figure 5: Collocation network of "Rodchenkov"

When looking at the proper names as a group, a pattern can be observed. The proper names are usually premodified by other nouns and adjectives (for example the anti-doping lab director Grigory Rodchenkov, Sports Minister Vitaly Mutko, pole vaulter Yelena Isinbayeva) as there is a need to make the actors in the news recognizable to the readers (Bednarek 2017, 83). Chovanec (2000, 221) adds that the reason why proper names commonly appear in the texts is personalization, or more precisely individualization. It means that the people are treated as unique individuals. Moreover, proper names help the authors of the texts to express solidarity (Brown and Gilman 1960, 258), contact and affect, which is called the politics of address by Poynton (1989, 80¹⁷, in Chovanec 2000, 224). Sometimes the surnames are accompanied by the first names which are embedded to evoke the emotional identification with the news actors (Van Dijk 1988, 130). As the proper names are

¹⁷ Poynton, Cate, 1989. *Language and Gender: Making the Difference*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

usually preceded by other nouns, such as pole vaulter, whistleblower or laboratory director, it can be assumed that these nouns are used in order to emphasize the social role of the particular person, so a tendency of transition from the individualization to generalization and categorization can be observed (Chovanec 2000, 221 – 222).

Up until this point, the analysis has been aimed at the Russian athletes and the representatives of Russian sport. As Table 7 presents, there is also a large number of representatives who are not of the Russian origin. For example the surname *McLaren* can attract our attention for various reasons. Figure 6 shows which words *McLaren* mostly co-occurs with. *McLaren* tends to appear with the first name *Richard* (ex. 20), which shows the effort of the news writers to define this person as an individual, as mentioned in the previous paragraph, abbreviation Dr and nouns such as *professor* and *lawyer* help to present McLaren as a protagonist and a respectable person as these occupations tend to be perceived positively by the public (ex. 21). Moreover, the latter can be supported by verbs such as *reveal*, *confirm*, *name* and *describe* which indicate that McLaren was the person who revealed the truth about the Russian attitude to doping (ex. 22). *McLaren* also co-occurs with the noun *report* which confirms the already stated idea that McLaren was responsible for the Russian state-sponsored doping going public as Chapter 2.1 describes (ex. 23).

20 ...publication of the doping report by Canadian law professor **Richard McLaren**...; ...confirmed professor **Richard McLaren** would continue...; ...lead investigator **Richard McLaren** said his report...; ... report by Dr **Richard McLaren** for the World Anti-Doping Agency...

21 ...**professor** Richard **McLaren** is presented on Monday...; ... denying **Dr** Richard **McLaren**'s conclusion...; ...sports **lawyer** Richard **McLaren**'s 97-page report...

22 ...which McLaren revealed were "sabotaged"...; ...law professor Richard **McLaren confirms** all the shocking allegations...; ... individuals **named** by **McLaren** in his report...; ... regime that **McLaren described** as "a cover-up..."

23 ...against Russia following the **McLaren report**...; ...second **McLaren report** published earlier...; ...second **McLaren report** published earlier...

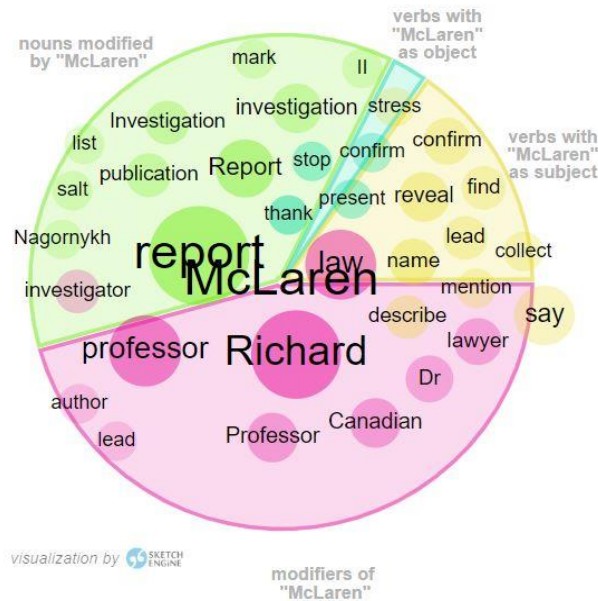


Figure 6: Visualization of “McLaren” collocates

Another important non-Russian representative that appears in the key word list is the surname *Coe*. As Figure 7 shows, *Coe* often appears with the first name *Sebastian* or its diminutive *Seb* (ex. 24). Even though both names tend to mark *Coe* as an individual, a difference can be observed. The diminutive *Seb* tries to evoke the emotions of the readers in order that they can easily identify with the protagonist. One would expect *Seb* to appear mainly in the tabloid news, however the analysis revealed that it is evenly distributed in both the tabloid and the broadsheet news, which could demonstrate the process of tabloidization of broadsheet news as was discussed in Chapter 3.

24 ...**Sebastian Coe** , the IAAF president, has even suggested...; ...**Sebastian Coe** said on Friday his governing body...; ... agreed a "road map" with **Seb Coe**...; ...including Britain's **Seb Coe** , must be left in no doubt...

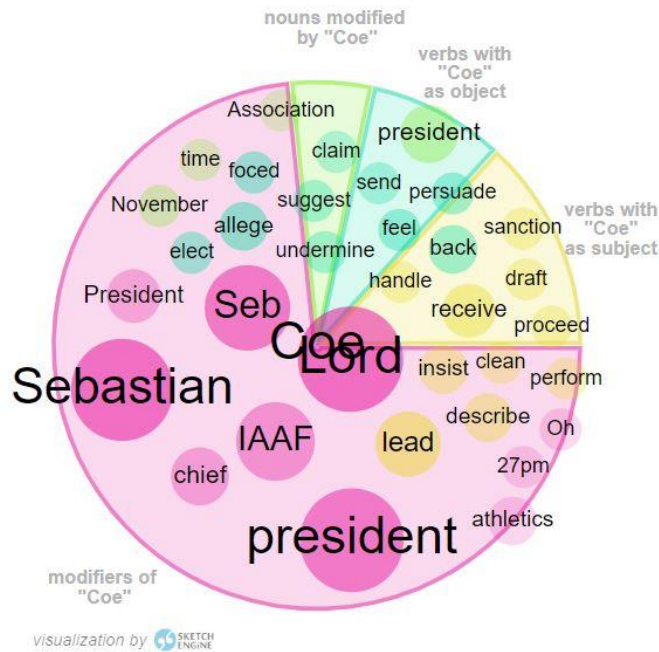


Figure 7: Visualization of “Coe” collocates

Coe typically co-occurs with the noun phrase *the IAAF president*¹⁸ (ex. 25) which emphasizes his high status and gives credibility to everything he states. His power and authority are supported by words like *lead*, *sanction* or *proceed* (ex. 26). In addition, *Coe* is also often referred to as *Lord Coe*, which strengthens even more his credibility (ex. 27). The news writers also attempt to present *Coe* as a respected person with great power by using his name with his title¹⁹.

25 ... IAAF President Sebastian Coe said on Friday...; ... to convince **IAAF president Lord Coe**...; ... spoken to **IAAF president Lord Coe** several times...

26 ... governing body **led** by president Seb **Coe**...; ... with president **Coe** **sanctioning** a similar move at the Olympics...; ... **Coe** then **proceeded** to conduct...

27 ... Can **Lord Coe** clean up...; ... **Lord Coe** and his council to lift its ban...; ... **Lord Coe** , 55, insists that he is still...; ... **Lord Coe** also faces tough questions...

¹⁸ <https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/president?q=president>

¹⁹ https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/lord_1?q=lord

When looking at the non-Russian representatives in general, it can be concluded that they are presented in a positive way, as those who represent fair play and clean sport, in comparison to the Russian athletes and representatives who are showed in a negative way as the violators of the fundamental principles of fair play.

5.3.2.2 Lexical Words

Excluding the proper nouns, there are 36 lexical words remaining. Lexical words usually are nouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs (Lipka 1992, 133) and provide information about the aboutness of the text (Culpeper 2009, 36).

Table 8: Lexical words within the top 100 key words ordered by keyness

Term	Keyness	Term	Keyness
dope	1552.150	Doping	116.510
athletics	417.190	cheating	107.430
Federations	405.650	scandal	96.920
federation	397.660	weightlifter	95.320
Athletics	299.430	vaulter	92.350
athlete	299.180	provisionally	86.550
Olympic	242.170	Sport	83.830
Arbitration	199.560	medal	83.820
meldonium	193.620	implicate	80.420
medallist	175.150	allegation	80.080
weightlifting	161.560	judo	78.080
ban	149.720	Weightlifting	76.930
Russians	146.320	breaststroke	68.490
doper	143.890	compete	67.440
whistleblower	143.090	complicit	67.370
Paralympic	135.970	Federation	65.560
Games	129.520	Judo	65.430
Paralympics	119.340	Sailing	65.410

As Table 8 shows there are different types of lexical words. For that reason I have decided to divide the lexical words into four categories which are nouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs (see Table 9).

Table 9: Lexical words by categories

Nouns	Adjectives	Verbs	Adverbs
athletics, Federations, federation, Olympics, Athletics, athlete, Arbitration, meldonium, medallist, weightlifting, Russians, doper, whistleblower, Games, Paralympics, doping, cheating, scandal, weightlifter, vaulter, sport, medal, allegation, judo, weightlifting, breaststroke, Federation, Judo, Sailing	Olympic, Paralympic, complicit	dope, ban, implicate, compete	provisionally

Table 9 shows that mainly nouns appear in the key word list. However, there are also other word classes represented.

Firstly, I will start the analysis of the lexical words with the item *dope* because it has the strongest keyness among the remaining lexical words. Since *dope* appears evenly across the whole corpus, it is of a high importance. The lemma *dope* typically occurs in the form *doping* and strongly collocates with *state-sponsored*, as mentioned in section 5.3.1. The collocation points to the immense magnitude of the doping in Russia and emphasizes that the decision to cheat in the competition was supported by the state (ex. 28).

28widespread **state-sponsored doping**...; ...accused of carrying out **state-sponsored doping** in...; ...revelations of widespread **state-sponsored doping** in Russia...

Secondly, as Figure 8 shows, another strong collocation of *dope* is with the noun *scandal*. The use of the phrase *doping scandal* often refers to the Russian state-sponsored doping as something which is morally and legally very wrong and not at all acceptable²⁰ (ex. 29).

²⁰ <https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/scandal?q=scandal>

29 ...the Russian **doping scandal** have rocked the upcoming Olympic Games...; one of the most explosive **doping scandals** in sporting history...; ...the strongest possible action in the wake of the biggest **doping scandal** in...

Thirdly, *dope* strongly collocates with the noun *programme* as well. This collocation describes that doping is not coincidental in Russia but it is elaborately planned and what is more, it is planned by the government, which is expressed by the modifier state-sponsored which precedes the phrase doping programme (ex. 30).

30 ... a massive **state-sponsored doping programme** had infiltrated almost all sporting disciplines...; ...Russia operated a huge **state sponsored doping programme** that sabotaged the London 2012 Olympics...; ...accused Russia of operating a **state-sponsored doping programme** in track and field...

Finally, other items which contribute to the negative presentation of Russian athletes in the newspaper articles are *violation* and *allegations*. These nouns present the Russian doping as a crime and as an act of breaking the law (ex. 31 – 32).

31 ...ban Russian athletes from the Rio Olympics due to widespread **doping violations**...; ...Russian athletes with previous **doping violations** or who were mentioned...; ...has been sanctioned for a **doping violation** will be allowed to take part...

32 ...coaches and specialists involved in the **doping allegations** were suspended...; ...the list of those tainted by **doping allegations** continues to grow...; ...being barred from the Rio Games over **doping allegations**...

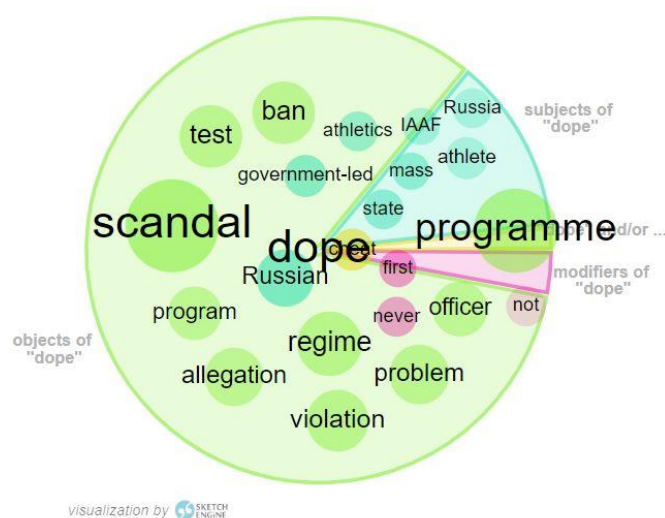


Figure 8: Visualization of “dope” collocates

The noun *athlete* plays an important role in the corpus because it mainly represents all the Russian athletes in general in comparison to the proper names. Since this key word has been analysed in Chapter 5.3.1, I will not deal with it anymore.

Nevertheless, there is another item strongly collocating with *athlete*. It is the verb *ban*. According to the Oxford learner dictionary, the verb *ban* describes something as officially and legally prohibited²¹ and refers, in this corpus, again to Russia's criminal activities and the consequent punishment (ex. 33). It can mostly be observed in the form of the participle (banned) and it is used in passive constructions (e.g. athletes were banned), or as a post modifier (e.g. athletes banned ...) or a pre modifier (e.g. banned (Russian) athletes) see Figure 9. The frequent occurrence of

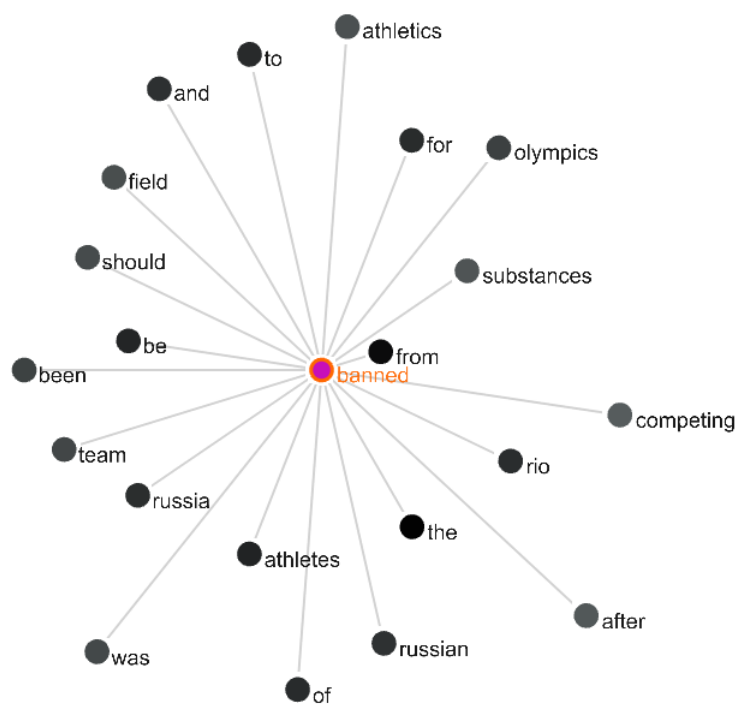


Figure 9: Collocation network of "banned"

²¹ https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/ban_1?q=ban

these lexical items emphasises that the Russians were responsible for something immoral and had to be punished.

33 ...and **ban** all Russian **athletes** from the Rio Olympics...; ...track and field **athletes** are already **banned** from competing...; ...**ban** Russian **athletes** from the Rio Olympics...

The lemma *ban* also appears as a noun (331 times), see Figure 10. It frequently co-occurs with the modifier *blanket* and creates a strong collocation – *blanket ban*, which implies that the ban on competing affected all Russian athletes. The expression *blanket ban* is substituted in the texts by synonymous expressions such as *complete*, *collective* or *total*; however, these are not as consistently presented across the DOPING corpus as the expression *blanket ban*. All these synonymous phrases (ex. 34 – 37) emphasize the seriousness of the Russian actions which need to be strictly punished as the acts are not only illegal but also immoral as explained in Chapter 2.

34 ...to consider a **blanket ban** on Russian athletes...; ...calls for a **blanket ban** on the country...; ...bravely placed a **blanket ban** on the secretive...

35 ...the IOC today requesting a **complete ban** on Russia at the Rio Games...; ...calling for a **complete ban** on Russia...; ...on the table for the IOC will be a **complete ban** on Russia from the Rio Olympics...

36 ...legal options with regard to a **collective ban** of all Russian athletes for the Olympic Games 2016...; ...now considering a "**collective ban**" having spoken mainly about individual justice...; ...not want to penalise athletes who are clean with a **collective ban**...

37 ...call for **total Rio ban** for Russia following doping report...; ...rather than endorse a **total ban**...; ...with a **total ban** the IOC can send a message to everyone...

5.4 Conclusion

The main purpose of this analysis was to identify and describe how the Russian athletes were presented in the British press in connection with the 2016 Olympic Games in Rio. The analysis confirmed the original assumption that the Russian athletes tend to be presented in a negative way in the British press because of their connection with doping. The most common lexical association with *Russian athletes* and representatives is doping. Therefore the names of all the Russian athletes typically co-occur with lexical items which depict them in a negative way, such as *Russia was suspended by the...; ...despite failing her test, Sharapova could still be selected...; or ...relevant tribunal may disqualify Mr Sozykin*. The Russian representatives tend to be accompanied by their titles as there is a need to emphasize their status and the unfair practices they committed, for instance *Sports Minister Vitaly Mutko has slammed Russia's suspension from... or ...the former director of Moscow's anti-doping laboratory, Grigory Rodchenkov, in which he described...* On the other hand, the British press presents the non-Russian representatives who were involved in the Russian state-sponsored doping affair in a positive way as protagonists and protectors, e. g. *...law professor Richard McLaren confirms all the shocking allegations... and president Coe sanctioning a similar move at the Olympics...*

This analysis showed that the names of the athletes are commonly used in order to mark them as unique individuals. Moreover, the names help the readers to identify with the athletes and consequently to express their emotions, which is a typical feature of the current news (cf. Chapter 4.3.1). However, it is important to mention that the journalists aim to evoke emotional identification with the protagonists only. Since the athletes' names are usually preceded by the lexical expressions which define their

social roles, the tendency to generalize can be observed among the journalists as well, for example *Russian whistleblower Yulia Stepanova and Olympic pole vault champion Yelena Isinbayeva*. The analysis also revealed that the lexical items which co-occur with the Russian athletes and representatives belong to the semantic groups of crime/punishment and law/justice/permission. These semantic groups also present the negative picture of Russian athletes in the British press.

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Appendices

Appendix 1

Appendix 2

Appendix 1

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IN BRIEF

A TYPICAL OLYMPIC PROGRAMME

Day 1

Ceremonies and a contest for heralds and trumpeters

Day 2

Chariot races in the morning

Pentathlon in the afternoon

Day 3

Sacrifice to Zeus in the morning

Footraces in the afternoon

Day 4

Wrestling

Boxing

Pankration

The hoplite race (in armour)

Day 5

Prize-giving ceremony

Ceremony of thanksgiving

A banquet

Appendix 2

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