GEO-BIOETHICS
Reporting on Russia's ban from Olympic Competition in the International and Russian English language press[1]

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Abstract – The decision of the International Olympic Committee to ban Russian athletes from the 2016 Olympic Games in Rio de Janeiro and the 2018 Pyeonchang Games in South Korea, following accusations of a state-promoted doping programme behind Russian sport, indicates that what was formerly framed as a personal misdemeanour has now developed into a geopolitical matter, a shift that involves a considerable change in the approach taken towards the phenomenon of doping. Scholars of political science and international relations now see such venues as occasions for the exercise of 'soft power', namely, "the ability of states to communicate universally shared values […] in order to court the publics of other states" (Grix, Lee 2013, p. 526). If states are "attempting to use sports mega-events to persuade the governments, businesses and the public in other countries to alter negative stereotypes they hold" (Grix, Houlihan 2013, p. 577), how are those negative stereotypes affected when the reason for non-inclusion is a bioethical one? Concomitantly, how does the ostracized nation attempt to protect its threatened identity before the eyes of the world (Altukhov, Nauright 2018)? To assess how this issue has been contested and negotiated in the media two comparable corpora have been assembled: the first comprising English language articles about the bans in the international press (IPC); the second composed of English language articles on the same topic available on the ITAR-TASS website (Russian Press Corpus; RPC). The corpora are interrogated using concordancing software to provide an initial sample of 100 keywords from each corpus, which are then placed in broad semantic fields. The IPC corpus furnishes insights both into the kinds of stereotypes that abound in reporting about Russia's alleged behaviour and also into the values the international community implicitly attributes to itself. On the other hand, the RPC provides pointers to how Russia implements its English language press service to effect damage repair to its international reputation and cushion the blow to its soft power.

Keywords: doping; Olympic ban; international English language press; ITAR-TASS English language articles; CADS approach.

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1. Introduction: Scope and aims

Indicating that doping has now assumed a geopolitical dimension suggests that performance enhancement has evolved from a largely covert activity, practiced by individual rogue athletes and their coaches, into a phenomenon of far greater proportions, co-ordinated by the state and national sports federations. The common pattern in media exposure of doping has been for individuals testing positive to be ostracized by their federations or teams and pilloried in the national and international press. Such offenders were relatively easy to target for media outrage and public and official disdain. Nevertheless, certain athletes have been of such standing and wielded such political and economic power that they could erect forbidding legal and economic obstacles to investigators. It was, however, quite another thing for the media (and doping agencies) to take on the might of state-sponsored performance enhancement. Media exposés of the widespread institutionalized doping in the East German athletics team, for example, did not emerge until after the demise of that very state and with it the forces that could easily muzzle media outcry.

Since then a number of factors have combined to take the doping issue and media coverage of it to another level. The World Anti-doping Agency (WADA) has extended its sphere of influence in world sport and has much closer ties with organisations like the international Olympic Committee (IOC) than was previously the case. WADA has also increased its ability to efficiently monitor the compliance of national drug agencies and to detect deviations from its procedures and protocols. What is more, WADA's communications about investigations and recommendations have improved and its frequent updates have certainly fuelled press coverage of the issue and the spread of relevant information, often of a rather technical nature. Due to these organisational and technical advances it has been possible to incriminate entire federations and even uncover state collusion in malpractice. As will be seen, the reaction to such developments in Russia has been to mobilize it's imposing information resources in a way that is possibly unprecedented in the sphere of sport. Using its main English language news agency to counter the dominant ethical anti-doping narrative in the international press, the Russian establishment has set about informing its readers (presumably in the foreign press and major sporting bodies) of the geopolitical implications of taking such an important member of the IOC to task.

Within this broad perspective, the narrower purpose of this paper is to consider the way in which bioethics in sport now is exploited in the geopolitical arena; namely, how the bioethical issue of doping-free sport is involved in the construction (or destruction) and defence of the identity and

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perceived image of a nation within the international community. More specifically, the paper seeks to understand (a) how the international English language press coverage of doping scandals before the 2016 Olympic Games and the 2018 Winter Olympic Games has been instrumental in undermining the Russian state's status and reputation in the international community, and (b) how the Russian English language press agency ITAR-TASS has countered that agenda to shore up and reconstruct that country's threatened reputation.

To do so it is first necessary to review ideas that are current in politics and international relations concerning the geopolitical significance of what are termed mega-sporting events, such as the Olympic Games and editions of the FIFA World Cup, both of which have involved Russia, but with vastly different outcomes for that country's reputation on the international stage.

A relatively small number of international politics scholars have drawn attention to the previously neglected impact of mega-sporting events and involvement in them on the projection of a positive national image (Grix, Lee 2013, p. 525). Typically, such studies (among others, Grillon 2011; Grix 2012) refer to Nye's (2004) concept of 'soft power' as an explanation for nations' strategic interest in staging these events. Nye (2004, p. 2) defines soft power as the ability to attract and co-opt other nations "to want what you want as opposed to hard power, by which they are coerced to do what you want". Grix and Lee (2013, p. 526) gloss soft power as a "discursive mechanism for increased agency in global affairs through the performative politics of attraction rather than the use (or threat of use) of military or economic force", while Gillon (2011) sees such events as important occasions for projecting positive key national images onto the international scene, although, as Grix and Lee (2013, p. 526) point out, the question of what makes a state attractive has all but been ignored in the literature, suggesting that the values of Western neo-liberal economies have possibly become the default gauge for assessing the attractiveness of states in a soft power perspective. That consideration aside, Grix and Houlihan (2013, p. 578) affirm: "the resultant international prestige garnered from successfully hosting such an event or having one's national team perform well – or preferably both – can be converted into enhanced soft power that can make a state, their culture and political values more attractive to others". As Grix and Lee (2013, p. 527) put it, "by hosting international sporting events, [states] can show that they are the guardians of universal norms and, in so doing, can construct attraction by illuminating truths such as fair play that have a universal appeal". That doping-free, or 'clean' sporting performance is currently a universal criterion for meaningful sporting competition is fairly self-evident, given the lengths to which governing bodies and anti-doping-agencies will go to guarantee there is a so-called level playing field for all

competitors and ensure that the results we witness are true, pure, unadulterated, clean.

What happens, though, if a state, and one that has traditionally been a protagonist and indeed host of modern mega-sporting events, first as the Soviet Union (1980) and more recently as Russia (2014), is barred by two of the most powerful international sporting bodies and anti-doping agencies (The International Olympic Committee and the World Anti-Doping Agency) from competing, because it is believed to have betrayed a universal value like sporting fairness? Russia's partial and total exclusion from the 2016 and 2018 Winter Olympic Games as a result of alleged doping malpractices is a powerful illustration of how the attempt to use mega sporting events for the ends of soft power can backfire (Grix, Lee 2013, p. 528). The failure of Russia to demonstrate its 'sameness' with the other competing nations resulted in a loss of international prestige, reflected in a tendency to ostracism in the international press coverage of these developments and a corresponding recourse to damage limitation strategies in Russia's English language press agency ITAR-TASS, which has historically had very close ties with the Russian government (Krasnaboka, online). This paper represents a preliminary attempt to glean initial pointers as to how international relations between Russia and the global community, as represented by organizations like the IOC and WADA, have been represented in the English language press of the world and of Russia itself following that country's exclusion from the Rio Olympics in 2016 and the Winter Olympics in Pyeonchang in 2018, as a direct result of alleged doping violations that came to light in the aftermath of the 2014 Winter Olympics in Sochi, Russia.

2. The background events

Measures to ban Russian athletes from the 2016 Rio Olympics and the 2018 Pyeonghang Winter Olympics in South Korea were set in motion by Russian whistleblowers who made allegations of state-run Russian doping programmes. Additionally, two independent reports commissioned by WADA, the 2015 report overseen by Dick Pound and the 2016 McClaren report, substantially confirmed the whistleblowers' allegations. Particularly damaging was the testimony of Grigory Rodchenkov to the *New York Times* in 2016 (Ruiz, Schwirtz 2016). The former director of the anti-doping laboratory in Moscow maintained he had overseen the switching of contaminated samples with clean ones as part of a state-run doping programme at the 2014 Winter Olympics and other major events. In 2015, WADA declared RUSADA (Russian Anti-doping Agency) non-compliant; the Russian track federation was also suspended by the IAAF (the International Amateur Athletic Federation) in the same year. In May 2016,

the IOC commenced retesting previous samples from the 2008 and 2012 Olympic Games, with the result that many Russian athletes were banned from the 2016 Olympics, forcing Russia to take part with a much reduced national team. Faced with fresh evidence of mass Russian cheating at the Sochi Winter Olympics, in 2017 the IOC adopted a much tougher stance and officially banned Russia from the 2018 Winter Olympics in Pyeongchang, allowing 168 Russians to compete only as "Olympic Athletes from Russia" but not as part of their national team.

3. The data

The purpose of the preliminary research that eventually led to this paper was not intended to analyse the shifting implications of performance enhancement for international relations. The initial intention was to interrogate a corpus to examine press discourse on a well-known case of doping in sport using the search words 'doping', Rio Sochi 'Olympics', 'Russia'. However, on closer examination of the initial data set, it emerged that of the articles provided by the Lexis Nexis data bank, a sizeable proportion were actually released by the Russian news agency ITAR-TASS, one of the four largest news agencies in the world. Further investigation revealed the reason for the relatively high ratio of ITAR-TASS articles in an international English language corpus. On the ITAR-TASS website, the navigation bar not only directs readers to a sports section, but once there, they can access a separate sub-section on doping, a feature not encountered in any of the other sports pages of major international online newspapers. Far from sweeping the issue under the carpet, it would appear that the Russian press agency actually signposts very clearly a stigmatised activity in which it is implicated. This fact alone appeared to open up a possible avenue of research. It was therefore decided to divide the data into two comparable sub-corpora, one comprised of articles from the international English language press (IPC), the other made up of English language articles from ITAR-TASS (RPC); the latter was integrated with articles taken directly from the ITAR-TASS website spanning the period between the Sochi winter Olympics (2014) the Rio Olympics (2016) and the Pyeonchang Winter Olympics (2018). This produced two comparably sized sub-corpora: IPC 52,882 words; RPC 59, 819 words.

4. Method

Anyone interested in sport, linguists included, is likely to have strong culturally ingrained attitudes to the issue of doping. In order to form as objective a view as possible of the language used to frame this issue, the use

of corpora can help avoid the pitfalls of cherry picking texts and skewing interpretation of the relevant discourse by working on too small a sample of it, or working on texts that chime too neatly with the researcher's own received opinions. As Meir *et al.* (2015, p. 7) remark, "CL allows for the processing of large amounts of text data and enables a higher degree of objectivity. CL can also pinpoint areas of interest for further/closer analysis by identifying emerging patterns and leading to examination of concordance".

Corpus linguists (Bachmann 2011) stress the usefulness of corpora in highlighting patterns of linguistic use that warrant closer analysis. Initially, the corpora were simply examined for the presence, if any, of such patterns. From this starting point, the most fruitful avenue of enquiry appeared to be lexis or meaning words, as opposed to function language. This is because, although the two sub-corpora involved in this study are closely aligned, both in terms of genre and topic, they revealed significant differences in the lexis that characterises them; further, although actually sharing a substantial number of core semantic fields, they revealed important divergences in the lexical items comprising them. This indicated an opportunity for an objective understanding of how the international community and Russia frame this issue linguistically by effecting a content analysis (Gwang-Yoon 2011, p. 240) of what the international and Russian English language papers actually say about Russian involvement in the Olympic doping scandals.

From this point on, having established the key macro-patterns of lexis distrubution with content analysis, this study tends towards a Computer-Assisted Discourse Studies orientation (Gabrielatos, Baker 2008; Garzone, Santulli 2004; Hardt-Mautner 1995; Partington, Zuccato 2018, pp. 11-12). This not only entails a more fine-grained examination and interpretation of significant patterns of linguistic usage thrown up by the concordancing software, but takes the analyst beyond descriptive duties in the attempt to provide an ideological explanation for certain kinds of language use. Thus, the concordances and collocations of lexical items comprising the key semantic fields are also inspected for any insights they may provide into significant differences in attitudes and stance that underpin the Russian and international perspectives on the Olympic doping bans.

5. Keyword analysis

The most suitable tool for identifying the distinctive core lexis of a corpus is the Keyword function on concordancing software. Keywords are identified as such because they are repeated a lot (Scott, Tribble 2006, p. 56), but raw frequency alone does not confer keyness. For that comparison with a reference corpus is required, and "for a word to be key […] it must be

outstandingly frequent in terms of a reference corpus" (Scott, Tribble 2006, p. 59). As will be seen, a high proportion of keywords in the node corpus (in other words, the corpus we are exploring) are lexical items that point to the "aboutness" of the node corpus. This will be the focus of the present study.

5.1. Choice of reference corpus

The bearing of the size and type of reference corpus on the resulting keywords has not gone unnoticed in the literature (Berber-Sardinha 2000; Scott 2009), where a canonical opinion as to the ideal characteristics of a reference corpus has yet to emerge. McEnery *et al.* (2006, pp. 308-311) maintain that the size of the reference corpus is relatively unimportant, while Berber-Sardinha (2000) indicates that a larger reference corpus will generate more key words. From the point of view of text-type or genre-based corpora, Scott (2009) goes so far as to say that even an absurdly incongruous reference corpus will provide useful information on the defining content of the node corpus. Scott (2009) also indicates that genre is an alternative criterion for the selection of a reference corpus and will provide a different range of key words than a reference corpus chosen on the grounds of size. The reference corpus selection for this study took its cue from this claim and indeed proved true. Using a large general reference corpus, like the Sketch Engine online corpus, to generate keywords from each of the two corpora did little more than outline the general and shared 'aboutness' of each one, throwing up rather predictable results, without delineating any significant differences in the highest ranked keywords. The first 200 keys words of the RPC, for example, were overwhelmingly occupied by the topic of doping, the institutions involved in the enquiries, names of sports and the proper nouns of numerous Russian athletes or key Russian and international political or institution figures; the same was true of the IPC. The only significant discernible differences were in the proper names of athletes, politicians, and institutional figures involved. In fact, the use of large general corpora appeared to dilute revealing aspects of keyness, saying more about what the corpora had in common rather than revealing significant differences. It was therefore decided to use each of the two node corpora as reciprocal reference corpora in the expectation that key differences in the treatment of the issue would be more readily apparent. Indeed, despite their shared topic and genre, this procedure, threw up a more significant array of key lexis. Already with a cut off of 100 words, it was possible to detect clear divergences in lexical keyness, providing insights into differences of stance and strategic language use regarding the issue.

6. Results and discussion

The keyword tool of the Antconc concordancing software provided an initial sample of 100 keywords from each corpus, which resulted in the following overview once lexis had been separated from function language and broken down as neatly as possible into semantic fields. As can be seen in table 1 below, these are ranked according to their percentage of the key lexis (proper names and function language excluded) for each corpus, which should also compensate for the slight differences in size between the two corpora.

Key IPC semantic fields	hits	%	Key RPC semantic fields	hits	%
Sport	3,637	14.2	GOVERNING BODIES/ PROCEDURES	5,442	28.1
Governing bodies/procedures	3,212	12.6	SPORT	2,554	10.7
Doping	3,007	11.8	DOPING	1,689	7.9
Ethics	1,772	6.7	REPORTING	572	2.7
Reporting	666	2.6	GOVERNMENT	189	0.7
Testing	659	2.5	TESTING	43	0.18

Table 1
First six ranked key semantic fields for IPC and RPC.

At first sight, there appears to be considerable convergence between the corpora. In fact, five fields are common to both: sport, governing bodies/procedure, doping, reporting, testing, albeit with differences in the percentage of their respective corpora they jointly account for.

6.1. Non-convergent key semantic fields

Just two semantic fields do not converge. Key lexis associated with ethics and revelation is exclusive to the IPC, while the semantic field of government is key only in the RPC. This divergence alone points to a significant difference of perspective on the issue in the international and Russian English language press.

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Ethics	Hits	Russian Collocates
clean	591	41,1%
scandal	317	91.8%
cheating	237	65.4%
integrity	180	46.1%
corruption	140	45.0%
whistleblower	100	
whistleblowers	61	
cover (up)	68	
cover	64	
complete	1	
hole	2	

Table 2
Lexical items comprising semantic field of ethics in IPC.

Table 2 indicates the lexical items comprising the semantic field of ethics in the IPC. The other semantic fields are itemized in the same way, though for reasons of space and word count, tables are not provided.

As is evident, the international press ostentatiously aligns itself with a moral and ethical position. Additionally, a high percentage of the concordances for other nodes also have Russian collocates in the vicinity, either in the form of that nation's name and the relevant adjective or in the shape of the proper names of Russian politicians, officials or athletes implicated in the issue. For 'clean', 40.1% of the concordances include an explicit Russian collocate. A high proportion of these occur in press accounts of the sample-swapping scandal at the Sochi Olympics, by which athletes' contaminated samples were systematically replaced with 'clean' ones by the secret police. The adjective 'clean' also frequently collocates with 'Russian' when it refers to those athletes who have not tested positive and may, according to the IOC ruling, compete under a neutral flag. Using the attributive adjective 'clean' to reposition these athletes as neutrals competing under the IOC banner implies, however, that that those Russians not deemed neutral, or who do not seek neutrality, are inevitably and innately compromised. In the case of 'scandal', for example, nearly 92% of the 317 concordance lines generated include a Russian collocate, explicitly assigning culpability and questionable ethics to that nation, as can be seen in Table 3 below where, apart from references to notorious cases of doping in the history of modern sport (e.g., Lance Armstrong, and the East German athletics team) the majority of concordances refer to Russia:

Russian slider implicated in that nations government-sponsored doping	scandal	, another front in the new Cold War
an environment in which doping is rife,</><s>Russian doping	scandal	5 of the most chocking allegations
The after affects of Russia's doping	scandal	Have gone far beyond the sports field
What can be drawn from the	scandal	? The Global times has collected three
The party with nothing to gain from the	scandal	Which will benefit from the event is worth
But the UK will ultimately not benefit much from the	scandal	China, incidentally has no conflicting athletic
government encouraged and covered up doping among athletes. The	scandal	led the IOC to ban Russia's entire track
the latest of three chapters so far in	scandal	that led to more than 100 Russian athletes
deputy sports minister Yuri Noagornykh who was dismissed amid	scandal	last summer and Grigory Rodchenkov the
Games in Rio de Janeiro next month following the country's doping	scandal	, the games committee has announced
on Sunday placed the blame on the Russian government for the	scandal	"All Russian athletes seeking entry to the
the release of Friday's report, the latest of three chapters so far in the	scandal	that led to more than 100 Russian athletes
Senator presses agency for answers on Russian doping	scandal	WASHINGTOM (AP) The chairman of the
Russia was banned from the Olympics because of a massive doping	scandal	at the 2014 Sochi Games. Two of more than

Table 3
Co-occurrence of *scandal* with Russian references.

The remaining 8% of concordance lines concern doping and corruption scandals involving other nations, sports, and governing bodies. They reveal a more general ethical focus of the international press, concerning the need to guarantee fair competition for genuinely clean athletes, the ethical responsibility of institutions to 'clean' athletes all over the world, and the shortcomings and difficulties of tackling this issue.

In the case of 'integrity', concordances containing unambiguous Russian collocates accounted for 46.1%, and these overwhelmingly occur within the context of the Mclaren Report on the Sochi Olympics sample-swapping scandal. The most frequent collocations frame this as an act of aggression towards the integrity of sport. By far the most frequent collocate in this sense is 'attack' on integrity, but expressions indicative of violent conduct or attitude are also in evidence: 'threatens integrity', shattered integrity', 'integrity has been damaged', as can be seen in the concordances below:

Doping deeply undermines the	integrity	of elite sports, which are supposed to be
Young athletes learn early on that	integrity	Is just another price to be paid for winning
for the development of new drug screening methods to assure the	integrity	of national and international athletic
produced at least 27 ill-gotten Olympic medals and undermined the	integrity	of two Olympic Games and several other major
the Russian doping program as a "fundamental attack on the	integrity	of the Olympic games and on sport s in general
"This was an unprecedented attack on the	integrity	of the Olympic Games and sport" IOC president
of the report show a shocking and unprecedented attack on the	integrity	of sport and the Olympic Games. Therefore the
Winter Olympics in Pyeongchang for 'unprecedented attack on the	integrity	of the Olympic Games and sport'. Only Russian
BLACK HOLE IT'S the 10 cm "mouse hole" that has shattered the	integrity	of world sport and has exposed Russia's drug
the investigation found a "shocking and unprecedented attack on the	integrity	of sport and on the Olympic Games. Therefore
investigation found "a shocking and unprecedented attack on the	integrity	of sport and the Olympic Games". Russian

Table 4
Integrity collocates in context.

As with the other ethical lexis, the remaining percentage of concordances reflects the international Press's concern with broader ethical concerns

underlying sporting competition in general and the issue of how to guarantee and protect the integrity of sporting competition.

'Corruption' also appears to conform to the above pattern. 45% of concordance lines feature unequivocal Russian or contextual collocates that attribute corrupt behaviour to that country. An overwhelming proportion of the collocates refer to the scale of the phenomenon, with 'widespread', 'large-scale', 'mind-blowing levels of' corruption, all recurrent. Here, too, the press considers the issue from a broader perspective, referring to the need to contrast corruption in other spheres of sport outside Russia and to confront the issue at the level of international organizations like the IAAF or FIFA.

The distribution of co-occurrence with unambiguous Russian collocates is slightly higher in 'cheating', though the overall pattern obtains. The predominant collocations are "state-sponsored, 'state-sanctioned', 'state-backed', government-ordered', 'federalized', 'systematic' 'deeply rooted culture of' – all reflecting a systemic and endemic tendency, while expressions of the extent and difficulty of controlling the phenomenon are also significant: 'epidemic', 'rampant'. As with the other lexis in this category, this word occurs in strings of text that consider this behaviour in a more general theoretical light, as well as referring to cases in other sports in other nations.

The other non-convergent field is present in the RPC. The semantic field of government is composed exclusively of the word 'minister', with 189 hits. 86.2% of the occurrences involve statements on the issue by members of the Russian government, chiefly the prime minister, deputy-prime minster, sports minister and ex-sports minister, all of whom comment variously on the IOC and WADA rulings and procedures.

Overall, the data for these non-convergent key semantic fields indicates significant differences in how this affair is approached in the international and Russian English language press. The data for the field of ethics reveals a dual focus: on the one hand an accusatory stance on Russian sports in general, with a significant proportion of the relevant key lexis depicting that nation as unethical, if not criminal; on the other hand, a more abstract concern with the ethical issues involved in doping within sport as a whole is evident. A substantial number of the concordances for this lemma reveal a preoccupation with the ideal or philosophical aspirations of sporting competition without unfair advantage. Thus, the international press regularly expresses a commitment to an enshrined ideal, declaredly occupying the moral high ground on the issue, a stance that is conspicuously not key in the ITAR-TASS coverage of the affair. The RPC, on the contrary, views the events through a political prism. Russia openly regards this as a geopolitical issue, while the international press coverage frames it as an ethical one.

6.2. Comparison of convergent key semantic fields

This section compares converging semantic fields in each corpus. The analysis will focus on the lexis of procedure, doping, and reporting. The field of sport is not analysed because the differences are largely due to the focus on sport in the different corpora. The IPC talks about sport ('sport', 'competition' more generally (e.g., 'field' and 'track', while the RPC tends refers to specific sports (e.g., cross-county skiing, bobsleigh) and numbers and kinds of athletes (e. g. skiers) affected by bans.

The semantic field of procedure and governing bodies is the second and first-ranked in IPC and RPC respectively. It is immediately evident that it accounts for over double the percentage of lexis in the RPC. When the individual items comprising the semantic field are investigated, significant differences in perspective emerge. Although much of the lexis comes close to the neutrality of terminology ('commissioned', 'investigator', 'report', 'bodies') accounting for 46% of this semantic field in the IPC, a significant portion of the items has strong negative connotations. The item 'ban' alone accounts for 35.4% of all lexis in this field, and collocates with 'blanket', and 'complete'; while the most frequent key word 'report' collocates with 'damning' in 6.6% of occurrences. Moreover, although these investigations are not trials, they are framed as such. There is a noticeable tendency to couch the procedure in language associated with criminal investigations and legal process. Thus, we find in this field 'case', 'allegation', 'charge', 'accusation', 'evidence', implicated', together accounting for 5.2% of this field.

The lexis of the corresponding field in the RPC offers a striking contrast. To be sure, negative connotations are present (e.g., 'life (ban), 'violations', 'accusations', 'probe'), though they account for 5.3% of lexis for a field that is more than twice the size of the corresponding one in the IPC. Otherwise the language describing the procedures of the various agencies and commissions is far more diverse, detailing multiple aspects of the procedures followed by the investigating bodies; it is also less connotative and nearer the opaque register of 'officialese' and the neutrality of straightforward terminology. What the RPC lacks in key ethical lexis, it apparently compensates for with lexis concerning the official procedures against Russian sport and the workings of international sports governing bodies and drug agencies. While the ITAR-TASS reports do not conceal the workings of the investigations or the deliberations of the commissions and committees, the more negative framings found in the IPC corpus are less conspicuous. What is more, far from obscuring official procedures, the RPC devotes considerable space to a detailed representation of the workings and progress of the investigations and reports under way.

The convergent semantic field of 'doping' is characterised by significant divergences in lexical realisations in the corpora. The relevant lexis in the IPC displays a preference for negative semantic loads. Thus, 'drug' and 'doped' are prominently key (accounting for nearly 20% of total key lexis). Additionally, IPC lexis emphasises the scale of the phenomenon in Russia ('widespread' (5.9%) and the longstanding involvement of the state: 'history', 'state', 'run', 'sponsored', 'programme' (cumulatively 54.7%). The negative slant is confirmed by the specific mention of a stigmatized doping substance, 'steroids', and repeated references to the lab at the Sochi Olympics where the athletes' samples were swapped.

Although the RPC apparently does not shirk the issue, the negative connotations of the IPC are conspicuous by their absence. Admittedly, 'abuse', is the most key word in this semantic field, but closer examination reveals its co-occurrence with collocates that attenuate negative impact, notably through disendorsement (Cavaliere 2012, pp. 88-89; de B. Clarke 2006, pp. 86, 89, 131; Kornetski 2011, pp. 179-180; Partridge 2012, p. 135) in the shape of 'allegations' and 'alleged' (32.2 % of occurrences). What is more, neither 'doping' nor 'drug' occurs even in the first 300 ranked key words of the RPC. In fact, the nearest correspondence is the more neutral collocation 'performance enhancing' (22%), a more technical definition lacking the negative connotations of 'doping'. The narrative of state involvement, so prominent in the IPC, is barely acknowledged in the RPC (1.8%), indeed the 'struggle' against performance enhancement is key. The remaining lexis avoids more negatively marked language, with substitutions like 'issue' or less connotative choices like 'manipulations', 'involvement', 'activities' taking the place of the more loaded language found in the IPC.

The next convergent key semantic area to be analysed is 'reporting'. In some respects, it is surprising that this should be key in each corpus, as it is a shared and defining characteristic of all newspapers and involves a limited and conventional repertoire of lexis (reporting verbs and related parts of speech). If it is key, it is so because each corpus uses a significant proportion of different reporting options, which in turn reflects diverging stances on the issue.

It is to be noted that the neutral 'says' is the most key reporting verb in the IPC. 'Claims' is used both as the third-person of the verb and plural noun, and as a signaller of disendorsement it is applied in equal measure to International and Russian sporting bodies and institutions. This distribution may reflect the tendency of the International press to look beyond the immediate issue of the Russian doping scandal and to assume a more critical stance on the very institutions that are pursuing the investigations.

In the RPC, 76% of Sayers for the most frequent reporting key word, 'told', are Russian, with government ministers and officials particularly

prominent, as well as the heads of various national sports institutions. Because of its close ties with Russia's political institutions, we may not be surprised at ITAR-TASS publishing what it is told (to).

'Announced' and 'stated', on the other hand, are linked to Sayers from the IOC and WADA. This would seem to confirm the pattern emerging elsewhere in the corpus, confirming the tendency of TASS to report the findings of the IOC and WADA investigations in a neutral and objective manner, while also making clear that it is a geopolitical issue involving the highest echelons of Russian government. Additionally, disendorsement is key in RPC, as can be seen in the presence of 'alleged' and its corresponding adverb. It is unsurprising that the verb 'alleged' has 0% Russian Sayers. It is interesting to note, however, that the attributive adjective appears in a rather unusual pattern for this form of disendorsement: repeatedly the pattern is of reporting verb followed by 'alleged' as an attributive adjective coupled with another form of disendorsement, when one is the norm. This tendency is noticeable when it co-occurs with 'claim':

[1] The dossier *claimed* that an *alleged* government-backed doping system existed.

The pattern is even more evident when 'allegedly' is employed, resulting in marked forms like:

[2] an IOC commission … *established* that Russia *allegedly* employed a system of manipulation,

This sounds like what is established is an allegation rather than an action on the part of Russia. Similarly, we find:

[3] 'Rodchenkov *claimed* that the Russian sports authorities *allegedly* prepared,

The last example sounds as though what is claimed is the allegation itself. These redundant forms of disendorsement, which we might term double-disendorsement, possibly denote an over-eagerness to disendorse and a corresponding sensitivity regarding the affair.

The final significant converging semantic field is 'testing, though it is disproportionately key in the IPC compared with the RPC. Overall, the lexis for this semantic field conformed to the pattern for the others. Once more, the key words in the IPC are clear and specific - 'testing', 'urine' and 'new'. Furthermore, 'urine', the most key item in the category, comes with a strongly negative charge. Indeed, on closer inspection it refers almost exclusively to the Sochi sample swapping scandal. The second ranked key term in this field is 'testing'. Here 62% of concordances refer to Russia's

implication in testing scandals, Russian athletes' positive results in other tests, or RUSADA's failure to guarantee reliable testing procedures. However, evident in the remaining 38% of occurrences is the tendency within the international press to look at the bigger picture of testing within the world sporting community as a whole. The relevant concordances reveal a concern with the inadequacies of WADA's testing procedures, explanations of how anti-doping tests work (or fail) and reports of irregularities in other sports and other national federations. The final item in this field, 'new', concerns the need to introduce updated and more effective testing procedures to combat doping, reflecting the international press's tendency to consider the issue from a more general perspective. On reflection, this field in the IPC consolidates the concern with the ethical implications of the issue, emphasising the scandalous behaviour attributed to Russia, but also a concern with the duty of governing bodies and agencies to ensure that testing procedures are truly effective. The close affinity of this field with that of ethics possibly accounts for its marginal keyness in the RPC, bearing in mind that the ethical perspective is not key in the RPC. The sole key item in the corresponding field in the RPC is 'collected'. It collocates in all cases with 'sample(s)' in the form of the past participle used in passive constructions. As such, it appears to typify the impersonal and formal register employed in the RPC to deal with this issue and possibly to present an 'impersonal' and 'detached' stance.

7. Concluding reflections

This comparison of key lexis in the two sub-corpora revealed significant differences of perspective and emphasis on how the issue is reported in the English language by the international press and the Russian English language press agency ITAR-TASS. Both corpora, however, share the same geo-political approach to the bioethical issue of doping.

The most obvious contrasts occur at the level of key lexis in the diverging fields within the two corpora, particularly between the emphasis given to the ethical perspective in the IPC and to the political viewpoint in the RPC. The former reveals a dual response to the issue. Firstly, Russian sport is stigmatised as inherently and culturally unethical and dishonest; additionally, frequent collocations in this field point to Russian state and government encouragement of this unethical behaviour; secondly, the IPC reflects a concern with the ideals of doping-free sport in general and a commitment to pursuing and defending such ideals *tout court*, also at a philosophical level (for more on this tendency see Meier *et al.* 2015).

In contrast, the lexis of government (in the form of spokesmen and various high-ranking government ministers) is key within the RPC. Accused

of state sponsorship of doping, it is perhaps only to be expected that the Russian press agency report the reaction of Russia's key politicians, who, moreover, make it clear that the issue is viewed as a geopolitical one rather than an ethical-philosophical question. The conclusion that may be drawn here is that by shifting the argument about doping onto the political plane, Russia may not be claiming the moral high ground, but it is, all the same, attempting to position itself more advantageously in the debate by involving its political class, rather than just its federations and national doping agency, possibly signalling that the stakes have been raised and that the implications are geo-political (i.e., real) rather than bioethical (i.e., ideal) (see Maklund 2015 on this trend within international relations).

Although the remaining five semantic fields in the two corpora converge, there were significant differences in the keyness of the fields within each corpus and the lexis comprising them. The most evident contrast is between the cumulative keyness of the field of 'procedure/governing bodies'. In the RPC the corresponding field accounts for twice as much key lexis as the IPC, and characterises a scrupulous and detailed reporting of the workings of the various committees and reports concerned in the investigation of Russian sport. Its keyness is possibly meant to convey the impression of a country and culture that, far from undermining codes and disobeying them, abides by them, follows due procedure and indeed, has nothing to hide, showing the more submissive side of the coin to the geo-political one.

The other significant differences mainly involve the kind of lexis used in this field. In the IPC the key lexical items tend to be more specific with a preponderantly negative connotations, whereas the RPC betrays a preference for more impersonal and neutral language and official terms, intended, one must suppose, to counter and defuse the more 'inflammatory' language found and reported in the IPC and possibly to foreground the image of a balanced and detached response to the accusations and investigations, which in itself would contrast with some of the negative stereotypes concerning Russian sports that occur in the IPC.

If the IPC corpus furnishes insights into the kinds of stereotypes that abound in reporting about Russia's alleged unethical approach to international sports, and the way in which the international press delegates to itself the role of the world's moral policeman, the RPC provides pointers to how Russia implements its English language press service to effect damage and image repair to its international reputation and cushion the blow to its soft power. On the one hand it paints itself as submissive and obedient; on the other, lest there be any doubt, the reporting and governmental semantic fields, which feature prominently high-ranking government officials who frequently use disendorsement (even double-disendorsement) indicate that for Russia the

bioethics of sport falls within the realm of geopolitics, a sphere in which it difficult to deny its influence and clout.

Before leaping to conclusions about the credibility, effectiveness and persuasiveness of one strategy or another, it should be remembered that RUSADA was readmitted to WADA in 2018. Although this development engendered yet another controversy, it possibly indicates that the Russian strategy of politicising the bioethical controversy payed off. Nor does it stop there, at the time of writing, December 2019, WADA has banned Russia from competing in the next edition of the Olympic Games in Tokyo, whenever that may be, for alleged government tampering with its anti-doping database. It will be interesting to monitor the reactions to this new chapter in the affair in the World and Russian English language press and to trace continuities and/or changes in the linguistic strategies used in the ensuing debate. Whatever side one takes in this controversy, one thing is clear: although the articles in both corpora are written in English, when it comes to doping neither the international press nor ITAR-TASS are actually speaking the same language.

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