



UiT The Arctic University of Norway

Faculty of Humanities, Social Sciences and Education

Svalbard through the prism of Russian media

A discourse and cognitive perspective

Anna Obukhova

A dissertation for the degree of philosophiae doctor – March 2024

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Table of contents

List of tables	iii
List of figures	iv
Abstract	vi
Sammendrag.....	vii
Аннотация	viii
Acknowledgements	ix
1 Introduction	1
2 The context of the study	4
2.1 Russian interests in Svalbard.....	4
2.2 The Russian mainstream media.....	8
3 Theoretical framework	14
3.1 Media discourse as approached by linguistics	14
3.2 Critical Discourse Analysis.....	16
3.3 A Cognitive Linguistic Approach to Critical Discourse Analysis	23
3.3.1 Construal operations and discursive strategies.....	24
3.3.2 Structural Configuration: Schematization.....	26
3.3.3 Framing: Metaphor.....	28
3.3.4 Identification: Focus.....	35
3.3.5 Russian grammatical cases and their meaning.....	38
3.4 Corpus Linguistics.....	44
4 Research questions and predictions.....	45
5 Data and method overview.....	46
6 Market Basket Analysis	51
6.1 Description of the method and data.....	51
6.2 Analysis.....	57
6.2.1 Context indicators	57
6.2.2 Concept indicators.....	70
6.2.3 Co-text words	79
6.3 Conclusion.....	80
7 Keymorph Analysis.....	82
7.1 Description of the method and data.....	82

7.2	Analysis	86
7.2.1	Period 2010-2013	86
7.2.2	Period 2014-2017	100
7.2.3	Period 2018-2021	115
7.3	Summary and conclusion	137
8	Metaphor Analysis	142
8.1	Description of the method and data.....	142
8.2	Analysis.....	144
8.2.1	War metaphors	144
8.2.2	Criminality metaphors.....	154
8.2.3	Object metaphors.....	158
8.2.4	Health and body metaphors.....	162
8.2.5	Animal metaphors	164
8.2.6	Building and construction metaphors.....	167
8.2.7	Spatial metaphors	173
8.2.8	Container metaphors	175
8.2.9	Journey metaphors.....	181
8.2.10	Countries and regions as human beings	183
8.2.11	Food metaphors	189
8.2.12	Fire and water metaphors	191
8.2.13	Connection metaphors.....	194
8.2.14	Science metaphors.....	196
8.2.15	Religion and death metaphors	198
8.2.16	Rivalry and sports metaphors.....	202
8.2.17	Gambling and entertainment metaphors	206
8.3	Summary and conclusion	208
9	Discussion	211
9.1	Main findings	211
9.2	Limitations	214
10	Conclusion and future directions.....	215
	References	216

List of tables

Table 1. Construal operations and discursive strategies (Hart 2013:405-407)	25
Table 2. The subcorpora and their size	50
Table 3. Numbers related to Špicbergen as a prominent keyword and its Associative Arrays	55
Table 4. Size of subcorpora with Špicbergen as a prominent keyword	56
Table 5. Context indicators among the Associative Arrays for the keyword Špicbergen	59
Table 6. Concept indicators among the Associative Arrays for the keyword Špicbergen that recur across the periods	71
Table 7. Concept indicators among the Associative Arrays for the keyword Špicbergen showing concepts that occur only at certain periods	75
Table 8. Co-text words among the Associative Arrays for the keyword Špicbergen	79
Table 9. The distribution of the grammatical cases of the nouns Rossija, Norvegija, and Špicbergen in the federal and regional media in 2010-2013, given in raw frequencies	83
Table 10. The distribution of the grammatical cases of the nouns Rossija, Norvegija, and Špicbergen in the federal and regional media in 2014-2017, given in raw frequencies	84
Table 11. The distribution of the grammatical cases of the nouns Rossija, Norvegija, and Špicbergen in the federal and regional media in 2018-2021, given in raw frequencies	84
Table 12. The distribution of the grammatical cases of the nouns Rossija, Norvegija, and Špicbergen in the main corpus of RNC in 2010-2021, given in raw frequencies	85
Table 13. DIN* values of the use of grammatical case for the nouns Rossija, Norvegija, and Špicbergen in the federal and regional media in 2010-2013	87
Table 14. DIN* values of the use of grammatical case for the nouns Rossija, Norvegija, and Špicbergen in the federal and regional media in 2014-2017	100
Table 15. DIN* values of the use of grammatical case for the nouns Rossija, Norvegija, and Špicbergen in the federal and regional media in 2018-2021	116
Table 16. The size of subcorpora and the number of occurrences of Špicbergen*	143

List of figures

Figure 1. Transdiscursivity. The potential political message cycle (Duguid & Partington 2017: 72).....	10
Figure 2. Major linguistic approaches to media language, based on prose description in Budaev & Cudinov (2006: 167-171).....	16
Figure 3. PATH schema (Johnson 1987: 28).....	26
Figure 4. A discourse model for metaphor (Charteris-Black 2004: 248).....	32
Figure 5. Vizualization of pominnence of grammatical case for the nouns Rossija, Norvegija, and Špicbergen in the federal media in 2010-2013, given in DIN* values.....	87
Figure 6. Visualization of pominnence of grammatical case for the nouns Rossija, Norvegija, and Špicbergen in the regional media in 2010-2013, given in DIN* values.....	88
Figure 7. Visualization of pominnence of grammatical case for the nouns Rossija, Norvegija, and Špicbergen in the federal and regional media in 2014-2017, given in DIN* values.....	101
Figure 8. Visualization of pominnence of grammatical case for the nouns Rossija, Norvegija, and Špicbergen in the federal and regional media in 2014-2017, given in DIN* values.....	101
Figure 9. Visualization of pominnence of grammatical case for the nouns Rossija, Norvegija, and Špicbergen in the federal media in 2018-2021, given in DIN* values.....	116
Figure 10. Visualization of pominnence of grammatical case for the nouns Rossija, Norvegija, and Špicbergen in the regional media in 2018-2021, given in DIN* values.....	117
Figure 11. The prominence of grammatical cases for the noun Rossija in the federal and regional media in 2010-2013, 2014-2017, and 2018-2021, given in DIN* values....	138
Figure 12. The prominence of grammatical case for the noun Norvegija in the federal and regional media in 2010-2013, 2014-2017, and 2018-2021, given in DIN* values....	139
Figure 13. The prominence of grammatical case for the noun Špicbergen in the federal and regional media in 2010-2013, 2014-2017, and 2018-2021, given in DIN* values....	140
Figure 14. The conceptual metaphors that map the source domain of war onto the target domains of Svalbard and the Arctic.....	153
Figure 15. The conceptual metaphors that map the source domain of criminality onto the target domain of Svalbard.....	157
Figure 16. The conceptual metaphors that map the source domain of object (as well as of human being and container) onto the target domains of Svalbard and the Arctic.....	161
Figure 17. The conceptual metaphors that map the source domain of health and body onto the target domains of Svalbard and the Arctic.....	164
Figure 18. The conceptual metaphors that map the source domain of animals onto the target domain of Svalbard.....	166
Figure 19. The conceptual metaphors that map the source domains of buildings and construction onto the target domain of Svalbard.....	172
Figure 20. The conceptual metaphors that map the source domain of space onto the target domain of Svalbard.....	175
Figure 21. The conceptual metaphors that map the source domain of containers onto the target domains of Svalbard, the Arctic, and the Atlantic.....	181
Figure 22. The conceptual metaphors that map the source domain of journey onto the target domain of Svalbard.....	183
Figure 23. The conceptual metaphors that map the source domain of human being onto the target domain of Svalbard.....	189
Figure 24. The conceptual metaphors that map the source domain of food onto the target domains of Svalbard and the Barents Sea.....	191

Figure 25. The conceptual metaphors that map the source domains of fire and water onto the target domain of Svalbard	193
Figure 26. The conceptual metaphors that map the source domain of connection onto the target domains of Svalbard and the Arctic	196
Figure 27. The conceptual metaphors that map the source domain of science onto the target domain of Svalbard.....	198
Figure 28. The conceptual metaphors that map the source domain of religion and death onto the target domain of Svalbard.....	202
Figure 29. The conceptual metaphors that map the source domains of rivalry and sports onto the target domains of Svalbard and the Arctic	205
Figure 30. The conceptual metaphors that map the source domains of gambling and entertainment onto the target domain of Svalbard	208

Abstract

The permanent economic and scientific presence of Russia and Norway in the Svalbard archipelago involves both cooperation and diplomatic tensions. The purpose of this thesis is to contribute to clarifying the Russian view of Svalbard by examining Russian media perceptions of the archipelago. The study covers a sample of Russian mainstream federal and north-western regional media outlets and investigates articles published between 2010 and 2021.

The textual data is approached from the perspective of Critical Discourse Analysis and Cognitive Linguistics with quantitative and qualitative methods: Market Basket Analysis, Keymorph Analysis, and Metaphor Analysis.

The thesis has shown that Russian media perceptions of Svalbard can be interpreted as aligned with promotion and defense of Russian interests in the archipelago. The federal media consistently appeal to events related to official Russian-Norwegian relations. The coverage of Svalbard by these media shows a clear shift over time: the discussion of interaction and cooperation between the countries is replaced after 2013 by a decline in this discussion and the emergence of topics of sanctions and securitization. The regional media offer a more moderate view of Svalbard, neglecting to address major political, often negative, events involving Russia and Norway in a prominent way. However, the regional media may focus attention on such events when it comes to protecting the economic interests of the Russian northwestern regions in Svalbard. The greater interest of the regional media in science in comparison with the federal media can be interpreted as an orientation towards the promotion of Russian scientific presence in the archipelago.

Both types of media view Svalbard as a label, a passive entity, a destination, and the site of certain activities. From the geopolitical perspective, Svalbard is represented, for example, as a location tightly connected to Russia, the site of cooperation and tough competition among countries, mostly Russia and Norway, and a crucial point for controlling access to the Arctic.

Sammendrag

Russlands og Norges permanente økonomiske og vitenskapelige tilstedeværelse på Svalbard innebærer både samarbeid og diplomatiske spenninger. Hensikten med denne doktoravhandlingen er å bidra til å tydeliggjøre det russiske synet på Svalbard ved å undersøke russiske mediers oppfatning av øygruppen. Studien dekker et utvalg av russiske mainstream føderale og nordvestlige regionale medier og undersøker artikler publisert mellom 2010 og 2021.

Tekstdataene analyseres med utgangspunkt i kritisk diskursanalyse og kognitiv lingvistikk. Både kvantitative og kvalitative metoder benyttes: «Market Basket Analysis», «Keymorph Analysis» og metafor-analyse.

Avhandlingen har vist at russiske mediers oppfatning av Svalbard kan tolkes som i tråd med promotering og forsvar av russiske interesser på øygruppen. De føderale mediene appellerer konsekvent til hendelser knyttet til offisielle russisk-norske forhold. Dekningen av Svalbard i disse mediene viser et tydelig skifte over tid: Diskusjonen om samhandling og samarbeid mellom landene blir etter 2013 gradvis erstattet av temaer som sanksjoner og sikkerhetisering. De regionale mediene gir et mer moderat syn på Svalbard og unnlater å ta opp store politiske, ofte negative, hendelser som involverer Russland og Norge på en fremtredende måte. Regionalmediene kan imidlertid rette oppmerksomheten mot slike hendelser når det gjelder å beskytte Nordvest-Russlands økonomiske interesser på Svalbard. De regionale mediene viser større interesse for vitenskap sammenlignet med føderale medier. Dette kan tolkes som en orientering mot å fremme russisk vitenskapelig tilstedeværelse på øygruppen.

Begge typer medier ser på Svalbard som en «merkelapp», en passiv enhet, en destinasjon og et sted for spesielle aktiviteter. Fra et geopolitisk perspektiv er Svalbard representert for eksempel som et sted tett knyttet til Russland, et sted for samarbeid, men også tøff konkurranse mellom land, hovedsakelig Russland og Norge, og et avgjørende punkt for å kontrollere tilgangen til Arktis.

Аннотация

Постоянное экономическое и научное присутствие России и Норвегии на архипелаге Шпицберген включает в себя как сотрудничество, так и дипломатическую напряженность. Цель данной диссертации – внести вклад в прояснение российского взгляда на Шпицберген путем изучения восприятия архипелага российскими СМИ. Исследование охватывает выборку ведущих российских федеральных и северо-западных региональных СМИ и изучает статьи, опубликованные в период с 2010 по 2021 год.

Текстовые данные анализируются с точки зрения критического анализа дискурса и когнитивной лингвистики с использованием количественных и качественных методов: анализа рыночной корзины, анализа ключевых слов и анализа метафор.

Результаты исследования показывают, что восприятие Шпицбергена российскими СМИ можно интерпретировать как связанное с продвижением и защитой российских интересов на архипелаге. Федеральные СМИ последовательно апеллируют к событиям, связанным с официальными российско-норвежскими отношениями. Освещение Шпицбергена этими СМИ показывает явный сдвиг с течением времени: обсуждение взаимодействия и сотрудничества между странами сменяется после 2013 года спадом в этом обсуждении и появлением тем санкций и секьюритизации. Региональные СМИ предлагают более умеренный взгляд на Шпицберген, пренебрегая освещением крупных политических, зачастую негативных событий, связанных с Россией и Норвегией. Однако региональные СМИ могут сосредоточить внимание на подобных событиях, когда речь идет о защите экономических интересов российских северо-западных регионов на Шпицбергене. Большой интерес региональных СМИ к науке по сравнению с федеральными можно интерпретировать как ориентацию на продвижение российского научного присутствия на архипелаге.

Оба типа СМИ рассматривают Шпицберген как ярлык, пассивную сущность, пункт назначения и место определенной деятельности. С геополитической точки зрения Шпицберген представлен, например, как место, тесно связанное с Россией, место сотрудничества и жесткой конкуренции между странами, в основном Россией и Норвегией, а также как решающая точка контроля доступа к Арктике.

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1 Introduction

Svalbard (Spitsbergen) is an Arctic Archipelago, a part of the Norwegian territory since 1925. The archipelago has a unique legal status provided by the Svalbard Treaty of 1920. The Treaty recognizes the sovereignty of Norway over Svalbard and gives equal rights to other countries, including Russia, to conduct economic activity there. Norway and Russia are in fact the only states currently and historically present on the archipelago. The traditional economic activity on Svalbard, namely coal mining, has recently declined, while the importance of tourism and research has grown (Wæhler & Ingebrigtsen 2022: 1). The administrative center of Svalbard is the Norwegian settlement Longyearbyen. Other Norwegian settlements on Svalbard are Ny-Ålesund and Sveagruva. Russia's economic function in Svalbard is carried out through its company Trust Arktikugol that has three mining settlements in the archipelago: Barentsburg (limited mining) as well as Grumant and Pyramiden (the latter two are not involved in mining anymore) (Kelman et. al 2020: 2). On the one hand, Russian constant presence in the archipelago can be regarded as "the subject of conflict" since Russia and Norway have "several unresolved questions" concerning economic activity in the Svalbard region (Sergunin & Konyshev 2016: 136, 139). The Russian side constantly makes complaints to Norway about lack of access for Russian fishermen and scientists to the whole territory of the archipelago and the waters around it. In its claims, Russia refers to the Svalbard Treaty, thus emphasizing the international status of this territory (Sergunin & Konyshev 2016: 137, 139). On the other hand, Russia and Norway have a long tradition of cooperation in the region. For example, the countries have conducted disaster-related cooperation related to Svalbard, such as search-and-rescue (SAR), oil spill response, and accident-related healthcare for decades (Kelman et al. 2020: 3, Wæhler 2023: 71).

It should be noted that Svalbard is a territory where the interests of many countries have historically coincided. For example, according to Vaagan (2013), Svalbard, discovered in 1596 by the Dutch explorer Willem Barentsz (a generally accepted view), was an object of repeated claims for sovereignty by Denmark and Norway between 1577 and 1648. In addition, Russia has always claimed that the Russian pomors (a group of people living on the White Sea coasts) discovered the archipelago and named it Grumant (Vaagan 2013). Supporters of this point of view argue that Russian settlements appeared on Svalbard in the first half of the 16th century (Starkov 2005: 77). In the course of time, economic and strategic interests in the Svalbard region were claimed by the Netherlands, England, Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Germany, France, Russia, and the USA (Vaagan 2013).

Presence in the Svalbard archipelago in the form of economic and scientific activities can be interpreted as the construction of narratives of belonging (Roberts & Paglia 2016). Disaster-related activities, done in cooperation between Norway and Russia, can also be regarded as an approach "for asserting each country's preconceived rights to the archipelago" (Kelman et al. 2020: 5). According to Roberts & Paglia (2016), the role of science as a tool of constructing narratives of belonging on Svalbard is becoming more prominent in comparison with coal mining. The Norwegian scientific presence in the

archipelago, which has developed historically, and which today legitimizes the scientific participation of other countries on the archipelago under Norwegian administration, “validates (and even naturalizes) its [Norwegian] rule over Svalbard” (Roberts & Paglia 2016: 894). At the same time, some other countries develop their own scientific narratives related to Svalbard in an analogous way. For example, Russia claims presence on the archipelago on its own terms by developing scientific facilities in Barentsburg and Pyramiden independently (Roberts & Paglia 2016: 906).

In such a complex geopolitical context, it is reasonable to examine how the Russian media has portrayed Svalbard over the years. The role of the media in the modern world cannot be underestimated. People’s everyday engagement with media is important, and for some segments of society, the media is “the primary source of understanding of the world” (Talbot 2007: 3). Taking into consideration that the media do not just cover events, but interpret them, “broadcast a certain discourse” (Demil’xanova & Denisova 2016: 88) and “create a special rhetorical reality” (Bykova 2000: 43), it is relevant to investigate what images of Svalbard are being created by some Russian media outlets. Such images can be interpreted as aimed at achieving and maintaining a certain public consensus on Svalbard in Russia.

The study done by Vaagan (2013) demonstrates that the Norwegian and Russian daily newspapers, *Aftenposten* and *Rossijskaja gazeta* respectively, have traditionally offered different names for Svalbard, and that fact also indicates opposing cultural memories of the archipelago. Vaagan (2013) shows the prevalence of usage of the name Svalbard over the name Spitsbergen in *Aftenposten* since 1926, after Svalbard had become a part of Norway. Originating from the Icelandic sagas, the term Svalbard was in line with the Norwegian political tone of that time that the archipelago belongs to Norway “both historically, geographically and legally”, the tone that remains prevalent also today. In texts from *Rossijskaja gazeta* for the period 2003–2012, on the contrary, the term Spitsbergen was preferred over Svalbard. The Russian tendency to use Spitsbergen, the name given to the archipelago by Barentsz, is interpreted by Vaagan (2013) as questioning Norwegian sovereignty over this territory. The name Spitsbergen, pronounced by Russians as Špicbergen is, however, adopted not only in the Russian media but in the Russian language overall (Pospelov 1998: 475). In the present study, both names for the archipelago are used. The name *Spitsbergen* is used only as a gloss of the noun *Špicbergen* when it is mentioned as one of the objects of this study. In the examples from the data, the noun *Špicbergen* is translated as *Svalbard*.

Vaagan’s (2013) research is the only published English-language study of the systematic coverage of Svalbard by the Russian media that I have found so far. The study reveals four main media frames of Svalbard in *Rossijskaja gazeta* during 2003–2012: Fish, Geopolitics, Decrees, and Science. The study does not include analysis of media frames that emerged in *Aftenposten* during the same period.

The present research is aimed at providing a fuller picture of recent media coverage of Svalbard in Russia. The study covers a number of federal and regional media outlets and investigates the articles published between 2010 and 2021. This period is aligned to the important political events that could potentially influence the coverage of Svalbard

in the Russian media. In 2010, Norway and Russia signed the Agreement Concerning Maritime Delimitation and Cooperation in the Barents Sea and the Arctic Ocean. This event is considered “a culmination of the Russian-Norwegian steady relation” (Lipunov 2021) that officially terminated the almost 40-year border dispute between Russia and Norway in the Barents Sea (Choi 2014). The year 2014 can be characterized as the start of the Ukrainian crisis, which reduced the political dialogue between Norway and Russia to a minimum (Lipunov 2021). In 2018, one of NATO’s largest exercises Trident Juncture that covered Norway’s western sea border, including High North, was held (Starling 2018). Though Svalbard is not a topic that one expects to see in Russian news every day, it is anticipated within the present study that Svalbard gets Russian media coverage in accordance with the above-mentioned and other events relevant for the period 2010-2021.

The textual data in the present study is approached from the perspective of Critical Discourse Analysis, Cognitive Linguistics, and Corpus Linguistics. This means that the scientific novelty of the present work is not merely the analysis of systematic media coverage of Svalbard over prolonged periods of time. The present study is also aimed at probing into this context from a perspective of linguistics, that is how content is represented through dynamics of prominence of lexical units and how images of certain discourse participants are constructed through a use of grammar and metaphors. Given the context of Russia’s interests in Svalbard, it is expected that the country’s presence in the archipelago is at least one of the main focuses of the Russian media. Thus, this dissertation will hopefully contribute to the research on Russia’s presence in Svalbard, a body of research that is relatively sparse (Wæhler 2023: 72).

The data is analyzed with the help of quantitative and qualitative methods. The quantitative part of the analysis is comprised of Market Basket Analysis and Keymorph Analysis, methods previously used for investigation of the media- and political discourses in the Czech Republic and the Russian Federation (e.g., Fidler & Cvrček 2018; Fidler & Cvrček 2019; Cvrček & Fidler 2022; Janda et al. 2022). Market Basket Analysis aims to reveal Associative Links and Associative Arrays of keywords in text corpora and thus to investigate contexts and concepts associated with particular keywords (Cvrček & Fidler 2022). Keymorph Analysis examines the structure of discourse by revealing how discourse participants are represented through prominent morphosyntactic structures, e.g., grammatical cases of nouns (Fidler & Cvrček 2018; Janda et al. 2022). The qualitative part of the analysis includes analysis of conceptual metaphors (e.g., Lakoff & Johnson 1980). The quantitative methods, Market Basket Analysis and Keymorph Analysis, further entail qualitative analysis.

In chapter 2, the context of the present study will be provided. The context includes a description of Russian interests in the Svalbard region (subsection 2.1) and a description of the mainstream media as a part of the Russian media landscape (subsection 2.2). In chapter 3, the theoretical background of the present study is given. The chapter consists of several parts: a description of media discourse in the context of linguistics (subsection 3.1), a short overview of Critical Discourse Analysis (subsection 3.2), a description of a theoretical approach that combines Critical Discourse Analysis and Cognitive

Linguistics used in the present study (subsection 3.3), and a short description of Corpus Linguistics (subsection 3.4). In chapter 4, research questions and predictions are provided. Chapter 5 consists of a description of the data and methods used in the study. In chapter 6, the implementation of Market Basket Analysis is described. Chapter 7 provides a description of implementation of Keymorph Analysis. The course of the Metaphor Analysis is described in chapter 8. The dissertation ends with chapter 9, which discusses the main findings (subsection 9.1) and limitations of the study (subsection 9.2), and chapter 10, which provides conclusions and future directions.

2 The context of the study

2.1 Russian interests in Svalbard

Nowadays Norway and Russia are the only states that preserve “a continuous, historic presence” in Svalbard (Kelman et al. 2020: 2). The presence of the countries in the archipelago is regulated by the Svalbard Treaty (originally the Spitsbergen Treaty) of 1920¹ signed by 46 parties and recognizing Norway’s sovereignty over Svalbard. The treaty enables the parties to “have equal access to carry out economic activities on the islands and in their territorial waters”. The treaty prohibits a use of the archipelago for military purposes, and Norway cannot “establish or permit the establishment of any naval base or fortifications in the treaty area” (Todorov 2020b: 130).

Russia has never claimed sovereignty over Svalbard on an official level and it generally accepts Norwegian jurisdiction over Svalbard in accordance with the Svalbard Treaty (Todorov 2020a: 2; Wither 2018: 31). However, Russia joined the treaty under some duress. As noted in (Todorov 2020a: 2), the treaty was negotiated in 1920 without Russia’s participation because the country was struggling with a serious economic crisis at that time. The first reaction of the USSR to the treaty was negative because the USSR strived to preserve the status of the archipelago as a territory exempted from any state’s sovereignty. However, the USSR needed international recognition as a young state and in 1924, after Norway had recognized the Soviet Union, the USSR recognized Norwegian sovereignty over Svalbard. The Soviet Union joined the Svalbard Treaty in 1935.

The Norwegian interpretation of the Svalbard Treaty has been “a frequent source of diplomatic friction” between Russia and Norway since Soviet times (Wither 2018: 30). The interpretation is also disputed by other signatures, for example, Iceland, the UK, and Spain (Groenning 2017). Russia often expresses claims for special status among other parties based on its “long historical association” with Svalbard (Wither 2018: 31). However, Russia’s suggestions for bilateral consultations with Norway regarding economic activities in Svalbard are normally rejected by Norway (Todorov 2020a: 4). Russia’s attempt to gain special status in the Svalbard context is connected by Todorov

¹ The treaty is also called the Treaty of Paris on Spitsbergen (1920).

(2020a: 1-2) to the following factors: 1) Russia has a long history of activities in Svalbard that can be regarded as “significant contribution to the exploration and development of the archipelago”; 2) Russia maintains a constant economic presence in the archipelago; 3) Svalbard is critical to the national security of Russia because it is situated “in close proximity to the Russian strategic nuclear deterrence forces”. Todorov (2020a: 2) notes that Russian officials and scholars often back up their arguments for Russia’s special interests in Svalbard by Russian historical presence in Svalbard. They refer to the historical hypothesis that rejects the view that Svalbard was discovered by Willem Barents but instead claim that the archipelago was visited by the Russian Pomors probably in the X-XI centuries, that is some centuries before Barents’ expedition.

There are several sources of disagreement between Norway and Russia in relation to the Svalbard Treaty. One of them concerns the sea waters in the Svalbard area. Wither (2018: 30-31) and Groenning (2017) describe the problem as follows. In 1977, Norway introduced a fisheries protection zone (FPZ) of 200 nautical miles around Svalbard. This fact repeatedly provoked protests from the USSR / Russia and several European countries which attributed these waters to the jurisdiction of the Svalbard Treaty. Since the late 1990s, Norwegian action to protect declining fishing stocks resulted in a number of clashes between the Norwegian Coast Guard and Russian fishermen who exercised the right to fish in the waters near the archipelago. According to Wither (2018: 31), despite the potential to escalate, these incidents were resolved by diplomatic means. The Agreement Concerning Maritime Delimitation and Cooperation in the Barents Sea and the Arctic Ocean signed by Norway and Russia in 2010 (hereinafter the Barents Sea Border Agreement of 2010) did not help to ease the overall tensions regarding waters around Svalbard (Wither 2018: 31). On the contrary, this agreement received criticism from some Russian scholars and the Russian fishing community who argued that by signing the treaty Russia implicitly recognized the Norwegian claims over the FPZ and the continental shelf around the archipelago (Todorov 2020a: 4-5).

Another concern for Russia is the continental shelf in Svalbard’s seabed. As Todorov (2020a: 4) notes, the Norwegian side views the continental shelf near Svalbard as a continuation of the continental shelf of the mainland northern Norway rather than as one unique to Svalbard. This view is particularly important in the context that the Barents Sea may potentially contain large oil reserves (Todorov 2020a: 4). According to Wither (2018: 31), the opening of three new blocks for oil and gas exploration near Svalbard by Norway in 2015 caused objections from the Russian side. The latter argued that these territories are covered by the Svalbard Treaty and that Norway’s action did not take into consideration other signatories’ rights (Wither 2018: 31).

Scientific and commercial activities in the archipelago have also become a subject of claims. The installation of scientific facilities, e.g., Svalbard Radar in 1996 and the Svalbard Satellite Station in 1997 by Norway caused “perhaps justifiable objections” from the Russian side that these “could be used to monitor ballistic missile flight paths” (Wither 2018: 31). On the other hand, the Norwegian side was dissatisfied about Russian commercial helicopter operations because Norwegian law does not allow the use of

helicopters in the archipelago for tourism purposes (Wither 2018: 31; Todorov 2020b: 139). In addition, Russia views the extension of environmental zones in the archipelago by Norway as “artificial”, aimed at infringement of Russia’s economic interests in the region (Todorov 2020b: 139). The centenary of the signing of the Svalbard Treaty was marked by a letter of Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov to his colleague Ine Eriksen Søreide with a proposal to “conduct bilateral consultations on eliminating restrictions on the activities of Russian structures in the archipelago” (MID: 2020). Norway’s policy towards Svalbard was later called by the Russian Embassy in Norway a violation of the Svalbard Treaty of 1920, and the Director of the Information and Press Department of the Russian Foreign Ministry, Maria Zakharova, accused Norway of “limiting the Russian presence in the Svalbard archipelago” (MID: 2020).

Russia’s annexation of Crimea in 2014 also resulted in diplomatic consequences in relation to Svalbard. In 2015, Russian Deputy Prime Minister Dmitry Rogozin visited Svalbard though he was under sanctions (Wither 2018: 31). The event prompted an exchange of negative statements between the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of Norway and Russia. Soon after, in August 2015, Norway tightened the rules for deportation of citizens from Svalbard – from that moment on, persons under international sanctions, which Norway recognizes, must be deported from the archipelago (Todorov 2020b: 134).

Svalbard is also regarded in the context of security risks. While Russia’s relationships with other Arctic states were earlier characterized as collaboration, the approach has recently become more competitive and antagonistic. After the annexation of Crimea, most military cooperation was suspended, and NATO was listed among the main external military dangers in the Military Doctrine of the Russian Federation in 2014 (Wither 2018: 32-33). Svalbard is automatically included in this context. In Russia’s opinion, Norway follows the narrow interpretation of the Svalbard Treaty 1920 by not regarding such actions as the entry of military ships in Svalbard’s ports and the overflight of military aircraft as a violation of the treaty (Todorov 2020b: 127). As a result, visits to Svalbard by Norwegian warships and military cargo aircrafts evoked complaints from the Russian side (Wither 2018: 31). In 2017, Norway was included in the Russian national security assessment as a separate threat in the context of potential military conflicts with NATO because Norwegian authorities were attempting to establish “absolute national jurisdiction” over the archipelago (Nilsen 2017).

The location of Svalbard certainly has a military strategic importance. The archipelago is surrounded by non-freezing waters and is located near important communication routes used by warships and submarines to move between the Atlantic and Arctic Oceans (Todorov 2020b: 129). Svalbard is also located near Russian bases with nuclear weapons (Todorov 2020b: 129). Wither (2018: 28, 37) argues that the remoteness of Svalbard from mainland Norway and its peculiar legal status make the archipelago in the long-term perspective “politically and militarily vulnerable to Russian adventurism intended to test NATO’s cohesion and solidarity in crisis”. Wither (2018: 32, 34-35) portrays various grounds for a potential Russian invasion in Svalbard. Russia might claim that it follows the Svalbard Treaty and thus it needs to protect the rights of

fishermen, to provide access to mineral resources, or to respond to violations of the archipelago's status as a demilitarized zone. Østhagen et al. (2020: 201) write that nowadays “distinctly nationalistic tendencies in Russian politics, both in the media and in society as a whole” can at least evoke a stronger reaction of the Russian authorities to detention of Russian trawlers in comparison with a more moderate reaction in the past. Seizure of the archipelago might mean for Russia an increase of its ability to protect strategic nuclear submarine bases on the Kola Peninsula and a denial of access to the northern seas for NATO (Wither 2018: 32, 34). A repetition of the scenario of annexation of Crimea in Svalbard in the future is not excluded by Wither (2018: 35): it can happen “with the hidden militarization of Barentsburg through a large intake of ‘researchers’ and the arrival of supply ships with large civilian containers holding military equipment”. However, it is unclear how this scenario could actually play out, given the current sanctions and border controls due to the escalation of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict in 2022. On the other hand, the new geopolitical realities combined with controversial issues regarding Svalbard may exacerbate the risk of conflict associated with the archipelago (Baudu 2023: 76). In the event of a possible crisis in the archipelago, it is the isolation and unique legal status of Svalbard that could jeopardize the solidarity of NATO’s action (Wither 2018: 36).

The Norwegian and Russian activities in the Svalbard region can also be viewed in a more positive light. For example, Todorov (2020a: 4-5) argues that Russia’s participation in the Norwegian-Russian Joint Fisheries Commission implies that the country’s role in FPZ-related issues is “undisputed and influential”. The author writes that even though Russia disapproves certain Norwegian policies in the archipelago, it will most probably be satisfied with the current status-quo. Agreeing with other nations about the coverage of the FPZ waters by the Svalbard Treaty will deprive Russia of its “influential role” in fishing management in the region (Todorov 2020a: 4-5). A threat of a military conflict over Svalbard can also be regarded as minimal since the agenda in the region “is dominated by economic issues” (Todorov 2020b: 128). Russia and Norway keep longstanding and largely successful bilateral Arctic cooperation in the context of fisheries, border security, environmental management, search and rescue, incidents at sea, oil spill preparedness and response, and healthcare delivery (Kelman et al. 2020: 2; Wither 2018: 33; Wæhler 2023: 46). Overall, “Svalbard remains subject to carefully crafted political dialogue and calculations” between two countries even though, for example, disaster-related cooperation does not have an impact on Norway-Russia relations (Kelman et al. 2020: 2-5). As for disagreement about FPZ, Østhagen et al. (2020: 203) did not find a particular negative influence of events of 2014 on the level of this conflict. On the contrary, both sides seem to “attach great importance to cooperation”. According to Todorov (2020a: 5), the Russian and Norwegian interest “in maintaining the existing balance” in terms of Svalbard’s waters and cooperation with Norway “for mutual economic benefit” can in a certain way guarantee that the countries will be able to deal with possible security challenges in the future. It should be noted, however, that the new geopolitical realities that arose after February 2022 influenced Russia’s cooperation with Norway, including in relation to Svalbard, and other Arctic states. For example, a number of Arctic states, including Norway, suspended their participation in the Arctic Council due to Russia’s actions in Ukraine, and a third of the

forum's projects were suspended (The Moscow Times: 2024). Rescue exercises in Svalbard, in which Russia participated, were stopped (Wæhler 2023: 46).

This thesis focuses on the role that Russian media played in representing Svalbard to their audiences between 2010 and 2021. Within this study it is assumed that the role of the media in production, repetition, and consolidation of certain discourses is crucial. The research is framed in the field of linguistics, and it provides a systematic investigation of media texts created over a period of twelve years. This approach to text research can be characterized as a search for patterns in the use of vocabulary and grammar that contribute to the formation of certain themes, narratives, and attitudes.

2.2 The Russian mainstream media

Media discourse is often regarded as “a mirror of the era that gave birth to it” (Klušina 2010: 25). This presumes that a change in the ideological model of a state entails a change in media discourse. The media discourses that appeared and succeeded each other in the Soviet Union / Russia in the late 20th and early 21st centuries are characterized by Klušina (2010: 26-27) as Soviet (totalitarian), perestroika (poly-ideological) as well as post-perestroika (newest or mono-ideological) discourses. The period of 2010 – 2021, the focus of the present research, is embedded in a mono-ideological media discourse. The aim of this discourse is the formation of a single ideology in the media space. Klušina (2010: 27-28) gives a positive evaluation of mono-ideological discourse by noting that such a discourse is typical for “stable developed states with a stable, rooted ideology that consolidates society and gives impetus to its further development”. She argues that mono-ideological media discourse allows alternative opinions to exist as well. Such opinions may appear in individual articles of mono-ideological media outlets or can be represented by oppositional or alternative media outlets.

The Russian media discourse of the period 2010 – 2021 can also be characterized as having totalitarian elements. State control, established over national TV channels and important newspapers as a means of “liberating the media from oligarchs” at the start of the Putin era (Ognyanova 2014: 6), has only grown stronger over time. A recent example of expansion of state control is a change of the editors-in-chief of the liberal independent media outlets *RBC* in 2016-2017 and *Vedomosti* in 2020 for pro-Kremlin ones (Euro | topics 2020). State influence over media has been demonstrated through selective application of laws as well. Amendments to the Law on Fighting Extremist Activity passed in 2006 and 2007 made it possible to perceive almost any text, including ones that criticize state officials, as violating the law (Ognyanova 2014: 13, 18).

Although online media enjoyed some freedom compared to state television channels, over the years this freedom has also been further constrained by law. The websites that criticized the regime (e.g., *MBK media* and *grani.ru*) were blocked, but however became available via redirects (Euro | topics 2020). The state administration also used manipulative tactics, discrediting the Internet content, and claiming that it is “unreliable, biased, and dangerous” (Ognyanova 2014: 13). Since 2019, the media that were at least

partially financed from abroad and covered politics started to be classified with the label “foreign agents”, thereby limiting their functioning (Euro | topics 2020). At the end of 2021, 27 media outlets and 74 people were listed in the register “media – foreign agents” (Meduza 2021).

Overall, at the end of the past decade, free and independent information was still available in Russia, but only for those who actively sought it (Euro | topics 2020). The events in Ukraine that started in February 2022 contributed to the introduction of military censorship in the Russian media space. It put an end to the Russian former media market because the independent media outlets that dared to criticize the Russian military aggression were closed and had to move their editorial offices abroad (e.g., *Novaja Gazeta* and *Dožd'*). It is reported that some new independent media (*Astra*, *Kedr*, and others) were established inside Russia in spring and summer 2022 (Meduza 2022). However, these media outlets function mainly in Telegram and YouTube Internet platforms that can potentially be blocked by the Russian Roskomnadzor (2014) – the Russian federal agency that monitors, controls and censors Russian mass media. Thus, at the time of this writing, Russian media discourse can be presumably characterized as moving towards totalitarian rather than remaining mono-ideological.

The increase of state control over the Russian media market during the past twenty years gives us reason to regard widely read mainstream media as a stable agenda-setting tool used for general public consumption in Russia (Gritsenko 2016: 9). In the present study, Chomsky's (1997) understanding of mainstream media is adopted. These are the media that are “called the agenda-setting media because they are the ones with the big resources, they set the framework in which everyone operates”. “The big resources” provide these media with wide coverage and thus a wide audience. In the Russian context, the media outlets that call themselves democratic opposition as well as independent ones are suppressed in terms of availability, and they are traditionally focused on the “intelligent minority” (Ljapun 2012: 797). Due to their narrow focus and lack of reliable availability, opposition media outlets are excluded from this study.

In addition to setting the agenda, the media often act as a model that determines the boundaries of permissible discourse acceptable in a society (Ognyanova 2014: 13). In other words, the media “close down a potentially infinite heteroglossia² into a unified editorial voice,” a voice that however may appear to include a range of voices and attitudes (Conboy 2010: 6).

If we accept the fact that the media are a part of “the business of governing” (Kovalyova 2014: 50) and that journalism “has always been deeply involved in the creation of power structures” (Conboy 2010: 10), it can be said that the state controlled modern Russian mainstream media accomplish these tasks together with the state. By setting the agenda, shaping perceptions, and developing patterns of behavior these media also “help maintain society and sustain the existing order” (Kovalyova 2014: 51). This situation

² Heteroglossia is Russian theorist Mikhail Bakhtin's term. Conboy (2010: 5) understands this term as a “conceptualization of the fact that all language transactions take place in the context of potentially alternative expressions”.

can also be approached from a pragmatic angle: legitimization of state's power is a guarantee of survival on the Russian media market.

Duguid & Partington (2017: 69, 72, 74) describe the construction of meaning in public discourse in terms of transdiscursive intertextuality, i.e., a chain of discourse types, that mainstream media are a part of (Figure 1). Transdiscursive intertextuality implies that a message from a political source (e.g., press briefings from a state administration) is adopted and reproduced in the mainstream media. The latter act as a channel transmitting “a particular version of events” that the public is urged to accept. The mediation of a political message to the public happens quite naturally. The public is more likely to consume summaries of political events (political speeches, press briefings or parliamentary debates) with some quotes from the media than to follow these events from beginning to end. The next link in the chain of transdiscursive intertextuality is an open discussion of the message / news in the social media. This stage, proposed by Duguid & Partington, can be interpreted in several ways. For example, the message can receive comments from the audience on Facebook, Twitter, and other social media pages of the mainstream media. Alternatively, opinion leaders (experts, bloggers, etc.) can frame the message in accordance with their attitudes and publish it on their social media pages. Such posts will also receive comments from the audience. The activity in social media can further be picked up and reported in the mainstream media. This message, in its turn, can be noted by politicians who the next morning read press reviews prepared for them by their agents (Duguid & Partington 2017: 72).

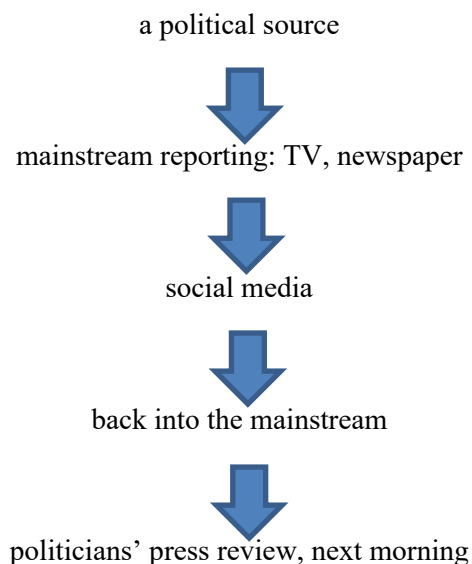


Figure 1. Transdiscursivity. The potential political message cycle (Duguid & Partington 2017: 72)

Transdiscursive intertextuality demonstrates that the role of mainstream media in meaning construction in public discourse is crucial. Mainstream media “feed” the general public with certain political messages and later they can “measure” public

sentiment towards a message and “report it back” to the direct source of the message. In this respect, mainstream media act as a mediator between politicians and the public.

An important question that arises from the given chain and that is relevant to the present study is whether a political message is modified by the mainstream media before they transmit it further, to the general public, and if yes, what kind of modifications exist. Fairclough (1995: 183, 188) notes that the relationship between political and journalistic discourses is complex, tense, and contradictory. One reason for this tension is that media present traditional genres of political discourse in the context of genres of media discourse. Čepkina (2012: 73–74, 77) offers the following description of media discourse. Mass media have their “own logic of selection and interpretation of events and personalities” as well as of “construction of concepts”. Media often select events, as well as choose and present politicians from the perspective of sensation. Often, news about events is presented without regard to the causes and consequences of these events, since a deep analysis of the problem takes a lot of effort from a journalist and does not arouse interest among a wide audience. It is evident that in such a context a political message can be “significantly transformed”. There can be excessive simplification, scandal amplification, drama in the coverage of political events, as well as a lack of attention to really important events and problems. Such an approach to coverage of even serious public affairs is explained by Fairclough (1995: 10-11) as “intensified marketization of the media”, which implies that the media are forced into entertainment of their audience because of commercial pressures and competition.

A transformation of a political message can also happen on the level of attitudes. Duguid & Partington (2017: 89) describe this phenomenon in the context of forced (lexical) priming – a frequent deliberate usage of certain words and concepts designed to propagate them further. Duguid & Partington (2017: 89) provide an example of the UK press which does not always re-broadcast the forced priming imposed by the British politicians in line with the intentions of the latter. On the contrary, forced priming can be subjected to sarcasm, criticized, ridiculed, or even rejected by the media.

Among the factors that may contribute to transformation of a political message by the media is the relationship between the media and their audience. There is a certain logic “that places the readers and writers in their respective positions, and the political consequences of such positioning” (Kovalyova 2014: 50). As Baker et al. (2013: 6) note, the relationship between the media and their audiences is “complex, with each influencing the other”. On the one hand, the political role of the media is not in reporting news, but in creating a specific audience that consumes media information “in order to make sense of their world” (Kovalyova 2014: 50). In that sense, the reporter and the media act “as a figure of authority, someone who knows (has ‘the facts’) and someone who has the right to tell” (Fairclough 1995: 4). On the other hand, an audience is not “simply passive vessels of information.” An audience is itself a “part of the meaning-making process of the newspaper” often acting as a source of the news (Conboy 2010: 3). In such a context, the media “must also construct themselves in relationship to their reader”, or their audience (Baker et al. 2013: 6). This happens, e.g., through maintenance by a media outlet of “a particular brand of language” that the audience recognizes

(Conboy 2010: 8). A relationship to the audience implies a certain “sensitivity” towards other multiple identities of the audience (gender, nationality, region, political views, etc.) that a media outlet must take into account (Baker et al. 2013: 6). The complexity of the relationship between the media and their audience is also that the latter are in many ways perceived by the former in terms of demographics, as “commodities sold to advertisers” (Talbot 2007: 4).

Applying the above to the context of the present study, one can say that its focus is on the second stage of Duguid & Partington’s (2017: 72) transdiscursive intertextuality chain, i.e., mainstream media coverage of a political message received from a political source. A certain part of the articles related to Svalbard may report and comment on statements from official political sources, e.g., originating from the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Though it can be expected that the political messages will be transmitted by the media in compliance with the intentions of the source, there can potentially be room for (significant) modification of such messages. However, since the present study does not include official political documents related to Svalbard, it does not aim to examine, for example, whether modifications of original political messages occur, what kind of narratives include modified messages, and what can be a reason for such modifications. Instead, the present study is constructed from a data-driven approach and covers articles related to Svalbard published in certain media at a certain point of time. For this reason, it is expected that some narratives related to Svalbard do not necessarily involve any political sources, but instead can be presented, for instance, in the form of stories about the history or nature of the archipelago written by scientists-columnists.

The present study examines how Svalbard is framed by the media on two levels: the federal and the regional ones. The regional media included into the analysis are the ones operating in the Murmansk and Arkhangelsk Oblast (regions). According to Dovbysh (2019: 71, 74), despite being the least-studied part of the Russian media system, regional media are still regarded as an important and reliable source of information. Poor regional advertising markets force these media to rely on state financial support: this form of funding acts as “a tool of control” and at the same time supports production of “public-oriented content” (Dovbysh 2019: 81-82). Thus, on the one hand, the Russian regional media are forced to present “the shared agenda with the government”, but on the other hand, their traditional mission to “solve real problems of real people” has been preserved to some extent (Erzikova & Lowrey 2014: 40, 44).

The Murmansk and Arkhangelsk regions have traditionally been economically connected to Svalbard due to their relative geographical proximity to the archipelago. Russian scientists provide archeological and documental evidence that Russian Arkhangelsk Pomors visited the archipelago from the early sixteenth century until the mid-nineteenth century in order to hunt and trap there (Starkov 2005: 63). Before WWII, Svalbard coal produced by the Russian side was supplied for the needs of the Murmansk and Arkhangelsk regions (Arktikugol’ 2022a). Nowadays, a branch of the Arktikugol trust which is a leading Russian organization in the Svalbard archipelago is located in Murmansk. This branch is responsible for logistics: the supply of materials, equipment,

and products to the Russian mining settlements in Svalbard (Arktikugol' 2022b). The Russian Northern fishing fleet, represented by vessels from the Murmansk and Arkhangelsk regions, has traditionally fished in the Western part of the Barents Sea, namely in the Svalbard waters. The Russian Northern regions have demonstrated strong economic interests in the Svalbard region. For instance, between 2005 and 2012 shipowners and politicians from the Murmansk region expressed sharp criticism of the Russian federal authorities for not protecting Russian trawlers from detentions by the Norwegian side near the archipelago (Østhagen et al. 2020: 192).

Overall, at least before the events in Ukraine that started in February 2022 and the following sanctions imposed on Russia, the Murmansk and Arkhangelsk regions have been involved in economic, scientific, and cultural cooperation with the nearest Arctic neighbor Norway, namely with Northern Norwegian provinces. International cooperation was regarded as an important part of strategy for development, as an instrument that would add to the domestic and international prestige of the Russian Northern regions. For instance, Arkhangelsk and Murmansk have several Norwegian sister cities: Tromsø and Vadsø are sister cities of Murmansk, Vardø is a sister city of Arkhangelsk (Sergunin & Konyshev 2016: 60, 64)³. The Murmansk Marine Biological Institute (2022a) has had close ties with Norwegian colleagues from Tromsø, Oslo, and Bergen as well as close collaboration with the University of Bodø in recent years. The institute has organized international conferences related to research on Svalbard's environment since 2001 (Murmansk Marine Biological Institute 2022b). The international Northern Character Film and TV Festival, held in Murmansk since 2008, has a jury of professionals from Russia, Finland, Sweden, and Norway (Northern Character 2022). The Norwegian side also viewed the cooperation in a positive way. For example, the so-called "Pomor visa" regime that guaranteed a simplified access to multiple entry visas to Norway for residents of Murmansk and Arkhangelsk regions was introduced in 2011 (Moskovskij Komsomolec 2011). The Norwegian Barents Secretariat, an organization aimed at supporting Norwegian-Russian projects, has functioned since 1993 (The Norwegian Barents Secretariat 2022). However, international cooperation of Russian northern regions sometimes became a matter of disagreement with the Russian federal authorities. Thus, strengthening of federal control caused the closure of some promising international economic projects, e.g., the Pomor Special Economic Zone between the Sør-Varanger community and Murmansk Region (Sergunin & Konyshev 2016: 61, 64).

The present study takes into account the context of international diversified cooperation of the Murmansk and Arkhangelsk regions in Svalbard and in the Arctic overall as well as the "power struggle with Moscow" (Sergunin & Konyshev 2016: 66) related to development of this cooperation. The present study also takes into consideration strong economic interests of the Murmansk and Arkhangelsk regions, namely fishery, in the

³ In October 2022, Tromsø announced the rupture of sister city relations with Murmansk, Arkhangelsk, and Nadym. Sister-city relations may be restored after the end of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict (<https://www.tatar-inform.ru/news/norvezskiy-gorod-tromse-razorval-pobratimskie-svyazi-s-murmanskom-i-arxangelskom-5884528>).

Svalbard region. Thus, the study is expected to show whether the regional media agenda related to Svalbard differs from that of the federal mainstream media, and whether participants in the discursive narratives are portrayed differently compared to the mainstream media. As with central federal media, opposition or independent regional media are not included in the analysis.

3 Theoretical framework

3.1 Media discourse as approached by linguistics

The present research draws on discourse theories and theories from cognitive linguistics. The starting theoretical point of the present research is a linguistic approach to media communication. This approach is described, e.g., by the term media discourse analysis adopted in the English-language literature (Budaev & Čudinov 2006: 167, 173). O’Keeffe (2011: 441) regards media discourse as interactions taking place through a broadcast platform (spoken or written), and this interaction is oriented to non-present recipients: reader, listener, or viewer. It should be noted that the power of traditional media to shape discourse is now being challenged by the global Internet, in which readers can express their opinions on social networks or on the Internet pages of traditional media (Baker & McEnery 2015: 244).

Talbot (2007: 3) describes media discourse as a multidisciplinary field: it is a subject of interest in media and cultural studies as well as in linguistics, especially in such branches of linguistics as conversation analysis, critical discourse analysis, linguistic anthropology, pragmatics, sociolinguistics, etc. Media discourse is viewed by Talbot (2007: 4) as involved in three interaction sites: interactions in production communities (among producers of media texts), interaction in audience communities (among viewers, readers, and listeners), and ‘interactivity’ between producers and audiences. The latter interaction presumes that the audiences are not perceived as interlocutors by producers, but as consumers of products of interactions in production communities.

A significant component of media discourse is texts or language data, often easily accessible for a researcher (Talbot 2007: 4-5). Fairclough (1995: 16-17) views text analysis, that is roughly speaking an analysis of a newspaper article or a transcription of a broadcast, as a central element of media analysis, although preferably complemented with analysis of text perception and text production. Media language itself is “very complex in terms of its socio-economic and communicative context” (Bednarek 2009: 5). In general, the context in which media texts are created determines the fact that the media are not neutral “information transmitters” (Vertessen & Landtsheer 2005: 9). The media always report “from some particular angle” (Fowler 1993: 10). Thus, what the media offer should be regarded as representations of events (Baker et al. 2013: 3). These representations are limited not only by the impossibility of a complete, impartial, and accurate reflection of reality, but also by the choice that must be made by journalists in the process of creating texts regarding certain events and opinions, a choice restricted

by time, space, and the political affiliation of a media outlet (Fairclough 1995: 104; Baker et al. 2013: 3).

Analysis of media language requires that a researcher chooses what area is to be examined: the genres (type of media content: news, advertising, game shows, etc.), the outlets (carriers of content: the publications, television channels or radio stations) or the outputs (what is produced by the media outlets: specific newscasts, advertisements, or programs) (Bell 1991: 12).

The present research is focused on media language or media texts as the outputs of specific media outlets. The study takes into consideration that media texts are a product of interactions in production communities. Interaction in audience communities as well as ‘interactivity’ between the text producers and audiences are not within the scope of the present study. However, it is presumed that media texts are created for a certain audience that can give feedback to a text producer (e.g., in the social media) relating to a publication or discuss the publication within their own group (e.g., in the social media as well).

According to Budaev & Čudinov (2006: 167-169), Western research into media language is characterized by three approaches: rhetorical, cognitive, and discursive (Figure 2). The rhetorical approach assumes a traditional understanding of rhetoric as applied to media texts. This approach studies ways of “decorating” media texts with the help of various language means (metaphor, antithesis, epithet, inversion, etc.) which contribute to persuasion of the addressee. The cognitive approach is focused on research of mental phenomena represented in media texts. Texts and their components are viewed as reflecting the author’s mentality and as affecting the addressee’s consciousness. For example, metaphor is understood not so much as a “decoration of a thought” but more as a “special form of thinking”. The leading representatives of the cognitive approach are Lakoff & Johnson (1980). The focus of the discursive approach is the text and its context. Discourse analysis can examine how the text is related to other texts, how the text depends on the social situation in the country, how the text influences the life of society, etc. For example, metaphors that appear in the text are analyzed from the perspective of their frequency, effect, intertextuality, and ability to express the author’s real attitude towards a certain problem. The representatives of the discursive approach are van Dijk (e.g., 2016), Fairclough (e.g., 1995), Wodak (e.g., 2001), Maas (1984), etc. In a number of studies, the above-mentioned approaches are combined with each other or with other approaches from related sciences (sociology, psychology, political science, etc.).⁴

⁴ A detailed description of the discursive approach is given in subsection 3.2.

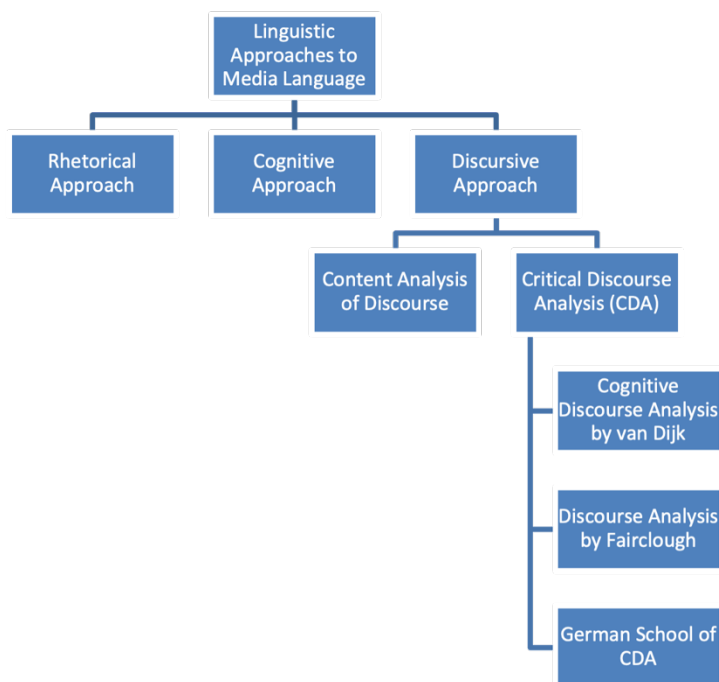


Figure 2. Major linguistic approaches to media language, based on prose description in Budaev & Cudinov (2006: 167-171)

The present research is placed within a combination of cognitive and discursive approaches towards the analysis of media language. This combination can be described by the notion of the Cognitive Linguistic approach to Critical Discourse Analysis (e.g., Hart 2011a; Hart 2011b; Hart 2014). In subsection 3.2, I will explain the concept of discourse and a form of its analysis named Critical Discourse Analysis. A description of how Critical Discourse Analysis can be complemented by theories from Cognitive Linguistics will be given in subsection 3.3.

3.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

The term discourse has a vast number of definitions and some authors have provided an overview of them (e.g., Jaworski & Coupland 2006; Angermuller et al. 2014). Partington et al. (2013: 2-5) structure the definitions of discourse existing in the scholarly literature in several sets – discourse as meaning beyond the sentence, as language in interaction and speech, as language related to a certain context, as an entity constructive of social relations, as a certain way of talking in relation to a particular topic. Discourse is also viewed in opposition to text: while the former denotes language in its social context, the latter focuses on the internal organization of language.

In the context of the present study, discourse is regarded as a particular way of talking in relation to something, “a particular picture that is painted” of events and people, “a particular way of representing” something “in a certain light” (Burr 2003: 74–75). It should be noted that discourse functions by forming a “frame space” around “one’s own” which includes e.g., “homogeneous ideas, theories, meanings embodied in texts”

and this frame cuts off everything that does not fall into its space (Černjavskaja 2016: 134). According to Burr (2003: 65, 76), when describing an object, each discourse seeks to show that such a representation is true, and the recognition of certain discourses as true occurs in many ways due to the observance by the ruling groups of their interests. Thus, discourse is aimed at shaping “legitimate arguments, scenarios and perceptions of the situation” and determining “actions by defining the space for acceptable behavior in a given society at a given point in time” (Jensen & Hønneland 2011: 3).

The same entity, event, or person can be an object of various discourses, and each of these discourses tells its own story about the object and presents the object to the outside world in its own way (Burr 2003: 64). It implies that discourses can be in opposition, and this situation is named by Fairclough (2001: 75-76) the struggle of a dominating discourse and a dominated one. The goal of the struggle of discourses is establishing or maintaining a particular discourse as the dominating one in a particular society, which means establishing or maintaining certain ideological beliefs as being consistent with common sense (Fairclough 2001: 75-76). However, the status of dominance is not guaranteed forever – the dominating discourses are constantly being challenged and confronted (Burr 2003: 69). Nevertheless, the situation can be more complex. Fairclough (2001: 75-76) argues that the relationship between the dominating and dominated discourses can be of two types: on the one hand, they can be in opposition, on the other hand, the dominating discourse can contain the dominated one. Moreover, if in the first case the dominated discourses are really restrained or even eliminated, in the second case they receive some legitimacy and protection.

Fairclough’s notion of dominating and dominated discourses can be illustrated with the examples from the context of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict at the time of this writing. The official explanation from the Russian side for starting “special military operation in Ukraine” on February 24, 2022, is “to protect Russians living in Ukraine’s Donetsk and Luhansk regions and eliminate threats to Russian security” (UN News 2022). These narratives can be regarded as belonging to the discourse of Russia’s positive actions in Ukraine which also contained a narrative of Russia’s professional army as a strong and well-equipped one. This discourse is dominating in Russia and until recently “was not publicly questioned” there (Foxt 2022). In autumn 2022, after the retreat of the Russian army from some Ukrainian cities, the discourse of Russia’s positive actions started to be challenged by the supporters of the Russian-government. Without criticizing Russia’s intentions in Ukraine, some Russian deputies, bloggers, and mainstream media claimed that “that the [Russian] Ministry of Defense did not take the situation at the front seriously enough” (Foxt 2022). This new discourse contains criticism of the dominating discourse and is in a way opposed to it, that is it can be regarded as a dominated one. However, the new discourse is controlled and protected by the dominating one. The new discourse was most probably “allowed” by the Kremlin to reduce public anxiety and to demonstrate that in Russia as in any democratic society criticism is possible (Foxt 2022).

In the context of the above, the present study is aimed at revealing how the broad essence of Svalbard is constructed or represented in such types of contexts (which can also be called discourses) as Russian federal and regional media. In this context, the present

study is expected to reveal what discourses are produced by these types of media, whether these discourses are similar or not, and if not, how they stand in relation to each other: whether they are in opposition or not.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is one of the forms of discourse analysis (e.g., Hart 2014: 2), and one of the approaches to media language analysis (e.g., Budaev & Čudinov 2006: 169). CDA is also regarded as an established paradigm in linguistics (Wodak 2001: 4), a branch of applied linguistics (Hart 2014: 2), and even as “a distinct theory of language, a radically different kind of linguistics” (Kress 1990: 94 as cited in Wodak 2001: 5). CDA is deeply connected to Critical Linguistics and these terms are often used interchangeably (Wodak 2001: 1). Associated with Fowler (1993), Hodge & Kress (1993), and Chilton (1985), Critical Linguistics was based on a new form of discourse and text analysis that appeared in the 1970s and that paid attention to the role of language in establishing power relations in society (Wodak 2001: 5). The focus of such an analysis was texts, their production and interpretation, and the relation of these texts to society. This approach was very different from other linguistic research of that time, e.g., from Chomsky’s (1965) analysis of formal aspects of language that did not pay attention to specific instances of language use (Hodge & Kress 1993: 2-3; Wodak 2001: 5). Within Critical Linguistics, linguistic forms started to be analyzed in a wider context of discourse processes (Hodge & Kress 1993: 159). Critical linguistics moved linguistics “towards social and political relevance” in order to establish a social critique by revealing structures of inequality, to provide interpretations wider than established commonsense and thus allegedly influence structures of power and society (Kress 1989: 446).

Language is viewed by Hodge & Kress (1993: 5) from several angles. On the one hand, language is an instrument that helps to store our perceptions and thoughts in the brain as well as to share them. By naming objects of reality language helps us to classify them. Since language is given by society, we impose classifications both on others and on ourselves. Thus, language serves as an instrument of classification in the context of society, an instrument of building “the socially constructed world”. On the other hand, for Hodge & Kress (1993: 6) the societal nature of language also means that language serves as the “practical consciousness” of society. They refer to such consciousness as “partial and false” and name it “ideology”. Ideology is defined by Hodge & Kress (1993: 6) as “a systematic body of ideas, organized from a particular point of view”. Ideology uses certain knowledge and ideas without implying whether they really reflect reality. Thus, language is described as having an ideological nature. This means that language is not only an instrument of communication but also an instrument of control, and that linguistic forms are used both to convey and to distort significance. Within the framework of ideological influence, the audience will most probably be manipulated while they think that they are being informed. Hodge & Kress’s ideas are comparable with Enfield’s (2022) understanding of language as a (rather poor) means of representing reality and as (an effective) tool for convincing, persuading, and winning arguments.

Critical Linguistics views lexico-grammatical devices in language as having ideological functions which the analyst reveals through a thorough linguistic analysis (Hart 2013: 402; Fowler 1993: 67; Hodge & Kress 1993: 7). Analysis of these lexico-grammatical devices, namely transitivity, voice, passivization, agentless passivization, and nominalization, has widely been adopted by CDA (Hart 2013: 402-403). The ideological value of e.g., passivization and agentless passivization is demonstrated by Hodge & Kress (1993: 26) with the following examples:

- (1) The opposition accused the government.
- (2) The government was accused (by the opposition).

Example (2) is regarded by Hodge & Kress (1993: 10, 26-27) as a result of the passive transformation of example (1) that has the active verb⁵. During the passive transformation, the theme (what the sentence is about) of the active sentence, denoted by the actor *the opposition* (example 1), is changed into the theme *the government* (example 2). The passive sentence loosens the causal connection between the actor (*the opposition*) and the process (*accused*) with the help of the preposition *by* (*by the opposition*). The transformation also introduces the verb *to be* and changes the main verb; the process expressed by the passive verb is now completed and looks more like an adjective, a state. The actor can be completely deleted from the passive sentence. This implies removal of the cause of the process, and the verbal process is finally changed into a quality or state. Such a passive sentence is difficult or impossible to restore to the corresponding active form. Thus, while the actor in example (1) is denoted explicitly, the actor in example (2) is obscured or even deleted. Obscurity or deletion of an actor in a passive sentence can have an ideological purpose: “to alter the way a reader meets the material” and “to structure his interpretations in specific ways” (Hodge & Kress 1993: 28). Example (1) and example (2) can indeed be interpreted in different ways. In example (2) the focus is shifted away from the actor who has accused the government which means that the doer of the actions is unimportant or taken for granted. In addition, a representation of the action of accusation is also changed – the action becomes a state rather than a real action which makes the action less important than in example (1). Hodge & Kress (1993: 25) note that in editorials (evidently the English-language ones), one can see a large number of passives, especially agentless passives.

As in the English language, the Russian passive can also have ideological functions. In addition, Russian has syntactic devices, e.g., inverse predicates and impersonal constructions, which, similar to the English passive, “package the information content of the sentence by assigning the syntactic subject position to a non-agent, by assigning oblique case to an agent nominal, or by omitting the agent altogether” (Grenoble 1998: 9). This can be illustrated with the following invented examples:

⁵ Hodge & Kress (1993: 10) adopt the term *transformation* from Chomsky’s theory of transformations. However, they deny the claim that transformations are semantically neutral and argue that in actual discourse, transformations are not “innocent”: they do change meaning of the basic form.

- (3) *Deputaty obvinjajut pravitel'stvo v korrupcii.*
Deputies accuse the government of corruption.
- (4) *Pravitel'stvo obvinjaetsja (deputatami) v korrupcii.*
The government is accused (by deputies) of corruption.
- (5) *Pravitel'stvo obvinjajut v korrupcii.*
The government is accused of corruption.

Example (3) is the active sentence where the actor (agent) *deputaty* ‘deputies’ of the verbal action *obvinjajut* ‘accuse’ is expressed explicitly. Example (4) is the passive sentence where the syntactic subject position is assigned to the non-agent *pravitel'stvo* (government). The agent *deputatami* ‘by deputies’ is assigned the oblique case, which is Instrumental, instead of the Nominative case shown in example (3). The agent can also be deleted from example (4). Example (5) is an indefinite personal sentence (*neopredelenno-ličnoe predloženie*). An actor in sentences of this type is either not known or not named (Nikunlassi 2011: 207). Thus, similar to the English example (2), the actor in the Russian examples (4) and (5) is obscured or deleted and the action itself is not foregrounded.

Approaching the ideological function of the above-mentioned lexico-grammatical devices requires, however, some caution. The use of such devices can be motivated pragmatically. E.g., passive can be used to avoid repetition because the actor has been referred to in the previous context. In addition, an active sentence is not needed when the actor of the action is generally known, or it can be anyone at all (Nikunlassi 2011: 200-201).

Similar to Critical Linguistics, the aim of CDA is to “disclose the ideological and persuasive properties of text and talk” (Hart 2014: 2). CDA views larger discursive units of text as the basic unit of communication (Wodak 2001: 2) and language as an instrument of social power, as a means of constructing social, national, racist, and gender stereotypes (Černjavskaia 2016: 112). CDA deals with the contexts that van Dijk (2016: 65, 76-77) terms ideologically based discourses, e.g., racist discourse, xenophobic discourse (power abuse of dominant groups), and anti-racist discourse (resistance of dominated groups). Thus, CDA is in many ways focused on revealing power relations and ideology, the means that social power uses to control society (Bednarek 2009:11; Budaev & Čudinov 2006: 168).

CDA analysts’ approach can be regarded as adopting “a broadly liberal or humanitarian philosophy” (Hart 2014: 5) and as a demonstration of support for groups who suffer from social discrimination (Meyer 2001: 15). El Refaie’s (2001: 352) study is an example of how CDA can be used in the context of immigration discourse. She provides an analysis of metaphorical representation of Kurdish asylum seekers constructed by Austrian newspapers. The asylum seekers were portrayed through metaphors based on the source domains of floodwater, criminals, or an invading army, and these metaphors eventually became “naturalized” in Austrian media discourse. Similarly, analysis of representations of refugees and asylum seekers in British newspapers and UN documents, conducted by Baker & McEnery (2005: 197), revealed that refugees were

portrayed as packages, invaders, pests, or floodwater (see subsection 3.3.3 and chapter 8 for Metaphor Analysis in the present study). By revealing how certain underprivileged groups in Western society, e.g., asylum seekers and refugees, are depicted in the media and official documents, CDA aims to challenge the conservative discourses regarded as dominant and “to lead to improvements in the social order” (Hart 2014: 5).

According to Budaev & Čudinov (2006: 169), CDA is comprised of three main scientific schools: cognitive discourse analysis by van Dijk (2016), discourse analysis by Fairclough (1995), and the German school of CDA represented e.g., by Maas (1984) and Wodak (2001) (Figure 2)⁶. Depending on their approach to discourse analysis, these schools focus on various extralinguistic factors that shape discourse.

Van Dijk’s (2016: 64-65, 70, 72) sociocognitive approach to CDA implies that the relations between discourse and society are cognitively mediated. His theory includes three components: the discursive component, the cognitive component, and the social component. The discursive component of a theory includes analysis of discourse structures of a text or a talk that is focused on revealing ideologies of various social groups. The cognitive component implies that the discursive structures are explained in terms of various cognitive structures: sociocultural knowledge, attitude, and ideology. The social component is based on the thought that the discourses under study and their underlying cognitive profiles are functional in the (re)production of certain prejudices and ideologies.

Within Fairclough’s (1995: 55–58, 62) approach to CDA, it is proposed to analyze any type of discourse, such as media discourse, based on two components: the analysis of the communicative event and the analysis of the structure of the order of discourse. The analysis of a communicative event deals with the relationship between three aspects: text, discourse practice, and sociocultural practice. Text analysis consists of traditional linguistic analysis (vocabulary, semantics, grammar, etc.) and analysis of textual organization beyond the sentence. Discourse practice is the interaction between text production and consumption processes. Sociocultural practice is a social and cultural context, which a communicative event is a part of. Discourse order, the other component of the theory along with the communicative event, is a set of discursive practices used in a social institution or social sphere, and the relationship between these practices. Examples of discourse orders are school and home, and examples of discursive practices related to the school are a classroom and a playground.

The German school of CDA is represented, e.g., by the Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA), developed by Wodak, Reisigl and others. Among the areas of discourse studies

⁶ As shown in Figure 2, content analysis of discourse is another type of analysis within the discursive approach. According to Budaev & Chudinov (2006: 171), content analysis of discourse deals with examination of big data samples and the interpretation of statistical samples. Quantitative content analysis of discourse is discussed by Budaev & Chudinov (2006: 171) in contrast to qualitative CDA. However, content analysis can also be classified as a methodological approach called corpus linguistics and corpus discourse studies. These approaches combine quantitative and qualitative approaches to CDA in a number of studies (e.g. Baker et al. 2013; Baker & McEnery 2019) as well as in the present study.

that DHA deals with are discourse and history (National socialism, fascism, etc.), discourse and politics/policy/polity (nation building, migration, populism), discourse in the media, etc. (Reisigl 2017: 48). DHA has three dimensions of analysis: the contents or topics of specific discourses; discursive strategies; and the linguistic means that are used to realize both topics and strategies. Discursive strategies are an instrument for construing “positive Self and negative Other presentation” (Wodak & Boukala 2015: 93). Nomination is one of discursive strategies. It is realized through various linguistic means: biological and depersonalizing metaphors, metonymies, and synecdoche (Wodak & Boukala 2015: 93). The floodwater and army metaphors used for Kurdish asylum seekers presented in El Refaie’s research (2001) are examples of depersonalizing metaphors. The comparison of refugees and asylum seekers to pests demonstrated in Baker and McEnery’s (2005) study is an example of a biological metaphor that can also be interpreted as a depersonalizing metaphor.

Overall, all three above-mentioned schools of CDA regard texts as embedded into the wider social, political, and cultural context where they were produced. Texts are also viewed in relation to ideologies that dominate in certain societies at a certain point of time. Another thing that unites these approaches is that the CDA analysts often explicitly state their personal political opinions and also appeal to tolerance and political correctness within their studies (Budaev & Čudinov 2006: 168, 171). However, one can trace some differences between the main schools of CDA. The focus of van Dijk’s (2016: 66-67) attention is in many ways the cognitive component of discourse. He regards attitudes, ideology, and sociocultural knowledge as cognitive structures that are formed and stored in people’s memory or mind. Fairclough (1995) pays a lot of attention directly to analysis of media discourse. DHA demonstrates a strong historical interest (Reisigl 2017: 44) and offers a more linguistic approach to CDA than other theories mentioned above.

Within the present study, preference is not given to any particular school of CDA. The same approach can be traced, e.g., in Baker et al (2013) and in Hart (2013) where the authors deal with CDA in general terms and combine it with Corpus Linguistics (the former study) and with Cognitive Linguistics (the latter study). However, though the present study in many ways adopts the approach proposed by Hart (see subsection 3.3), it also adopts several specific elements from some theories of CDA. For instance, the analysis starts with examination of keywords that can be interpreted as indicating topics and content of the data (see chapter 6). Analysis of contents or topics of specific discourses is one of the three dimensions of the analysis adopted by DHA (Wodak & Boukala 2015: 93). In addition, one of the criteria for selection of the data for the present research is political affiliation of the media outlets which is largely determined by those who own these media (see subsection 2.2 and chapter 5). This criterion can be placed within the framework of Fairclough’s (1995: 48-50) approach, according to which discourse practice includes the conditions in which the preparation and production of media texts takes place.

In the context of the present study, CDA is viewed as an instrument to reveal representations of Svalbard produced by powerful groups according to a dominant

ideology. As mentioned above, CDA in many ways deals with the discourse of powerful social actors or agencies (Hart 2014: 3). Social power is based on “privileged access to socially valued resources”, for example, wealth, position, status, force, group membership, education, or knowledge (van Dijk 1993: 254). Powerful social groups also have access to discourse and use the media as a tool for control of discourse (van Dijk 1993: 256-257; Hart 2014: 3-4). Thus, the present study in many ways regards the media texts as a site where powerful social groups control the Svalbard discourse and at the same time, as viewed by van Dijk (1993: 254), impose control over less powerful groups who do not have access to discourse. In this context, control can be exercised through persuasion and even manipulation in texts as well as through “subtle, routine, everyday forms of text” that seem “natural” and “quite acceptable” (van Dijk 1993: 254). In the present study, state and private institutions, corporations, politicians, and journalists are viewed as powerful social groups, while the general readership is viewed as a less powerful social group.

Within the present study, Hart’s (2014: 2) understanding of ideology as “a particular interpretation of the way things are or ought to be” is adopted. I also take into consideration that the promotion of ideology is a primary goal of political discourse and that “a discourse’s acceptance by an audience, especially mass media audiences, ensures the establishment of group rapport” (Jaworski & Coupland 2006: 473). Russia’s stable interests in the Arctic, in general, and in Svalbard, in particular, proclaimed in official documents and speeches are regarded within the present study as a part of dominant ideology in Russia. For example, the Russian president Vladimir Putin has repeatedly named the Arctic “a strategically important territory where almost all aspects of national security are concentrated” (Arctic Russia 2021). Russia’s economic and scientific presence in Svalbard and development of these spheres is documented in the Strategy of the Russian presence in the Svalbard archipelago until 2030 (Arctic Russia 2021).

3.3 A Cognitive Linguistic Approach to Critical Discourse Analysis

Nowadays methods of discourse analysis of media language are most often combined with cognitive methodology (Budaev & Čudinov 2006: 172). Previously cognitive approaches were mostly excluded from CDA, except for van Dijk’s (1984) works in cognitive discourse analysis (Wodak 2006: 179, 180-181). The application of Cognitive Linguistics in relation to CDA nowadays has expanded from combination of CDA with cognitive metaphor theory (e.g., Koller 2002, 2004) to incorporation of such aspects of Cognitive Linguistics as Cognitive Grammar, Mental Spaces, Frame Semantics, and Force Dynamics into CDA done by Hart (2011a, 2013). Hart (2011a: 270) advocates for a Cognitive Linguistic Approach within CDA as the need for involving language cognition into CDA is obvious. He writes that analysis of the cognitive processes in the minds of text consumers contributes to revealing mechanisms of successful communication of ideology established by discursive strategies. For Hart (2011a: 270), it is curious that though Critical Linguistics – the predecessor of CDA – and Cognitive Linguistics appeared approximately at the same time, the concepts of the latter have started to be adopted by CDA only recently.

Cognitive Linguistics is a school of linguistics that focuses on the relation between structures of language and cognition (Hart 2011a: 270).⁷ Cognitive Linguistics comprises a number of theories united by similar principles: Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff & Johnson 1980), Frame Semantics (Fillmore 1982), Force-Dynamics (Talmy 1988, 2000), and Cognitive Grammar (Langacker 1987, 1991, 2008). Within the framework of these theories, it is believed that linguistic processes are based on cognitive systems, that linguistic knowledge is conceptual, that grammatical forms have certain meanings, that meaning is connected to experience, and that alternative lexical and grammatical constructions can variously influence the reader's experience (Hart 2013: 404).

Hart (2011a: 270-271) refers to the Cognitive Linguistic Approach to CDA as “investigating ideological patterns in text and conceptualization”. Conceptualization is defined as “a dynamic, online cognitive process through which meaning is constructed”. Both Cognitive Linguistics and CDA deal with the same phenomena – structuring of basic categories: space, time, situations, events, entities, actions, processes, motion, location, force, causation, intention, and volition in the context of language and cognition (Hart 2011a: 271; Fauconnier 2006). Within the Cognitive Approach to CDA, structuring of such basic categories is connected to “construal”. Construal implies that the same phenomenon can be conceptualized in different ways; within this framework particular language structures bring particular conceptualizations of a given experience (Langacker 1991 as cited in Hart 2011a: 271).

Thus, certain structures in text prompt text-consumers to construct ideological mental representations that form text-consumers' experience of a described phenomenon (Hart 2011a: 271). Such structures “employ different figure-ground organization, different degrees of explicitness and inexplicitness, detail, agentivity, perspective, generality, and specificity in imagining and describing a situation” (Bednarek 2005: 8). A mechanism for modelling mental representations through language structures is, for instance, the focus of Cognitive Grammar which regards alternative grammatical constructions as the units matched at the conceptual level with different variants of “image schemas”. A selection of a certain grammatical construction from a set of alternatives in discourse entails “a specific structural configuration and distribution of attention” (Hart 2013: 404). Famous examples of such grammatical constructions are active and passive, tense, and aspect (Bednarek 2005: 8).

3.3.1 Construal operations and discursive strategies

Hart (2013: 405-407) proposes a typology of construal operations that comprise event-construal (Table 1). This typology is based on notions of Cognitive Linguistics classified by Croft & Cruse (2004: 46). In the context of media language, Bednarek (2005: 6) defines event-construal as “the way in which a particular event in the ‘real-world’ is construed via textualization”. In the similar way, Langacker (2008: 55) writes that

⁷ Van Dijk's sociocognitive approach to CDA is not regarded as a part of Cognitive Linguistics (Hart 2011a: 270).

“content is linked to a scene and construal to a particular way of viewing it”. Croft & Cruse (2004: 45) name construal operations “special cases of general cognitive processes” studied by psychology and phenomenology. This view is based on the cognitive linguistic approach to language that considers language “an instance of general cognitive abilities” (Croft & Cruse 2004: 45). Construal operations direct conceptualization by offering a range of alternative language structures (Hart 2011a: 271). A speaker chooses some of these structures “to convey a particular conceptualization of a scene” (Talmy 2000: 214). Hart’s (2013: 405-407) typology includes several conceptual processes or “construal operations”: Schematization, Categorization, Metaphor, Focus, Profiling, Scanning, Dexis, and Modality. As Table 1 demonstrates, the construal operations relate to four types of discursive strategy: Structural Configuration, Framing, Identification, and Positioning. These discursive strategies are in their turn grounded in four general cognitive systems: Gestalt, Comparison, Attention, and Perspective.

System		Gestalt	Comparison	Attention	Perspective
Strategy					
Structural Configuration	Construal Operations	<i>Schematization</i>			
Framing			Categorization		
			<i>Metaphor</i>		
Identification				<i>Focus</i>	
			Profiling		
			Scanning		
Positioning					Dexis
					Modality

Table 1. Construal operations and discursive strategies (Hart 2013:405-407)

The discursive strategies related to the present study are Structural Configuration, Framing, and Identification. The construal operations considered within these discursive strategies are Schematization, in particular image schemata (the discursive strategy of Structural Configuration), Metaphor (the discursive strategy of Framing), and Focus (the discursive strategy of Identification) (Table 1, given in italics). The construal operation of Schematization is regarded within the present study as closely connected to Metaphor: in particular, the image-schematic level of metaphorical projection (see Johnson 1987: 5) is touched upon. Below I pay some attention to the image-schematic dimension of metaphor (subsection 3.3.2), describe the theoretical framework for metaphor analysis (subsection 3.3.3), and talk about the approach to another construal operation – focus – applied within the framework of this study (subsection 3.3.4). The motivation for choosing the construal operations of metaphor and schematization in the present study is due to the fact that metaphor analysis is regarded, for example, by

Charteris-Black (2004: 27-28) as a central component of CDA. The construal operation of focus provides the theoretical basis for the Keymorph Analysis which I test on the Russian-language data in the context of Svalbard (see chapter 7).

3.3.2 Structural Configuration: Schematization

Here I briefly touch upon the construal operation of schematization because it can be understood in terms of image schemata relating to metaphors. Schematization facilitates structural configuration, which is one of the discursive strategies comprising event-construal (Table 1). Structural Configuration is “the strategy by means of which speakers impose upon the scene a particular image-schematic representation which constitutes our basic understanding of the whole event-structure” (Hart 2013: 405). Structural Configuration is related to the Gestalt cognitive system, the system that participates in conceptualization and structuring of experience (Croft & Cruse 2004: 66; Hart 2011a: 273). Schematization can be understood in terms of image schemata which are schematic versions of images aimed at representations of specific, embodied experiences to give order and connectedness to our perceptions and conceptions (Croft & Cruse 2004: 44; Johnson 1987: 75).

Image schemata consist of parts and certain relations between them. The FROM-TO or PATH image schema (Figure 3) is an example of an image schema (Johnson 1987: 28). It includes three elements: a source point A, a terminal point B, and a path between them in the form of a vector. The relation between point A and B is the force vector which moves from A to B (Johnson 1987: 28-29).



Figure 3. PATH schema (Johnson 1987: 28)

The parts of image schemata can be presented by such entities as people, props, events, states, sources, goals. The relations between them can include causal relations, temporal sequences, part-whole patterns, relative locations, agent-patient structures, or instrumental relations (Johnson 1987: 28). An image schema can structure an indefinite number of perceptions, images, and events by means of its parts and relations between them. For instance, the PATH schema can be applied to a number of various events: walking from one place to another, throwing a baseball to your sister, punching your brother, etc. (Johnson 1987: 28-29). The parts of image schemata can also be understood metaphorically, which means that an image schema can represent various kind of metaphoric domains (Johnson 1987: 80). For example, the PATH schema grounds the metaphor PURPOSES ARE PHYSICAL GOALS represented by such phrases as *go a long way toward changing one's personality*, *reach the midpoint of one's professional*

training, change one's course to achieve salvation, etc. Here goals are the terminal point B reached through performance of many physical actions originating from the source point A. The metaphor **PURPOSES ARE PHYSICAL GOALS** thus represents very abstract purposes, for example, writing a book, as a number of various physical acts aimed at reaching a goal (Johnson 1987: 114).

Metaphors thus have an image-schematic dimension. On the image schematic level, metaphors are represented as relatively simple structures which help to arrange our experience and understanding of the world in a coherent and meaningful fashion (Johnson 1987: 65, 72, 98). This provides metaphors with the potential to communicate certain ideas, including ideological ones, very effectively. In subsection 3.3.3, I describe some theories dealing with metaphor and its ideological function in more detail.

A specific image schema potentially relevant for Svalbard-related media discourse is Force Dynamics (FD) proposed and developed by Talmy (1988, 2000). FD is described as a kind of conceptualization that refers to the semantic category of “how entities interact with respect to force” (Talmy 2000: 409). This conceptualization includes “the exertion of force, resistance to such a force, the overcoming of such a resistance, blockage of the expression of force, removal of such blockage, and the like” (Talmy 2000: 409). However, in addition to structuring physical interactions, force-dynamic schemata can also structure psychological and social interactions via metaphoric extension, interactions that can be understood in terms of “psychosocial” pressures (Talmy 2000: 409). Extension of FD to social reference is the kind of conceptualization that can be related to media coverage of Svalbard. As shown in subsection 2.1, Russian-Norwegian political relations include disagreements in connection with Svalbard. Coverage of these disagreements in media texts includes linguistic units that can be characterized as denoting “psychological” pressures and even physical interactions that include force. Example (6) illustrates one of Talmy's (2000: 415) force-dynamic patterns of physical interaction:

(6) Posol'stvo Rossii v Norvegii podtverdilo otkaz v vydače rossijskix viz dvum členam norvežskoj delegacii [Izvestija, 01.02.2017].

The Russian Embassy in Norway confirmed the refusal to issue Russian visas to two members of the Norwegian delegation [Izvestija, 01.02.2017].

The members of the Norwegian delegation act as the Agonist that has a tendency towards movement – entering the Russian Federation with the help of Russian visas. The Russian Embassy in Norway acts as the Antagonist presenting a barrier to the Agonist's actions by not issuing the visas. In example (6), the Antagonist is a stronger entity in comparison with the Agonist – the Antagonist eventually blocks the Agonist's tendency towards movement and forces the Agonist to stay in place. This force-dynamic pattern is realized through the noun *otkaz* ‘refusal’.

Talmy's (1988, 2000) theory includes various force-dynamic patterns that can potentially be applied to classify events in the context of Russian-Norwegian relations. It can be interesting to investigate what discourse participants are portrayed as opposition Agonists and Antagonists and how often they are represented as a weak or a

strong Agonist or Antagonist. However, this type of analysis is beyond the scope of the present study.

3.3.3 Framing: Metaphor

Framing, one of the discursive strategies that comprise event-construal (Table 1), is based on a general ability to compare domains of experience and is represented by two construal operations: Categorization and Metaphors. Framing deals with “how the actors, actions, relations and process that make up events are attributed more effective qualities as alternative categories or conceptual metaphors” (Hart 2013: 405).

Arcimavičienė (2020: 48) regards the idea of framing, studied e.g., by Fillmore (2006) and Croft & Cruse (2004), as related especially to the ideological dimension of political metaphor since “in politics, framing of reality in certain ways is always leading to consequences”. A frame is defined by Fillmore (2006: 373) as a system of related concepts in which understanding of any part of a concept requires understanding of the whole system of these concepts. According to Chilton (2004: 51-52), frames, for example ‘transport’ or ‘the structure of the houses’, are long-term knowledge embedded in culture. A connection between frames and metaphors is seen in metaphorical framing which implies integration of two conceptual domains into one semantic field and which represents the target concept via more familiar concepts and assumptions (Arcimavičienė 2020: 48).

The term “metaphor” has been used to describe various kinds of figurative language depending to a certain extent on the theory of metaphor that a given analyst adheres to (Croft 2006: 278). An example of the dictionary definition of metaphor is “a figure of speech in which a word or phrase literally denoting one kind of object or idea is used in place of another to suggest a likeness or analogy between them”.⁸ For instance, in example *drowning in money*, money or a large amount of it is compared to a water reservoir where one can drown. This definition is based on the linguistic characteristic of metaphor and relates to metaphor as a characteristic of poetic language. However, the language of mass-media and politics is hardly expected to be approached as a poetic one but rather as having argumentative and persuasive functions. In that respect, the theories relevant for analysis of political metaphor and its ideological value, which are the focus of the present study, are Conceptual Metaphor Theory (e.g., Fillmore 1982, 2006; Lakoff 1987, 2006, 2012; Lakoff & Johnson 1980; Kövecses 2002, 2003) and Critical Metaphor Theory in discourse (e.g., Goatly 2007; Charteris-Black 2004, 2006; Musolff 2004, 2016). A framework related to Conceptual Metaphor Theory, namely Fauconnier & Turner’s (e.g., 2002) Blending Theory, is beyond the scope of the present work.

Within Conceptual Metaphor Theory, metaphor is understood as a mode of thought and reason and as a part of human conceptualization rather than as a characteristic of poetic language (e.g., Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 3; Lakoff 2006: 194; Chilton 2004: 51-52;

⁸ <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/metaphor>

Johnson 1987: 66-67). Conceptual Metaphor Theory employs a cognitive semantic model of metaphor and represents metaphor “as a conceptualization of one domain in terms of the structure of another independent domain, that is, a mapping across domains” (Croft 2006: 278). That is metaphor is “a cross-domain mapping in the conceptual system” (Lakoff 1993: 203). This approach highlights the fact that cross-domain mapping is primarily a conceptual process that is secondarily expressed in language (Lakoff 2006: 192). The conventional strategy used for naming metaphorical mappings in the conceptual system follows this pattern: TARGET-DOMAIN IS SOURCE-DOMAIN or TARGET-DOMAIN AS SOURCE-DOMAIN (Lakoff 2006: 190).

Lakoff (2006: 194) gives three characteristics of conceptual metaphors: 1. systematicity in linguistic correspondences; 2. use of metaphor to govern reasoning and behavior based on that reasoning; 3. possibility for understanding novel extensions in terms of conventional correspondences. The first characteristic is evident in the realization of metaphor, namely metaphorical expressions, that are linguistic expressions (a word, phrase, or sentence) acting as the surface realization of a certain cross-domain mapping / metaphor (Lakoff 2006: 190). The systematicity in the linguistic correspondences implies that metaphorical expressions that may look very different, e.g., *The marriage is on the rocks* and *Our relationship is off the track*, relate to the same conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY. The second characteristic means that metaphor is not only in words themselves but in thoughts and actions as well. E.g., the metaphorical concept ARGUMENT IS WAR formulates our understanding of arguing and acting when we argue as a battle. Our conceptualization of arguing and behavior during arguing would evidently be different if we understood arguing as, for instance, a dance (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 4-5). The third characteristic implies that conceptual metaphors are embedded into our conceptual system and thus facilitate our understanding of novel metaphorical expressions related to an existing conceptual metaphor. For example, speakers of English immediately understand the song lyric *We're driving in the fast lane on the freeway of love* because the metaphorical correspondence of the LOVE IS A JOURNEY metaphor is a part of the conceptual system of English speakers (Lakoff 2006: 193-194).

Among the three characteristics of conceptual metaphors, it is the second one that is especially important for analysis of the media and political discourse. The capacity of metaphors to govern reasoning and behavior based on this reasoning implies that metaphors can be used as a “tool for building a picture of the world” (Seregina & Čudinov 2014: 90) and as “a guide for future action” (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 156) in political communication. For instance, political leaders can use metaphors “to mobilize the public by highlighting only one side of a developing story” or to offer “ready-to-use solutions for ongoing problematic situations” (Vertessen & Landtsheer 2005: 8).

There are other characteristics of metaphor described in the Conceptual Metaphor Theory that are relevant for the present analysis of media and political discourse. For example, the essential role of conceptual metaphor in “understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another” (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 5) can be useful for

providing inferences about target domains “that are ill understood, vague or controversial” (Chilton 2004: 52). Metaphors can produce “the unproblematic picture of reality” and turn certain terms into “uncontested common sense” (Koller 2002: 183). This can be illustrated with the context of the 2014 incorporation of Crimea into the Russian Federation. As Seregina & Čudinov (2014: 90-92) argue, during this event the Russian political and media discourse abounded in the metaphorical concepts HOME and JOURNEY that represented Crimea and Sevastopol as wanderers that return home after long journeys in an inhospitable foreign land. These metaphors were efficient as they created a favorable explanation of the Russian policy (RUSSIA IS A HOSPITABLE HOME FOR ITS RELATIVES) and they were familiar to the local electorate since the HOME and JOURNEY metaphors are traditional for Russian political discourse.

Another characteristic of metaphor important from the perspective of analysis of media and political discourse relates to the incomplete structure of metaphor. Lakoff & Johnson (1980: 52-55) refer to this peculiarity as the “used” portion of the metaphor. Typically, only part of the structure of the source domain is projected onto the target domain. Metaphors guide the way a particular phenomenon is conceptualized, but only some possible ways of understanding the phenomenon will be open while others will be closed (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 10; Hart 2011b: 184-185). That means that metaphors “are misleading to some extent” and metaphorical thinking is limited (Langacker 2006: 108). The good news is that if one metaphor is not satisfactory anymore, it can be replaced by another one that is created or adopted by a community (Boers & Demecheleer’s 1997: 128). An example of the limited projection of mapping achieved through metaphor is given by Koller (2002: 179, 183) in relation to mergers and acquisitions (M&A) discourse in the domain of business. The phrase *veterans of takeover wars* used to refer to commercial companies that have experience in acquisition of other commercial companies relates to the metaphor M&As ARE BATTLES FOR TERRITORY. In this phrase, certain semantic components of the source domain of veterans, namely [+EXPERIENCED] and [+HEROIC], are foregrounded, while other semantic components, namely [+AGGRESSIVE] and [+BRUTAL], are backgrounded. In other words, while this metaphor highlights struggles, there are many aspects of actual battles that are not part of the metaphorical mapping, such as lethal weapons, physical injury, etc. This conceptualization represents the “veterans” in a positive rather than in a negative perspective.

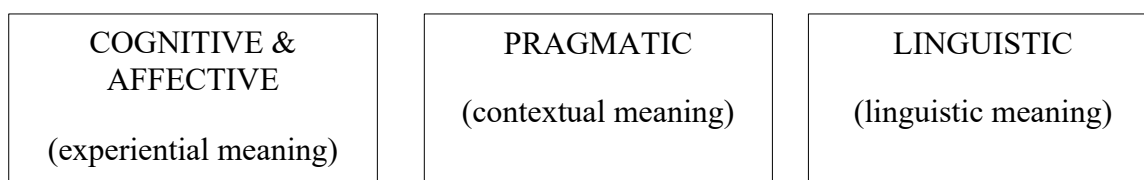
Critical Metaphor Theory is a further theoretical framework used for analysis of metaphors in the present study. Critical Metaphor Theory combines Conceptual Metaphor Theory with the CDA tradition. This approach puts emphasis on the cognitive aspects of metaphor and at the same time understands metaphor as an important linguistic means typically used in ideological communication and persuasion, for example, in rhetorical and argumentative language such as political speeches (Charteris-Black 2004, 2006; Koller 2004, 2006; etc.). The critical approach to metaphor contributed to “the politicization of metaphor research” (Twardzisz 2013: 50), that is a boom in research on metaphor use in public political discourse (Musolff 2016: 2).

A prominent part of the critical approach to metaphor is Charteris-Black's (2004: 9-11, 41) Critical Metaphor Analysis which in addition to Cognitive Linguistics and CDA incorporates corpus linguistics. Critical Metaphor Analysis views metaphor from several perspectives – linguistic, pragmatic, and cognitive ones. The cognitive semantic perspective adopted from Lakoff & Johnson (1980) within Critical Metaphor Analysis provides a single unified set of criteria for the classification of metaphors used in different discourse domains. The cognitive semantic perspective implies that metaphors can be described through hierarchy. Charteris-Black (2004: 15-16) regards the conceptual level of metaphor as consisting of three levels: a metaphorical expression / metaphor, a conceptual metaphor, and a conceptual key. A conceptual metaphor is defined as “a formal statement of any idea that is hidden in a figure of speech (e.g., metaphor or metonym) that can be inferred from a number of metaphorical expressions”. For example, the metaphorical phrases *the United States of America is a friend to the Afghan people* and *the United States of America is an enemy of those who aid terrorists* taken from President Bush's speech in 2001 constitute the conceptual metaphor AMERICA IS A PERSON. A conceptual key is a higher-level metaphor that is comprised of several conceptual metaphors and that explains how these conceptual metaphors are related. In the example of Bush's speech, the conceptual key is A NATION IS A PERSON because any nation can potentially be described in terms of people.

As mentioned above, within Critical Metaphor Analysis, the cognitive semantic perspective complements an analysis of pragmatic factors, that is speaker's intentions, namely persuasion, within a specific context. The combination of cognitive and pragmatic perspectives helps to understand why one conceptual metaphor is preferred to another one in a certain context.

Charteris-Black (2004: 248-249) proposes a discourse model for metaphor (Figure 4). In this model he regards the cognitive, pragmatic, and linguistic perspectives as individual resources influencing metaphor choice in discourse. In addition, he distinguishes the social resources, namely ideology (political or religious viewpoint), culture, and history that influence metaphor choice. Charteris-Black (2004: 77, 101, 248-249) illustrates the influence of culture and history resources with the use of metaphor in American and British political discourses. While fire and light metaphors are often used for positive evaluation in the former discourse (e.g., *fire of liberty*), plant metaphors are employed in the latter one (e.g., a use of the verb *flourish* in relation to families, democracy, businesses, and enterprises). This difference in metaphor use can be explained by the revolutionary past of America and gardening tradition in the British culture.

INDIVIDUAL RESOURCES



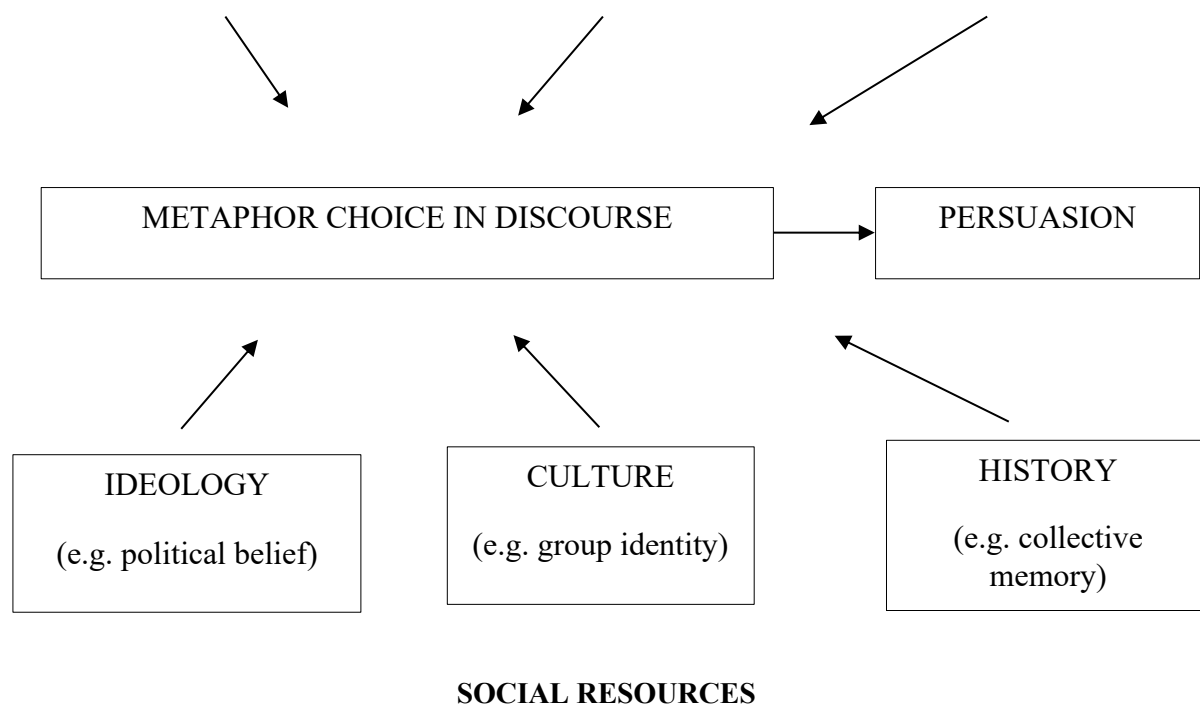


Figure 4. A discourse model for metaphor (Charteris-Black 2004: 248)

The aim of metaphors as identified by Charteris-Black (2004: 248-249) is achieving persuasion. This is especially relevant to political communication as its purpose is often persuasion of opponents and electorate. Persuasion can be achieved through the pragmatic “added value” of metaphors, which is expressed, for example, in the capacity of metaphors to express evaluation and to make an emotional appeal (Musolff 2016: 4). The advantage of metaphor is that it contains the most economical means available for language users to enhance the expressiveness of their communication (Charteris-Black 2004: 17). A peculiarity of the evaluative function of metaphors is that opinions, claims, and personal arguments expressed by metaphors “are not susceptible to judgements on their truths” (Partington 2006: 293-294). By virtue of the nonliteral nature of metaphorical expressions the speakers using them cannot be held responsible for the production of these messages (Koller 2002: 183). Metaphors thus can be interpreted as having an important role in forming and influencing human beliefs, attitudes, and action which makes metaphor “a potentially powerful weapon” (Charteris-Black 2004: 23, 28). Musolff (2004: 32-33) proposes regarding political metaphors as an integral part of argumentative reasoning. This reasoning is understood as aiming to prove a contested perspective and legitimize a certain course of action.

One of the illustrations on how metaphors can motivate actions is Lakoff’s (2012: 5, 7-8) study on the metaphorical reasoning that accompanied the debate in the USA in 1990 on whether the country should go to war in the Persian Gulf. Lakoff concludes that one of the metaphorical concepts used within the context – the STATE-AS-PERSON concept – served as a basis for creation of the fairy tale of the “just war” with the Rescue scenario. The scenario included the villain (Iraq), the victim (Kuwait), and the hero (the

USA). The moral and courageous hero had to join the battle with the amoral and vicious villain, to win the battle and to save the victim. It is noted in the study that the Rescue Scenario was more successful in comparison with the Self-Defense scenario also offered to the American public. The Self-Defense scenario represented the USA as a victim because invasion of Iraq into Kuwait was perceived as a threat to American economic interests. This scenario could hardly be acceptable since it implied trading American lives for oil.

Hart (2011b: 184) also demonstrates that metaphorical reasoning within immigration discourse can motivate actions. The metaphorical concepts COUNTRY AS CONTAINER and IMMIGRATION AS MOVING WATER construe a target country as a container that has a limited capacity and will be damaged by immigration. Such conceptualization justifies or warrants restrictive immigration policies.

Seregina & Čudinov (2014: 90) note that during political crises metaphorical modelling of political reality increases, and metaphorical abundance often precedes these crises and contributes to their aggravation. They argue that the metaphors used within the context of political crises generate militaristic, criminal, and zoomorphic images. For example, Uržumceva (2014) analyzed publications on Ukraine that appeared in the top Spanish newspaper *El País* in November 2013 when the negotiations related to the Ukraine-EU Association Agreement took place. The relationship between Russia and the EU were conceptualized by the newspaper predominantly via metaphors. These were metaphors of war, cold war, conflict, fight, battle, and fight for Ukraine. At the same time, Ukraine was conceptualized as a trophy or a wanted bride.

Pinelli's (2016) research demonstrates how one and the same metaphor can support opposite political positions and political affiliations of the media. Pinelli explores how the terrorist attack at the Beslan school in 2004 was framed in the Russian newspapers *Rossijskaja Gazeta* (the mainstream media) and *Novaja Gazeta* (the opposition media) through metaphor and metonymy. The study demonstrates how each of the newspapers created their own specific interpretation of the event in accordance with their political leaning through the use of the same metaphors NATION IS A HUMAN BODY and NATION IS A HUMAN BEING. Russia was framed as the victim of an external attack in *Rossijskaja Gazeta* while *Novaja Gazeta* focused on the responsibilities of the Russian government for this tragedy.

The role of metaphors in influencing reality, however, does not seem so simple and straightforward. A number of questions can be asked in relation to a connection between metaphors and a certain view of reality. For example, is it metaphors that determine reality or is it a certain view of reality that determines metaphors and uses them as a tool for its own justification? If metaphors are applied for justification of a certain reality, is this done by language users consciously or subconsciously? Can a conscious change of metaphors related to a certain reality really change a perception of this reality? Moreover, a connection between metaphors and reality is even contested by some researchers. For example, Boers & Demecheleer's (1997: 123) research on metaphors in the domain of economics demonstrates that one of the meanings of the PATH metaphor – “moving forward is good and stagnation is bad” – fits modern economic

models that encourage economic growth. Nevertheless, Boers & Demecheleer's (1997: 123) find it hard to tell how deeply perceived economic "truths" are embedded into metaphorical models but, in their opinion, questioning such models from time to time is worthwhile.

The notion of acceptance of metaphors referred to by Musolff (2016: 4) can presumably answer the question about conscious or subconscious use of metaphors in political discourse. Musolff argues that a political metaphor has impact if it fits into familiar experience patterns of the receiving audience, that is if the receiving audience accepts a metaphor and believes it as "a plausible and persuasive interpretation of their social reality". This can be illustrated by two studies that I have mentioned above – Seregina & Čudinov's (2014) study on conceptualization of the 2014 incorporation of Crimea into the Russian Federation and by Lakoff's (2012) study on metaphor use in the American debates about the war in the Persian Gulf in 1990. The former article demonstrates that the effectiveness of a metaphorical conceptualization depends on its familiarity to the audience; the latter article explains the preference of one metaphorical conceptualization over another by influence of common sense. The notion of acceptance of metaphors thus suggests that the use of metaphors in political discourse is a conscious process which implies a certain awareness of metaphor choice.

The choice of metaphors in political discourse can also be connected to the degree of conventionality of a certain metaphor. Conventional metaphors are phrases existing between literal and metaphorical uses; these are phrases that are frequently used and widely accepted in a language community (Charteris-Black 2004: 17, 21). The prevalence of conventional metaphors leads to reduction of the awareness of their semantic tension and provides them with the power to familiarize and to strengthen a certain vision of reality among the audience (Charteris-Black 2004: 21; Partington 2006: 273). This means that certain ideologies are constructed and reproduced, and certain behaviors are justified through conventional metaphors (Goatly 2007: 30). Novel / creative metaphors are metaphors that have not previously been used in a language community (Charteris-Black 2004: 21). These metaphors have the power to defamiliarize, to bring something new and even contrary to the expectations of the audience (Partington 2006: 273). Conscious use of metaphors for the purpose of persuasion may thus involve a choice between conventional and novel metaphors depending on the goals of the speaker. An example of how conventional and novel metaphors work in the political and media discourse is provided by Philip (2017: 227). She cites the British Prime Minister David Cameron who once referred to migrants as *a swarm of people coming across the Mediterranean*. A part of the audience noticed this unusual metaphor and criticized Cameron for its inappropriate use. Many people understood this metaphor as a comparison of migrants with annoying insects which means dehumanization of this group of people. To avoid humiliation of migrants Cameron was advised to use the conventional metaphor *a wave of people*. However, the classification of metaphors into conventional and novice is beyond the scope of the present study.

In the present study, metaphors are approached from the perspective of Charteris-Black's (2004: 34-41) Critical Metaphor Analysis described earlier in his subsection. Application of this approach to data analysis consists of three stages: 1) metaphor identification, 2) metaphor interpretation, and 3) metaphor explanation. Metaphor identification implies identification of metaphorical expressions. In the present study, metaphor identification is implemented through the metaphor identification procedure (MIP) offered by Pragglejaz Group (2007).⁹ Metaphor interpretation, the second stage of Critical Metaphor Analysis, involves establishing a relationship between metaphors and the cognitive and pragmatic factors which determine them. At this stage, two other conceptual levels of metaphors, namely conceptual metaphors, if possible combined into conceptual keys, are identified. The third stage of Critical Metaphor Analysis – metaphor explanation – is aimed at identifying the discourse functions of metaphors, that is at establishing the ideological and rhetorical motivation of metaphors. At this stage, one can evaluate the consequences of the use of metaphors – what kind of opinion or action a particular metaphor serves to justify.

More details about the approach to analyzing metaphors in the Svalbard context used in this study are presented in subsection 8.1.

3.3.4 Identification: Focus

Identification is another discursive strategy included in Hart's (2013: 405-407) typology of event-construal (Table 1). Identification is focused on social actors that participate in conceptual representation, their roles, and their degree of salience (Hart 2011a: 272; Hart 2013: 406). The construal operations which Hart (2013: 406) includes in the identification strategy are focus, profiling, and scanning. These construal operations pertain to the certain scope of attention that is crucial for a particular construal of the event. Focus, profiling, and scanning, inter alia, were proposed by Langacker (2002) and grouped by him into "focal adjustments". Hart (2011a: 272) places the identification construal operations under the rubric of "mystification", as these construal operations can "defocus or deindividuate certain social actors". Mystification, a notion in Critical Linguistics, relates to "the ability of the clause to defocus or altogether conceal aspects of the realities described in discourse to different ideological effects" (Hart 2014: 30).

Within the present work, attention is paid to the construal operation of focus. Langacker (2008: 55) defines *focusing* as "what we choose to look at" when we view a scene. For

⁹ MIP is an attempt to create clear and reliable criteria that can help to unify metaphor identification to some extent. MIP starts from the actual textual context and "inductively builds the case for why a particular word was used metaphorically in context" (Pragglejaz Group 2007: 34). The procedure includes (a) identification of each lexical unit (a word or a multiword expression) in a text-discourse, (b) establishment of contextual meaning of each lexical unit (from the text) and of its basic contemporary meaning (in other contexts) as well as (c) comparison of these meanings. If the contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning but can be understood through the basic meaning, one can identify the lexical unit as metaphorical (Pragglejaz Group 2007: 3). A retrieval of basic contemporary meaning of words entails extensive work with dictionaries.

Langacker (2008: 57-58), focus means that a certain conceptual content is selected for linguistic presentation and aligned with such metaphorical notions as foreground and background. Herewith, the background-foreground situation is understood as the one “where one conception precedes” (background) ... “and in some way facilitates the emergence of another” (foreground). A domain in the foreground is central and “highly susceptible to activation” while a domain in the background is “only weakly activated”.

Background-foreground is relevant for several kinds of linguistic situations. For instance, the source domain of a metaphor serves as a conceptual background for viewing and understanding a target domain (Langacker 2008: 58). In a text, the clauses denoting sequential events are foregrounded while the clauses providing descriptions and evaluation are backgrounded. Foregrounded clauses have a determined order while the order of backgrounded clauses can be changed (Hopper & Thompson 1980: 281).

The manifestation of foreground vs. background in perception is termed by Langacker (2008: 58) as figure vs. ground. Figure-ground relations have a certain place in the understanding of discourse structure (Gisborne & Donaldson 2019: 15). For example, Hart (2013: 413-414) incorporates figure-ground concepts and thematic structure of clauses into his analysis of reciprocal clauses used in protest discourse constructed by media. He writes that the entities introduced earlier in a clause (the figure) are conceptually more salient in comparison with the entities introduced later (the ground). This is illustrated with examples (7) and (8):

- (7) Earlier, violence erupted during a tense stand-off between **demonstrators** – many with covered faces – and **police** outside the Bank of England [typed bold by Hart]. [The Telegraph as cited in Hart (2013: 414)]
- (8) By about 8pm, running battles between **riot police** and **demonstrators** were taking place across London Bridge [typed bold by Hart]. [Hart 2013: 414].

The verb arguments in both examples are part of symmetrical reciprocal constructions. However, the actors in these constructions do not have similar roles. In example (7), the coreferential argument *demonstrators* (the figure) is introduced before the other coreferential argument *police* (the ground). According to Hart (2013: 414), example (8) may perhaps contain the conceptualization where more responsibility is assigned to *riot police* because this noun is introduced before the other coreferential argument *demonstrators*.

Another illustration of interplay between foreground and background are presuppositions and topics. Presuppositions are implicit constructions that express their content overtly and at the same time propose it as already belonging to the common ground and to common knowledge (e.g., Lombardi Vallauri 2021: 4-5). Presuppositions are used to communicate trivial information or information already known to the addressee as well as to communicate false, exaggerated, or questionable information (Lombardi Vallauri 2021: 8-11). For this reason, presuppositions occupy a syntactically or lexically background position. Example (9) illustrates a presupposition used to promote a negative view of the euro currency in the Italian political discourse:

- (9) C'è qualcuno qua dentro che dopo aver avuto in tasca per qualche anno **quella moneta criminale chiamata “euro”** [typed bold by Lombardi Vallauri] pensa di averci guadagnato qualcosa? [Matteo Salvini, Milano, January 28, 2016, as cited in Lombardi Vallauri (2021: 7)].

Is there anyone here who, after having **that criminal currency called “Euro”** [typed bold by Lombardi Vallauri] in his pockets for some years, thinks he has benefited from it?

The phrase *that criminal currency called “Euro”* is used as a part of a complex sentence where it acts as a backgrounded description. Backgrounding makes the content of this presupposition less noticeable and thus unquestionable. If used in this context, the assertive statement *Euro is a criminal currency* would be more explicit and foregrounded and it would thus be more open for contestation.

Example (10) taken from Donald Trump's inauguration speech is another illustration of a presupposition:

- (10) And yes, together we will make America great again [as cited in Balogun & Murana 2018: 69].

The adverb *again* used in example (10) serves as a lexical trigger, namely iterative (that is indicating repetition), of a presupposition (Liang & Liu 2016: 69-70). In this example, it is presupposed that America was once great and under Trump's predecessors it has lost its greatness (Balogun & Murana 2018: 69; Lombardi Vallauri 2021: 7). The assertive statement *America is no longer a great Nation*, corresponding to the presupposition from example (10), would sound more questionable (Lombardi Vallauri 2021: 7).

Topics, similar to presuppositions, are “triggers of lesser attention” (Lombardi Vallauri 2021: 1). When regarded on a sentential level, a topic relates to the notions of theme-rheme. Theme (also known as topic) denotes given information in a sentence while rheme (also known as comment or focus) corresponds to new information (Grenoble 1998: 159-160). New information is more foregrounded and more noticeable for the addressee in comparison with given information. This is illustrated by examples (11) and (12), where in the former example the proper noun *Moses* is a focus and in the latter example this noun is a topic. According to Lombardi Vallauri (2021: 6-8), when the subjects of an experiment were shown the sentences illustrated in examples (11) and (12), the ones given example (11) were more likely to notice a mistake (that it was Noah who took the animals on the ark) than the ones who saw example (12):

- (11) It was [MOSES]_F who [took two animals of each kind on the Ark]_T [Lombardi Vallauri 2021: 7].
 (12) It was [TWO ANIMALS]_F [of each kind]_T that [Moses took on the Ark]_T [Lombardi Vallauri 2021: 7].

Within the present study, I propose to consider the construal operation termed focus on a discourse level from a different angle. I propose to align this theoretical concept to the analysis of the distribution of certain grammatical categories in a corpus of texts regarded as a discourse. This analysis can be implemented with the help of the method named Keymorph Analysis proposed by Fidler & Cvrček (2018). Keymorph Analysis is related to corpus-assisted discourse analysis and reveals prominent morpho-syntactic features (keymorphs) in a target corpus when compared to a reference corpus. The prominence of certain keymorphs in a corpus of texts can be regarded as salience of these keymorphs in comparison with other keymorphs in this paradigm. Fidler and Cvrček (2018: 199) argue that prominent keymorphs help to reveal discourse structure – “the representation of events and participants in discourse, especially the degrees of agency expressed in texts”.

Janda et al. (2022) applied Keymorph Analysis to a corpus of Putin’s speeches made before and immediately after the start of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict in February 2022. We investigated over- and underrepresentation of grammatical cases of the nouns meaning ‘Russia’, ‘Ukraine’, and ‘NATO’ and interpreted the results from the perspective that cases have semantic associations. Our study revealed that, for example, ‘Ukraine’ was used much more in the Locative case than ‘Russia’ which suggests that Ukraine was portrayed as a region rather than as a state. This usage implies that Ukraine as a discourse actor was relegated to the “setting” in discourse rather than being in the foreground. A relevant study on proportions of the grammatical cases of the noun ‘Russia’ in Putin’s speeches of 2012-2022 and of the noun ‘Ukraine’ in Putin’s speeches of 2014 and 2022 conducted by Levshina (2022) has consistent results with Janda’s et al. (2022) study: Ukraine is preferred to be represented as a location (the Locative case) rather than an agent (the Nominative case) both in 2022 and 2014.

In the present study, Keymorph Analysis is applied to identify the representations of several discourse participants, namely Russia, Norway, and Svalbard. These representations are investigated by examining the saliency of the grammatical cases of the corresponding nouns (see subsection 7.1 for more details) The Russian grammatical cases and their semantic associations are described in subsection 3.3.5.

3.3.5 Russian grammatical cases and their meaning

In Janda et al. (2022: 20) we argue that “...the distribution of grammatical features reveals conceptual tendencies beyond what can be discovered by analysis of lexemes alone”. One of these features is the category of grammatical case of nouns. In Janda et al. (2022: 17-20) we give a brief overview of the meanings of the Russian grammatical cases based on Janda (1993, 1999, 2002) and Janda & Clancy (2002). There are six grammatical cases in the Russian language – Nominative, Genitive, Dative, Accusative, Instrumental, and Locative – which are obligatorily expressed by noun phrases in the Russian language. Grammatical case is expressed through the use of endings on nouns, adjectives, and pronouns. Further I will describe the central meanings of the Russian grammatical cases based on our overview in Janda et al. (2022: 17-20) and provide

examples from my data on Russian media coverage of Svalbard. The noun forms which are the focus in each example are marked with the corresponding case annotation and are given in bold. This overview presents only the case meanings that are relevant for the analysis of my data.

Nominative Case (NOM) is characterized by two central meanings.

NOMINATIVE: A NAME is associated with the grammatical subject, which is often an agent in an active sentence, e.g.:

- (13) **Norvegija.NOM** osvobodila rossijskij trauler [Lenta.ru, 07.10.2011].
Norway.NOM released Russian trawler [Lenta.ru, 07.10.2011].

NOMINATIVE: AN IDENTITY relates to the titles of entities, e.g.:

- (14) Murmanskije pograničniki nesli dozor u beregov arhipelaga **Špicbergen.NOM**.
 [TV-21, “Murmansk” vernulsja v rodnoj port, 07.11.2011].
 Murmansk border guards patrolled off the coast of the **Svalbard.NOM** archipelago.
 [TV-21, Murmansk returned to its native port, 07.11.2011].

Genitive Case (GEN) relates to “the relationship of a focused entity (a trajector) to something that is backgrounded (a landmark marked with the Genitive)” (Janda et al. (2022: 18). Genitive has four central meanings.

GENITIVE: A SOURCE is associated with a point of departure specified with prepositions denoting ‘from’, e.g., *iz*, *s*, *ot*:

- (15) Spasateli-vodolazy iz **Rossii.GEN** otpravilis’ k mestu obnaruženija oblomkov Mi-8 [Gazeta.Ru, 29.10.2017].
 Rescuers-divers from **Russia.GEN** went to the place where the wreckage of the Mi-8 was found [Gazeta.Ru, 29.10.2017].

GENITIVE: A GOAL relates to a point of attainment which can be specified by prepositions *do* ‘up to, until’, *dlja* and *radi* ‘for’, *protiv* ‘against’, etc., e.g.:

- (16) Norvegija xotja i ne javljaetsja členom ES, podderživaet vse zapadnye sankcii protiv **Rossii.GEN** [Moskovskij Komsomolec, Norvegija vozmuščena vizitom Rogozina na Špicbergen, 20.04.2015].
 Although Norway is not a member of the EU, it supports all Western sanctions against **Russia.GEN** [Moskovskij Komsomolec, Norway outraged by Rogozin's visit to Svalbard, 20.04.2015].

GENITIVE: A WHOLE is related to “the existence of something as a part of a larger unit or collection” (Janda et al. 2022: 18). Such nouns phrases can be translated into

English as phrases with the preposition *of*, as shown in example (17), or as phrases denoting possession, as shown in example (18):

- (17) Rossijskie flagi u beregov **Špicbergena.GEN** [TV-21, 23.04.2015].
Russian flags off the coast of **Svalbard.GEN** [TV-21, 23.04.2015].
- (18) Včera v 12.00 po moskovskomu vremeni Dmitrij Medvedev provel peregovory s prem'er-ministrom **Norvegii.GEN** Jansom Stoltenbergom. [Kommersant, Rossija i Norvegija sygrali partiju v šel'f, 28.04.2010].
Yesterday at 12:00 Moscow time, Dmitry Medvedev held talks with **Norway's** Prime Minister Jens Stoltenberg. [Kommersant, Russia and Norway played a game of shelf, 28.04.2010].

A use of GENITIVE: A WHOLE can also relate to nominalization of events. Both the agent of an event, as shown in example (19) and the patient of an event, as shown in example (20), can participate in nominalization of events:

- (19) Neskol'ko mesjacev nazad gensek NATO Jens Stoltenberg zajavljaj, čto al'jans otvetit na voennoe prisutstvie **Rossii.GEN** v Arktike uveličeniem svoego prisutstvie v regione. [Gazeta.Ru, "Fejk i grubaja provokacija": posol'stvo RF o specnaze v Norvegii, 30.09.2019].
A few months ago, NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg said that the alliance would respond to the military presence of **Russia.GEN** in the Arctic by increasing its presence in the region. [Gazeta.Ru, "Fake and gross provocation": Russian Embassy about special forces in Norway, 30.09.2019].
- (20) Pograničniki Rossii na dnjax pristupjat k patulirovaniju **Špicbergena.GEN** [TV-21, 31.05.2013].
Russian border guards will soon start patrolling **Svalbard.GEN** [TV-21, 31.05.2013].

GENITIVE: A REFERENCE implies that an item is located with respect to a landmark in the Genitive case. Many prepositions are used to specify this meaning, for example, the preposition *u* 'by, at':

- (21) Spasateli MČS vyleteli na poiski upavšego u **Špicbergena.GEN** Mi-8 [Vesti.Ru, 28.10.2017].
Rescuers of the Ministry of Emergency Situations flew out to search for the crashed Mi-8 near **Svalbard.GEN** [Vesti.Ru, 28.10.2017].

The GENITIVE: A REFERENCE meaning is often specified by the same preposition *u* when it denotes a possessor, e.g.:

- (22) U **Rossii.GEN** na Špicbergene tri poselka: Grumant - brošennyj, Piramida - zakonservirovannyj, Barenburg - živoj, ego naselenie okolo 500 čelovek. [Pravda.ru, V Norvegii skeptičeski otneslis' k želaniju Ukrainy osvivaivat' Arktiku, 05.07.2019].
Russia.GEN has three settlements on Svalbard: Grumant is abandoned, Pyramid is mothballed, Barentsburg is alive, its population is about 500 people. [Pravda.ru, Norway skeptical about Ukraine's desire to explore the Arctic, 05.07.2019].

Dative Case (DAT) relates to “the capacity of an entity to interact with its surroundings, by receiving objects, absorbing experiences, or exerting equal or superior strength”. The Dative case is most typically associated with a human being “who can appreciate or suffer due to an event and react to it”. An entity marked with the Dative case is “an engaged potential subject for a future action” (Janda et al. 2022: 19). Dative case is characterized by three central meanings.

DATIVE: A RECEIVER marks the indirect object of the verbs meaning ‘give’, e.g.:

- (23) Rossija gotova podarit' **Norvegii.DAT** sotni tysjač kvadratnyx kilometrov Barenceva morja [News29.ru, 24.03.2011].
 Russia is ready to give **Norway.DAT** hundreds of thousands of square kilometers of the Barents Sea [News29.ru, 24.03.2011].

DATIVE: AN EXPERIENCER is associated with something that a Dative-marked entity receives in the form of “harm, benefit, belonging to, and needing”. The Dative-marked entity can be thus determined as “a victim or beneficiary of some state or effect”, e.g.:

- (24) MID Rossii zajavil protest **Norvegii.DAT** iz-za zaderžanija sudna “Sapfir-2” [Gazeta.Ru, 01.10.2011].
 The Russian Foreign Ministry protested to **Norway.DAT** due to the detention of the vessel Sapphire-2 [Gazeta.Ru, 01.10.2011].

DATIVE: A COMPETITOR is associated with “the capacity of the Dative entity as compared to another entity that is either equal or lesser in strength or influence”. DATIVE: A COMPETITOR is also related to the use of the prepositions *k* ‘toward’ and *po* ‘along’ indicating “a person or entity that exerts influence” (Janda et al. 2022: 19), e.g.:

- (25) Xorošee otnošenie k **Rossii.DAT** videl na severe, v Finnmarke, – zdes' s XIX veka mnogo rossijsko-norvežskix svjazej, rodoslovnyx. [Severnaja Nedelja, Sval'bord ne vpisyvaetsja v Parižskij dogovor, 03.11.2017].
 I saw a good attitude towards **Russia.DAT** in the north, in Finnmark – there have been many Russian-Norwegian ties and pedigrees here since the 19th century. [Severnaja Nedelja, Svalbard does not fit into the Paris Treaty, 03.11.2017].
- (26) V 1920-m godu v Pariže otkrylas' meždunarodnaja konferencija po **Špicbergenu.DAT**, čtoby ustranit' juridičeskij kazus terra nullius. [Vzgljad.ru, Politika: Norvegija primenila protiv Rossii nagluju taktiku, 09.02.2020].
 In 1920, an international conference on **Svalbard.DAT** opened in Paris to resolve the legal casus terra nullius. [Vzgljad.ru, Politics: Norway used brazen tactics against Russia, 09.02.2020].

Accusative Case (ACC) is associated with “a path toward destination” with the focus “along a whole path” or “just the endpoint” (Janda et al. 2022: 19). Accusative case has three central meanings, two of which are relevant to this work.

ACCUSATIVE: A DESTINATION indicates a path in the special domain which can be specified, for example, by prepositions *v* ‘into’, *na* ‘onto’, *za* ‘beyond’, and *pod* ‘under’:

- (27) Norvegija trebuje spiski pasažirov samoletov, sledujuščix na **Špicbergen.ACC** [Murmanskij Vestnik, 04.08.2015].
Norway requires passenger lists for flights to **Svalbard.ACC** [Murmanskij Vestnik, 04.08.2015].

It is typical for the ACCUSATIVE: A DESTINATION meaning to mark a direct object regarded as a metaphorical version of this meaning. The metaphorical version of the destination meaning implies that “the action moves along a path from the agent to the patient” (Janda & Clancy 2002: 64), for example:

- (28) Rossija obvinila **Norvegiju.ACC** v obostrenii ryboloveckogo konflikta [RT na ruskom, 03.10.2011].
Russia accuses **Norway.ACC** of aggravating the fishing conflict [RT na ruskom, 03.10.2011].

ACCUSATIVE: A DIMENSION is associated with the length of a path typically expressed by prepositions *skvoz* ‘through’ and *čerez* ‘across’, for example:

- (29) Nam neobxodimo ottjanut’ čast’ turistov, kotorye poseščajut Špicbergen čerez **Norvegiju.ACC**, a èto porjadka 120 tys. čelovek. [Argumenty i Fakty, Nužen nam bereg tureckij, 24.04.2018].
We need to divert some of the tourists who visit Svalbard through **Norway.ACC**, and this is about 120 thousand people. [Argumenty i Fakty, We need the Turkish coast, 24.04.2018].

Instrumental Case (INS) is described as having a semantic meaning of “an accessory for something else... a peripheral attachment for something else” (Janda & Clancy 2002: 19). The Instrumental case has four central meanings.

INSTRUMENTAL: A MEANS is associated with “a conduit for an action, something that makes it possible for an action to take place” (Janda et al. 2022: 20). This meaning typically relates to the agent in a passive construction:

- (30) Sudno bylo zaderžano **Norvegiej.INS** i otkonvoirovano v port goroda Tromsø. [Moskovskij Komsomolec, Rossijskij trauler “Belomorsk” zaderžan v vodax Špicbergena, 15.05.2020].
The ship was detained by **Norway.INS** and escorted to the port of Tromsø. [Moskovskij Komsomolec, Russian trawler Belomorsk detained in the waters of Svalbard, 15.05.2020].

INSTRUMENTAL: AN ADJUNCT is related to the use of the preposition *s* ‘with’ and expression of “companionship and mutual relationship” (Janda et al. 2022: 20), e.g.:

- (31) A vygody Norvegii ot ulaživanja otnošenij s **Rossiej.INS** očevidny.
[Arxangel’sk, Na zapadnoj granice - peremeny, 28.09.2010].
And Norway's benefits from smoothing out relations with **Russia.INS** are obvious.
[Arkhangelsk, Changes on the western border, 28.09.2010].

INSTRUMENTAL: A LANDMARK denotes “peripheral locations without contact” (Janda et al. 2022: 20). This meaning is specified by the prepositions *nad* ‘above’, *pod* ‘under’, *pered* ‘in front of’, *za* ‘behind’, and *meždu* ‘between’. A metaphorical extension of the LANDMARK meaning is illustrated by the following example:

- (32) Vzaimodejstvie meždu **Norvegij.INS** i **Rossij.INS** po povodu arhipelaga ostaetsja složnym, podčerknul glava MID Rossii Sergej Lavrov. [29.ru, BEAR [strany Barenceva/Evroarktičeskogo regiona] v Arxangel’ske: Rossija zajavila o problemax s dostupom na Špicbergen, 19.10.2017].
Cooperation between **Norway.INS** and **Russia.INS** on the archipelago remains difficult, Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov stressed. [29.ru, BEAC [The Barents Euro-Arctic Council] in Arkhangelsk: Russia announced problems with access to Svalbard, 19.10.2017].

INSTRUMENTAL: A LABEL is used with verbs which denote being, becoming, and seeming. The LABEL meaning identifies a category that something belongs to, as for example, *koška javljaetsja mlekopitajuščim* ‘a cat is **a mammal**’ (Janda & Clancy 2002: 36-37). There is only one occurrence of this meaning of the Instrumental case in my data:

- (33) On-to [Villem Barenc] - za ostrokonečnye veršiny - i nazval ètu zemlju **Špicbergenom.INS**. [Murmanskij Vestnik, Kraj - ne raj, 28.05.2016].
It was he [Willem Barentsz] who named this land **Svalbard.INS** for the pointed peaks [Murmanskij Vestnik, A region, which is not paradise, 28.05.2016].

Locative Case (LOC) has one meaning LOCATIVE: A PLACE. This meaning is associated with “stative locations either in space or other domains” and is always specified by such prepositions as *v* ‘in’, *na* ‘on’, *pri* ‘at’, *o* ‘about’ (Janda et al. 2022: 20), for example:

- (34) Posol’stvo vyjasnjaet obstojaatel’stva zaderžanija rossijanina na **Špicbergene.LOC** [Gazeta.Ru, 23.12.2018].
The Embassy investigates the circumstances of the detention of a Russian in **Svalbard.LOC** [Gazeta.Ru, 23.12.2018].
(35) Rossija sčitaet, čto Norvegija narušaet objazatel’stva po dogovoru o **Špicbergene.LOC** [Kommersant, 09.02.2020].
Russia believes that Norway is violating obligations under the Treaty on **Svalbard.LOC** [Kommersant, 09.02.2020].

3.4 Corpus Linguistics

Besides principles of CDA and Cognitive Linguistics, the present study applies some notions of Corpus Linguistics. Corpus Linguistics is “the study of language based on examples of ‘real life’ language use” (McEnery & Wilson 2001: 1). Corpus Linguistics is often regarded as a field focusing upon a set of methods for studying language rather than comprising its own linguistic theories (McEnery & Hardie 2011: 1). Corpus Linguistics deals with a set of machine-readable texts (a corpus) which is processed to perceive patterns it contains (McEnery & Hardie 2011: 1; Scott & Tribble 2006: 5). The presupposition behind this approach to text analysis is that patterns in large corpus data reveal aspects of language which the researcher would not otherwise be aware of (Charteris-Black 2004: 32).

Corpus Linguistics has been used extensively as a method of discourse analysis since the 1990s (Baker et al. 2013: 26). Some researchers use a separate term for this approach, namely the corpus-assisted discourse studies (e.g., Stubbs 1996, Partington et al. 2013) while other researchers refer to this approach as a combination of CDA with Corpus Linguistics (e.g., Baker et al. 2013). Both names for this approach are used interchangeably in the present study.

Baker et al. (2013: 25-26) write about several advantages of corpus approaches in CDA which are especially relevant to analysis of corpora of mass-media texts. On the one hand, the larger amount of data increases the credibility of findings. On the other hand, we can understand better what choices the media make in relation to writing about a particular topic. Through identification of repetitious patterns in the media that are aimed at influencing their readership, a corpus analysis thus gives evidence for “mainstream, popular or entrenched ways of thinking”. In addition, analysis of large amounts of data can potentially reveal choices that are less frequent and are overlooked by researchers. Furthermore, a corpus analysis enables replicability, that is obtaining the same quantitative results by another researcher using the same corpus and the same tool.

The methods used in the present study are the ones related to corpus-assisted discourse studies. Two of these methods are inspired by the theory of event-construal, from the perspective of the Cognitive Linguistic approach to CDA. These are Keymorph Analysis, connected to the construal operation of focus (see subsections 3.3.4 and chapter 7), and Metaphor Analysis, connected to the construal operations of schematization and metaphor (see subsections 3.3.2, 3.3.3 and chapter 8). The other method used, namely Market Basket Analysis, is not connected to any linguistic theory (see chapter 6). This method is based on the notion of keyness and is applied on the premises that corpus-based discourse analyses often start with exploration of keywords (Cvrček & Fidler 2022) (see subsection 6.1).

4 Research questions and predictions

The aim of the present study is to examine how Svalbard has been covered in the Russian mass media between 2010 and 2021. Instead of concentrating on a specific topic related to Svalbard, the study adopts an inductive approach – it incorporates all the articles mentioning Svalbard published in certain media outlets (see chapter 5 for data description). The collected data is first explored with the purpose of understanding what it is about. At this stage the prominent contexts and concepts that Svalbard is associated with are revealed (chapter 6). At the second stage of the analysis, the representations of prominent discourse participants, namely Russia, Norway, and Svalbard, are examined (chapter 7). These discourse participants are chosen based on the results obtained at the first stage of the analysis. The purpose of the third stage of the analysis is to reveal metaphoric representations of Svalbard (chapter 8).

In order to make longitudinal comparisons across the data, it is divided into three four-year periods that relate to key historical events: 2010-2013, 2014-2017, and 2018-2021. A period is thus one of the independent variables. The other independent variable is media type, namely the federal and the regional (from the Murmansk and Arkhangelsk regions) media. The variables of period and media types are relevant for the first and the second stage of the analysis. In other words, I examine whether contexts and concepts related to Svalbard as well as representations of Russia, Norway, and Svalbard have changed depending on the period and whether these aspects demonstrate differences in accordance with the media type. At the third stage of the analysis, the differences in metaphorical representations are not measured; instead, a qualitative analysis of evidence related to the use of metaphors in the Russian media between 2010-2021 is conducted.

The present study is thus aimed at answering the following questions:

1. What kind of contexts and concepts is Svalbard associated with in the texts of some Russian federal and regional media published in 2010-2013, 2014-2017, and 2018-2021? Do these concepts and contexts differ in accordance with period and media type?
2. What are the discourse representations of Russia, Norway, and Svalbard in the texts of some Russian federal and regional media published in 2010-2013, 2014-2017, and 2018-2021? Do these representations differ in accordance with period and media type?
3. What are the metaphoric representations of Svalbard in the texts of some Russian federal and regional media published in 2010-2021?

The present study aims to reveal differences between the periods and types of media in the analysis covered in research questions 1 and 2. The period of 2010-2021 is characterized by several political events which potentially can influence coverage of Svalbard (see chapter 1). The historical connection of the Murmansk and Arkhangelsk region with Svalbard and the special economic interest of these regions in the Svalbard region can potentially be reflected in creation of an agenda and representations of

Svalbard by the local media different from that created by the federal media (see section 2.2). On the other hand, as the data does not comprise any media claiming to be independent or oppositional neither from the federal nor from the regional sides, the analyzed media are expected to be mostly loyal to the prevailing government policy. For this reason, the coverage of Svalbard is also expected to be characterized by features common to both federal and regional media.

5 Data and method overview

The media outlets for the present study were chosen according to the Russian media ratings provided by Medialogia (2020a), a Russian company that specializes in the monitoring and analysis of the news media and social media. The ratings used in the study are: The Most Cited Federal Newspapers, The Most Cited Federal Internet Resources, The Most Cited Media in the Murmansk Region, and the Most Cited Media in the Arkhangelsk Region for 2014, 2018, and 2021. Medialogia does not provide earlier ratings than the ones published in 2014. The year 2018 was chosen as a landmark in order to reveal possible changes in the content of the above-mentioned ratings after 2014 and before 2021.

Medialogia's (2020b) ratings are based on the Citation Index (CI) which is an indicator of the quality of media content distribution. CI takes into account a range of indicators: how often the source of information has been cited in other media, how often a media outlet that has cited the source of information has been cited in other media, how often the materials of the source of information have been liked and shared in social media. The word *cited* refers here to in-text citation (the use of the phrases *po soobščeniju...*, *kak peredali...* 'according to', etc.) as well as hyperlinks. Thus, a high CI indicates popularity as well as credibility of the source of information among other media outlets and in social media.

The media outlets have been selected for the present study according to a number of criteria. A media outlet should have been included in at least one of the above-mentioned ratings. In other words, if a media outlet was present, for example, only in the rating named Most Cited Federal Newspapers in 2018, it was regarded as suitable for the study. The media outlets absent from the database Integrum (2008), used for extracting the data, could not be included due to lack of access. The media outlets were also checked for their profiles – the media that have a reputation of independent or oppositional anti-Kremlin rhetoric were excluded. An example of such media is *Novaja Gazeta*, an independent socio-political publication known for its investigative journalism (Meduza 2017). The media that call themselves independent or oppositional were also excluded, e.g., *Dvina Segodnja* (2017), a private independent media outlet in the Arkhangelsk Region. In addition to newspapers, TV channels and news websites, Medialogia's ratings of regional media include also information agencies. This type of media was excluded from the present study. Initially, *InoSMI* was included in the list of federal media selected for this study. *InoSMI* is an Internet media project, the purpose of which

is to select articles about Russia from foreign media and translate them into Russian. Although *InoSMI* has been proven to be careful in selecting materials to express pro-Kremlin views (EUvsDisinfo 2019), it was decided to exclude this media from this study, as it does not specialize in content produced inside Russia.

The list of the federal media selected for this study comprises 15 media outlets: *Argumenty i Fakty* (<https://aif.ru/>), *Argumenty Nedeli* (<https://argumenti.ru/>), *Gazeta.Ru* (<https://www.gazeta.ru/>), *Izvestija* (<https://iz.ru/>), *Kommersant* (<https://www.kommersant.ru/>), *Komsomol'skaja Pravda* (<https://www.kp.ru/>), *Life.ru* (former Lifenews.ru) (<https://life.ru/>), *Lenta.ru* (<https://lenta.ru/>), *Moskovskij Komsomolec* (<https://www.mk.ru/>), *Parlamentskaja Gazeta* (<https://www.pnp.ru/>), *Pravda.Ru* (<https://www.pravda.ru/>), *Rossijskaja Gazeta* (<https://rg.ru/>), *RT na russkom* (<https://russian.rt.com/>), *Vesti.Ru* (<https://www.vesti.ru/>), and *Vzgljad.ru* (<https://vz.ru/>). Most of these media are newspapers and their online versions. However, *Gazeta.Ru*, *Life.ru*, *Lenta.ru*, *Pravda.Ru*, and *Vzgljad.ru* are news websites, *RT na russkom* is the Russian-language Internet website of the news television network *RT* (formerly *Russia Today*), *Vesti.Ru* is the Internet version of the channel *Russia-24*.

Argumenty i Fakty is a weekly newspaper owned by the government of Moscow (Lenta.ru 2014). *Argumenty Nedeli* is a weekly newspaper founded by some colleagues from the *Argumenty i Fakty*'s journalistic team (Voronov 2006). The news website *Gazeta.Ru* has a reputation of being a "pro-Putin media" (e.g., Bershidsky 2016). In 2020, *Gazeta.Ru*'s holding company named Rambler Media Group passed into full ownership of the state-owned company Sberbank (Tadtaev et al. 2020). *Izvestija* is a daily broadsheet newspaper. During 2005-2008 a majority stake of the media belonged to the state-owned company Gazprom. Later, the SOGAZ insurance company bought the majority stake. SOGAZ is a part of the group controlled by Bank Rossija whose co-owner Jurij Koval'čuk is known to be a close associate of Vladimir Putin (BBC 2008). *Kommersant* is one of the leading broadsheets in Russia. Since 2006 it has belonged to Alisher Usmanov, a steel tycoon who also runs a subsidiary of Gazprom (BBC 2008).

Komsomol'skaja Pravda is a tabloid. It has a reputation of "a gentle nostalgia for the Soviet period, firm backing for Kremlin policy and a keen interest in celebrity news and scandal" (BBC 2008). *Life.ru* (earlier *Lifenews.ru*) is an online newspaper known for its pro-governmental views (Euro | topics 2022). *Lenta.ru* is an Internet news website. One of its owners is the Rambler-Afisha media company that partially belongs to Vladimir Potanin, a business magnate maintaining ties with Vladimir Putin (Open Source Center 2007; RIA Novosti 2013; Forbes 2022). *Moskovskij Komsomolec* is a daily newspaper that combines broadsheet format and mass-market content. The newspaper's editor in chief Pavel Gusev, who is presumably the owner of much of its stock, has been recently included in one of the lists of anti-Russian sanctions (BBC 2008; Radio Svoboda 2022). *Parlamentskaja Gazeta* is the official weekly publication of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation. The founders of the newspaper are the State Duma and the Federation Council of the Russian Federation. The publication is the official publisher of federal laws, resolutions, acts and other documents of the Federal Assembly (Parlamentskaja Gazeta 2022).

Pravda.Ru is an online news media outlet that is known to be the pro-Kremlin website. *Pravda.Ru* and the newspaper *Pravda* are two different media, and the latter is a successor to the popular Soviet newspaper of the same name (Pollowitz 2013). *Pravda.ru* is one of the Kremlin's ideological projects of the 2000s. The aim of these projects was a "correct" discussion of the official agenda and criticism of the enemies of the regime (Morozov 2013). *Rossijskaja Gazeta* is a daily newspaper. It is the main government-owned newspaper, and it has official permission to publish new laws in full (BBC 2008). *RT na russkom* is one of the news channels of the Russian international news television network named *RT*, owned and controlled by the Russian government (Nimmo 2018; RT na russkom 2022). *Vesti.Ru* is the portal of the *Vesti TV* channel and *Vesti FM* radio. The portal was founded by the All-Russian State Television and Radio Broadcasting Company (VGTRK) owned by the state (Open Source Center 2007). *Vzgljad.ru* is a Russian online news media. Similar to *Pravda.Ru*, *Vzgljad.ru* was one of Kremlin's ideological projects in the 2000s (Morozov 2013).

The list of regional media includes eight media from the Arkhangelsk region and five media from the Murmansk region. The Arkhangelsk regional media are the newspapers *Arxangel'sk – gorod vojskoj slavy* (<http://www.xn--80aecd.xn--p1ai/>), *Arxangel'sk* (<https://dvina29.ru/gazety-arhangelsk/>), *Pravda Severa* (<https://pravdasevera.ru/>), and *Severnyj rabočij* (<http://nworker.ru/>) as well as the news websites *29.ru* (<https://29.ru/>), *News29.ru* (<https://www.news29.ru/>), *Region29.Ru* (<https://region29.ru/>), and *Severnaja nedelja* (<https://vdvsn.ru/>). The Murmansk regional media are represented by the newspaper *Večernij Murmansk* (<https://vmnews.ru/>), the news websites *Xibiny.com* (<https://www.hibiny.com/>) and *Murmanskij Vestnik* (<https://www.mvestnik.ru/>) as well as the websites of two TV channels *Telekanal Arktik-TV* (<https://xn----7sbhwj3brd.xn--p1ai/>) and *Telekompanija TV-21* (<https://tv21.ru/>).

Arxangel'sk – gorod vojskoj slavy is the publication of the Administration of the city of Arkhangelsk. In addition to the regional news, the newspaper publishes municipal regulatory legal acts of the mayor and the mayor's office of the city of Arkhangelsk (Arxangel'sk 2022). The newspaper *Arxangel'sk* was founded by the Administration of the Governor of the Arkhangelsk Region and the Government of the Arkhangelsk Region. A significant amount of the informational content of the newspaper is official information from these local governments (Dvina29 2020). *Pravda Severa* is a century-old newspaper in the Arkhangelsk region that earlier had a reputation as a leading newspaper in the region (Kievskij 2016). *Severnyj rabočij* is a newspaper published in Severodvinsk, in the Arkhangelsk region. The newspaper tries to focus the attention of the authorities and public opinion on regional social problems, e.g., the growth of tariffs for housing and communal services, healthcare and education reforms (Severnyj rabočij 2022). *29.ru* is a news portal in Arkhangelsk and a part of Shkulev Media Holding (2022) – the largest network of urban online media in Russia. *News29.ru* (2022) is a news website in Arkhangelsk aimed at coverage of the most important and interesting events of the region. *Region29* is an online version of the *Region 29* TV channel broadcasting on the territory of Arkhangelsk. The channel operates with the financial support of the Federal Agency for Press and Mass Communications and airs international and educational programs, live broadcasts, and documentaries (Region29

2022; Yandex Teleprogramma 2022). *Severnaja nedelja* (2021) is a news website of the publishing house of the same name located in Severodvinsk and Arkhangelsk. The content of the website are events happening in Russia, including the North-Western regions, as well as information useful in everyday life.

Večernij Murmansk is the newspaper founded by the administration of the city of Murmansk and the newspaper's editorial staff. *Večernij Murmansk* covers the social, economic, cultural, and sports events in Murmansk (Kol'skij Sever 2022). *Xibiny.com* is a website "about" and "for" citizens of Murmansk and its region. A part of the content of the website is constantly updated news (Xibiny.com 2022). *Murmanskij Vestnik* is a newspaper of the regional government (SeverPost.RU 2014). *Arktik-TV* is a socio-political TV channel of Murmansk focused on news broadcasting (Telepedija 2022). *Telekompanija TV-21* is a non-state regional television channel broadcasting in the Murmansk region. The TV channel is a network partner of the federal *OTR* (Общественное телевидение России) TV channel (Telekompanija TV-21 2019).

As mentioned above, the data for the present study was extracted from the data base Integrum (2008) that includes materials from more than 400,000 media from Russia, Ukraine, and other former Soviet Union republics. The texts were extracted with the help of a query containing the following seed words: *Špicbergen OR Sval'bard OR Sval'bord OR Spitsbergen OR Grumant OR Svalbard OR Barenburg*. The operator OR means that at least one of these seed words occurs at least once in the extracted texts. The seed words included different variants of the Svalbard and Spitsbergen name adopted in the Russian language. Grumant, a historical poetic name for the archipelago (and a name of one of the Russian settlements on Svalbard), and Barenburg, a name of the functioning Russian settlement, were also included into the list of seed words. Thus, my approach to collecting the data was inclusive.

The data was collected into six subcorpora: Federal 2010-2013, Regional 2010-2013, Federal 2014-2017, Regional 2014-2017, Federal 2018-2021, and Regional 2018-2021. As described in chapter 1, each of these periods starts with a year associated with an important political event, which could potentially be reflected in coverage of the archipelago by the media. These events are the signing of the Barents Sea Border Agreement in 2010, the start of the Ukrainian crisis (annexation of Crimea and the start of the War in Donbass) in 2014, and NATO's Trident Juncture exercises of 2018 that included Norway's High North.

Currently newspapers are often released in two versions: a traditional (paper) version and a website version. The Integrum database sometimes contains both versions of a newspaper and sometimes only one of them. In the context of the present research, if both versions were represented in Integrum, the one that contained more articles was selected. Thus, the subcorpus Federal 2010-2013 contains paper versions of the articles published in the newspapers *Rossijskaja gazeta*, *Kommersant*, *Moskovskij komsomolets*, *Argumenty nedeli*, and *Argumenty i fakty*. The subcorpus Regional 2010-2013 contains paper versions of the articles published in the newspapers *Večernij Murmansk* and *Arxangel'sk*. The subcorpora Regional 2014-2017 and Regional 2018-2021 contain

paper versions of the articles from the newspapers *Večernij Murmansk*, *Arxangel'sk*, *Pravda Severa* and *Arxangel'sk – gorod vojskoj slavy*.

The subcorpora for each period do not always include all the media outlets chosen for this study. This limitation is due to the lack of consistent availability of these media outlets in Integrum, especially with regard to regional newspapers. Thus, the subcorpus Regional 2010-2013 does not contain articles from the websites *Region29.Ru*, *Severnaja nedelja* and *Telekanal Arktik-TV*. The subcorpus Regional 2018-2021 does not contain the newspaper *Pravda Severa*.

The size of the subcorpora is shown in Table 2. The subcorpus Federal 2010-2013 consists of a larger number of tokens (685,959) although it has the lowest number of texts. This means that the subcorpus Federal 2010-2013 contains longer texts in comparison with other subcorpora.

Subcorpus	Number of texts	Number of tokens
Federal 2010-2013	376	685,959
Federal 2014-2017	1,204	562,570
Federal 2018-2021	844	567,233
Regional 2010-2013	483	303,864
Regional 2014-2017	694	364,185
Regional 2018-2021	422	330,527

Table 2. The subcorpora and their size

In the present study, three methods related to corpus assisted discourse studies are used. Market Basket Analysis (Cvrček & Fidler 2022) is applied to determine what kind of contexts and concepts Svalbard is associated with and if there are differences in these associations between the media type and period. Keymorph Analysis (Fidler & Cvrček 2018; Janda et al. 2022) is aimed to determine how some discourse participants, namely Russia, Norway, and Svalbard, are represented and if there are differences in these representations according to the media type and period. Metaphor Analysis (e.g., Koller 2006; Charteris-Black 2004) is applied to determine metaphoric representations of Svalbard. Market Basket Analysis is thus aimed at answering research question 1, Keymorph Analysis – at answering research question 2, and Metaphor Analysis – at answering research question 3 (see chapter 4). Market Basket Analysis, its application in the present study, and the results are described in chapter 6. A description of Keymorph Analysis, its application in the present study, and of the results are provided in chapter 7. A description of Metaphor Analysis as applied in the present study and the results are provided in chapter 8.

6 Market Basket Analysis

6.1 Description of the method and data

The first stage of the present study is aimed at understanding what kind of contexts and concepts Svalbard is associated with. The method applied at this stage of the study is Market Basket Analysis. This method has previously been used by Cvrček & Fidler (2022) to explore contrasting narratives describing migration in anti-system vs. center-right Czech internet media.

Market Basket Analysis is based on the notion of keyness. A keyword is defined by significantly higher/lower frequency in one corpus as compared to the frequency of this word in another corpus (Scott 1998: 71). The notion of keyness is consistent with the principle of comparison inherent in corpus-assisted discourse studies since “it is only possible to both uncover and evaluate the particular features of a discourse type by comparing it with others” (Partington et al. 2013: 12). Keywords are regarded as prominent words typical for a text, as indicators of the content and style of a text (Scott & Tribble 2006: 55) as well as of the grammar of a text (Fidler & Cvrček 2018: 198-199).

Market Basket Analysis reveals a wider context for keywords in the form of Associative Links. Associative Links are links between keywords in texts that comprise a corpus (Cvrček & Fidler 2022). A certain Associative Link occurs in a given text, and the same Associative Link can exist in one or more texts. Associative Links can be regarded as patterns of associations noticeable by the readers of a text (Fidler & Cvrček 2021). Associative Links can also be interpreted in terms of forced lexical priming – repetition of certain words to “deliberately ‘flood’ the discourse with messages for a particular strategic purpose” (Duguid & Partington 2017: 67).

Market Basket Analysis originates from online marketing and uses the same principle for determination of customers’ shopping behavior: identifying the items that have been often bought together and offering this combination to a new customer. In a similar way, a keyword that belongs to an Associative Link has a tendency to “attract” another or several other keywords. Overall, Associative Links that exist in a certain group of texts can indicate the existence of a certain discourse theme / narrative (Cvrček & Fidler 2022).

An example of an Associative Link from the present study is *Špicbergen ‘Spitsbergen’* -> *Norvegija ‘Norway’*. The existence of this Associative Link implies that both keywords *Špicbergen* and *Norvegija* occur in the same text together and the number of such texts can be one or more. *Špicbergen*, the left-hand side of the Associative Link, is the antecedent while *Norvegija*, the right-hand side, is the consequent. The number of antecedents can be more than one depending on the size of a corpus and how parameters are set (Cvrček & Fidler 2022). For example, the Associative Link *Špicbergen ‘Spitsbergen’, Rossija ‘Russia’* -> *Norvegija ‘Norway’* includes two antecedents: *Špicbergen* and *Rossija*. The same keywords that form an Associative Link can occur in various combinations thus creating more Associative Links. The combinations with the

same keywords can be, for example, 1) *Špicbergen, Rossija* -> *Norvegija*; 2) *Špicbergen, Norvegija* -> *Rossija*; 3) *Norvegija, Rossija* -> *Špicbergen*, etc. Directionality of keywords in Associative Links, for example, *krušenje* ‘crash’ -> *vertolet* ‘helicopter’ and *vertolet* ‘helicopter’ -> *krušenje* ‘crash’ does not matter in terms of some parameters, for example, the number of texts where these Associative Links occur. Some other parameters, for example, confidence, are different for such Associative Links. The approach to parameter selection in the present study is described later in this subsection.

To conduct Market Basket Analysis, first a list of keywords was obtained for each subcorpus: Federal 2010-2013, Regional 2010-2013, Federal 2014-2017, Regional 2014-2017, Federal 2018-2021, and Regional 2018-2021.¹⁰ These serve as target subcorpora. Each target subcorpus was compared to the reference corpus – a subcorpus of the *Araneum Russicum Russicum Minus* (Russia-only Russian) – of the size of almost 39,900,00 words (52,241,600 tokens¹¹) (Benko 2014a, 2014b; Rychlý 2007). The reference corpus, compiled in 2015, contains text downloaded from the web. Although this corpus can be regarded as having issues with the “language quality” of web texts and representativeness (Benko & Zakharov 2016: 79), it was chosen for the present study due to its availability, namely the availability of its word list which can be downloaded from an open-source project NoSketch Engine.¹²

As in studies conducted by Cvrček & Fidler (2022), the obtained keywords were sorted out by the following parameters: the statistical significance measured by the p-value of the log-likelihood test, the effect size measured by Difference Index (DIN), and the minimum frequency of a keyword in the target text. The log-likelihood test compares the frequency of each word in the target text with the frequency of the same word in the reference corpus and evaluates the level of surprise by the difference in values (more in Cvrček & Fidler 2022 and Janda et al. 2022: 22). DIN is an effect size metric. It is a ratio, multiplied by 100, of the difference between relative frequencies of an item in the target text and the reference corpus and of the sum of the same frequencies. To calculate DIN, one must first calculate relative frequencies using the following formula:

$$\text{RelFq}(\text{Ttxt}) = \text{AbsFq}(\text{Ttxt}) / \text{N}(\text{Ttxt})$$

and

¹⁰ Note that in the present study though the keywords are named as “words”, they are calculated and treated as lemmas – the base form of a word that combines all the forms of a word into one form, e.g., *go* (*go*, *goes*, *going*, etc.) (<https://www.sketchengine.eu/blog/words-tags-lemmas-lemposes-lowercase/>).

¹¹ Tokens are words and nonwords that comprise a corpus. Words are the tokens that start with a letter of the alphabet. Nonwords are the tokens that do not start with a letter of the alphabet. These are numbers, punctuation, etc. (https://www.sketchengine.eu/my_keywords/token/).

¹² <http://aranea.juls.savba.sk/aranea/index.html>

$$\text{RelFq}(\text{RefC}) = \text{AbsFq}(\text{RefC}) / \text{N}(\text{RefC})^{13}$$

DIN is calculated according to the following formula:

$$\text{DIN} = 100 \times [\text{RelFq}(\text{Ttxt}) - \text{RelFq}(\text{RefC})] / [\text{RelFq}(\text{Ttxt}) + \text{RelFq}(\text{RefC})]$$

DIN is represented by values between -100 and 100. The extreme values mean that the keyword in question is missing from the target text (DIN = -100) or from the reference corpus (DIN = 100). If DIN = 0, it means that relative frequency of the given keyword is the same in the target text and in the reference corpus (Cvrček & Fidler 2022; Janda et al. 2022: 22).

The parameters used for sorting out the keywords in the present analysis are the following: the minimum frequency of a keyword in a target text > 1, log-likelihood test (p -value < 0.05), DIN (Difference Index) > 75. The high DIN values helped to target focus on the keywords that are typical for the texts in the target subcorpora. On the other hand, a low threshold for the minimal frequency of a keyword in a target text helped to sort out a sufficient number of keywords to be processed by Market Basket Analysis.

On the next stage of the analysis Market Basket Analysis was implemented in order to obtain a list of Associative Links for the keywords naming Svalbard. Market Basket Analysis has some parameters: length, support, confidence, and lift that are necessary to set to reduce a very long list of Associative Links (Cvrček & Fidler 2022). The parameters relevant to the present study are lengths, support, and confidence.¹⁴ Length refers to the number of keywords involved in the establishment of an Associative Link. Support means the proportion (or probability) of texts containing the keyword A and the keyword B that comprise an Associative Link in relation to the total number of texts in the corpus.

Support for the Associative Link consisting of A and B is calculated according to the following formula:

$$\text{support}(A \rightarrow B) = \text{texts}(A, B) / \text{N}^{15}$$

Confidence is a conditional probability representing how often B appears in texts that also contain A. Confidence is calculated according to the following formula:

$$\text{confidence}(A \rightarrow B) = \text{texts}(A, B) / \text{texts}(A)^{16}$$

For the present analysis the following parameters of Market Basket Analysis were set: length = 4, support = 0.02, confidence = 0.2. Parameter 4 for length means that an

¹³ RelFq = relative frequency, AbsFq = absolute frequency (a count of a keyword in a text or a corpus), Ttxt = target text, RefC = reference corpus, N = total number of tokens in a corpus.

¹⁴ For a detailed description of the parameters of Market Basket Analysis see Cvrček & Fidler (2022).

¹⁵ Texts(A, B) = the number of texts that contain both keywords A and B. N = the total number of texts in the corpus.

¹⁶ Texts(A) = the total number of texts which contain A as a keyword.

Associative Link should include a maximum of four keywords (and a minimum of two). Parameter 0.02 for support means that the keywords that comprise an Associative Link should occur in at least 2% of texts in a subcorpus. Parameter 0.2 for confidence means that keyword B should occur in at least 20% of the texts where keyword A occurs. These parameters were set experimentally, after several tries. The goal was to achieve optimal parameters which would result in a manageable number of Associative Links.

To retrieve a list of Associative Links for particular keywords, I applied the seed words, namely *Špicbergen*, *Sval'bard*, *Sval'bord*, *Spitsbergen*, *Grumant*, *Svalbard*, and *Barenburg*, previously used for retrieving data for the present study (see chapter 5). Among these keywords, it was only *Špicbergen* that Market Basket Analysis returned results for in all six subcorpora. Evidently other keywords occur in a number of texts that is insufficient to establish Associative Links. Only the Associative Links for the keyword *Špicbergen* were further analyzed.

Since the number of Associative Links obtained was still large, it was necessary to decide how to avoid browsing through thousands of them. On the one hand, one can search for tendencies in the statistics for Associative Links as in Cvrček & Fidler's (2022) study on the keyword *migrant* used in the texts of the Czech Center-right and Anti-system media.¹⁷ On the other hand, one can take a wider approach and analyze all the keywords that comprise the Associative Links for a particular keyword as a group without browsing through a list of all the Associative Links. A group of the keywords that comprise the Associative Links where a particular keyword is included is named by Fidler & Cvrček (forthcoming) an Associative Array.

In the present work, the second approach was taken. The retrieved Associative Arrays helped to reveal “the entire pool of associations” (Fidler & Cvrček forthcoming) connected to the keyword *Špicbergen*. The numbers for the retrieved Associative Arrays are shown in Table 3. Note that this statistic demonstrates *Špicbergen* as a prominent keyword that is sorted out according to the parameters (log-likelihood test, DIN, the minimal frequency in a text) described in this subsection above. Table 3 shows that the number of keywords within the obtained Associative Arrays is higher in the federal media than in the regional media. This tendency can indicate more associations with the keyword *Špicbergen* in the federal media, which means that *Špicbergen* is overall potentially connected to a larger number of contexts, topics, or narratives in the federal media than in the regional media. Moreover, the subcorpus of the federal media in 2010-2013 is “the most productive” for the keywords related to the keyword *Špicbergen* despite the low number of texts. In 2018-2021, the number of keywords in

¹⁷ Cvrček & Fidler (2022) focused on two parameters of Market Basket Analysis: lift (the strength of the association) and support (the proportion of texts containing *A* and *B* as a keyword, explained above in the present subsection). It was revealed that the Anti-system subcorpus contained many more Associative Links with *migrant*, and these Associative Links also had a weaker lift median, and a stronger support median in comparison with the Centre-right subcorpus. This result was explained by a stronger preoccupation with *migrant* and creation of a wider network of associations with *migrant* in the Anti-system subcorpus.

Associative Arrays becomes smaller in both types of media which potentially indicates that Svalbard becomes a part of fewer themes, narratives, and associations than before.

Subcorpus	Number of texts with keyword <i>Špicbergen</i>	Number of keywords <i>Špicbergen</i>	Number of keywords within Associative Arrays for keyword <i>Špicbergen</i>
Federal 2010-2013	135	526	128
Federal 2014-2017	664	2,120	100
Federal 2018-2021	316	1,232	79
Regional 2010-2013	147	513	65
Regional 2014-2017	234	796	66
Regional 2018-2021	103	294	50

Table 3. Numbers related to *Špicbergen* as a prominent keyword and its Associative Arrays

The keywords within the Associative Arrays for the keyword *Špicbergen* in each subcorpus were divided according to their discourse functions, similar to Baker's et al. (2013: 55) approach in their study of the coverage of Islam in the British press. Those authors distinguished three discourse functions of the most frequent words in their corpus¹⁸:

- *Topic indicators* – the words that indicate topics. For example, Baker et al. (2013: 59) treat the words *charged*, *conviction*, *crime* as indicating the topic of law / crime while the words *disease*, *doctors*, *medical* are included in the topic of health.
- *Context indicators* – the words that indicate contextual elements: participants, place, time, and quantity, i.e., these words answer the questions 'Who?', 'Where?', 'When?', and 'How much?'. For example, the words *authorities* and *Blair* can indicate the context of governance / politics which relates to the question 'Who?'. At the same time, the words *cabinet* and *congress* from the same context relate to two questions of 'Who?' or 'Where?' (Baker et al. 2013: 57).
- *Co-text words* – the words with general meaning. These words are essential for discussing the topics, but they are not clear topic indicators themselves. For example, within this group, Baker et al. (2013: 58) regard the words *bring*, *circumstances*, *discover* as general content words; the words *ability*, *demands*, *impossible* are named modal markers; the words *afraid*, *concerned*, *desperate* are classified into the category of emotion.

¹⁸ More precisely, Baker et al. (2013: 55) explored discourse functions of the types that had a frequency of at least 4,000 in their corpus. Types are distinct word forms, for example, the list *chair*, *chair*, *desk*, *desk*, *desk* contains two types but five words (word forms) or tokens (Baker et al. 2013: 49).

Though Baker et al. (2013: 55) developed this classification based on their data, it seemed suitable for the present analysis as well. This approach helps to deal with quite a big number of keywords and to avoid a simplistic view on them, that is regarding them only as topic indicators. In subsection 6.2, I present the keywords from the present study classified into Baker's et al. (2013: 55) discourse functions. In the present work, the discourse function of topic indicators is regarded as the discourse function of concept indicators. The idea of a concept is something abstract and general, and it suits well the purpose of this part of the analysis, which is to get to know the data on a schematic level and to reveal general trends within the data.

In subsection 6.2, I present each discourse function – context indicators, topic indicators, and co-text words – in the form of subcategories containing keywords and describe the trends that these keywords indicate. I investigate the immediate context of some keywords and provide examples. This context is investigated through concordances and collocations. Concordance is a list of examples of a word, or a phrase used in their contexts.¹⁹ A collocation is a combination of words occurring together more often than would be expected by chance. An example of collocation is *fatal error*.²⁰ A collocation consists of a node, that is the word we are interested in (for example, *error* from the previous example), and a collocate, that is a word or words which co-occur with the node (Scott & Tribble 2006: 33) (*fatal* from the previous example). To explore the immediate context of the keywords and their collocations I used the online corpus analysis tool SketchEngine (Kilgarriff et al. 2014). The parameters applied to extraction of collocations are their quantity and a strength measure, namely LogDice.

The immediate context of the keyword *Špicbergen* is thus retrieved from the texts containing *Špicbergen* as a prominent keyword and various keywords which form Associative Arrays for this keyword. The sizes of the subcorpora containing these texts are represented in Table 4. For convenience I renamed these subcorpora, namely, I added an asterisk to the original names. The same subcorpora are used for other analyses in the present work – namely for the Keymorph Analysis (see subsection 7.1) and Metaphor Analysis (see subsection 8.1).

Subcorpus	Number of texts	Number of tokens	Number of words
Federal 2010-2013*	135	264,309	130,569
Federal 2014-2017*	664	226,453	175,614
Federal 2018-2021*	316	194,300	153,714
Regional 2010-2013*	147	91,607	73,326
Regional 2014-2017*	234	112,086	88,210
Regional 2018-2021*	103	67,067	51,850

Table 4. Size of subcorpora with *Špicbergen* as a prominent keyword

¹⁹ <https://www.sketchengine.eu/guide/concordance-a-tool-to-search-a-corpus/>

²⁰ https://www.sketchengine.eu/my_keywords/collocation/

Lists of keywords and R codes for keyword analysis and Market Basket Analysis described in this subsection are available in my TROLLing post <https://doi.org/10.18710/UEZZUS> (Obukhova 2024).

6.2 Analysis

6.2.1 Context indicators

The keywords classified as context indicators and their subcategories are represented in Table 5. Ten subcategories were identified: governance / politics, regions / countries, ethnicity / nationality, geography, locality, territories and their division, quantification, time, human names, and other names. The keywords from the federal media are given in green, the keywords from the regional media are given in blue, the words common for both media are given in black. The keywords with an asterisk belong to more than one category, for example, the keyword *russskij* ‘Russian’ which was placed in the subcategory of regions / countries and the subcategory of ethnicity / nationality (see subsection 6.2.1.2 for explanation of the differences between the nouns *russskij* ‘Russian’ and *rossijanin* ‘Russian’ as well as of use of the adjectives *russskij* ‘Russian’ and *rossijskij* ‘Russian’).

	2010-2013	2014-2017	2018-2021
Subcategory	Keywords	Keywords	Keywords
Governance / politics	<i>MID</i> ‘MFA’ ²¹ , <i>president</i> ‘president’, <i>gosudarstvo</i> ‘state’, <i>Medvedev</i> ²² , <i>Dvorkovič</i> ²³	<i>MID</i> ‘MFA’, <i>vedomstvo</i> ‘department / agency’, <i>vlast</i> ‘power / authority’, <i>vice-prem'er</i> ‘deputy prime minister’, <i>pravitel'stvo</i> ‘government’, <i>Rogozin</i> ²⁴	<i>posol'stvo</i> ‘embassy’, <i>MID</i> ‘MFA’, <i>ministr</i> ‘minister’, <i>vlast</i> ‘power / authority’, <i>Lavrov</i> ²⁵
Regions / countries	<i>SSSR</i> ‘USSR’, <i>strana</i> ‘country’, <i>sovetskij</i> ‘Soviet’, <i>Rossija</i> ‘Russia’, <i>norvežskij</i> * ‘Norwegian (adj)’, <i>Norvegija</i> ‘Norway’, <i>rossijskij</i> ‘Russian (adj)’, <i>RF</i> ²⁶ , <i>Troms</i> ‘Tromsø’	<i>region</i> ‘region’, <i>RF</i> , <i>strana</i> ‘country’, <i>norvežskij</i> * ‘Norwegian (adj)’, <i>Norvegija</i> ‘Norway’, <i>Rossija</i> ‘Russia’, <i>rossijskij</i> ‘Russian (adj)’, <i>russskij</i> * ‘Russian (adj)’	<i>strana</i> ‘country’, <i>SŠA</i> ‘USA’, <i>rossijskij</i> ‘Russian (adj)’, <i>norvežskij</i> * ‘Norwegian (adj)’, <i>Rossija</i> ‘Russia’, <i>Norvegija</i> ‘Norway’, <i>russskij</i> * ‘Russian (adj)’, <i>RF</i>
Ethnicity / nationality	<i>norvežec</i> ‘Norwegian (noun)’, <i>norvežskij</i> * ‘Norwegian (adj)’	<i>rossijanin</i> ‘Russian (noun)’, <i>russskij</i> * ‘Russian (noun, adj)’	<i>norvežec</i> ‘Norwegian (noun)’, <i>rossijanin</i> ‘Russian (noun)’

²¹ MID stands for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation.

²² Dmitry Medvedev is a Russian politician who was the President of Russia in 2008-2012.

²³ Arkady Dvorkovich is a Russian politician who was Deputy Prime Minister of Russia for Industry and Energy in 2012-2018.

²⁴ Dmitry Rogozin is a Russian politician who was Deputy Prime Minister of Russia for Defense and Space Industry in 2011-2018.

²⁵ Sergey Lavrov is a Russian politician who has been the Foreign Minister of Russia since 2004.

²⁶ RF stands for the Russian Federation.

		<i>norvežskij*</i> ‘Norwegian (adj)’, <i>nacional'nyj</i> ‘national’	<i>ruskij*</i> ‘Russian (noun, adj)’, <i>norvežskij*</i> ‘Norwegian (adj)’
Geography	<i>continental'nyj</i> ‘continental’, <i>poljus</i> ‘pole’, <i>sever</i> ‘north’, <i>arxipelag</i> ‘archipelago’, <i>poljarnyj</i> ‘polar’, <i>ocean</i> ‘ocean’, <i>ostrov</i> ‘island’, <i>zemlja</i> ‘Earth / land’, <i>arktičeskij</i> ‘Arctic (adj)’, <i>more</i> ‘sea’, <i>morskoj</i> ‘sea- (adj)’, <i>arktika</i> ‘Arctic (noun)’, <i>severnyj</i> ‘northern’, <i>sever</i> ‘north’, <i>Barencev</i> ‘Barents (adj)’, <i>Franc</i> ‘Franz’, <i>Iosif</i> ‘Joseph’	<i>arxipelag</i> ‘archipelago’, <i>poljarnyj</i> ‘polar’, <i>poljus</i> ‘pole’, <i>zemlja</i> ‘Earth / land’, <i>morskoj</i> ‘sea- (adj)’, <i>ostrov</i> ‘island’, <i>arktičeskij</i> ‘Arctic (adj)’, <i>more</i> ‘sea’, <i>arktika</i> ‘Arctic (noun)’, <i>severnyj</i> ‘northern’, <i>sever</i> ‘north’, <i>Barencev</i> ‘Barents (adj)’, <i>Franc</i> ‘Franz’, <i>Iosif</i> ‘Joseph’	<i>poljus</i> ‘pole’, <i>poljarnyj</i> ‘polar’, <i>arxipelag</i> ‘archipelago’, <i>zemlja</i> ‘Earth / land’, <i>more</i> ‘sea’, <i>morskoj</i> ‘sea- (adj)’, <i>ostrov</i> ‘island’, <i>arktičeskij</i> ‘Arctic (adj)’, <i>arktika</i> ‘Arctic (noun)’, <i>severnyj</i> ‘northern’, <i>sever</i> ‘north’, <i>Barencev</i> ‘Barents (adj)’, <i>Kol'skij</i> ‘Kola (adj)’, <i>Iosif</i> ‘Joseph’
City / town / locality	<i>poselok</i> ‘settlement’, <i>mestnyj</i> ‘local’, <i>murmanskij</i> ‘Murmansk (adj)’, <i>Arxangel'sk</i> ‘Arkhangelsk’, <i>Barenburg</i> ‘Barentsburg’, <i>arxangel'skij</i> ‘Arkhangelsk (adj)’, <i>Murmansk</i> ‘Murmansk’	<i>poselok</i> ‘settlement’, <i>Oslo</i> ‘Oslo’, <i>Moskva</i> ‘Moscow’, <i>Barenburg</i> ‘Barentsburg’, <i>arxangel'skij</i> ‘Arkhangelsk (adj)’, <i>Arxangel'sk</i> ‘Arkhangelsk’, <i>Murmansk</i> ‘Murmansk’, <i>murmanskij</i> ‘Murmansk (adj)’	<i>poselok</i> ‘settlement’, <i>mestnyj</i> ‘local’, <i>Moskva</i> ‘Moscow’, <i>Oslo</i> ‘Oslo’, <i>Barenburg</i> ‘Barentsburg’, <i>Murmansk</i> ‘Murmansk’, <i>Arxangel'sk</i> ‘Arkhangelsk’, <i>murmanskij</i> ‘Murmansk (adj)’
Territories and their division	<i>pronstranstvo</i> ‘area’, <i>territorial'nyj</i> ‘territorial’, <i>kilometr*</i> ‘kilometer’, <i>territorija</i> ‘territory’, <i>granica</i> ‘border’, <i>pograničnyj</i> ‘borderline (adj)’, <i>region</i> ‘region’, <i>linija</i> ‘line’, <i>razgraničenie</i> ‘demarcation’, <i>zona</i> ‘zone’, <i>rajon</i> ‘area’	<i>linija</i> ‘line’, <i>zona</i> ‘zone’, <i>rajon</i> ‘area’, <i>territorija</i> ‘territory’, <i>granica</i> ‘border’, <i>oblast'</i> ‘region’	<i>zona</i> ‘zone’, <i>territorija</i> ‘territory’, <i>rajon</i> ‘area’
Quantification	<i>časť</i> ‘part’, <i>million</i> ‘million’, <i>tysjača</i> ‘thousand’, <i>kilometr*</i> ‘kilometer’, <i>vsě</i> ‘all’	<i>polnyj</i> ‘full’, <i>tysjača</i> ‘thousand’, <i>vsě</i> ‘all’	<i>časť</i> ‘part’, <i>million</i> ‘million’, <i>tysjača</i> ‘thousand’, <i>vsě</i> ‘all’
Time	<i>segodnja</i> ‘today’, <i>sentjabr</i> ‘September’	<i>oktjabr</i> ‘October’, <i>aprel</i> ‘April’	<i>sejčas</i> ‘now’
Human names	<i>Vladimir</i> , <i>Dmitrij</i>	<i>Aleksej</i> , <i>Dmitrij</i>	-
Other names (explain)	<i>Sapfir</i> ‘Sapphire’	-	-
Organizations / leaders	<i>inspektor</i> ‘inspector’, <i>komissija</i> ‘commission’, <i>glava</i> ‘head’, <i>predstavitel'</i> ‘representative’, <i>sessija</i> ‘session’, <i>rukovoditel'</i> ‘head’	<i>sotrudnik</i> ‘employee’, <i>predstavitel'</i> ‘representative’, <i>komissija</i> ‘commission’, <i>člen</i> ‘member’	-
People	-	<i>čelovek</i> ‘person’, <i>gruppa</i> ‘group’	-

Table 5. Context indicators among the Associative Arrays for the keyword *Špicbergen*²⁷

6.2.1.1 Governance / politics

The subcategory of governance / politics indicates that Svalbard is associated with political authorities and governance, mostly in the texts of the federal media. At least some of these authorities are Russian because the proper nouns *Medvedev*, *Rogozin*, and *Lavrov* within the subcategory of governance / politics are surnames of Russian politicians. The abbreviation *MID*, which stands for a Ministry of Foreign Affairs, is present in the texts of all three periods. This implies that Svalbard is consistently discussed by the federal media in the context of diplomatic relations. For example, in a number of texts from 2015, the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs is mentioned in the context of Dmitry Rogozin's visit to Svalbard in spite of being under sanctions as shown in example (36):

- (36) [Rossijskij] **MID** nazval absurdnoj reakciju Norvegii na poseščenje **Rogozinym** Špicbergena [Vzgljad.ru, 20.04.2015].
 [Russian] **Foreign Ministry** calls Norway's reaction to **Rogozin's** visit to Spitsbergen absurd [Vzgljad.ru, 20.04.2015].

Dvorkovič is the only surname that is a keyword in the subcategory of governance / politics typical for the regional media. The name of Deputy Prime Minister Arkady Dvorkovich is often connected to development of Russian presence in Svalbard as shown in example (37):

- (37) Rossija namerena razvivat' svoe prisutstvie na Špicbergene: naučnoe razvitie na arhipelage uže proisxodit, takže imejutsja rešenija po razvitiju turizma na ostrovax. Ob ètom soobščil nakanune na soveščanii v Murmanske vice-prem'er Rossii Arkadij **Dvorkovič**. [Murmanskij Vestnik, Rossija namerena razvivat' na Špicbergene nauku i turizm, 10.07.2013].
 Russia intends to develop its presence in Svalbard: scientific development in the archipelago is already underway, and there are also solutions to develop tourism on the islands. This was announced yesterday by the Deputy Prime Minister of Russia **Arkady Dvorkovich** at a meeting in Murmansk. [Murmanskij Vestnik, Russia intends to develop science and tourism in Svalbard, 10.07.2013].

6.2.1.2 Regions / countries and ethnicity / nationality

The category of regions / countries presented in Table 5 contains a range of keywords typical for both types of media during all three periods. These are mostly words referring to Russia and Norway or someone / something related to Russia and Norway, e.g., *Norvegija* 'Norway' and *rossijskij* 'Russian'. These keywords indicate that Svalbard is

²⁷ The keywords from the federal media are given in green, the keywords from the regional media are given in blue, the words common for both media are given in black. The keywords with an asterisk are put into more than one subcategory.

consistently framed in connection with Russia and Norway both in the federal and regional media.

The keywords that stand out in the category of regions / countries occur in texts of the federal media. One of such keywords is *Troms* occurring in 2010-2013 and referring to Tromsø, a city in the North of Norway. *Troms* is the way this foreign name has been lemmatized in the corpus. The name Tromsø implies that in 2010-2013 the federal media associate Svalbard not only with Norway overall but with a particular part of the country as well. A closer examination of the context where the keyword *Troms* was used revealed that Svalbard is connected to Tromsø in the context of several arrests of Russian fishing trawlers by the Norwegian Coast Guard near the archipelago between 2010-2013. This context is shown in example (38):

- (38) Rybaki, diplomaty i zakonodateli prodolžajut obsuždat' situaciju s zaderžaniem **norvežskoj** beregovoj oxranoj **rossijskogo** traulera "Sapfir-2". Napomnim, sudno bylo zaderžano v rajone Špicbergena i otpravleno v port **Tromse**. [Vesti.Ru, Situaciju s "Sapfirom" prokomentiroval vice-spiker Gosdumy Valerij Jazev, 05.10.2011].
Fishermen, diplomats, and legislators continue to discuss the situation with the detention of the **Russian** trawler "Sapphire-2" by the **Norwegian** Coast Guard. Recall that the ship was detained in the Svalbard region and sent to the port of **Tromsø**. [Vesti.Ru, State Duma Vice Speaker Valery Yazev commented on the situation with Sapphire, 05.10.2011].

Other peculiar keywords in the category of regions / countries are *SSSR* 'USSR' and *sovetskij* 'Soviet' that appear in texts of the federal media in 2010-2013. A closer examination of these keywords showed that they were used in various historical contexts, one of which is the Svalbard Treaty of 1920 and participation of the USSR in signing of this document, e.g.:

- (39) V 1920g. v Pariže byl podpisan Dogovor o Špicbergene [...]. [---] **SSSR** prisoeдинilsja k dogovoru v 1935 g. **Sovetskaja** storona ne borolas' aktivno za političeskoe vlijanie nad arxipelagom, no obespečivala svoe èkonomičeskoe prisutstvie ves'ma suščestvenno. [Gazeta.Ru, **Rossii** neobxodimo forsirovat' dejatel'nost' po ukrepleniju svoix pozicij na Špicbergene, 25.05.2012].
In 1920 The Svalbard Treaty was signed in Paris [...]. [---] The **USSR** joined the Treaty in 1935. The **Soviet** side did not actively fight for political influence over the archipelago but ensured its economic presence there quite significantly. [Gazeta.Ru, **Russia** needs to speed up activities to strengthen its positions in Svalbard, 25.05.2012].

The keyword *SŠA* 'USA' occurring in the federal media in 2018-2021 is used in several contexts. For example, some texts cite the Norwegian media claiming appearance of Russian military forces in Svalbard in 2019. In these articles, the Norwegian side depicts the USA as a party that identified the Russian military presence on the archipelago. This context is shown in example (40):

- (40) 30 sentjabrja na stranicax norvežskogo portala Aldrimer.no pojavilas' informacija: mestnoj razvedke jakoby stalo izvestno, čto rossijskie voennye provodili

na teritoriji materikovej časti Norvegii i arhipelaga Špicbergen razvedku na mestnosti. [---] Soglasno ètim dannym, samolety SŠA ustroili v ètom rajone Norvegii v celjax razvedki s"emku s vozduxa i sdelali snimki s rossijskimi "specnazovcami". [Gazeta.Ru, Rossijskij specnaz našli v Norvegii, 30.09.2019].

On September 30, information appeared on the pages of the Norwegian portal Aldrimer.no – local intelligence allegedly became aware that the Russian military was conducting reconnaissance on the territory of the Norwegian mainland and the Svalbard archipelago. [---] According to these data, **the US** planes arranged aerial photography in this area of Norway for reconnaissance purposes and took pictures of Russian "special forces". [Gazeta.Ru, Russian special forces found in Norway, 30.09.2019].

The keywords within the subcategory of ethnicity / nationality show that in 2010-2013 both types of media associate Svalbard with Norwegians, and, starting from 2014, both with Norwegians and Russians. As shown in Table 5, the keyword *norvežskij* 'Norwegian' was placed in two subcategories – regions / countries and ethnicity / nationality. The reason for this is that the adjective *norvežskij* 'Norwegian' can denote someone or something related to the Norwegian state as well as someone or something related to the Norwegian ethnos. The former meaning is illustrated in example (41) and the latter meaning in example (42).

(41) Odnò **rossijskoe** i tri **norvežskix** issledovatel'skix sudna poltora mesjaca rabotali v Barencevom more [...]. [TV-21, Učenyje obnaružili malo mojvy v Barencevom more, 08.10.2019].

One **Russian** and three **Norwegian** research vessels worked in the Barents Sea for a month and a half [...]. [TV-21, Scientists have discovered few capelin in the Barents Sea, 08.10.2019].

(42) Zdes' [na Špicbergene] dva oficial'nyx jazyka – **norvežskij** i russkij, i dlja poseščenija arhipelaga graždanam Rossii ne nužna viza. [Rossijskaja Gazeta, Kak razvivaetsja sovместnaja dejatel'nost' RF i Norvegii na Špicbergene, 10.04.2017].

Here [on Svalbard] there are two official languages – **Norwegian** and Russian, and Russian citizens do not need a visa to visit the archipelago. [Rossijskaja Gazeta, How joint activities of the Russian Federation and Norway are developing in Svalbard, 10.04.2017].

The keyword *russkij* 'Russian' that occurs in the regional media in 2014-2017 and in the federal media in 2018-2021 deserves closer attention. This word is semantically different from the keyword *rossijanin* 'Russian' occurring in the federal media between 2014 and 2021. The noun *rossijanin* denotes a citizen of the Russian Federation while the word *russkij*, when used as a noun, denotes "the people constituting the main indigenous population of Russia"²⁸, in other words, the Russian ethnos. As an adjective, *russkij* can relate to "the Russian people, to its language, national character, way of life, culture"²⁹ and thus can be opposed to the word *rossijskij* 'Russian' which relates to the Russian state. This opposition can be illustrated by the phrases *russkij jazyk* 'Russian

²⁸ Tolkovyj slovar' Ožegova: <https://dic.academic.ru/dic.nsf/ogegova/210610>

²⁹ Tolkovyj slovar' Ožegova: <https://dic.academic.ru/dic.nsf/ogegova/210614>

language’ and *rossijskaja ekonomika* ‘Russian economy’ (Ol’xovskaja 2022). However, similar to the adjective *rossijskij*, the adjective *rususkij* can relate to “Russia, its territory, internal structure, history”.³⁰ For example, the phrase *rususkaja nauka* ‘Russian science’ is evidently related to the work of all the scientists within the Russian state rather than only the ones who are ethnically Russians. Thus, the adjective *rususkij* ‘Russian’ reflects the phenomenon noted by Ol’xovskaja (2022) that it is sometimes difficult for Russians “to understand where the ethnos ends, and the state begins”.

As mentioned above, the keyword *rususkij* ‘Russian’ occurs as a keyword in the regional media during 2014-2017 and in the federal media during 2018-2021. A collocation analysis of the word *rususkij* ‘Russian’ in the subcorpus of the regional media of 2014-2017 revealed that the most frequently this word is a part of the collocations *Rususkaja Arktika* ‘Russian Arctic’ (49 occurrences) and *Rususkoe geografičeskoe obščestvo* ‘Russian Geographical Society’ (13 occurrences). The phrase *Rususkaja Arktika* ‘Russian Arctic’ is used to refer to the national park of the same name established on the Russian Arctic archipelagos Novaya Zemlya and Franz Josef Land in 2009.³¹ The phrase *Rususkoe geografičeskoe obščestvo* ‘Russian Geographical Society’ denotes the active all-Russian non-governmental organization founded in 1845.³² In these collocations, the word *rususkij* ‘Russian’ is an adjective and it can be interpreted as denoting that something belongs to the Russian state rather than to the Russian ethnos. The phrases *Rususkaja Arktika* ‘Russian Arctic’ and *Rususkoe geografičeskoe obščestvo* ‘Russian Geographical Society’ thus illustrate the use of the adjective *rususkij* as a part of the subcategory of regions / countries.

In addition, the subcorpus of the regional media of 2014-2017 also contains several occurrences of the word *rususkij* ‘Russian’ as a noun. Example (43) that contains this noun describes the life in Barentsburg after the Crimean events of 2014:

- (43) Ukrainecev sejčas v Barenburge da i na vsem Špicbergene bol’še, čem **rususkix**. Protivostojanija net, no bol’nye temy starajutsja ne zatragivat’. [Murmanskij Vestnik, Kraj - ne raj, 28.05.2016].
There are more Ukrainians now in Barentsburg and throughout Svalbard than **Russians**. There is no confrontation, but they try not to touch on sensitive topics. [Murmanskij Vestnik, A region which is not paradise, 28.05.2016].

The most frequent collocations with the word *rususkij* ‘Russian’ in the subcorpus of the Federal media of 2018-2021 are *Rususkaja Arktika* ‘Russian Arctic’ (23 occurrences) and *rususkie pomory* ‘Russian Pomors’ (12 occurrences). As in the subcorpus of the regional media of 2014-2017, the phrase *Rususkaja Arktika* ‘Russian Arctic’ denotes the Russian Arctic National Park. The adjective *rususkij* ‘Russian’ in the phrase *rususkie pomory*

³⁰ Tolkovyj slovar’ Ožegova: <https://dic.academic.ru/dic.nsf/ogegova/210614>

³¹ The website of the Russian Arctic National Park: <http://www.rus-arc.ru>

³² The website of the Russian Geographical Society: <https://rgo.ru>

‘Russian Pomors’ relates to the ethnos since the Pomors are generally regarded as an ethnographic group of the Russian ethnos.

In addition to occurrences of *russkij* ‘Russian’ as an adjective, the subcorpus of the federal media of 2018-2021 also contains the occurrences of this word as a noun. This is shown in example (44):

- (44) Byli vremena, kogda **russkix** na arxipelage bylo bol’še, čem **norvežcev**. Sejčas ne tak. [Vesti.Ru, Kak Rossija vozvraščaetsja na Špicbergen, 09.02.2020].
There were times when there were more **Russians** in the archipelago than **Norwegians**. Not so now. [Vesti.Ru, How Russia is returning to Svalbard, 09.02.2020].

6.2.1.3 Geography and city / town / locality

The keywords comprising the subcategory of geography are mostly the keywords typical for both types of media within each period (Table 5). As these keywords indicate, Svalbard is associated with a range of geographical objects which are often directly related to the North, e.g., the nouns *sever* ‘north’, *arktika* ‘Arctic’, and the adjectives *severnyj* ‘northern’, *poljarnyj* ‘polar’, and *arktičeskij* ‘Arctic’. The proper names *Barencev* ‘Barents’, *Ledovityj* ‘Arctic’, *Kol’skij* ‘Kola’, *Franc* ‘Franz’ and *Iosif* ‘Joseph’ also indicate geographical objects located in the north. A closer examination of the contexts of these keywords reveals that *Barencev* denotes the Barents Sea or something related to it (e.g., *Sovet Barenceva / Evroarktičeskogo regiona* ‘Barents Euro-Arctic Council’) and *Ledovityj* is a part of the name *Ledovityj okean* ‘Arctic Ocean’. *Kol’skij* refers to the Kola Peninsula, or to the Kola Bay, or to something related to these geographical objects (e.g., *kol’skaja nauka* ‘Kola science’) and the keywords *Franc* and *Iosif* denote the Franz Josef Land. The keywords *Kol’skij* ‘Kola’, *Franc* ‘Franz’ and *Iosif* ‘Joseph’ are unique for the regional media. The Kola Peninsula, which is in the northwest of Russia, bordering on Norway, comprises most of the territory of the Murmansk region and the Franz Josef Land is a Russian archipelago in the Arctic Ocean that belongs to the Arkhangelsk region. The keywords unique for the federal media *kontinental’nyj* ‘continental’, *poljus* ‘pole’, *Ledovityj* ‘Arctic’ denote objects with a wider geographical scope, objects that belong not only to Russia.

The subcategory of city / town / locality contains the keywords denoting cities, towns, and settlements (e.g., *poselok* ‘settlement’), their names (e.g., *Murmansk* ‘Murmansk’) and the adjectives related to these names (e.g., *murmanskij* ‘Murmansk’). The adjective *mestnyj* ‘local’ was also placed within this subcategory. As Table 5 shows, many of the keywords in the subcategory of city / town / locality are unique for the regional media. Most of these words – proper nouns *Murmansk* ‘Murmansk’ and *Arxangel’sk* ‘Arkhangelsk’ as well as the adjectives *murmanskij* ‘Murmansk’ and *arxangel’skij* ‘Arkhangelsk’ – quite predictably indicate the interest of the regional media in their own location. This interest is persistent during all three periods. The keywords unique for the federal media indicate that after 2013 these media tend to frame Svalbard in the context of the Russian and Norwegian capitals. At least a part of the occurrences of the keywords *Oslo* ‘Oslo’ and *Moskva* ‘Moscow’ indicate a use of metonymy – reference to people and governing bodies – as indicated in examples (45) and (46):

- (45) Odin iz predstaviteljev norveškega tiska sprosil Sergeja Lavrova, pravda li, čto arhipelag Špicbergen mozet stat' konfliktnoj točkoj meždu **Moskvoj** i **Oslo**. [Izvestija, Arktičeskaja diplomatija, 19.10.2017].
One of the representatives of the Norwegian press asked Sergey Lavrov if it was true that the Svalbard archipelago could become a point of conflict between **Moscow** and **Oslo**. [Izvestija, *Arctic diplomacy*, 19.10.2017].
- (46) Po mneniju **Moskvy**, **Oslo** ograničivaet prava rossijskix kompanij na dostup k mineral'nym resursam, a takže na razrabotku uglevodorodnyx mestoroždenij. [Gazeta.Ru, Problemy na Špicbergene: Rossija vydvinula pretenzii k **Oslo**, 09.02.2020].
According to **Moscow**, **Oslo** limits the rights of Russian companies to access mineral resources, as well as to develop hydrocarbon deposits. [Gazeta.Ru, Problems in Svalbard: Russia put forward claims to **Oslo**, 09.02.2020].

Examples (45) and (46) indicate that the use of metonymy can be regarded, at least in some cases, as framing Svalbard in the context of political confrontation between Russia and Norway by the federal media.

6.2.1.4 Territories and their division

The keywords within the subcategory of territories and their division demonstrate an abundance in 2010-2013 in the federal media (Table 5). During this period the territories are evidently discussed in relation to their division as the keywords *granica* 'border', *linija* 'line', and *razgraničenje* 'demarcation' from the federal media and the keyword *razgraničenje* 'demarcation' from the regional media indicate.

The most frequent collocation of the keywords *granica* 'border' is *granica vladenij* 'property boundary' (10 occurrences), the keyword *linija* 'line' most frequently is a part of the collocation *linija razgraničenija* 'demarcation line' (14 occurrences), and the keyword *razgraničenje* 'demarcation' most often collocates with the preposition *o* 'about' (52 occurrences) and the noun *prostranstvo* 'area' (46 occurrences). These collocations are most frequently used in relation to the Barents Sea Border Agreement of 2010 as shown in examples (47) and (48):

- (47) Na suše meždu Rossiej i Norvegiej **granica** suščestvuet s 1826 goda – èto samaja drevnjaja iz nynešnix rossijskix **granic**. Teper' opredelena **linija razgraničenija** na more. [Moskovskij Komsomolec, Andrej Jašlavskij "Razgovory o "xolodnoj vojne" na severe -- erunda!", 14.04.2011].
On land, **the border** between Russia and Norway has existed since 1826 – this is the oldest of the current Russian **borders**. **The demarcation line** at sea has now been determined. [Moskovskij Komsomolec, Andrej Jašlavskij "Talk about the Cold War in the North is nonsense!", 14.04.2011].
- (48) Rossijskie rybaki ne mogut spokojno lovit' rybu v svobodnom rajone Špicbergena daže posle podpisaniya v sentjabre 2010 goda dogovora o **razgraničenii** i sotrudničestve v Barencevom more i Severnom Ledovitom okeane. [Vzgljad.ru, Takoj ulov nam ne nužen – Rossija mozet zapretit' postavki ryby iz Norvegii, 06.02.2012].

Russian fishermen cannot safely fish in the free area of Svalbard even after the signing of an agreement **on delimitation** and cooperation in the Barents Sea and the Arctic Ocean in September 2010. [Vzgljad.ru, We don't need such a catch – Russia may ban fish supplies from Norway, 06.02.2012].

The keyword *pograničnyj* 'borderline' unique for the regional media of 2010-2013 also refers to the concept of borders. The most frequent collocates of this word, namely the noun *korabl'* 'ship' (14 occurrences) and the adjective *storoževoj* 'patrol' (8 occurrences), reveal a totally different discussion from the one found in the federal media. These collocations are mostly used in the context of detentions of some Russian fishing trawlers by the Norwegian Coast Guard which happened between 2010-2013. In example (49), the phrase *pograničnye korabli* 'border ships' is used in the context of patrolling the Svalbard waters by Russian patrol ships aimed at preventing these detentions:

- (49) [...] napravljat' **pograničnye** korabli v rajon Špicbergena stali posle očerednogo zaderžanija norvežskoj beregovoj oxranoj rossijskogo traulera "Sapfir-2". [TV-21, Rybooxrannoe sudno "Angrapa" vernulos' v Murmansk, 28.11.2011].
 [...] sending **border** ships to the Svalbard region was started after another detention of the Russian trawler Sapphire-2 by the Norwegian Coast Guard. [TV-21, Fish protection vessel Angrapa returned to Murmansk, 28.11.2011].

Thus, while the keywords *granica* 'border', *linija* 'line', and *razgraničenie* 'demarcation' found in the federal media of 2010-2013 can be interpreted as related to making borders, the keyword *pograničnyj* '(near the) border' unique for the regional media of the same period denotes being present near the border.

In 2014-2017, the number of keywords potentially indicating the context of territorial division overall decreases. This context is represented by the keyword *linija* 'line' in the federal media and the keyword *granica* 'border' unique for the regional media. After 2017 there are no keywords potentially indicating the context of territorial division (Table 5).

6.2.1.5 Quantification and time

As shown in Table 5, Svalbard is associated with various words denoting quantity: numerals *million* 'million' and *tysjača* 'thousand' as well as the noun *kilometer* 'kilometer' which is a measure of length. The noun *časť* 'part' and the adjective *polnyj* 'full' were also placed in the subcategory of quantification because the first word can refer to a certain quantity of something (e.g., *časť naselenija* 'part of the population') and the second one can describe something that holds most of the quantity of someone/something³³ (e.g., *polnaja gostinica* 'full hotel'). The keyword *vsě* 'all'

³³ Bol'soj tolkovyj slovar': <http://gramota.ru/slovari/dic/?word=полный&all=x>

appears in all the subcorpora and is evidently a result of differences in marking the letters *e* and *ë* in the words of the target and reference corpora³⁴.

The keywords within the subcategory of time can be divided into two groups: the keywords denoting the names of some months, unique for the federal media, and the adverbs *segodnja* ‘today’ and *sejčas* ‘now’ (Table 5). The names of the months potentially indicate certain events which the federal media focused on during the corresponding periods. The keyword *sentjabr* ‘September’, prominent in the texts of the federal media in 2010-2013, most often collocates with the preposition *v* ‘in’ (12 occurrences). The collocation *v sentjabre* ‘in September’ is mostly used to refer to signing of the Barents Sea Border Agreement. In example (50), this document is named *the Medvedev-Stoltenberg pact*:

- (50) Bez lišnego šuma Gosduma namerena ratificirovat' podpisannyj **v sentjabre** prošlogo goda pakt Medvedeva - Stoltenberga. [Argumenty Nedeli, Rybnaja vojna v sumerečnoj zone, 03.03.2011].

Without further ado, the State Duma intends to ratify the Medvedev-Stoltenberg pact signed **last September**. [Argumenty Nedeli, Fish war in the twilight zone, 03.03.2011].

The keyword *oktjabr* ‘October’, a unique keyword for the federal media in 2014-2017, quite predictably most often occurs as a part of the collocation *v oktjabre* ‘in October’ (9 occurrences). This phrase is related to the context of the EU sanctions imposed on Russia in 2014. The sanctions are mentioned in connection with Rogozin’s unauthorized visit to Svalbard in 2015 as shown in example (51):

- (51) Napomnim, vice-prem'er [Rogozin] javljaetsja figurantom spiska lic, na kotoryx rasprostranjaetsja dejstvie vizovyx sankcij ES. Norvegija, kotoraja ne vxodit v sostav Evrosojuza, prisoedinilas' k vvedennym Brjuselem sankcijam **v oktjabre**. [Kommersant, “Reakcija Norvegii vyzyvaet nedoumenie, ona neob”jasnima i absurdna”, 20.04.2015].

Let us remind you that the Deputy Prime Minister [Rogozin] is on the list of persons subject to EU visa sanctions. Norway, which is not part of the European Union, joined the sanctions imposed by Brussels **in October**. [Kommersant, “Norway's reaction is puzzling, inexplicable and absurd”, 20.04.2015].

Another keyword unique for the federal media in 2014-2017 is *aprel* (April). The most frequent collocation with this word *v aprele* ‘in april’ (19 occurrences) is used in a variety of contexts. The most frequent of them is Rogozin’s visit to Svalbard which happened in April 2015.

Two other keywords comprising the subcategory of time are the deictic words *segodnja* ‘today’ used by the federal media in 2010-2013 and *sejčas* ‘now’ unique for the regional media of 2018-2021. Deixis relates to “the ‘situatedness of discourse’” (Hart 2011b: 185) and its function is “to prompt the interpreter to relate the uttered indexical expression to

³⁴ In Russian spelling, the use of the letter *ë* in most cases is optional: http://gramota.ru/class/istiny/istiny_7_jo/

various situational features” (Chilton 2004: 56). Deixis is known to be organized along three axes - subject, place, and time (Prokof'eva & Prončatova 2015: 120) or social, spatial, and temporal deixis (Chilton 2004: 56-58). The adverbs *segodnja* ‘today’ and *sejčas* ‘now’ relate to the temporal deixis. They “localize the event of the present time in relation to the past and future” (Prokof'eva & Prončatova 2015: 121). These adverbs can be compared with the English adverb *now* which, according to Chilton (2004: 58), together with the adverb *here* (spatial deixis) and the personal pronouns *I* and *we* (social deixis) form the deictic center in political discourse.

The keyword *segodnja* ‘today’ is used in the texts of the federal media in two meanings mentioned by Prokof'eva & Prončatova (2015: 121) – “the current day” and “present”. In the latter case, *segodnja* often acts as a deictic center in relation to which past or future events and processes are positioned. In example (52), the current condition of the Russian settlement Barentsburg is compared to its condition in the Soviet past:

- (52) A ved' ešče v xruščevskie i brežnevskie vremena sovjetskaja časť Špicbergena byla poxoža na raj. [---] **Segodnja** Barentsburg – oplot Rossii v Arktike – mestnye žiteli nazyvajut giblym mestom. [Moskovskij Komsomolec, Zabrošennaja Arktika. S russkogo Špicbergena ubegajut poslednie žiteli, 30.12.2011].
But back in Khrushchev and Brezhnev times, the Soviet part of Spitsbergen was like paradise. [---] **Today**, Barentsburg, Russia's stronghold in the Arctic, is called by the locals a dead place. [Moskovskij Komsomolec, Abandoned Arctic. The last inhabitants of Russian Svalbard are fleeing, 30.12.2011].

Although the keywords *segodnja* ‘today’ and *SSSR* ‘USSR’ / *sovetskij* ‘Soviet’ (from the subcategory of regions / countries, Table 5) do not express any particular stance per se, the combination of these keywords, illustrated in example (52), can be interpreted as an opposition between a “good” Soviet time and a “bad” present time for the Russian settlements in Svalbard. This opposition forms a certain nostalgic picture of the Soviet era presumably with the purpose of restoring the former status of the settlements. According to Chilton (2004: 56, 59), temporal deixis may include a certain historical periodization used by a speaker. Selecting certain parts of history that are “close” to “us” are “central to national ideologies and to justifying present and future policy”.

The other deictic word placed in the subcategory of time is the adverb *sejčas* ‘now’ unique for the regional media in 2018-2021. Mel'čuk (1985: 261) describes the semantic structure of this word and distinguishes its four meanings. The most relevant meaning for the present context is “at the moment of speech (or during the period including the moment of speech)” and its synonyms “at the present (given time)”, “nowadays”, and “in our time”.

Similar to the adverb *segodnja* ‘today’ discussed above in relation to the federal media, the adverb *sejčas* is used as a connector of the present situation to the situation in both in the past and in the future in the regional media as well. In example (53), it is argued that it is impossible to assess the seriousness of the climate situation in the Arctic in the present by comparing it with the distant past:

(53) O tom, kak skladyvalis' pogodnye uslovija stoletija nazad, my možem tol'ko dogadyvat'sja. **Sejčas** v kratkosročnoj perspektive my fiksiruem nekotorye izmenenija: uveliživajutsja srednegodovye temperatury, sokraščajutsja ploščadi ledovogo pokrova, u nas na Severe uveliživajutsja količestvo osadkov. [Arxangel'sk, V nogu so vremenem, 11.04.2019].

We can only guess how the weather conditions developed centuries ago. **Right now**, in the short term, we are recording some changes: mean annual temperatures are increasing, ice cover is shrinking, and precipitation is increasing in our North. [Arxangel'sk, Keep up with the times, 11.04.2019].

6.2.1.6 Human names and other names

The keywords included in the subcategory of human names appear during the first two periods and they are mostly typical for the federal media (Table 5). The only keyword shared between the federal and regional media, the keyword *Vladimir*, appears in 2010-2013. The immediate context of this keyword indicates that various people with this name were mentioned in the texts of the federal media – members of crews and owners of the Russian trawlers detained by the Norwegian Coast Guard as well as politicians, for example, Vladimir Putin, the Prime Minister at that time. As for the subcorpus of the regional media, the keyword *Vladimir* often relates to the surname *Rusanov* – the Russian Arctic explorer who carried out explorations in Novaya Zemlya and Svalbard more than a hundred years ago. The keyword *Dmitrij* found in the subcorpus of the federal media of 2010-2013 quite predictably tends to collocate with the surname *Medvedev* and is thus used in connection with the Barents Sea Border Agreement. *Dmitrij* also appears as a keyword in the federal media between 2014-2017. At this time and again quite predictably this name very often collocates with the surname *Rogozin*. *Aleksej*, the other keyword unique for the federal media in 2014-2017, often collocates with the surnames *Korolev* and *Pouljauskas* – the people from the crew of the Russian helicopter that crashed near Svalbard in 2017.

The subcategory of other names contains keywords denoting names but not human ones (Table 5). The single keyword *Sapfir* 'Sapphire' placed within this subcategory appears in the federal media during 2010-2013 and refers to the name of the Russian trawler *Sapphire-2* that was detained by the Norwegian Coast Guard in 2011, for example:

(54) MID Rossii zajavil protest Norvegii iz-za zaderžanija sudna “**Sapfir 2**” [Gazeta.Ru, 01.10.2011].

The Russian Foreign Ministry protested to Norway due to the detention of the **Sapphire-2** ship [Gazeta.Ru, 01.10.2011].

6.2.1.7 Organizations / leaders and people

The subcategory of organizations/leaders is comprised by the keywords denoting certain groups of people with official tasks (e.g., *komissija* 'commission'), leaders (e.g., *rukovoditel* 'head'), members (e.g., *sotrudnik* 'employee', *predstavitel* 'representative'), and meetings (e.g., *sessija* 'session'). These keywords tend to occur mostly in the federal media which evidently indicates that Svalbard is connected with

organizations of various kinds, presumably including government organizations. After 2017 these keywords disappear (Table 5).

A noticeable feature of the subcategory of organizations / leaders in 2010-2013 is that both types of media contain unique keywords denoting a head of an organization – *glava* in the federal media and *rukovoditel'* in the regional media. The immediate context of these nouns shows that they tend to be used in different contexts. While the noun *glava* forms the most frequent collocations *glava MID* ‘head of Ministry of Foreign Affairs’ (5 occurrences) and *glava gosudarstva* ‘head of state’ (4 occurrences), the noun *rukovoditel'* is often used as a part of the collocations *rukovoditel' upravlenija* ‘head of department’ (9 occurrences) and *rukovoditel' Rosrybolovstva* ‘Head of the Federal Agency for Fishery’ (6 occurrences). The phrase *rukovoditel' upravlenija* mostly refers to the Barents-White Sea Territorial Administration of the Federal Agency for Fishery. Thus, these keywords and their collocates demonstrate that while the federal media frame Svalbard in the context of public administration and foreign policy relations, the regional media tend to focus on administration in the context of fishing in the Barents Sea.

People is the last subcategory within the subcategories of context indicators. This subcategory contains the keywords appearing in 2014-2017 and attested only in the federal media (Table 5). A focus on people in these media can be explained by their preoccupation with the Russian helicopter crash in 2017. For example, the most frequent collocations with the keyword *gruppa* ‘group’ *operativnaja gruppa* ‘task force’ (47 occurrences), *gruppa MČS* ‘EMERCOM group’ (30 occurrences), and *gruppa spasatelej* ‘rescue team’ (20 occurrences) relate to the context of the helicopter crash:

- (55) V sostave **operativnoj gruppy** – bolee 40 spasatelej, v tom čisle 17 vodolazov, imejuščix dopusk k provedeniju poiskovo-spasatel'nyx rabot na bol'six glubinax. [Komsomol'skaja Pravda, V Norvegii roboty MČS obsledujut razbivšijsja Mi-8, 31.10.2017].

The operational group includes more than 40 rescuers, including 17 divers who have access to search and rescue operations at great depths. [Komsomolskaya Pravda, In Norway, the robots of the Ministry of Emergency Situations examine the crashed Mi-8, 31.10.2017].

6.2.1.8 Summary

Having examined the keywords occurring in the same texts with the keyword *Špicbergen* ‘Spitsbergen’ and regarded as context indicators, I established some similarities and differences between the federal and regional media in coverage of Svalbard.

Both federal and regional media persistently associate Svalbard with Russia and Norway. The archipelago is also discussed in the wider geographical context of the North. The regional media quite predicably embed Svalbard into the regional context – they associate the archipelago with geographical objects and localities in the Northwest of Russia. The federal media tend to embed Svalbard into political context – the

archipelago is persistently associated with political authorities, diplomatic relations, and public administration.

Another difference that I establish between the federal and regional media that is typical for the period of 2010-2013 is that the federal media are preoccupied with the division of the territories into two parts: “ours (Russian) and theirs (Norwegian)”. I find that regional media on the contrary are merely interested in who or what is present near the border. In addition to the interest in the Barents Sea Border Agreement of 2010, the federal media demonstrate preoccupation with the EU sanctions and the scandal with Rogozin’s visit to Svalbard in 2015. The Russian helicopter crash near the archipelago in 2017 is also the focus of these media. Both types of media also seem to pay some attention to fishing in the region, in particular to detentions of Russian fishing vessels by the Norwegian Coast Guard in 2010-2013.

6.2.2 Concept indicators

In this subsection, I will discuss the keywords regarded as concept indicators which occur in the same texts with the keyword *Špicbergen* ‘Spitsbergen’.

6.2.2.1 Concepts recurring across the periods

Recurrent concept indicators across the three periods are presented in Table 6.

	2010-2013	2014–2017	2018–2021
Subcategory	Keywords	Keywords	Keywords
Law	<i>podpisat’</i> ‘sign’, <i>dogovor</i> ‘agreement’, <i>soglašenje</i> ‘agreement’, <i>document</i> ‘document’, <i>status</i> ‘status’, <i>pravo</i> ‘law, right’	<i>dogovor</i> ‘agreement’, <i>pravo</i> ‘law, right’, <i>sankcija</i> ‘sanction’	<i>pravo</i> ‘law, right’, <i>dogovor</i> ‘agreement’
International relations / cooperation	<i>sotrudničestvo</i> ‘cooperation’, <i>meždunarodnyj</i> ‘international’, <i>sovmestnyj</i> ‘joint’, <i>peregovory</i> ‘negotiation’, <i>rossijsko-norvežskij</i> ‘Russian-Norwegian (adj)’, <i>otnošenie</i> ‘relation’	<i>otnošenie</i> ‘relation’, <i>meždunarodnyj</i> ‘international’	<i>otnošenie</i> ‘relation’, <i>meždunarodnyj</i> ‘international’
Transport / travel	<i>èkipaž</i> ‘crew’, <i>kapitan</i> ‘captain’, <i>bort</i> ‘board’, <i>korabl’</i> ‘ship’, <i>sudno</i>	<i>passažir</i> ‘passanger’, <i>Mi-³⁵</i> , <i>samolet</i> ‘plane’, <i>èkipaž</i> ‘crew’, <i>bort</i> ‘board’, <i>sudno</i> ‘vessel’,	<i>putešestvennik</i> ‘traveller’, <i>bort</i> ‘board’, <i>sudno</i> ‘vessel’, <i>korabl’</i> ‘ship’, <i>rejs</i> ‘journey’

³⁵ Mi- is a family of Soviet and Russian helicopters.

	'vessel', <i>rejs</i> 'journey', <i>port</i> 'port'	<i>vertolet</i> 'helicopter', <i>rejs</i> 'journey', <i>maršrut</i> 'route', <i>port</i> 'port', <i>kruiz</i> * 'cruise', <i>kruiznyj</i> * 'cruise (adj)'	
Tourism	<i>turist</i> 'tourist', <i>turizm</i> 'tourism'	<i>turist</i> 'tourist', <i>turizm</i> 'tourism', <i>kruiz</i> * 'cruise', <i>kruiznyj</i> * 'cruise (adj)'	<i>turizm</i> 'tourism', <i>turist</i> 'tourist'
Science	<i>učenyj</i> 'scientist', <i>naučnyj</i> 'scientific', <i>ekspedicija</i> 'expedition', <i>nauka</i> 'science', <i>institut</i> 'institute', <i>issledovanie</i> 'research'	<i>naučnyj</i> 'scientific', <i>učenyj</i> 'scientist', <i>ekspedicija</i> 'expedition', <i>institut</i> 'institute', <i>issledovanie</i> 'research'	<i>issledovatel'</i> 'researcher', <i>učenyj</i> 'scientist', <i>ekspedicija</i> 'expedition', <i>professor</i> 'professor', <i>student</i> 'student', <i>SAFU</i> ³⁶ , <i>izučenie</i> 'research', <i>universitet</i> 'university', <i>institut</i> 'institute', <i>issledovanie</i> 'research', <i>naučnyj</i> 'scientific'
Nature	<i>medved'</i> 'bear', <i>beregovoj</i> 'coastal', <i>bereg</i> 'shore, coast', <i>šelf</i> 'shelf', <i>ryba</i> * 'fish'	<i>medved'</i> 'bear', <i>led</i> 'ice', <i>zatmenie</i> 'eclipse', <i>solnečnyj</i> 'solar', <i>ryba</i> * 'fish', <i>bereg</i> 'shore, coast', <i>dno</i> 'bottom', <i>park</i> 'park'	<i>medved'</i> 'bear', <i>priroda</i> 'nature', <i>bereg</i> 'shore, coast'

Table 6. Concept indicators among the Associative Arrays for the keyword *Špicbergen* that recur across the periods³⁷

As shown in Table 6, Svalbard is consistently connected with the concepts of law and international relations / cooperation. This type of association is predominantly a characteristic of the federal media rather than of the regional media. The subcategories of law and international relations / cooperation do not contain any keywords unique for the regional media either. This trend is consistent with the tendency of the federal media to frame Svalbard in the political context discussed in subsection 6.2.1. The density of the keywords within the subcategories of law and international relations / cooperation are higher during the period of 2010-2013, which suggests that the topics comprising these concepts were discussed more in comparison with the later periods. Some keywords of these subcategories (e.g., the nouns *dogovor* 'agreement', *soglašenie* 'agreement', *sotrudničestvo* 'cooperation', the adjective *sovmestnyj* 'joint', and the verb *podpisat'* 'sign') indicate that a certain agreement and cooperation were discussed. This tendency is consistent with the observations above (see section 6.2.1.4) that during 2010-2013 the federal media were interested in the Barents Sea Border Agreement of 2010.

³⁶ Abbreviation SAFU stands for Northern (Arctic) Federal University (NArFU) located in Arkhangelsk.

³⁷ The keywords from the federal media are given in green, the keywords from the regional media are given in blue, the words common for both media are given in black. The keywords with an asterisk are put into more than one subcategory.

Though the number of keywords within the subcategories of law and international relations / cooperation decreases significantly during the later periods, some keywords are consistently present during all three periods. One of such keywords is the noun *dogovor* ‘agreement’ which, in addition to being a keyword in the federal and regional media in 2010-2013, persists as a keyword in the federal media after 2013. The most frequent collocations with *dogovor* ‘agreement’ in the texts of the federal media of 2010-2013 are *dogovor o razgraničenii* ‘demarcation agreement’ (29 occurrences) and *dogovor o Špicbergene* ‘Treaty of Svalbard’ (27 occurrences). The former collocation is used in the context of the Barents Sea Border Agreement of 2010 while the latter one refers to the Svalbard Treaty of 1920. The most frequent collocations with the keyword *dogovor* ‘agreement’ found in the regional media of 2010-2013 are *meždunarodnyj dogovor* ‘international agreement’ (16 occurrences) and *dogovor o Špicbergene* ‘Treaty of Svalbard’ (13 occurrences). The collocation *meždunarodnyj dogovor* ‘international agreement’ is often used without reference to a specific agreement, for example:

- (56) Predstavitelji že Severnogo korolevstva [Norvegii] ne osobenno sčitalis’ s **meždunarodnymi dogovorami** o pravovom statusu Špicbergena i dejstvovali u ego beregov, kak v svoix territorial’nyx vodax. [Večernij Murmansk, Na oxranu ryby i rybakov, 01.07.2010].

Representatives of the Northern Kingdom [of Norway] did not particularly take into account **international agreements** on the legal status of Svalbard and acted off its shores as if in their territorial waters. [Večernij Murmansk, To protect fish and fishermen, 01.07.2010].

The collocations *dogovor o Špicbergene* ‘Treaty of Svalbard’ (53 occurrences) and *učastnik dogovora* ‘party to the agreement’ (31 occurrences) are the most frequent collocations with the keyword *dogovor* ‘agreement’ in the federal media of 2014-2017. In 2018-2021, the most frequent collocation with the word *dogovor* ‘agreement’ in the federal media is *dogovor o Špicbergene* ‘Treaty of Svalbard’ (77 occurrences). All the most frequent collocations with the noun *dogovor* ‘agreement’ occurring in the federal media between 2014 and 2021 are used in relation to the Svalbard Treaty of 1920. This is illustrated by example (57) containing the collocation *učastnik dogovora* ‘party to the agreement’:

- (57) Špicbergenskij traktat, podpisannyj v 1920 godu, zakrepil suverenitet Norvegii nad arhipelagom, odnako vse **učastniki dogovora**, a èto bolee 50 gosudarstv, imejut ravnye prava na èkspluataciju ego resursov. [Vzgljad.ru, Rogozin sravnil Norvegiju s “zakopavšim golovu v sneg arktičeskim strausom”, 11.08.2015].

The Svalbard Treaty, signed in 1920, secured Norway's sovereignty over the archipelago, but all **parties to the treaty**, more than 50 states, have equal rights to exploit its resources. [Vzgljad.ru, Rogozin compared Norway to “an Arctic ostrich with its head buried in the snow”, 11.08.2015].

The appearance of the keyword *sankcija* ‘sanction’ in 2014-2017 placed in the subsection of law (Table 6) indicates that in the federal media Svalbard did not escape the “new realities” related to deterioration of Russian-Norwegian relations and Russian-Western relations overall. The prominence of the keyword *sankcija* ‘sanction’ is also consistent with the topic of Rogozin, the Russian politician under EU sanctions, and his

visit to Svalbard which attracted attention of the federal media in this period (see subsection 6.2.1.5).

The concept of transport/travel is another subcategory illustrated in Table 6. A series of keywords for this concept more or less consistently refer to water transport (*sudno* ‘vessel’, *korabl’* ‘ship’, and *port* ‘port’). However, in 2014–2017 air transport is also a focus of the media as indicated by the nouns *samolet* ‘plane’, *vertolet* ‘helicopter’, and the abbreviation *Mi-* which stands for a name of a Russian helicopter. The media are also consistently interested in people related to transport – the crew (*èkipaž* ‘crew’ and *kapitan* ‘captain’) and passengers (*passažir* ‘passenger’). The meaning of the noun *putešestvennik* ‘traveler’ does not include a direct relation to transport but it is presumed that a traveler uses some kind of transport. The keywords of 2010–2013 indicate a certain interest in water transport demonstrated by both types of media. This tendency is consistent with the coverage of detentions of Russian fishing trawlers in 2010–2013 by both types of media discussed in subsections 6.2.1.2, 6.2.1.4, and 6.2.1.6. The focus on detentions is also consistent with the presence of keywords denoting a crew (*èkipaž* ‘crew’ and *kapitan* ‘captain’) rather than passengers during this period. In 2014–2017, though both types of media are interested in water and air transport, the federal media show a particular interest in a Mi-helicopter through the keywords *Mi-* which is consistent with their preoccupation with the helicopter crash in 2017 revealed in section 6.2.1.7. The keyword *passažir* ‘passenger’, unique for the federal media during this time, also suits this topic since coverage of a transport accident normally includes reporting on the state of the passengers.

The keywords within the subcategory of tourism occur in both types of media throughout all three periods (Table 6). Associating Svalbard with tourism is especially typical for the regional media of 2014–2017. These media, for example, drew attention to the development of Russian cruise travel to Svalbard:

- (58) Rossijskij Centr arktičeskogo **turizma** na Špicbergene razrabotal i soglasoval s norvežskimi vlastjami programmu pervogo ruskogo arktičeskogo **kruiza** na arxipelag. [Murmanskij Vestnik, Rossijskie turisty smogut poseščat’ Špicbergen bez viz, 30.09.2015].

The Russian Center for Arctic **Tourism** in Svalbard has developed and agreed with the Norwegian authorities on a program for the first Russian Arctic **cruise** to the archipelago. [Murmanskij Vestnik, Russian tourists will be able to visit Svalbard without visas, 30.09.2015].

The concept of science is the only subcategory that does not contain keywords unique for the federal media (Table 6). The keywords related to this concept demonstrate that framing Svalbard in the context of science is a characteristic of the regional media to a larger degree than of the federal media, especially in 2018–2021. Example (59) from the media outlet *Arxangel’sk* illustrates a context of a research visit of scientists from SAFU (Northern (Arctic) Federal University (NArFU) located in Arkhangelsk) to the Norwegian scientific centers in Svalbard:

- (59) SAFU [...] interesen opyt Špicbergena po sozdaniju arktičeskogo **naučnogo** centra. Molodye **učenyje** posetjat norvežskie centry v Longjirbjuene i Nju-Olesunne. [Arxangel'sk, Otkrytija Karskogo morja, 20.12.2018].
 NArFU [...] are interested in the experience of Svalbard in creating an Arctic **scientific** center. Young **scientists** will visit Norwegian centers in Longyearbyen and Ny-Ålesund. [Arxangel'sk, Discoveries of the Kara Sea, 20.12.2018].

The concept of nature contains keywords denoting fauna, terrain, and natural phenomena (Table 6). One of the keywords consistently appearing throughout all three periods is the noun *medved'* 'bear'. The immediate context of this word shows that it is most frequently used as a part of the collocation *belyj medved'* 'polar bear' during each period in each type of media. Polar bears are reported in the context of scientific studies or accidents. The latter context is illustrated by example (60):

- (60) Belyj **medved'** zabralsja v otel' na Špicbergene i zastrjal [Gazeta.Ru, 05.06.2018].
 A polar **bear** climbed into a hotel on Svalbard and got stuck [Gazeta.Ru, 05.06.2018].

6.2.2.2 Concepts occurring at certain periods

In this subsection, I will describe the concepts that occur only in certain periods. As shown in Table 7, these concepts are mostly comprised by the keywords unique for the federal media except for the period of 2010-2013 where a portion of the keywords are shared.

	2010-2013	2014-2017	2018-2021
Subcategory	Keywords	Keywords	Keywords
Fishery	<i>rybooxranny</i> 'fishery, (adj)', <i>ryboloveckij</i> 'fishery (adj)', <i>rybolovnyj</i> 'fishing, piscatorial', <i>rybnyj</i> 'fishy, piscine', <i>trawler</i> 'trawler', <i>ryba*</i> 'fish', <i>rybak</i> 'fisherman', <i>rybolovstvo</i> 'fishery, fishing'	<i>ryba*</i> 'fish'	-
Breach of law	<i>narušenije</i> 'breach', <i>zadržanije</i> 'detention', <i>zadržat'</i> 'detain'	-	<i>ograblenie</i> 'robbery', <i>sud</i> 'court', <i>bank</i> 'bank'
Dispute / conflict	<i>spor</i> 'dispute', <i>spornyj</i> 'disputable'	-	-
Mineral resources	<i>dobyča</i> 'production (of mineral resources)', <i>neft'</i> 'oil', <i>mestoroždenie</i> 'occurrence (of minerals)', <i>razrabotka</i> 'mining', <i>zapas</i> 'reserve'	-	-
Economy	<i>èkonomičeskij</i> 'economic',	-	<i>resurs</i> 'resource'

	<i>xozjajstvennyj</i> 'economic', <i>resurs</i> 'resource'		
Military forces	-	<i>voennyj</i> 'military (adj)'	<i>specnaz</i> 'special forces', <i>voennyj</i> 'military (adj)'
Accidents	-	<i>razbit'sja</i> 'crash', <i>oblomok</i> 'wreckage', <i>telo</i> 'body', <i>poterpet'</i> (<i>krušenie</i>) 'crash', <i>propast'</i> 'disappear', <i>pogibnut'</i> 'perish', <i>poisk</i> 'search', <i>MČS</i> ³⁸ , <i>spasatel'</i> 'rescuer', <i>spasatel'nyj</i> 'rescue, rescuing', <i>krušenie</i> 'crash, wreckage'	<i>pogibnut'</i> 'perish'

Table 7. Concept indicators among the Associative Arrays for the keyword *Špicbergen* showing concepts that occur only at certain periods³⁹

The prominence of keywords related to fishery in 2010-2013 (Table 7) is consistent with the focus of both types of media on detentions of Russian fishing trawlers in that period discussed above (see, e.g., subsections 6.2.1.4 and 6.2.1.6). The keywords within the subcategory of breach of law typical for the federal media in 2010-2013 (Table 7) also mostly refer to these detentions since the keyword *zaderžanije* 'detention' most frequently collocates with the noun *sudno* 'vessel' (14 occurrences), the keyword *zaderžat'* 'detain' – with the noun *oxrana* 'guard' (21 occurrences), and the keyword *narušenije* 'violation' often appears as a part of the collocation *narušenije otčetnosti* 'violation of reporting norms' (6 occurrences). Example (61), reporting on an official explanation of one of the detentions, contains all three keywords, namely *zaderžanije* 'detention', *zaderžat'* 'detain', and *narušenije* 'violation':

- (61) Beregovaja oxrana Norvegii **zaderžala** gruzovoe sudno “Atlantik Ledi” s rossijskim ekipažem na bortu. [---] Pričina **zaderžanija** – podozrenija v **narušenii** otčetnosti. [Vesti.Ru, “Atlantik Ledi” podozrevajut v narušenii otčetnosti, 26.10.2010]. The Norwegian Coast Guard **detained** the cargo ship Atlantic Lady with a Russian crew on board. [---] The reason for **the detention** is suspicions of **violation** of reporting norms. [Vesti.Ru, Atlantic Lady is suspected of violation of reporting norms, 26.10.2010].

³⁸ MČS stands for the Ministry of the Russian Federation for Civil Defense, Emergency Management and Natural Disasters Response (EMERCOM).

³⁹ The keywords from the federal media are given in green, the keywords from the regional media are given in blue, the words common for both media are given in black. The keywords with an asterisk are put into more than one subcategory.

Because the keywords comprising the concept of breach of law in 2010-2013 are unique for the federal media, it can be presumed that the federal media report the detentions of Russian trawlers in a more dramatic way than the regional media.

The subcategory of breach of law reappearing in the federal media in 2018-2021 consists of three keywords – *ograblenie* ‘robbery’, *bank* ‘bank’, and *sud* ‘court’ (Table 7). Though the keyword *bank* does not contain any meaning related to breach of law, it was exceptionally placed within this subcategory. Both the keywords *bank* ‘bank’ and *ograblenie* ‘robbery’ most frequently collocate with each other and thus form the collocation *ograblenie banka* ‘bank robbery’ (58 occurrences). This phrase is used in the context of a bank robbery in Longyearbyen by a Russian citizen in 2018, for example:

- (62) Rossijskij turist arestovan za **ograblenie banka** na Špicbergene [Moskovskij Komsomolec, 22.12.2018].
Russian tourist arrested for **bank robbery** in Svalbard [Moskovskij Komsomolec, 22.12.2018].

The keywords *spor* ‘dispute’ and *spornyj* ‘controversial’ indicating the concept of dispute / conflict are typical for the federal media of 2010-2013 (Table 7). The most frequent collocations with these words are *territorial’nyj spor* ‘territorial dispute’ (9 occurrences) and *spornaja territorija* ‘disputed territory’ (7 occurrences). The use of these collocations is consistent with the preoccupation of the federal media with the Barents Sea Border Agreement of 2010 (see subsection 6.2.1.4). As example (63) shows, this document was expected to bring an end to disputes between Russia and Norway over the border in the Barents Sea:

- (63) Konec **sporu** o granice èkonomičeskix zon byl položen v aprele 2010 goda. Rossija i Norvegija dogovorilis’ delit’ **spornuju territoriju** rovno po seredine učastka. [Komsomol’skaja Pravda, Vyigrala ili proigrala Rossija ot razgraničeniya Barenceva morja s Norvegijej? 06.08.2010].
The dispute over the boundaries of economic zones was put to an end in April 2010. Russia and Norway agreed to divide **the disputed territory** exactly in the middle of the area. [Komsomol’skaja Pravda, Did Russia win or lose from delimiting the Barents Sea with Norway? 06.08.2010].

The subcategory of mineral resources is represented by keywords in 2010-2013, mostly typical for the federal media. These media also demonstrate an abundance in keywords related to the concept of economy in 2010-2013 (Table 7). As example (64) shows, the interest of the federal media in the concept of mineral resources during this period can be connected to signing of the Barents Sea Border Agreement which was seen as a possibility for joint Russian-Norwegian development of the mineral resources in the region:

- (64) [...] po suti, dogovor [o razgraničeenii morskix prostranstv] ponadobilsja tol’ko dlja togo, čtoby načat’ sovmestnuju **razrabotku** vozmožnyx neftegazovyx **mestoroždenij**. Tak kak segodnja **razrabotka** neftjanyx **mestoroždenij** v ètix vodax uže bolee 40 let zamorožena. [Vzgljad.ru, “Norvegija otdala nam čast’ territorii” –

Deputat Gosdumy Mixail Grišankov ob"jasnil, počemu Gosduma ratificirovala rossijsko-norvežskij dogovor o razdele morskix prostranstv, 25.03.2011].

[...] in fact, the [Barents Sea Border] agreement was needed only to begin the joint **development** of possible oil and gas **fields**. Because today **the development** of oil **fields** in these waters has been frozen for more than 40 years. [Vzgljad.ru, "Norway gave us part of the territory" – State Duma Deputy Mikhail Grishankov explained why the State Duma ratified the Russian-Norwegian agreement on the division of maritime spaces, 25.03.2011].

The concept of military forces is one of the concepts that appears in connection to Svalbard in the federal media after 2013 (Table 7). One of the most frequent collocates of the keyword *vojennyj* 'military' appearing in 2014-2017 is the adjective *besprecedentnyj* 'unprecedented' (8 occurrences). Both words are a part of the phrase *besprecedentnye vojennye prigotovlenija* 'unprecedented military preparations' which is used in the context of the reaction of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the NATO Parliamentary Assembly meeting held in Longyearbyen in 2017, for example:

- (65) Kak pojasnili v vedomstve [MID], v poslednee vremja NATO, ob"javiv kurs na "sderživanie" Rossii, pristupil k **besprecedentnym voennym prigotovlenijam** u gosudarstvennyx granic strany [Rossii]. [Argumenty Nedeli, MID Rossii: meroprijatija pod ègidoj NATO v Arktike – èto provokacija, 19.04.2017].

As explained in the department [Russian Foreign Ministry], recently NATO, having announced a course to "contain" Russia, has begun **unprecedented military preparations** at the state borders of the country [Russia]. [Argumenty Nedeli, Russian Foreign Ministry: NATO-led events in the Arctic are a provocation, 19.04.2017].

The adjective *besprecedentnyj* 'unprecedented' used by the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and reported by the media denotes something that has never occurred before as such or in such quantities. The context of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly's meeting in Svalbard is thus represented as a dramatically dangerous event for Russian security in the Arctic region.

The keywords typical for the federal media within the subcategory of military forces in 2018-2021 are *specnaz* 'special forces' and *vojennyj* 'military'. The most frequent collocation where the noun *specnaz* 'special forces' occurs is *rossijskij specnaz* 'Russian special forces' (11 occurrences). The context of the keyword *specnaz* 'special forces', namely appearance of the Russian special forces in Svalbard in 2019 as reported by one of the Norwegian media outlets, was already shown in subsection 6.2.1.2. The most frequent collocation of the keyword *voennyj* 'military' in 2018-2021 is *korabl'* 'ship' (16 occurrences). The context where the collocation *voennyj korabl'* 'warship' occurs is the entry of a Norwegian warship into the Svalbard archipelago, regarded as a demilitarized zone, in 2021:

- (66) Moskva ser'ezno ozabočena vizitom norvežskogo **voennogo korablja** na poljarnyj arhipelag Špicbergen i vosprinimaet èto kak skrytuju militarizaciju. [Izvestija, MID RF vyrazil obespokoennost' iz-za skrytoj militarizacii Špicbergena, 12.11.2021].

Moscow is seriously concerned about the visit of a Norwegian **warship** to the polar archipelago of Svalbard and perceives this as a covert militarization. [Izvestija, The Russian Foreign Ministry expressed concern about the hidden militarization of Svalbard, 12.11.2021].

The contexts of the keywords *specnaz* ‘special forces’ and *voennyj* ‘military’ show that since 2019 Svalbard has become a subject of concern for both Russia and Norway due to the possibility of the direct presence of the armed forces of the opposite side on the archipelago.

The other concept that Svalbard becomes associated with after 2013 is the concept of accidents. The keywords comprising the subcategory of accidents are mostly unique for the federal media and demonstrate abundance in 2014-2017 (Table 7). The key verb *poterpet'* ‘tolerate, put up with’ was put into the category of accidents because in the data in most cases it combines with the noun *krušenie* ‘crash’ and forms the phrase *poterpet' krušenie* ‘crash’. The tendency of the federal media to focus on accidents in 2014-2017 is consistent with the focus of these media on the crash of the Russian helicopter in 2017 shown above, in subsections 6.2.1.6 and 6.2.1.7. The keywords within the subcategory of accidents indicate that the federal media tended to describe accidents with a great deal of drama as the noun *telo* ‘body’ and the verb *pogibnut'* ‘die, perish’ show. In addition, the prominence of the nouns *poisk* ‘search’ and *spasatel'* ‘rescuer’, the adjective *spasatel'nyj* ‘rescue’, and the abbreviation *MČS* ‘EMERCOM’ indicates that reporting on accidents in the federal media also included reporting on rescue operations (this context was already shown in subsection 6.2.1.7).

6.2.2.3 Summary

In subsection 6.2.2, I have presented concepts associated with Svalbard and their trends in the federal and regional media throughout the period of 2010-2021. Both types of media tend to consistently connect Svalbard with nature, tourism, and transport / travel. A feature of the regional media is that they tend to associate Svalbard with science more than the federal media do, especially after 2017. For example, the regional media report on the development of scientific ties between scientists from Arkhangelsk and Norwegian research centers in Svalbard. The federal media connect Svalbard with the concepts of law and international relations / cooperation to a much greater extent than the regional media. The federal media demonstrate consistent attention to the document regulating the legal status of Svalbard, namely the Svalbard Treaty of 1920. After 2013, attention to the concepts of law and international relations / cooperation in the federal media decreases and at the same time the keyword with a negative connotation, namely *sanctions*, appear. Another feature of the federal media is framing Svalbard in a dramatic light. The federal media focus on events which can be regarded as a breach of law (e.g., bank robbery in 2018) and accidents (e.g., the crash of the Russian helicopter in 2017). The coverage of Svalbard in the federal media also demonstrates a shift from disputes, namely overcoming the territorial dispute with the help of the Barents Sea Border Agreement of 2010, to securitization in the region after 2014. Detentions of Russian

trawlers in 2010-2013 in the Barents Sea are a focus of attention of both types of media but the federal media portray these events in a more dramatic light than the regional media.

6.2.3 Co-text words

In this subsection, I briefly discuss the keywords that I classified as co-text words. These are the words that do not clearly indicate any concept or context, but they are used for discussion of certain topics in the texts. The words classified as co-text words are shown in Table 8.

	2010-2013	2014-2017	2018-2021
Subcategory	Keywords	Keywords	Keywords
General content words	<i>dejstvie</i> ‘action’, <i>gazeta</i> ‘newspaper’, <i>vzgljad</i> ‘sight’, <i>svjaz</i> ‘connection’, <i>kvadratnyj</i> ‘square (adj)’, <i>storona</i> ‘side’, <i>interes</i> ‘interest’, <i>oxrana</i> ‘security, protection’, <i>procent-znak</i> ‘percent-sign’	<i>apparat</i> ‘apparatus, instrument’, <i>poseščenje</i> ‘visit’, <i>svjaz</i> ‘connection’, <i>centr</i> ‘center’, <i>služba</i> ‘service’, <i>spisok</i> ‘list’, <i>operacija</i> ‘operation, procedure’, <i>vzgljad</i> ‘sight’, <i>vozdušnyj</i> ‘air (adj), airy’, <i>so</i> ‘with’, <i>podnjat</i> ‘raise’, <i>obnaružit</i> ‘discover’, <i>razvitie</i> ‘development’, <i>stancija</i> ‘station’, <i>učastnik</i> ‘participant’	<i>pervyj</i> ‘first’, <i>dejatel'nost'</i> ‘activity’, <i>vzgljad</i> ‘sight’, <i>istorija</i> ‘story, history’, <i>foto</i> ‘photo’, <i>pravda</i> ‘truth’, <i>gazeta</i> ‘newspaper’, <i>ob</i> ‘about, against’, <i>iz-za</i> ‘because of, out of’, <i>učastie</i> ‘participation’, <i>plavučij</i> ‘floating’, <i>obnaružit</i> ‘discover’, <i>učastnik</i> ‘participant’, <i>okazat'sja*</i> ‘turn out to be’
Citations	<i>govorit'sja</i> ‘be said’, <i>slovo</i> ‘word’, <i>soobščit</i> ‘inform’, <i>zajavit</i> ‘declare’, <i>sčitat</i> ‘think, count’, <i>ekspert</i> ‘expert’, <i>pozicija*</i> ‘stance’	<i>slovo</i> ‘word’, <i>soobščit</i> ‘inform’, <i>rasskazat</i> ‘tell’, <i>zajavit</i> ‘declare’, <i>soobščat</i> ‘inform’	<i>soobščenie</i> ‘report, message’, <i>soobščit</i> ‘inform’, <i>otmetit</i> ‘note’, <i>zajavit</i> ‘declare’, <i>rasskazat</i> ‘tell’
Location	<i>tam</i> ‘there’, <i>okolo</i> ‘near’, <i>vokrug</i> ‘around’, <i>prisutstvije</i> ‘presence’, <i>naxodit'sja</i> ‘be situated’, <i>pozicija*</i> ‘position’	<i>u</i> ‘at, near’, <i>pod</i> ‘under’, <i>mesto</i> ‘place’, <i>okolo</i> ‘near’, <i>naxodit'sja</i> ‘be situated’, <i>tam</i> ‘there’	<i>nad</i> ‘above’, <i>okolo</i> ‘near’, <i>tam</i> ‘there’, <i>okazat'sja*</i> ‘turn up’
Contrasting and negation	<i>odnako</i> ‘however’, <i>ni</i> ‘neither, not’	-	-
Colors	-	<i>belyj</i> ‘white’	<i>belyj</i> ‘white’

Table 8. Co-text words among the Associative Arrays for the keyword *Špicbergen*⁴⁰

⁴⁰ The keywords from the federal media are given in green, the keywords from the regional media are given in blue, the words common for both media are given in black. The keywords with an asterisk are put into more than one subcategory.

Among the subcategories represented by the co-text words, the subcategory of citations is comprised mostly of keywords unique for the federal media. The words placed in this subcategory refer to cases when somebody's words are reported in texts. For example, the keyword *slovo* 'word' is most often a part of the collocation *po slovam* 'according to' (29 occurrences in 2010-2013 and 105 occurrences in 2014-2017). The tendency of reporting somebody's words is, for example, consistent with the tendency of the federal media to associate Svalbard with political authorities, governance, and international relations discussed in subsections 6.2.1 and 6.2.2. Media reporting of contexts connected with these subcategories may naturally include quoting official statements produced by political departments and official persons.

As the keywords of the subcategory of location demonstrate, Svalbard is consistently connected with words indicating the presence or position of something. The fact that the keywords of this subcategory are overall more preferred by the federal media than by the regional media can be interpreted as confirming a strong interest of the federal media in something that exists or happens in Svalbard or in relation to it.

The keyword *belyj* 'white' is typical for both types of the media and is the only keyword in the subcategory of colors. This keyword most often forms the collocation *belyj medved'* 'polar bear' which I already mentioned in subsection 6.2.2.1.

6.3 Conclusion

In chapter 6, I have shown the application of Market Basket Analysis to data consisting of articles about Svalbard from the Russian federal and regional media published between 2010 and 2021. The aim of the analysis was to examine contexts and concepts associated with Svalbard and to determine whether there are differences in these associations across media type and period.

The analysis reveals that Svalbard is prominently discussed in economic and scientific contexts in both types of media, as the connection of the keyword *Špicbergen* 'Spitsbergen' with the concepts of nature, tourism, and transport / travel demonstrate. However, the regional media associate Svalbard with the scientific context to a greater degree than the federal media. The federal media tend to consistently connect Svalbard with geopolitics and state interests through the concepts and contexts of political authorities, diplomatic relations, and law. These kinds of associations are not represented prominently in the regional media. The trends of associations related to political and diplomatic discourses found in the federal media are highly consistent with the development of Russian-Norwegian relations around Svalbard and consequences for these relations caused by Russia's annexation of Crimea in 2014 (see chapter 1 and subsection 2.1). The starting point of this trend is the attention of the federal media to the concepts of law and international relations / cooperation between 2010-2013 which is consistent with the signing of the Barents Sea Border Agreement in 2010. After 2013 the intensity of attention to the concepts of law and international relations / cooperation decreases and the keyword *sankcija* 'sanction' as well as the concept of the military

forces appears. Two latter contexts reflect diplomatic tensions between Russia and Norway (Rogozin's visit in 2015) as well as an increase of security risks (e.g., concerns of the Russian side over the NATO Parliamentary Assembly meeting held in Longyearbyen in 2017). The federal media also demonstrate a noticeable interest in accidents between 2014-2017 which is explained by coverage of at least one major accident near Svalbard – the crash of a Russian helicopter in October 2017. Representation of Svalbard as a danger zone at least for the domestic audience is consistent with the requirement of the Russian authorities to create a Russian rescue base on the archipelago. This requirement, named by Staalesen (2017) as the one “well rooted in the Russian government” during the last 25 years, was activated immediately after the helicopter crash of 2017.

The coverage of disagreement about FPZ, in particular detentions of Russian fishing trawlers by the Norwegian Coast Guard near Svalbard, deserves special attention. The present analysis revealed that this topic attracted the attention of both the federal and regional media, though the former presumably covered it more prominently and in a more negative light. This result suggests that an issue directly affecting economic interests of North-West Russia in relation to Svalbard becomes the object of attention of the regional media. The absence of keywords indicating prominent coverage of detentions of fishing trawlers after 2013 in the present study is consistent with Østhagen's et al. (2020: 193-194) study where it is argued that after 2011 the detentions of Russian trawlers received little coverage in the Russian media.⁴¹ The authors explain this trend by the fact that in 2012 Norway introduced a procedure whereby detentions can be resolved at sea instead of bringing the ship to a Norwegian port. According to Østhagen et al. (2020: 203), the level of this conflict did not change after the Ukrainian events of 2014 since both sides seem to “attach great importance to cooperation”.

The application of Market Basket Analysis in the present study demonstrated some advantages and disadvantages. Market Basket Analysis proves to be an effective way of schematic representation of data content and development of this content for a certain period. As a means for facilitating Keyword Analysis, Market Basket Analysis significantly reduces time and resources devoted to processing large amounts of textual data and it brings into relief textual features not necessarily noticeable by the human eye under close reading. Market Basket Analysis also promotes the identification of many keywords by establishing associations or connections among words and thus eliminating unnecessary keywords which do not have any connections or associations. A disadvantage of Market Basket Analysis noticed in the present study is that it still produces many Associative Links and Associative Arrays which require more attention for further analysis. In the present study, the keywords that form Associative Arrays for the keyword *Špicbergen* ‘Spitsbergen’ were further grouped according to their discourse functions following Baker's et al. (2013: 55) approach. Another disadvantage of Market Basket Analysis, as it was used in the present study, and of the Keyword Analysis overall

⁴¹ Since in the present study the data is divided into three periods, trends for coverage of certain events within these periods were not examined. For example, I did not examine when exactly the coverage of detentions of fishing trawlers began and finished between 2010 and 2013.

is that keywords are shown out of context, and they can be regarded as “only pointers to what the text is about” (Fidler & Cvrček 2018: 203). In other words, each of the retrieved keywords can appear in a variety of contexts which means that this keyword may be used in radically different contexts (recall the use of the keyword *bank* ‘bank’ in the context of breach of law rather than in the context of economy illustrated in subsection 6.2.2.2). This feature complicates grouping of keywords and demonstrates that ideally the contexts of each keyword should be studied which may require additional time and resources. Based on the present study, it can be concluded that Market Basket Analysis is a suitable method for exploring data on the initial stage of an analysis which enables a researcher to get a schematic idea about the content of the data and which may point to how to explore the data further.

7 Keymorph Analysis

7.1 Description of the method and data

The present stage of the analysis is aimed at investigating how discourse participants, namely Russia, Norway, and Svalbard, are represented and if there are differences in these representations in terms of the media type and period. For this purpose, I apply Keymorph Analysis, which examines the prominence of the grammatical cases of the nouns *Rossija* ‘Russia’, *Norvegija* ‘Norway’, and *Špicbergen* ‘Spitsbergen’ in the federal and regional media throughout the three time periods. Russia and Norway are important actors in the context of Svalbard as portrayed in the Russian media. This conclusion is drawn from the results of Market Basket Analysis demonstrating that *Rossija* ‘Russia’ and *Norvegija* ‘Norway’ appear almost consistently as keywords associated with the keyword *Špicbergen* ‘Spitsbergen’ in both types of media (Table 5).

As noted in subsection 3.3.4, Keymorph Analysis reveals prominent morpho-syntactic features of a target corpus by comparing it with a reference corpus. The frequency distribution of the grammatical cases of the nouns meaning ‘Russia’, ‘Norway’, and ‘Spitsbergen’ is a focus of the present study. The Russian language has six grammatical cases, each of them having their own semantic associations. An overview of these associations or meanings is given in subsection 3.3.5.

The target corpus for Keymorph Analysis in the present study is the one consisting of six subcorpora Federal 2010-2013*, Regional 2010-2013*, Federal 2014-2017*, Regional 2014-2017*, Federal 2018-2021*, and Regional 2018-2021*. These subcorpora were earlier used for Market Basket Analysis of Associative Arrays of the keyword *Špicbergen* ‘Spitsbergen’ (subsection 6.1, Table 4).

The texts of the target subcorpora were processed in the corpus manager SketchEngine (Kilgarriff et al. 2014) to explore the immediate context of the nouns *Rossija* ‘Russia’, *Norvegija* ‘Norway’, and *Špicbergen* ‘Spitsbergen’. SketchEngine does not provide high-quality automatic annotation of grammatical cases. For this reason, annotation of homonymous forms must be done manually. Homonymous forms are typical for each

of these three nouns. They are *Rossii.GEN*, *Rossii.DAT*, *Rossii.LOC*; *Norvegii.GEN*, *Norvegii.DAT*, *Norvegii.LOC*; *Špicbergen.NOM*, and *Špicbergen.ACC*. As the number of extracted concordances for each noun ‘Russia’, ‘Norway’, and ‘Svalbard’ in each subcorpus is generally too large to facilitate manual disambiguation, I extracted random samples of these nouns consisting of 200 examples per noun in each subcorpus. I did not need to extract random samples with the nouns ‘Russia’ and ‘Norway’ in the subcorpus Regional 2018-2021* because the overall number of the examples with these nouns is less than 200. The word *Špicbergen* is not lemmatized in SketchEngine because it is a rare word. For this reason, I obtained the wordforms *Špicbergen* in SketchEngine with the help of the function which extracts all the wordforms beginning with *Špicbergen**. This means that the adjective *špicbergenskij* and its forms are also automatically included in the list of the extracted forms. For this reason, every time I obtained a sample consisting of 200 examples with the word *Špicbergen**, I excluded the adjective forms from the list. As a result, the random sample for the noun *Špicbergen* consists of less than 200 forms. The distribution of the grammatical cases of the nouns ‘Russia’, ‘Norway’, and ‘Spitsbergen’ is shown in Table 9, Table 10, and Table 11.

Federal 2010-2013* (130,569 words)				Regional 2010-2013* (73,326 words)			
Lemma	Rossija	Norvegija	Špicbergen	Lemma	Rossija	Norvegija	Špicbergen
Case				Case			
Nom	61	52	75	Nom	43	46	58
Gen	97	94	65	Gen	106	85	67
Dat	3	14	1	Dat	8	10	4
Acc	17	8	15	Acc	7	9	16
Ins	14	23	3	Ins	18	32	3
Loc	8	9	36	Loc	18	18	48
Overall	200	200	195	Overall	200	200	196

Table 9. The distribution of the grammatical cases of the nouns *Rossija*, *Norvegija*, and *Špicbergen* in the federal and regional media in 2010-2013, given in raw frequencies

Federal (2014-2017)* (175,614 words)				Regional (2014-2017)* (88,210 words)			
Lemma	Rossija	Norvegija	Špicbergen	Lemma	Rossija	Norvegija	Špicbergen
Case				Case			
Nom	32	40	53	Nom	30	53	62
Gen	143	120	63	Gen	138	103	52
Dat	4	6	1	Dat	5	8	2
Acc	6	10	22	Acc	1	9	16

Ins	2	4	1	Ins	8	10	3
Loc	13	20	54	Loc	18	17	61
Overall	200	200	194	Overall	200	200	196

Table 10. The distribution of the grammatical cases of the nouns *Rossija*, *Norvegija*, and *Špicbergen* in the federal and regional media in 2014-2017, given in raw frequencies

Federal (2018-2021)* (153,714 words)				Regional (2018-2021)* (51,850 words)			
Lemma	Rossija	Norvegija	Špicbergen	Lemma	Rossija	Norvegija	Špicbergen
Case				Case			
Nom	43	44	50	Nom	27	23	51
Gen	113	79	26	Gen	92	54	72
Dat	5	7	7	Dat	1	4	4
Acc	8	14	23	Acc	7	3	17
Ins	17	13	7	Ins	5	3	2
Loc	14	43	83	Loc	16	16	52
Overall	200	200	196	Overall	148	103	198

Table 11. The distribution of the grammatical cases of the nouns *Rossija*, *Norvegija*, and *Špicbergen* in the federal and regional media in 2018-2021, given in raw frequencies

The reference corpus used in this study is the main corpus of the Russian National Corpus (RNC) which comprises over 300 million words. The choice of this corpus is based on its representativeness and accuracy of morphological annotation. The latter feature makes it possible to argue that the annotation of grammatical cases in the target corpus used in the present study and in RNC are comparable. Both the representativeness of a reference corpus and comparability of its morphological annotation with that of the target corpus are important features for effective application of Keymorph Analysis (Janda et al. 2022: 21). The main corpus of RNC represents Russian written texts of various genres from the 18th century to our time. As RNC provides an opportunity for selecting texts of a certain period, I used the periodization that precisely matches the periodization of the texts in the target corpus – 2010-2021.

The main corpus of RNC can be regarded as representative because it includes certain proportions of texts of various genres: fiction, scientific texts, journalism, religious texts, technical texts, and private correspondence. The share of fiction is no more than 40% (RNC 2023). I conducted the search in the manually disambiguated subcorpus (a.k.a. “snjatnik”) where homonymy has been removed and the results of the automatic morphological analysis have been corrected. This part of the corpus is suitable for studies of Russian morphology that require increased search accuracy (RNC 2023). The

distribution of the grammatical cases of the nouns ‘Russia’, ‘Norway’, and ‘Spitsbergen’ in the main corpus of RNC is shown in Table 12.

Russian National Corpus (Main corpus, years 2010–2021; 25,048,968 words)			
Lemma	Rossija	Norvegija	Špicbergen
Case			
Nom	2,970	73	38
Gen	7,527	101	43
Dat	896	13	1
Acc	1,696	23	13
Ins	605	11	6
Loc	6,968	72	39
Overall	20,662	293	140

Table 12. The distribution of the grammatical cases of the nouns *Rossija*, *Norvegija*, and *Špicbergen* in the main corpus of RNC in 2010-2021, given in raw frequencies

The following review of Keymorph Analysis is based on the description given in Janda et al. (2022: 21-23). According to the authors, Keymorph Analysis can be regarded as an extension of keyword analysis to the level of morphemes and grammatical categories. Similar to keyword analysis, Keymorph Analysis compares frequencies in the target texts (target corpus) and reference corpus. The aim of keyword analysis is to compare word frequencies while the aim of Keymorph Analysis is to compare frequencies of grammatical categories. Recall that one of the parameters for calculating prominent keywords for Market Basket Analysis is effect size metric, that is DIN. This parameter is a ratio, multiplied by 100, of the difference between relative frequencies of an item in the target text and in the reference corpus and of the sum of the same frequencies (see subsection 6.1). Keymorph Analysis is based on a modified version of DIN, that is DIN*. The difference between DIN and DIN* is how relative frequencies are calculated. The calculation of relative frequencies for DIN is based on the raw frequency of an item in relation to all tokens in the corpus. In contrast, the calculation of relative frequencies for DIN* is based on the raw frequency of a given inflected wordform (e.g., of the Dative case of a word A) relative to all occurrences of the correspondent lemma the corpus (all forms of a word A). Thus, to calculate DIN*, one must first obtain relative frequencies using the following formula:

$$\text{RelFq}^*(\text{Ttxt}) = \text{AbsFq}(\text{Ttxt}) / \text{AbsFq}(\text{lemma in Ttxt})$$

and

$$\text{RelFq}^*(\text{RefC}) = \text{AbsFq}(\text{RefC}) / \text{AbsFq}(\text{lemma in RefC})^{42}$$

DIN* is calculated according to the following formula:

$$\text{DIN}^* = 100 \times [\text{RelFq}^*(\text{Ttxt}) - \text{RelFq}^*(\text{RefC})] / [\text{RelFq}^*(\text{Ttxt}) + \text{RelFq}^*(\text{RefC})]$$

Positive DIN* values indicate that a certain case is used more than expected, based on the reference corpus, while negative DIN* values indicate that a certain case is used less than expected, based on the reference corpus.

All examples of the nouns *Rossija* ‘Russia’, *Norvegija* ‘Norway’, and *Špicbergen* ‘Spitsbergen’ extracted from the target subcorpora and annotated for both the grammatical case and the case meanings (see subsection 3.3.5) are available in my TROLLing post <https://doi.org/10.18710/UEZZUS> (Obukhova 2024) .

7.2 Analysis

7.2.1 Period 2010-2013

The DIN* values for the use of grammatical case for the nouns *Rossija* ‘Russia’, *Norvegija* ‘Norway’, and *Špicbergen* ‘Spitsbergen’ in the federal and regional media in 2010-2013 are presented in Table 13. The most extreme DIN* values, both positive and negative, are given in bold. By extreme DIN* values I mean the ones that equal 20 and above or -20 and below. The same results are visualized in Figure 5 and Figure 6.

⁴² Abbreviations used in the formulas:

RelFq*(Ttxt) = relative frequency of an item (here a grammatical case of a specific noun, e.g., the Dative case of the noun 'Russia') in the target text,

AbsFq(Ttxt) = frequency of the item in the target text,

AbsFq(lemma in Ttxt) = frequency of the specific noun in all grammatical cases in the target text,

RelFq*(RefC) = relative frequency of an item (here a grammatical case of a specific noun, e.g., the Dative case of the noun 'Russia') in the reference corpus,

AbsFq(Refc) = frequency of the item in the reference corpus,

AbsFq(lemma in Refc) = frequency of the specific noun in all grammatical cases in the reference corpus.

Case	Federal 2010–2013*			Regional 2010–2013*		
	DIN* (Rossija)	DIN* (Norvegija)	DIN* (Špicbergen)	DIN* (Rossija)	DIN* (Norvegija)	DIN* (Špicbergen)
Nom	35.857	2.161	17.378	19.777	-3.967	4.409
Gen	14.252	15.337	4.063	18.568	10.39	5.393
Dat	-48.276	22.807	16.667	-3.614	6.383	48.148
Acc	1.8	-32.203	-9.412	-40.171	-26.829	-6.286
Ins	41.414	50.327	-48.276	51.261	61.616	-48.276
Loc	-78.78	-69.072	-20.259	-57.845	-46.429	-6.489

Table 13. DIN* values of the use of grammatical case for the nouns *Rossija*, *Norvegija*, and *Špicbergen* in the federal and regional media in 2010-2013⁴³

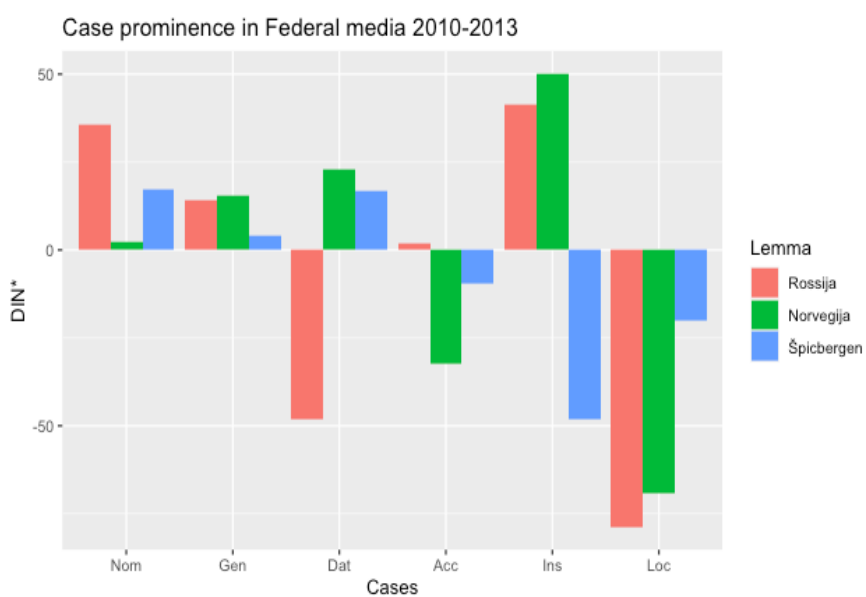


Figure 5. Visualization of prominence of grammatical case for the nouns *Rossija*, *Norvegija*, and *Špicbergen* in the federal media in 2010-2013, given in DIN* values

⁴³ The most extreme DIN* values are given in bold.

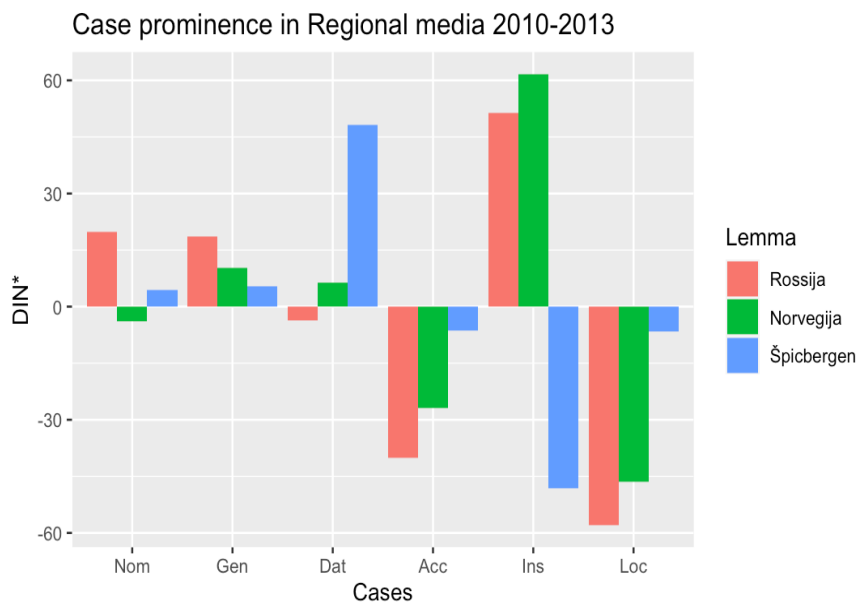


Figure 6. Visualization of prominence of grammatical case for the nouns *Rossija*, *Norvegija*, and *Špicbergen* in the regional media in 2010-2013, given in DIN* values

7.2.1.1 Nominative case

The prominence of the Nominative case for the noun ‘Russia’ (DIN* 35.857 in the federal media and DIN* 19.777 in the regional media) and closeness of the noun ‘Norway’ to the “norm” (DIN* 2.161 in the federal media and DIN* -3.967 in the regional media) in both the federal and the regional media indicates that Russia is represented as a more active agent than Norway is. In both types of media, ‘Russia’ is used with highly agentive predicates in similar contexts. Russia appears as an active doer, for example, in the context of development of its economic activities in the archipelago:

- (67) **Rossija.NOM** provedet internet na Špicbergen [Lenta.ru, 10.07.2011].
Russia.NOM will provide internet to Svalbard [Lenta.ru, 10.07.2021].

Russia is also portrayed as an opponent of Norway in some matters of argument, for example, in relation to the fisheries protection zone around Svalbard which is named the economic zone in the following example:

- (68) Odnako v 1977 godu **Norvegija.NOM** edinolično ob“javila o 200-mil’noj èkonomičeskoj zone Špicbergena, ktoruju **Rossija.NOM** ne sobiralas’ i ne sobiraetsja brat’ vo vnimanie. [Arxangel’sk, “Nordkapskij” plennik, 06.10.2011].
 However, in 1977, **Norway.NOM** single-handedly declared a 200-mile economic zone for Svalbard, which **Russia.NOM** did not intend and does not intend to take into account. [Arxangel’sk, “North Cape” prisoner, 06.10.2011].

In addition to performing as an independent agent, Russia is also represented as a partner of Norway. This is done through the symmetrical reciprocal construction *Rossija.NOM i Norvegija.NOM* ‘Russia and Norway’ which occurs both in the federal and regional media, for example:

- (69) Na zapadnoj granice – peremeny – **Rossija.NOM** i **Norvegija.NOM** budut vmeste delit’ arktičeskij pirog [Arxangel’sk, 28.09.2010].
There is a change on the western border – **Russia.NOM** and **Norway.NOM** will share(/divide) the Arctic pie together [Arxangel’sk, 28.09.2010].

Example (69) illustrates the contexts of the Barents Sea Border Agreement of 2010. Example (70) relates to the same context of the agreement and contains the same phrase ‘Russia and Norway’. However, it illustrates a representation of Russia as an opponent of Norway in relation to a series of detentions of Russian trawlers:

- (70) Neprekraščajuščiesja konflikty svjazany s tem, čto **Rossija.NOM** i **Norvegija.NOM** davno uže ne moguť dogovorit’sja o tom, komu prinadležat vody u Špicbergena. [Izvestija, Rossija i Norvegija snova deljat vody, 07.10.2011].
The ongoing conflicts are due to the fact that **Russia.NOM** and **Norway.NOM** have long been unable to agree on who owns the waters off Svalbard. [Izvestija, Russia and Norway divide the waters again, 07.10.2011].

As noted in subsection 3.3.4, symmetrical reciprocal constructions can be interpreted from the point of view of ideological representation. The coreferential argument of such a construction introduced earlier can be understood as conceptually more salient than the coreferential argument introduced later. If one applies this interpretation to examples (69) and (70), one can say that the coreferential argument ‘Russia’ is assigned a more active role in comparison with the coreferential argument ‘Norway’. Russia is portrayed as resolutely pursuing its interests in the region, both at the level of developing economic cooperation and at the level of protecting its interests in the field of fisheries. This conclusion is justified by a more frequent use of the phrase *Rossija.NOM i Norvegija.NOM* ‘Russia and Norway’ in both types of media (16 occurrences in the federal media, 8 occurrences in the regional media) in comparison with the phrase *Norvegija.NOM i Rossija.NOM* ‘Norway and Russia’ (1 occurrence in the federal media, 2 occurrences in the regional media).⁴⁴ The latter phrase could presumably assign a more active role to Norway.

As for the noun ‘Spitsbergen’, it demonstrates prominence in the Nominative case in the federal media (DIN* 17.378) and it is used closer to the “norm” in the regional media

⁴⁴ The regional media of the given period also contain other symmetrical reciprocal construction combining ‘Russia’ and ‘Norway’ in the Nominative case: *ni Rossija.NOM, ni Norvegija.NOM* ‘neither Russia nor Norway’ (2 occurrences) and *kak Norvegija.NOM, tak i Rossija.NOM* ‘both Norway and Russia’ (1 occurrence). These phrases combined with the phrases *Rossija.NOM i Norvegija.NOM* ‘Russia and Norway’ and *Norvegija i Rossija* ‘Norway and Russia’ justify the trend of preference of *Rossija* ‘Russia’ in the initial position.

(DIN* 4.409). However, this noun is mostly used in the Nominative case with the IDENTITY meaning in both types of media which indicates that Svalbard is conceptualized as a label rather than an agent, e.g.:

- (71) Strategija rossijskogo prisutstvija na arxipelage **Špicbergen.NOM** odobrena [Vesti.Ru, 13.12.2011].
The strategy of the Russian presence in the **Svalbard.NOM** archipelago approved [Vesti.Ru, 13.12.2011].

Even when ‘Spitsbergen’ appears in the NAME meaning of the Nominative case, it is combined with verbs denoting states, e.g., *javljat’sja* ‘be’ and *naxodit’sja* ‘be’, or the verb *prinadležat* ‘belong’ which suggests a certain passivity, e.g.:

- (72) Iznačal’no **Špicbergen.NOM** ne prinadležal ni odnomu iz suščestvovavšix gosudarstv. [Gazeta.Ru, Rossii neobxodimo forsirovat’ dejatel’nost’ po ukrepleniju svoix pozicij na Špicbergene, 25.05.2012].
Initially, **Svalbard.NOM** did not belong to any of the existing states. [Gazeta.Ru, Russia needs to speed up activities to strengthen its positions in Svalbard, 25.05.2012].

Thus, the use of the nouns ‘Russia’, ‘Norway’, and ‘Spitsbergen’ in the Nominative case demonstrates mostly similar tendencies both in the federal and regional media. Russia and Norway are depicted as protagonists in relation to Svalbard and its waters, and Russia is a more active protagonist than Norway. Russia demonstrates its strong economic interests in Svalbard and protects them when needed. In pursuing its interests, Russia acts as a partner of Norway and at the same time as its opponent. As for Svalbard, it is portrayed merely as a place and a property rather than as an agent.

7.2.1.2 Genitive case

The tendency for use of the Genitive case is similar both in the federal and in the regional media. ‘Russia’ (DIN* 14.252 in the federal media, DIN* 18.568 in the regional media) and ‘Norway’ (DIN* 15.337 in the federal media, DIN* 10.39 in the regional media) are overrepresented to a certain degree. ‘Spitsbergen’ is located closer to the “norm” (DIN* 4.063 in the federal media, DIN* 5.393 in the regional media).

The noun ‘Russia’ is predominantly used in the WHOLE meaning of the Genitive case in both types of media with almost a complete absence of nominalization of events in the federal media. The words that are several times combined with ‘Russia’ in the Genitive case in the federal media are, for instance, *president* ‘president’, *MID* ‘MFA’, and *interesy* ‘interests’, for example:

- (73) V ètom soglašenii interesy **Rossii.GEN** ne sbalansirovany po sravneniju s interesami **Norvegii.GEN**. [Vzgljad.ru, Nebyvaloe čislo arestov, 10.10.2011].
In this agreement, the interests of **Russia.GEN** are not balanced in comparison with the interests of Norway. [Vzgljad.ru, An unprecedented number of arrests, 10.10.2011].

Example (73) is related to the context of criticism of the Barents Sea Border Agreement of 2010. Example (73) is an illustration of the context in which Russia and Norway are portrayed as opponents.

In the regional media, the noun ‘Russia’ in the Genitive case is often combined with the nouns *president* ‘president’, *pravitel’s tvo* ‘government’, and the phrases *pograničnoe upravlenie FSB* ‘FSB Border Directorate’ or *pograničnaja služba FSB* ‘FSB border service’, for example:

- (74) V ramkax vzaimodejstvija Beregovoj oxrany **Norvegii.GEN** i Pograničnoj služby FSB **Rossii.GEN** dostignuta dogovorennost'. [Murmanskij vestnik, Rossijskie pograničniki prodolžajut oxranu rybnyx zasov v rajone arhipelaga Špicbergen, 25.10.2012].

As part of the cooperation between the Coast Guard of **Norway.GEN** and the Border Guard Service of the FSB of **Russia.GEN**, an agreement was reached. [Murmanskij vestnik, Russian border guards continue to protect fish stocks in the area of the Svalbard archipelago, 25.10.2012].

In example (74), Norway and Russia are represented as partners.

A peculiar feature of the use of the word ‘Russia’ in the Genitive case in the regional media is that it often occurs with the noun *prisutstvie* ‘presence’ thus indicating nominalization of an event, for example:

- (75) Drugoe delo, čto v poslednee vremja prisutstvie **Rossii.GEN** v Arktike, na Špicbergene - vopros gosudarstvennoj važnosti. [Murmanskij Vestnik, Ot zemnoj kory do Poljarnoj zvezdy, 21.09.2010].

Another thing is that recently the presence of **Russia.GEN** in the Arctic, on Svalbard, is a matter of national importance. [Murmanskij Vestnik, From the Earth's crust to the North Star, 21.09.2010].

As for the noun ‘Norway’, it often occurs in the Genitive case together with the phrase *beregovaja oxrana* ‘Coast Guard’ in both types of media. This phrase is illustrated by example (74).

Unlike the nouns ‘Russia’ and ‘Norway’, the noun ‘Spitsbergen’ in the Genitive case often has the REFERENCE meaning in both types of the media expressed by prepositions *bliz* ‘near’, *vokrug* ‘around’, and *u* ‘by, at’, for example:

- (76) Počemu my tak sebja vedem u **Špicbergena.GEN**, kogda nas tretiruet Norvegija? [Argumenty Nedeli, Rybnaja vojna v sumerečnoj zone, 03.03.2011].

Why do we behave like this near **Svalbard.GEN** when we are being bullied by Norway? [Argumenty Nedeli, Fish war in the twilight zone, 03.03.2011].

The use of the REFERENCE meaning together with the above-mentioned prepositions indicates that Svalbard does not have as strong agency as Russia and Norway do, and it

tends to be represented as a location. Note that the author of example (76) portrays Russia as a victim and apparently argues that Russia should stand up for itself.

Thus, the use of the nouns ‘Russia’, ‘Norway’, and ‘Spitsbergen’ in the Genitive case demonstrates a similar tendency in both the federal and the regional media to portray Russia, Norway, and Svalbard – through their parts, e.g., government institutions. Russia and Norway act as protagonists, namely as competitors and as partners, while Svalbard itself does not show a particular agency and acts as a place. In one example Russia is portrayed as a victim of Norway. The examples given above indicate that both types of media focus on promotion of Russia’s interests in the region. The conclusions that I have drawn from the analysis of the nouns in the Genitive case are generally consistent with my conclusions about the use of the Nominative case.

7.2.1.3 Dative case

The Dative case demonstrates some differences between the federal and regional media. ‘Russia’ is extremely underrepresented (DIN* -48.276), and ‘Norway’ is extremely overrepresented in the Dative case in the federal media (DIN* 22.807). At the same time these nouns tend to appear in the regional media more or less near the “norm” established by the reference corpus (‘Russia’: DIN* -3.614, ‘Norway’: DIN* 6.383). This implies that the media emphasize the role of Norway as a potential receiver, or experiencer, or competitor, especially the federal media. Russia is not characterized by these roles in the federal media to a more extent than in the regional media.

‘Norway’ is mostly used in the EXPERIENCER and RECEIVER meaning of the Dative case in the federal media, while the RECEIVER meaning prevails in the regional media. The occurrences of these meanings often indicate several major contexts in both types of media. Firstly, Norway is often portrayed as a possessor of sovereignty over Svalbard with the caveat that some other countries have the right to be economically present in the archipelago. This context is shown in example (77) containing ‘Norway’ in the EXPERIENCER meaning:

- (77) Sam arxipelag prinadležit **Norvegii.DAT**, no xozjajstvennuju dejatel’nost’ zdes’ moguť vesti neskol’ko stran. [Gazeta.Ru, Samyj severnyj v mire kinofestival’ otkrylsja na arxipelage Špicbergen, 01.10.2011].
The archipelago belongs to **Norway.DAT**, but several countries can conduct economic activity here. [Gazeta.Ru, The world’s northernmost film festival opens in the Svalbard archipelago, 01.10.2011].

Secondly, Norway is portrayed as a receiver of the rights to territories and resources of the Barents Sea in connection to the Barents Sea Border Agreement of 2010 and concerns of some people in Russia about this fact, for example:

- (78) Rossija gotova podarit’ **Norvegii.DAT** sotni tysjač kvadratnyx kilometrov Barenceva morja [News29.ru, 24.03.2011].

Russia is ready to give **Norway.DAT** hundreds of thousands of square kilometers of the Barents Sea [News29.ru, 24.03.2011].

Some examples of ‘Norway’ used in the RECEIVER meaning of the Dative case in the federal media relate to the Russian-Norwegian fish conflict. In this context, Norway is portrayed as a recipient of Russia’s threats in relation to detentions of Russian fishing trawlers near Svalbard, for example:

- (79) Rosrybolovstvo prigrozilo **Norvegii.DAT** adekvatnymi merami iz-za zaderžanija sudov [Vzgljad.ru, 12.10.2011].
The [Russian] Federal Agency for Fishery threatened **Norway.DAT** with corresponding measures due to the detention of vessels [Vzgljad.ru, 12.10.2011].

As I mentioned above, the noun ‘Russia’ is underrepresented in the Dative case in both types of media. However, the closeness of this noun to the expected use in the regional media makes it worth examining the context. ‘Russia’ is used there mostly in the EXPERIENCER meaning of the Dative case and this form occurs in a variety of contexts. For example, one of the contexts can be interpreted as representing Russia as a country which “ceded” Svalbard to Norway:

- (80) V tečenie neskol’kix vekov imenno russkie byli pionerami v osvoenii ètogo severnogo arxipelaga, kotoryj naši predki nazывali Grumant. No v 1920 godu, kogda **Rossii.DAT** bylo ne do severnyx morej, velikie deržavy zaključili dogovor, peredajuščij suverenitet nad Špicbergenom Norvegii. [News29.ru, Rossija gotova podarit’ Norvegii sotni tysjač kvadratnyx kilometrov Barenceva morja, 24.03.2011].
For several centuries, it was the Russians who were the pioneers in the development of this northern archipelago, which our ancestors called Grumant. But in 1920, when **Russia.DAT** had no time for the northern seas, the great powers entered into an agreement transferring sovereignty over Spitsbergen to Norway. [News29.ru, Russia is ready to give Norway hundreds of thousands of square kilometers of the Barents Sea, 24.03.2011].

The only occurrence of the COMPETITOR meaning of ‘Russia’ in the Dative case in the regional media indicates the same context of victimization. Russia is portrayed as the side that can lose the western part of the Barents Sea in terms of fishing if the Barents Sea Border Agreement of 2010 is signed. In this context, the use of ‘Russia’ in the Dative case assigns Russia with a victimized role of an owner of the eastern part of the Barents Sea less rich in fish in comparison with the Norwegian western part:

- (81) Pri ètom v zapadnyx rajonax Barenceva morja rybaki Murmansk, Arxangel’skoj, Leningradskoj oblastej, [...] dobyvajut v srednem 300-315 tys. tonn ryby za god. V vostočnyx že rajonax, kotorye odnosjatsja k **Rossii.DAT**, vylov sostavljaet vsego 210-215 tysjač tonn. [TV-21, Dogovor o delimitacii v Barencevom more pozvolit Norvegii vyžit’ rybakov RF, 28.10.2010].
At the same time, in the western regions of the Barents Sea, fishermen from the Murmansk, Arkhangelsk, and Leningrad [...] regions produce an average of 300-315 thousand tons of fish per year. In the eastern regions, which belong to **Russia.DAT**, the

catch is only 210-215 thousand tons. [TV-21, Delimitation agreement in the Barents Sea will allow Norway to force out Russian fishermen, 28.10.2010].

The federal media contain only three occurrences of ‘Russia’ in the Dative case which indicate various contexts.

As for the noun ‘Spitsbergen’, both types of media, especially the regional ones, overuse this noun in the Dative case (DIN* 16.667 in the federal media, DIN* 48.148 in the regional media). However, it is impossible to draw clear conclusions from this trend, at least in the federal media, because the number of examples with ‘Spitsbergen’ is small there: only one. As for the regional media, ‘Spitsbergen’ occurs in the Dative case there four times in the COMPETITOR meaning. This meaning implies that Svalbard is represented in the regional media as an object of Russia’s attention, which makes the archipelago an influential entity. However, these occurrences do not form a clear pattern in terms of contexts. In two examples the attention is given to the Svalbard Treaty of 1920 and in one of these examples a concern that the provisions of this Treaty can be cancelled by the Barents Sea Border Agreement of 2010 is expressed:

- (82) A esli Rossija [...] zaključila ètot dogovor [o granicax v Barencevom More], èto označacet otkaz, xotja i v zamaskirovannoj forme, ot prav, kotorye naša strana imeet, kak učastnik Parižskogo dogovora po **Špicbergenu.DAT**. [News29.ru, Rossija gotova podarit’ Norvegii sotni tysjač kvadratnyx kilometrov Barenceva morja, 24.03.2011].
And if Russia [...] has concluded this treaty [the Barents Sea Border Agreement], this means a waiver, albeit in a disguised form, of the rights that our country has as a party to the Paris Treaty on **Svalbard.DAT**. [News29.ru, Russia is ready to give Norway hundreds of thousands of square kilometers of the Barents Sea, 24.03.2011].

Thus, through overuse of ‘Norway’ in the Dative case in the federal media and closeness of this noun in the Dative case to the “norm” in the regional media, two major narratives are demonstrated: Norway is not “a full owner” of Svalbard and Norway can deprive Russia of the Barents Sea resources near Svalbard after signing the Barents Sea Border Agreement of 2010. The latter narrative implies that the media construct an image “Russia is a victim”, and the federal media demonstrate that Russia is ready to take measures against Norway to protect its own interests in the Barents Sea. Due to the excessive use of the Dative case in relation to ‘Spitsbergen’, the regional media endow the archipelago with a certain influence, namely the attraction of Russia’s attention.

7.2.1.4 Accusative case

Both the federal and the regional media underrepresent the nouns ‘Norway’ (DIN* - 32.203 in federal media, DIN* -26.829 in the regional media) and ‘Spitsbergen’ (DIN* -9.412 in the federal media, DIN* -6.286 in the regional media) in the Accusative case. This implies that Norway is not portrayed as a destination or as a dimension. ‘Spitsbergen’ is located more or less nearby the “norm” which makes investigation of the context quite worthy. The noun ‘Russia’ demonstrates some differences – while the

federal media use this word in the Accusative case in accordance with the “norm” (DIN* 1.8), the regional media tend to extremely underrepresent this word (DIN* -40.171). As the use of ‘Russia’ in the federal media appears to be extremely overrepresented in relation to the regional media, I will pay attention to the contexts of this word. I will also examine the context of ‘Spitsbergen’ in both types of media.

In all the examples of ‘Russia’ in the Accusative case in the federal media, this noun is used in the DESTINATION meaning. In one of the contexts, it is speculated that Russia will not be a destination for the import of the Norwegian fish anymore, for example:

- (83) Import norvežskoj ryby v **Rossiju.ACC** mozet popast' pod zapret. [---] Podoplekoj ètix sobytij, vozmožno, javljaetsja obostrenie rossijsko-norvežskogo konflikta v oblasti rybolovstva. [Vzgljad.ru, Takoj ulov nam ne nužen, 06.02.2012].
 Import of Norwegian fish to **Russia.ACC** may be banned. [---] The underlying reason for these events, perhaps, is the aggravation of the Russian-Norwegian conflict in the field of fisheries. [Vzgljad.ru, We do not need such a catch, 06.02.2012].

Russia is also portrayed as a destination for tourists coming from Svalbard⁴⁵:

- (84) V 2014 godu inostrancy smogut oformit' vizen v **Rossiju.ACC** na Špicbergene [Gazeta.Ru, 05.12.2013].
 In 2014, foreigners will be able to apply for visas to **Russia.ACC** in Svalbard [Gazeta.Ru, 05.12.2013].

In another context, ‘Russia’ appears in the metaphorical extension of the DESTINATION meaning. In this context, Russia is portrayed as a victim deprived by Norway of its economic rights in Svalbard:

- (85) Norvegija ne xočet dopuskat' **Rossiju.ACC** k kontrolju promyslov v rajone Špicbergena [Izvestija, 17.10.2011].
 Norway does not want to allow **Russia.ACC** to control fisheries in the Svalbard region [Izvestija, 17.10.2011].

Several occasions of ‘Russia’ in the regional media are used in the DESTINATION meaning of the Accusative case as in the federal media. These occasions relate to various contexts, and it is difficult to reveal patterns from this use. However, one occurrence indicates the same context as in the federal media: portraying Russia as a banned destination for the Norwegian fish:

- (86) Norvežskim predprijatijam zapretili vvozit' losos' v **Rossiju.ACC** [Večernij Murmansk, S bol'noj golovy, 09.11.2011].
 Norwegian enterprises banned from importing salmon to **Russia.ACC** [Večernij Murmansk, Hang the blame [on someone else], 09.11.2011].

⁴⁵ There is the Consulate General of Russia in Barentsburg which was expected to issue visas to the Russian Federation.

‘Spitsbergen’ occurs only in the DESTINATION meaning in both types of media. These occurrences mainly portray Svalbard as a scientific and touristic destination, for example:

- (87) APU [Arktičeskij plavučij universitet] soveršil rejs na **Špicbergen.ACC**, a èto pervyj rejs rossijskogo naučno-issledovatel'skogo sudna na dannyj poljarnyj arhipelag. [News29.ru, Arxangel'skij učenyj: Arktičeskij plavučij universitet – èto rossijskoe izobrenie, 19.07.2013].
 APU [Arctic floating university] made a voyage to **Svalbard.ACC**, and this is the first voyage of a Russian research vessel to this polar archipelago. [News29.ru, Arkhangelsk scientist: Arctic floating university is a Russian invention, 19.07.2013].
- (88) V mestnyx gostinicax [Longjira] svobodnyx numerov net: norvežskie turopertory privozjat na **Špicbergen.ACC** tysjači turistov: pokazat' ne tol'ko unikal'nuju prirodu, no i glavnuju dostoprimečatel'nost' ostrova - sovetskie šaxty. [Vesti.Ru, Nazad v buduščee. Cpecial'nyj reportaž V. Serebrovskoj, 16.04.2011].
 There are no free rooms in local hotels [in Longyearbyen]: Norwegian tour operators bring thousands of tourists to **Svalbard.ACC**: to show not only the unique nature, but also the main attraction of the island – Soviet mines. [Vesti.Ru, Back to the Future. Special report by V. Serebrovskaya, 16.04.2011].

Thus, the use of ‘Russia’ in the Accusative case in the federal media indicates that Russia’s presence in the Barents region is represented as seriously challenged by Norway. This pushes Russia into introducing retaliatory measures towards Norway. Russia is working on connecting itself to Svalbard through tourism. Svalbard in the Accusative case is portrayed as a touristic and scientific destination in both types of media.

7.2.1.5 Instrumental case

The tendencies for the use of ‘Russia’, ‘Norway’, and ‘Spitsbergen’ in the Instrumental case are identical for the federal and regional media. ‘Russia’ (DIN* 41.414 in the federal media, DIN* 51.261 in the regional media) and ‘Norway’ (DIN* 50.327 in the federal media, DIN* 61.616 in the regional media) are extremely overrepresented. ‘Spitsbergen’ is used much less in the Instrumental case than it is expected (DIN* -48.276 in the federal media, DIN* -48.276 in the regional media). These tendencies preliminarily indicate that Russia and Norway act as some kind of partners in relation matters connected with to Svalbard.

The nouns ‘Russia’ and ‘Norway’ are often used together in the LANDMARK meaning of the Instrumental case in both the federal and regional media. In several examples, Russia and Norway are represented as partners as shown in example (89):

- (89) Soveščanie v stolice Zapoljar'ja bylo priuročeno k okončatel'nomu vstupleniju v silu dogovora meždu **Rossiej.INS** i **Norvegiej.INS** o delimitacii morskoy granicy v Barencevom more, podpisannogo v Murmanske v sentjabre 2010 goda. [Vesti.Ru,

Pravitel'stvo obeščat rybakam podderžku v navedenii porjadka u Špicbergena, 11.07.2013].

The meeting in the capital of the Arctic was timed to coincide with the final entry into force of the agreement between **Russia.INS** and **Norway.INS** on the delimitation of the maritime border in the Barents Sea, signed in Murmansk in September 2010. [Vesti.Ru, The government promises fishermen support in restoring order near Svalbard, 11.07.2013].

In some other examples of the LANDMARK meaning 'Russia' and 'Norway' act as opponents, as parties not able to conduct effective cooperation. In example (90), this representation is done through the metaphors THE RUSSIAN-NORWEGIAN RELATIONS ARE A HUMAN BODY and FPZ IS A PART OF THIS BODY that is in pain, which conceptualize the Russian-Norwegian interaction in relation to Svalbard as difficult and problematic (more about the health and body metaphors is in subsection 8.2.4):

- (90) Zona Špicbergena ostaetsja bolevoj točkoj v otnošenijax meždu **Rossiej.INS** i **Norvegiej.INS** [...]. [Murmanskij vestnik, Rossijskie pograničniki otpravjatsja oxranjat' rybakov u Špicbergena, 30.05.2013].

The Svalbard area remains a sore point in relations between **Russia.INS** and **Norway.INS** [...]. [Murmanskij Vestnik, Russian border guards will head to protect fishermen near Svalbard, 30.05.2013].

'Russia' and 'Norway' also occur in the ADJUNCT meaning of the Instrumental case in both types of media. In example (91), Russia is seen as a party seeking companionship and mutual partnership with Norway. In example (92), partnership with Russia is represented as a benefit for Norway:

- (91) [...] v Moskve takže zainteresovany v razvitii sotrudničestva s **Norvegiej.INS** po arktičeskoj problematike. [Vzgljad.ru, Glavy MID RF i Norveгии provedut vstreču v Moskve, 03.02.2010].

[...] Moscow is also interested in developing cooperation with **Norway.INS** on Arctic issues. [Vzgljad.ru, Foreign Ministers of Russia and Norway will meet in Moscow, 03.02.2010].

- (92) A vygody Norveгии ot ulaživanija otnošenij s **Rossiej.INS** očevidny.

[Arxangel'sk, Na zapadnoj granice - peremeny, 28.09.2010].

And Norway's benefits from smoothing out relations with **Russia.INS** are obvious. [Arkhangelsk, Changes on the western border, 28.09.2010].

One can observe a difference between the LANDMARK and the ADJUNCT meanings of the Instrumental case in framing the context of cooperation. The preposition *s* 'with' of the ADJUNCT meaning can presumably indicate a closer relationship in comparison with the preposition *meždu* 'between' of the LANDMARK meaning which presupposes a distance between entities. However, the data used in this study does not show any preference for the use of one of these meanings over the other one.

Another meaning of the nouns ‘Russia’ and ‘Norway’ in the Instrumental case observed in the data is the MEANS meaning. In this context, Norway and Russia act as protagonists in relation to various activities in the Svalbard region, for example:

- (93) Neobxodimo podnjat' vopros o pravomernosti vvedenija **Norvegij.INS** 200-mil'noj rybooxrannoj zony vokrug arxipelaga Špicbergen i rasprostranenie na ètot morskoy rajon norvežskoj jurisdikcii i suvereniteta. [Argumenty Nedeli, Kak Putinu vernut' Barencevo more, 07.02.2013].

It is necessary to raise the question of the legitimacy of the introduction by **Norway.INS** of a 200-mile fish protection zone around the Svalbard archipelago and the extension of Norwegian jurisdiction and sovereignty to this sea area. [Argumenty Nedeli, How Putin should return the Barents Sea, 07.02.2013].

- (94) Ratifikacija **Rossiej.INS** novogo dogovora budet označat' otkaz ot pravovoj pozicii, kotoruju naša strana otstaivala neskol'ko desjatkov let. [News29.ru, Rossija gotova podarit' Norvegii sotni tysjač kvadratnyx kilometrov Barenceva morja, 24.03.2011].

The ratification by **Russia.INS** of the new treaty will mean a rejection of the legal position that our country has defended for several decades. [News29.ru, Russia is ready to give Norway hundreds of thousands of square kilometers of the Barents Sea, 24.03.2011].

The noun ‘Spitsbergen’ occurs in the Instrumental case only three times in the Federal media and three times in the regional media. This noun is often used in the LANDMARK meaning which portrays Svalbard as a geographical entity, for example:

- (95) Okeanografy opjat' podtverdili anomaliju teplogo tečenija na Severe meždu **Špicbergenom.INS**, Novoj Zemlej i Zemlej Franca Iosifa [...]. [News29.ru, Arxangel'skij učenij: Arktičeskij plavučij universitet – èto rossijskoe izobretenie, 19.07.2013].

Oceanographers again confirmed the anomaly of the warm current in the North between **Svalbard.INS**, Novaya Zemlya and Franz Josef Land [...]. [News29.ru, Arkhangel'sk scientist: Arctic floating university is a Russian invention, 19.07.2013].

‘Spitsbergen’ is also portrayed as an entity experiencing the power of another entity, Norway in particular, via the LANDMARK meaning of the Instrumental case, for example:

- (96) Poètomu v 1924 godu SSSR priznal suverenitet Norvegii nad **Špicbergenom.INS**. [Moskovskij Komsomolec, Zabrošennaja Arktika: S ruskogo Špicbergena ubegajut poslednie žiteli, 30.12.2011].

Therefore, in 1924 the USSR recognized Norway's sovereignty over **Svalbard.INS**. [Moskovskij Komsomolec, Abandoned Arctic: The last inhabitants of Russian Svalbard are fleeing, 30.12.2011].

Thus, with the use of the Instrumental case Russia and Norway demonstrate agency and these countries are represented as partners and as opponents in the context of the Barents region. Russia is also assigned an active role of a party seeking partnership with Norway.

Svalbard is portrayed as an object of influence and a location. These conclusions are consistent with those I make in relation to the use of the Nominative and Genitive cases.

7.2.1.6 Locative case

The use of the Locative case in the federal and regional media is almost identical: the nouns ‘Russia’ (federal media: DIN* -78.78, regional media: DIN* -57.845) and ‘Norway’ (federal media: DIN* -69.072, regional media: DIN* -46.429) are extremely underrepresented. The noun ‘Spitsbergen’ is extremely underrepresented in the federal media (DIN* -20.259) and somewhat underrepresented in the regional media (DIN* -6.489). This tendency indicates that the media do not radically focus on portraying Russia, Norway, or Svalbard as a location. These results can also be interpreted to mean that the media do not show a prominent interest in Svalbard as a location of events, and they do not connect the archipelago to anything happening in Russia or Norway either. However, the closeness of the DIN* for ‘Spitsbergen’ to the “norm” in the regional media indicates that the regional media are more interested in reporting on what is happening in the archipelago than the federal media are. On the other hand, the occurrences of ‘Spitsbergen’ in the Locative case often indicate the same context in both types of media, namely various aspects of Russia’s presence in Svalbard and increasing of this presence, for example:

- (97) Rossijan na Špicbergene.LOC stalo bol’še [TV-21, 14.02.2013].
 The number of Russians in Svalbard.LOC has increased [TV-21, 14.02.2013].
- (98) Rossija zajmetsja razvitiem turizma na Špicbergene.LOC [Gazeta.Ru, 10.07.2013].
 Russia will develop tourism in Svalbard.LOC [Gazeta.Ru, 10.07.2013].

7.2.1.7 Summary

In subsection 7.2.1, I have covered the results of the Keymorph Analysis conducted on the use of the grammatical cases of the nouns ‘Russia’, ‘Norway’, and ‘Spitsbergen’ in the texts of the federal and regional media in 2010-2013. Through interpretation of overrepresentation and underrepresentation of grammatical cases for these nouns, I have revealed the following images of Russia, Norway, and Svalbard as portrayed in both the federal and regional media. Russia and Norway act as protagonists in relation to Svalbard which is represented as a place and a property. In this context, Russia is prescribed with a more active agency than Norway is. Russia and Norway are portrayed as partners, real or potential, or as competitors and opponents. Some examples show that it is Russia that acts as Norway’s opponent in relation to the Svalbard area. Svalbard is depicted as a scientific and touristic destination. A not very prominent use of ‘Svalbard’ in the Locative case indicates quite a moderate attention of the media to what is happening directly in Svalbard. Some examples indeed show that the media focus on something happening near Svalbard, e.g., the detentions of Russian trawlers by the Norwegian Coast Guard and the signing of the Barents Sea Border Agreement of 2010. The examples given in subsection 7.2.1 indicate that Svalbard is in many ways covered

by the media through the prism of Russia's strong economic interests in the Svalbard region and a determination to protect these interests when needed. This context is also noticeable through the narratives which emphasize, for example, that Norway does not have the exclusive right to conduct economic activity in the archipelago and that Russia is "bullied" by Norway in relation to economic opportunities in the region.

This analysis overall reveals no big difference in relation to how the federal and regional media depict Russia, Norway, and Svalbard. However, a minor difference is that the regional media are more focused on Svalbard per se in comparison with the federal media. The regional media represent the archipelago as an influential entity, as an object of attention, and they show somewhat more interest in what is happening in the archipelago.

7.2.2 Period 2014-2017

Table 14 contains the DIN* values for the use of grammatical case for the nouns *Rossija* 'Russia', *Norvegija* 'Norway', and *Špicbergen* 'Spitsbergen' in the federal and regional media in 2014-2017. The same results are visualized in Figure 7 and Figure 8.

Case	Federal 2014–2017*			Regional 2014–2017*		
	DIN* (Rossija)	DIN* (Norvegija)	DIN* (Špicbergen)	DIN* (Rossija)	DIN* (Norvegija)	DIN* (Špicbergen)
Nom	5.263	-10.913	0.368	2.041	3.113	7.666
Gen	32.53	26.984	2.848	30.93	19.767	-7.343
Dat	-36.508	-18.919	16.667	-26.471	-4.762	17.647
Acc	-46.429	-21.875	9.709	-88.506	-26.829	-6.286
Ins	-48.718	-31.034	-79.167	15.942	13.636	-48.276
Loc	-67.662	-42.197	-0.179	-57.845	-48.64	5.424

Table 14. DIN* values of the use of grammatical case for the nouns *Rossija*, *Norvegija*, and *Špicbergen* in the federal and regional media in 2014-2017⁴⁶

⁴⁶ The most extreme DIN* values are given in bold.

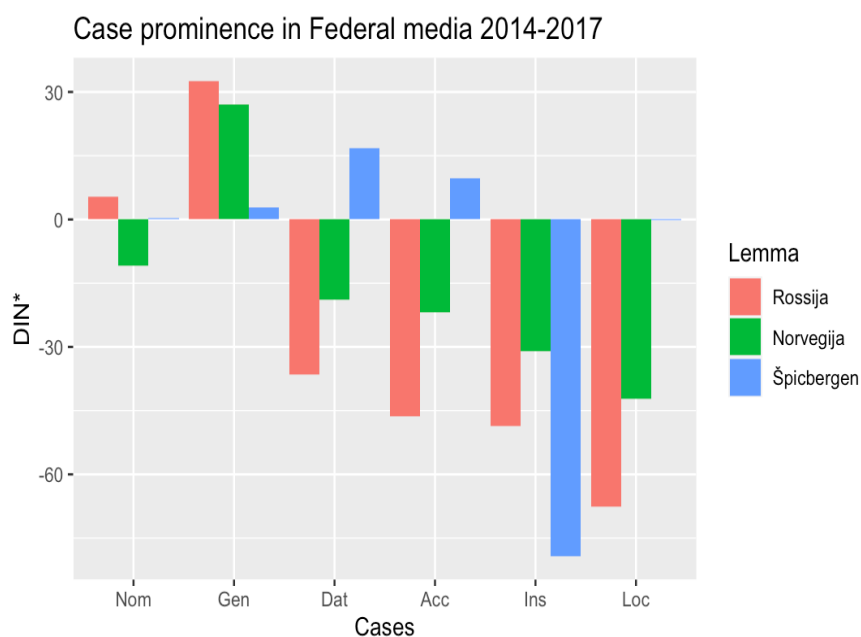


Figure 7. Visualization of prominence of grammatical case for the nouns *Rossija*, *Norvegija*, and *Špicbergen* in the federal and regional media in 2014-2017, given in DIN* values

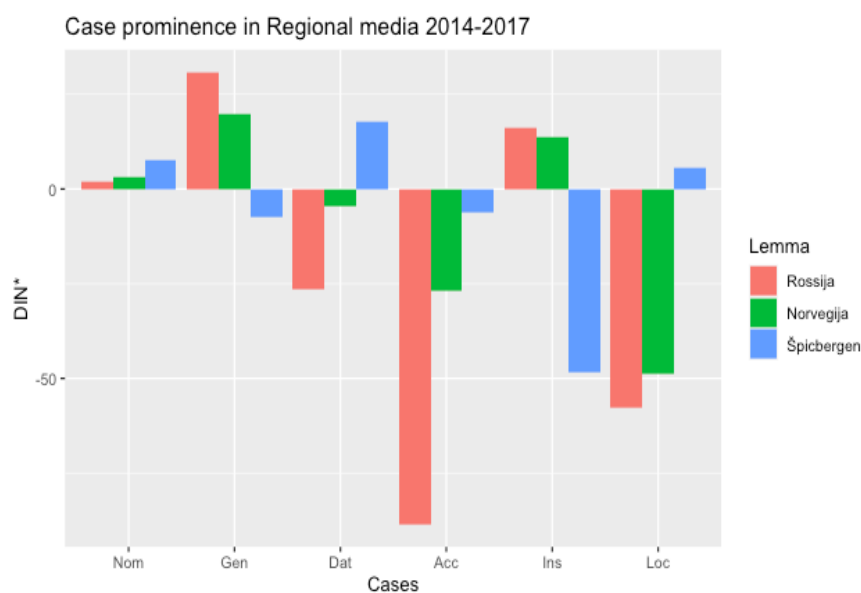


Figure 8. Visualization of prominence of grammatical case for the nouns *Rossija*, *Norvegija*, and *Špicbergen* in the federal and regional media in 2014-2017, given in DIN* values

7.2.2.1 Nominative case

The noun ‘Russia’ (DIN* 5.263 in the federal media, DIN* 2.041 in the regional media) tends to occur in the Nominative case near the “norm”. ‘Norway’ (DIN* -10.913 in the federal media, DIN* 3.113 in the regional media) and ‘Spitsbergen’ (DIN* 0.368 in the

federal media, DIN* 7.666 in the regional media) demonstrate some minor deviations – ‘Norway’ is a little below the norm in the federal media and ‘Spitsbergen’ is a little above the norm in the regional media. The tendency for ‘Russia’ in the Nominative case in 2014-2017 is clearly different from the tendency for the use of the same case observed in 2010-2013: after 2013 there is a considerable decrease in agency for ‘Russia’ in both types of media (compare Figure 5 and Figure 7 as well as Figure 6 and Figure 8).

In 2014-2017, the noun ‘Russia’ is often combined with agentive verbs both in the federal and regional media, e.g., *vystupaet* ‘acts’, *razvivaet* ‘develops’, *vnesla vklad* ‘contributed’, *obraščalas’* ‘addressed’, *provodila (voennye učenija)* ‘conducted military exercises’, *preuspela* ‘succeeded’, *oboznačila prisutstvie* ‘marked the presence’, *napravila* ‘sent’. Russia is thus represented as a dynamic actor. In example (99), Russia acts as Norway’s opponent:

- (99) [...] po dannym Grinpis, **Rossija.NOM** nedavno napravila v MID Norvegii notu protesta. [Arktik-TV, Neftjanye plany Norvegii pugajut èkologov, 08.05.2015].
 [...] according to Greenpeace, **Russia.NOM** recently sent a note of protest to the Norwegian Foreign Ministry. [Arktik-TV, Norway's oil plans scare environmentalists, 08.05.2015].

Russia is also an active explorer of the Arctic as demonstrated by example (100):

- (100) **Rossija.NOM** vydedit na osvoenie Arktiki 205 mln rub. [Kommersant, Utverždena “dorožnaja karta” Strategii prisutstvija Rossii na arxipelage Špicbergen, 08.07.2015].
Russia.NOM will allocate 205 million rubles for the development of the Arctic. [Kommersant, The “road map” of the Strategy for Russia’s presence in the Svalbard archipelago has been approved, 08.07.2015].

‘Russia’ in the Nominative case is also used as a part of the symmetrical reciprocal construction *Norvegija i Rossija* ‘Norway and Russia’, especially in the federal media, for example:

- (101) [...] na segodnjašnjij den’ èkonomičeskoe prisutstvie na Špicbergene podderživajut liš’ **Norvegija.NOM** i **Rossija.NOM**. [Vesti.Ru, Belyj medved’ vynudil rossijskix učenyx prervat’ issledovanija na Špicbergene, 16.07.2014].
 [...] today, only **Norway.NOM** and **Russia.NOM** maintain an economic presence in Svalbard. [Vesti.Ru, Polar bear forced Russian scientists to interrupt research in Svalbard, 16.07.2014].

Though Norway and Russia are represented as agents in example (101), Norway’s agency is more foregrounded in comparison with Russia’s agency due to the first position of ‘Norway’ as the coreferential argument in the symmetrical reciprocal construction ‘Norway and Russia’. Recall that the phrase with a different order of coreferential arguments ‘Russia and Norway’ was typical for the texts of the 2010-2013 period in both types of media. The period of 2014-2017 shows the opposite tendency – the phrase *Norvegija.NOM i Rossija.NOM* ‘Norway and Russia’ (6 occurrences in the

federal media, 3 occurrences in the regional media) prevails over the phrase *Rossija i Norvegija* ‘Russia and Norway’ (1 occurrence in the federal media, 1 occurrence in the regional media).⁴⁷

Like Russia, Norway also appears as a dynamic actor in both the federal and regional media. ‘Norway’ is combined with such verbs as *učastvovala* ‘participated’, *otpuštala* ‘released’, *rasprostranila* ‘distributed’, *(ne) otdast* ‘(won't) give back’ and phrases *prinjala rešenje* ‘made a decision’, *beret na sebja risk* ‘takes a risk’, *sobiraetsja burit* ‘is going to drill’, *naraščivaet aktivnost* ‘builds up activity’, for example:

- (102) **Norvegija.NOM** ne otdast učastok Špicbergena kitajskomu magnatu [Xibiny.com, 25.05.2014].
Norway.NOM will not give a plot of land on Svalbard to a Chinese tycoon [Xibiny.com, 25.05.2014].

‘Norway’ is also combined with verbs, participles, and colloquial phrases which personify Norway and often attribute negative feelings and negative behavior to it, for example, *žaleet* ‘regrets’, *potrebovala* ‘demanded’, *vozmutilas* ‘was indignant’, *provociruet* ‘provokes’, *obidelas* ‘took offence’, *sobiraetsja vydvorjat* ‘is going to expel’, *gnet svoe* ‘harps on’. Such words naturally express disapproval of Norway’s actions, and they occur in the texts of both the federal and regional media, for example:

- (103) **Norvegija.NOM** sobiraetsja siloj vydvorjat’ neželatel’nyx lic so Špicbergena [Vesti.Ru, 07.08.2015].
Norway.NOM is going to expel unwanted persons from Svalbard by force [Vesti.Ru, 07.08.2015].
- (104) Ěkologi sčitajut, čto **Norvegija.NOM** provociruet konflikt [TV-21, 07.05.2015].
 Environmentalists believe that **Norway.NOM** provokes conflict [TV-21, 07.05.2015].

As for ‘Spitsbergen’, it mostly appears in the IDENTITY meaning of the Nominative case both in the federal and regional media. In other words, Svalbard is portrayed as a label rather than as an agent, for example:

- (105) Vlasti Norvegii potrebovali perečen’ sledujuščix na arxipelag **Špicbergen.NOM** [Argumenty i Fakty, 04.08.2015].
 The Norwegian authorities demanded a list of the people going to the **Svalbard.NOM** archipelago [Argumenty i Fakty, 04.08.2015].

Thus, Russia’s role as an agent considerably decreases after 2013. However, in 2014-2017, Russia continues to be portrayed as a dynamic actor in the Arctic context. Norway acts as a dynamic actor as well, but Norway’s actions often meet with disapproval from

⁴⁷ The federal media of 2014-2017 contain another symmetrical reciprocal construction *i Norvegija.NOM, i Rossija.NOM* ‘both Russia and Norway’ (1 occurrence) which is consistent with the trend of preference of *Norvegija* ‘Norway’ in the initial position.

the Russian side. Russia and Norway are sometimes represented as partners, but in this case Norway's agency is more foregrounded than Russia's agency. Svalbard does not demonstrate agency and is consistently portrayed as a label.

7.2.2.2 Genitive case

The federal and regional media demonstrate an almost identical tendency for the use of the Genitive case. 'Russia' (DIN* 32.53 in the federal media, DIN* 30.93 in the regional media) and 'Norway' (DIN* 26.984 in the federal media, DIN* 19.767 in the regional media) are mostly extremely overrepresented. 'Spitsbergen' (DIN* 2.848 in the federal media, -7.343 in the regional media) is located more or less near the expected use. If we compare these results to the results of 2010-2013, one can see that after 2013 there is a growth in the use of Genitive for 'Russia' and 'Norway' in both types of media (compare Figure 5 and Figure 7 as well as Figure 6 and Figure 8).

'Russia' is mostly used in the WHOLE meaning of the Genitive case in both types of media. This noun is often combined, for example, with the nouns *MID* 'MFA', *MČS* 'EMERCOM', and *posol'stvo* 'embassy' in the federal media and *MID* 'MFA', *MČS* 'EMERCOM', and *interesy* 'interests' in the regional media. In occasional occurrences of nominalization, 'Russia' is represented as an agent or a patient. The former context is represented by the noun *prisutstvie* 'presence' and shown in example (106). The latter context is represented by the noun *vydavlivanie* 'squeezing out' and shown in example (107):

- (106) Členy ekspedicii posetili centr geopolitičeskogo prisutstvija **Rossii.GEN** na Špicbergene – unikal'nyj gorod Barenburg [...]. [Murmanskij Vestnik, Arktičeskaja ekspedicija Kluba liderov vozvraščaetsja nazad, 13.04.2016].

The members of the expedition visited the center of **Russia's.GEN** geopolitical presence on Svalbard – the unique city of Barentsburg [...]. [Murmanskij Vestnik, The Arctic Expedition of the Leaders Club is coming back, 13.04.2016].

- (107) Norvegija prodolžat liniju na vydavlivanie **Rossii.GEN** iz Špicbergena, xotja po meždunarodnomu Parižskomu dogovoru 1920 goda my imeem tuda svobodnyj dostup [...]. [Moskovskij Komsomolec, Vizovyj skandal: Norvegii ne vygodno oxlaždenie s Rossiej pered vyborami, 01.02.2017].

Norway continues the line of squeezing **Russia.GEN** out of Svalbard, although under the international Paris Treaty of 1920 we have free access there [...]. [Moskovskij Komsomolec, Visa scandal: Norway does not benefit from cooling with Russia before the elections, 01.02.2017].

Example (107) shows that Russia is portrayed as a victim unfairly mistreated by Norway. The image of a victim is also assigned to Russia through the occasional use of the preposition *protiv* 'against' related to the GOAL meaning both in the federal and regional media. In example (108), the image of a victim is assigned to Russia and some Norwegian entrepreneurs who criticized the anti-Russian sanctions imposed by the West:

- (108) Predprinimateli, odnosjaščiesja kritičeski k èkonomičeskim sankcijam, napravlennym protiv **Rossii.GEN**, polučajut ot organov gosudarstvennoj vlasti ugrozy v svoj adres o naloženii sankcij i štrafov različnogo tipa. [Pravda.Ru, Norvegija trebuet raz"jasnenij: počemu Rogozin posetil arxipelag s osobym meždunarodnym statusom, 19.04.2015].

Entrepreneurs who are critical of the economic sanctions against **Russia.GEN** receive threats from state authorities to impose sanctions and fines of various types. [Pravda.Ru, Norway requires clarification: why Rogozin visited the archipelago with a special international status, 19.04.2015].

‘Norway’ is also mostly used in the Genitive case with the WHOLE meaning in both types of media. When used in the WHOLE meaning, ‘Norway’ is almost never associated with nominalized events. Instead, the attention is on abstract concepts, organizations, and people appearing as a part of Norway. In the federal media, ‘Norway’ is often combined with the nouns denoting state power and government, for example, *suverenitet* ‘sovereignty’, *MID* ‘MFA’, and *vlasti* ‘authorities’:

- (109) *MID Norvegii.GEN* segodnja vyzval posla Rossii. [Kommersant, “Reakcija Norvegii vyzyvaet nedoumenie, ona neob"jasnima i absurdna”, 20.04.2015].

Today the Foreign Ministry of **Norway.GEN** summoned the Russian ambassador. [Kommersant, “Norway's reaction is bewildering, inexplicable and absurd”, 20.04.2015].

Among the nouns often combined with ‘Norway’ in the regional media are *suverenitet* ‘sovereignty’, *Grinpis* ‘Greenpeace’, and *beregovaja oxrana* ‘coast guard’. At least *Grinpis* ‘Greenpeace’ and *beregovaja oxrana* ‘coast guard’ indicate a more regionally based level of discussion of something. For example, the phrase *Grinpis Norvegii* ‘Greenpeace Norway’ is used in the context of a reaction of Russian fishing companies to the requirement of Greenpeace Norway to stop fishing in the Barents Sea by using trawls:

- (110) Rybodobyvajuščie kompanii Murmanska vozmuščeny trebovanijami “Grinpis **Norvegii.GEN**” [29.ru, 02.06.2016].

Fishing companies in Murmansk are outraged by the demands of Greenpeace **Norway.GEN** [29.ru, 02.06.2016].

The noun ‘Spitsbergen’ does not demonstrate prominence in the Genitive case in either type of media. This noun often has the REFERENCE meaning of the Genitive case, and in this meaning, it is mostly combined with the preposition *u* ‘by, at’ both in the federal and regional media. This meaning implies that Svalbard is portrayed as a location rather than an agent, for example:

- (111) MI-8, ruxnuvšij u **Špicbergena.GEN**, ljudi pokidali v speške [Murmanskij Vestnik, 05.11.2017].

MI-8, that crashed near **Svalbard.GEN**, was left by people in a hurry [Murmanskij Vestnik, 05.11.2017].

The other meaning of ‘Spitsbergen’ in the Genitive case is the WHOLE meaning. This noun is often combined with the nouns *poberež'e* ‘coast’ and *berega* ‘shores’ in both types of media which also indicates that Svalbard is conceptualized as a location, for example:

- (112) Rossijskie flagi u beregov **Špicbergena.GEN** [TV-21, 23.04.2015].
Russian flags off the coast of **Svalbard.GEN** [TV-21, 23.04.2015].

‘Spitsbergen’ however demonstrates some agency through frequent combination with the noun *gubernator* ‘governor’. This combination occurs in the context of events happening directly in the archipelago as example (113) shows:

- (113) Gubernator **Špicbergena.GEN** vozglavit poisk žertv krušenija Mi-8 [Izvestija, 29.10.2017].
Governor of **Svalbard.GEN** to lead search for Mi-8 crash victims [Izvestija, 29.10.2017].

Thus, the use of the Genitive case shows that Russia and Norway are portrayed as dynamic actors. Russia also appears to be victimized by Norway and the West overall. The increase in the use of ‘Russia’ and ‘Norway’ in the Genitive case after 2013 is consistent with the decrease in the use of ‘Russia’ and ‘Norway’ in the Nominative case after 2013. The agency of Russia and Norway begins to be expressed more indirectly: through organizations, people, and concepts associated with these countries. Svalbard tends to be portrayed as a location rather than a dynamic actor.

7.2.2.3 Dative case

The tendency for use of ‘Russia’, ‘Norway’, and ‘Svalbard’ in the Dative case is mostly similar in both types of media. ‘Russia’ is extremely underrepresented in both types of media (DIN* -36.508 in the federal media, DIN* -26.471 in the regional media). ‘Norway’ is underrepresented in the federal media (DIN* -18.919) and is close to “the norm” in the regional media (DIN* -4.762). ‘Spitsbergen’ is overrepresented in both types of media in comparison to what is expected (DIN* 16.667 in the federal media, DIN* 17.647 in the regional media).

As ‘Norway’ is used in the Dative case in the regional media close the norm, I will examine the context of this noun in both types of media. ‘Norway’ is often frequently used in the EXPERIENCER meaning of the Dative case in the regional media. In the occurrences of this meaning, Norway is often represented as a possessor of sovereignty over Svalbard within the context of the unique status of the archipelago, for example:

- (114) Sejčas on [Špicbergen] prinadležit **Norvegii.DAT**, no imeet osobyj meždunarodnyj status. [29.ru, BEAR [strany Barenceva/Evroarktičeskogo

regiona] v Arxangel'ske: Rossija zajavila o problemax s dostupom na Špicbergen, 19.10.2017].

Now it [Svalbard] belongs to **Norway.DAT** but has a special international status. [29.ru, BEAC [The Barents Euro-Arctic Council] in Arkhangelsk: Russia announced problems with access to Svalbard, 19.10.2017].

'Norway' is also used in the RECEIVER meaning of the Dative case in the regional media. The sentences containing this form relate to the context of a possible purchase of a land plot in Svalbard by a Chinese tycoon. In these sentences, Norway is advised to become a buyer of this land, for example:

- (115) **Norvegii.DAT** sleduet priobresti ètu zemlju – i dlja togo, ètoby zaščitit' norvežskie interesy na Špicbergene, i dlja togo, ètoby sobstvennost'ju ne vospol'zovalis' dlja nagnetanija naprjažennosti na arxipelage. [Murmanskij Vestnik, "Gorjaščij" zemel'nyj učastok na studënom Krajnem Severe, 07.05.2014].

Norway.DAT should buy this land, both to protect Norwegian interests in Svalbard and to ensure that the property is not used to escalate tensions in the archipelago. [Murmanskij Vestnik, A last-minute land plot in the icy Far North, 07.05.2014].

The interest of the regional media in covering a possible purchase of a plot of land in Svalbard by a Chinese party is also shown in example (102). This interest can be interpreted as a certain concern of the regional media that China might acquire economic access to Svalbard.

In the federal media, 'Norway' is mostly used in the COMPETITOR meaning of the Dative case. Norway's Rescue Center is represented as having a role of an influential entity in the context of the crash of the Russian helicopter in 2017, for example:

- (116) Spasatel'nyj centr po Severnoj **Norvegii.DAT** zakončil poiskovuju operaciju u berega arxipelaga Špicbergen. [Vesti.Ru, Najdeny oblomki upavšego u Špicbergena Mi-8, 29.10.2017].

Rescue Center for Northern **Norway.DAT** has completed a search operation off the coast of the Svalbard archipelago. [Vesti.Ru, The wreckage of the Mi-8 fallen near Svalbard is found, 29.10.2017].

Two occurrences of 'Norway' in the COMPETITOR meaning of the Dative case found in the regional media also relate to the context shown in example (116).

As mentioned above, the noun 'Spitsbergen' demonstrates prominence in the Dative case in both types of media. However, the number of these examples, namely one occurrence in the federal media, is too small to draw significant conclusions. The regional media contain two occurrences of 'Spitsbergen' in the Dative case. In these examples, 'Spitsbergen' has the COMPETITOR meaning which represents the archipelago as a significant place. In the following example Svalbard serves as marking of the water territories perceived by Russia and Norway as lying within their economic interests:

- (117) Snačala byli mnogočislennye “rybnye” konflikty [meždu Rossiej i Norvegiej], kogda Norvegija raz za razom pred’javljala svoi isključitel’nye prava v rybopromyslovyx akvatorijax, prilegajuščix k **Špicbergenu.DAT**. [Severnaja Nedelja, Sval’bord ne vpisyvaetsja v Parižskij dogovor, 03.11.2017].
First, there were numerous “fish” conflicts [between Russia and Norway], when Norway over and over again presented its exclusive rights in the fishing areas adjacent to **Svalbard.DAT**. [Severnaja Nedelja, Svalbord does not fit into the Paris Treaty, 03.11.2017].

The use of ‘Spitsbergen’ in the Dative case in the regional media in 2014-2017 shows that archipelago is represented to some extent as a significant location. Neither Russia nor Norway is portrayed prominently in the role of a receiver or an experiencer in the Svalbard-related context in either type of media. The examples considered above, however, show some focus of the regional media on Norway’s sovereignty over Svalbard and a special status of the archipelago. These media also demonstrate some concern over a possible economic entry of China into the archipelago. Norway’s Rescue Center is also mentioned in relation to the crash of Russian helicopter in 2017 in both types of media.

7.2.2.4 Accusative case

The use of the Accusative case is similar both for the federal and regional media. Both ‘Russia’ (DIN* -46.429 in the federal media, DIN* -88.506 in the regional media) and ‘Norway’ (DIN* -21.875 in the federal media, DIN* -26.829 in the regional media) are extremely underrepresented in this case. This means that neither Russia nor Norway acts as a destination or a dimension. ‘Spitsbergen’, on the contrary, is a little underrepresented in the regional media (DIN* -6.286) and a little overrepresented in the federal media (DIN* 9.709).

‘Spitsbergen’ in the Accusative case appears in the federal and regional media in similar contexts. Among the most frequently appearing contexts is the one where Svalbard is depicted as a destination for Rogozin’s scandalous visit (2015), for example:

- (118) MID Norvegii prosit ob’jasnit’ vizit Dmitrija Rogozina na **Špicbergen.ACC** [Kommersant, 19.04.2015].
The Norwegian Foreign Ministry asks for an explanation of Dmitry Rogozin's visit to **Svalbard.ACC** [Kommersant, 19.04.2015].

Svalbard is also portrayed as a banned destination for persons under international sanctions, for example:

- (119) Vice-prem’er Dmitrij Rogozin poironiziroval nad rešeniem Norvegii zapretit’ v’ezd na **Špicbergen.ACC** popavšim pod sankcii rossijanam. [TV-21, Rogozin nazval norvežskix diplomatov “arktičeskimi strausami”, 11.08.2015].

Deputy Prime Minister Dmitry Rogozin sneered at Norway's decision to ban entry to **Svalbard.ACC** for Russians who fell under sanctions. [TV-21, Rogozin called Norwegian diplomats “Arctic ostriches”, 11.08.2015].

In addition, both types of media refer to Svalbard as a travel and tourist destination, for example:

- (120) Sredi rossijan, želajuščix popast' na **Špicbergen.ACC**, naberetsja liš' okolo šesti procentov. [Rossijskaja Gazeta, Dlja turistov podgotovjat predloženiya po arktičeskemu regionu, 11.09.2017].
Among Russians, the ones who want to get to **Spitsbergen.ACC** are only about six percent. [Rossijskaja Gazeta, Offers on the Arctic region will be prepared for tourists, 11.09.2017].
- (121) Turpoezdki na **Špicbergen.ACC** predlagajut razvivat' v Murmanskij oblasti [Xibiny.com, 21.02.2014].
In the Murmansk region they are offering to develop tours to **Svalbard.ACC** [Xibiny.com, 21.02.2014].

The context found in the federal media and not found in the regional media in relation to the use of ‘Spitsbergen’ in the Accusative case is an image of Svalbard as a destination for a rescue operation related to the crash of the Russian helicopter in 2017, for example:

- (122) Il-76 so spasateljami otrjada “Centrospas” vyletit na **Špicbergen.ACC**, kak tol'ko èto budet vozmožno. [Vesti.Ru, Na Špicbergene ždut “Fal'kon” s rossijskimi vodolazami dlja poiska Mi-8, 28.10.2017].
Il-76 with the rescuers of the Centrospas detachment will fly to **Spitsbergen.ACC** as soon as possible. [Vesti.Ru, Falcon⁴⁸ with Russian divers is being waited on Svalbard to search for the Mi-8, 28.10.2017].

Thus, in 2014-2017, the media show some tendency on representing Svalbard as a place of extraordinary events, namely the scandalous visit of a Russian official in 2015 and the following ban for visiting the archipelago for Russians under sanctions. In addition, the federal media cover Svalbard as a destination for the rescue operation. Svalbard is also discussed as a potential tourist destination in both types of media. Neither Russia nor Norway is portrayed as destination in either type of media.

7.2.2.5 Instrumental case

The use of the nouns ‘Russia’ and ‘Norway’ in the Instrumental case indicate differences between the types of media: while ‘Russia’ and ‘Norway’ are extremely underrepresented in the federal media (DIN* -48.718 for ‘Russia’, DIN* -31.034 for ‘Norway’), they are almost overrepresented in the regional media (DIN* 15.942 for

⁴⁸ Falcon is a submersible vessel.

‘Russia’, DIN* 13.636 for ‘Norway’). ‘Spitsbergen’ is extremely underrepresented in both types of media (DIN* -79.167 in the federal media, DIN* -48.276 in the regional media). Overall, these results demonstrate a decrease in the use of ‘Russia’ and ‘Norway’ in the Instrumental case in both types of media after 2013. This decrease is especially dramatic in the federal media (compare Figure 5 and Figure 7 as well as Figure 6 and Figure 8).

This tendency potentially indicates that the countries radically lost points of contact between each other in the context of Svalbard, at least in the eyes of the federal media. As for ‘Spitsbergen’, the tendency for extreme underrepresentation is kept in both types of media after 2013.

One of the meanings of ‘Russia’ in the Instrumental case in the regional media is LANDMARK used metaphorically. In this meaning Russia is connected to Norway. However, this context indicates difficulties in interaction rather than cooperation between the countries. This context is illustrated by example (123) where the Russian Foreign Minister Sergej Lavrov is cited:

- (123) Vzaimodejstvie meždu **Norvegiej.INS** i **Rossiej.INS** po povodu arxipelaga ostaetsja složnym, podčerknul glava MID Rossii Sergej Lavrov. [29.ru, BEAR [strany Barenceva/Evroarктиčeskogo regiona] v Arxangel’ske: Rossija zajavila o problemax s dostupom na Špicbergen, 19.10.2017].
Cooperation between **Norway.INS** and **Russia.INS** on the archipelago remains difficult, Russian Foreign Minister Sergej Lavrov stressed. [29.ru, BEAC [The Barents Euro-Arctic Council] in Arkhangelsk: Russia announced problems with access to Svalbard, 19.10.2017].

LANDMARK also occurs in its direct meaning. In this context, Russia and Norway are portrayed merely as neighboring territories, for example:

- (124) Medvedi Barenceva morja peremeščajutsja meždu **Rossiej.INS** i **Norvegiej.INS**. [Arxangel’sk, Den’ belogo medvedja, 08.03.2017].
Barents Sea [polar] bears move between **Russia.INS** and **Norway.INS**. [Arxangel’sk, Polar bear day, 08.03.2017].

ADJUNCT is another meaning of ‘Russia’ in the Instrumental case that occurs in the regional media. Instead of indicating a companionship between the countries, the ADJUNCT meaning portrays geographical closeness between the countries as a certain threat to Russia, for example:

- (125) Norvegija sobiraetsja buriť v rajone morskoj granicy s **Rossiej.INS** [Xibiny.com, 18.02.2014].
Norway is going to drill near the sea border with **Russia.INS** [Xibiny.com, 18.02.2014].

The author of the texts with the title shown in example (125) argues that “drilling has never been carried out so far north in the Barents Sea before” and that “drilling has never

been carried out near the Norwegian-Russian maritime border”. This evidently implies a concern in relation to Russian security or the environmental situation in the region in case Norway starts this activity.

As I wrote above, ‘Russia’ is extremely underrepresented in the Instrumental case in the federal media. The two examples found in the federal media both have the ADJUNCT meaning and are associated with the deterioration of international relations. In one of these examples, the deteriorated relations between Russia and the West are however not seen as a reason for Sweden and Finland to join NATO:

(126) U nix [Švecii i Finljandii] est’ svoja sistema soglašenij s Severoatlantičeskim al’jansom. Daže v uslovijax nynešnego uxudšenija otnošenij s **Rossiej.INS**, parlamenti i naselenie ètix stran [...] ne zaxotjat idti na rezkoe obostrenie s Moskvvoj. [Lenta.ru, Ot nenavisti do ljubvi, 09.10.2014].

They [Sweden and Finland] have their own system of agreements with the North Atlantic Alliance. Even given the current deterioration of relations with **Russia.INS**, the parliaments and the populations of these countries [...] will not want to go into a sharp conflict with Moscow. [Lenta.ru, From hate to love, 09.10.2014].

‘Norway’ occurs in both the regional and federal media in the ADJUNCT and LANDMARK meanings. In some occurrences, Norway is framed in the context of a deteriorated security situation in the region. For example, Norway is listed among the countries supporting the American military presence on their territories:

(127) V rajonax meždu Grenlandiej, Islandiej, **Norvegiej.INS** i Velikobritanijej postojanno rabotajut samolëty “Posejdon” VMS SŠA. [Severnaja nedelja, Sval’bord ne vpišyvaetsja v Parižskij dogovor, 03.11.2017].

US Navy Poseidon aircraft are constantly operating in the areas between Greenland, Iceland, Norway, and the UK. [Severnaja nedelja, Svalbard does not fit into the Paris Treaty, 03.11.2017].

The only example where a cooperation between the Russian and the Norwegian sides is directly mentioned was found in the federal media. This example relates to the Russian helicopter crash and the rescue operation:

(128) Specialisty MČS Rossii soglasovali s **Norvegiej.INS** dal’nejšie raboty na Špicbergene dlja podnjatija so dna razbivšegosja vertolëta Mi-8 [...]. [Parlamentskaja gazeta, MČS: oblomki razbivšegosja na Špicbergene Mi-8 podnimut so dna, 30.10.2017].

Specialists of the Ministry of Emergency Situations of Russia agreed with **Norway.INS** on further work on Svalbard to raise the crashed Mi-8 helicopter from the bottom [...]. [Parlamentskaja gazeta, Ministry of Emergency Situations: the wreckage of the crashed Mi-8 on Spitsbergen will be lifted from the bottom, 30.10.2017].

There are some occurrences of the MEANS meaning for ‘Norway’ in the regional media. In these examples, Norway acts as a power abuser in relation to the archipelago, for example:

- (129) No okazyvaetsja, delo obstoit mnogo xuže, esli naš glava MID vynužden byl sdelat' zajavlenija o sozdanii **Norvegij.INS** ograničenij dlja dejatel'nosti rossijskix issledovatelej na Špicbergene, [...], a zatem i vovse posetovat' na naličie “postojannyx problem s norvežskimi partnërami” [...]. [Severnaja nedelja, Sval'bord ne vpisyvaetsja v Parižskij dogovor, 03.11.2017].

But it turns out that the situation is much worse if our Foreign Minister had to make statements about the creation by **Norway.INS** of restrictions on the activities of Russian researchers in Svalbard, [...] and then all over complain about the presence of “permanent problems with Norwegian partners” [...]. [Severnaja nedelja, Svalbard does not fit into the Paris Treaty, 03.11.2017].

As for ‘Spitsbergen’, a few occurrences of this noun in both types of media (one in the federal media and three in the regional media) mostly have the LANDMARK meaning portraying the archipelago merely as a geographical entity. In one example, Svalbard is used in the metaphorical version of the LANDMARK meaning. In this example, the archipelago is depicted as a passive entity:

- (130) V 1920 godu [...] byl podpisan Parižskij traktat, soglasno kotoromu Norvegija obladaet “polnym i absoljutnym” suverenitetom nad **Špicbergenom.INS**. [Komsomol'skaja Pravda, Kak Rossija i Japonija budut vmeste xozjajstvovat' na Kurilax, 16.12.2016].

In 1920, [...] the Treaty of Paris was signed, according to which Norway has “full and absolute” sovereignty over **Svalbard.INS**. [Komsomol'skaja Pravda, How Russia and Japan will manage the Kuriles together, 16.12.2016].

In another example, ‘Spitsbergen’ is used in the LABEL meaning:

- (131) On-to [Villem Barenc] - za ostrokonečnye veršiny - i nazval ètu zemlju **Špicbergenom.INS** [Murmanskij Vestnik, Kraj - ne raj, 28.05.2016].

It was he [Willem Barentsz] who named this land **Svalbard.INS** for the pointed peaks [Murmanskij Vestnik, A region, which is not paradise, 28.05.2016].

Thus, the use of ‘Russia’ and ‘Norway’ in the Instrumental case in the federal and regional media shows a context of deteriorated relations between Russia and Norway / the West or an absence of any relations at all. Svalbard is portrayed as merely a label and as a location.

7.2.2.6 Locative case

Both ‘Russia’ (DIN* -67.662 in the federal media, DIN* -57.845 in the regional media) and ‘Norway’ (DIN* -42.197 in the federal media, DIN* -48.64 in the regional media)

are extremely below the expected “norm” in the Locative case. The noun ‘Spitsbergen’ is located near “the norm” (DIN* -0.179 in the federal media, DIN* 5.424 in the regional media). These tendencies show some differences in comparison with the period of 2010-2013 – after 2013 the media become more interested in presenting Svalbard as a location of something (compare Figure 5 and Figure 7 as well as Figure 6 and Figure 8).

Among the events in the archipelago that both types of media demonstrate interest in are accidents. The federal media often pay attention to the helicopter crash of 2017, for example:

- (132) Polpred Cukanov nazval možniju prčinu krušenija Mi-8 na **Špicbergene.LOC** [Izvestija, 28.10.2017].
Plenipotentiary Cukanov named the possible cause of the crash of the Mi-8 in **Svalbard.LOC** [Izvestija, 28.10.2017].

Another accident often reported in the federal media is the one related to Russian tourists who fell under the ice in 2017, for example:

- (133) Na **Špicbergene.LOC** devjat' graždan Rossii provalilis' pod led [Argumenty Nedeli, 27.04.2017].
Nine Russian citizens fell through the ice on **Svalbard.LOC** [Argumenty Nedeli, 27.04.2017].

The regional media are often focused on accidents involving polar bears, for example:

- (134) Medved' napal na turistov na **Špicbergene.LOC**, odin čelovek ranen [Murmanskij vestnik, 19.03.2015].
[Polar] Bear attacked tourists in **Svalbard.LOC**, one person injured [Murmanskij vestnik, 19.03.2015].

The regional media also tend to frame Svalbard as a location with serious ecological problems, for example:

- (135) Kak pokazal monitoring, temperatury v fevrale na **Špicbergene.LOC** i v rjade drugix regionov Arktiki byli na vosem' gradusov Cel'sija vyše normy. [Arktik-TV, Tajanie l'dov Arktiki ètim letom možet pobit' rekord 2012 goda, 25.04.2016].
As the monitoring showed, temperatures in **Svalbard.LOC** and in a number of other regions of the Arctic in February were eight degrees Celsius above the norm. [Arktik-TV, Arctic ice melting this summer could break 2012 record, 25.04.2016].

Both types of media also demonstrate a preoccupation with the Russian presence in Svalbard. The regional media give a particular attention to the Russian presence in the tourism industry and science as demonstrated in examples (136) and (137):

- (136) Zarabotal sajt rossijskogo turoperatora na **Špicbergene.LOC** [Murmanskij vestnik, 03.03.2015].

The website of the Russian tour operator in **Svalbard.LOC** has been launched [Murmanskij vestnik, 03.03.2015].

- (137) Členy èkspedicii [“Rossijskogo Arktičeskogo Plavučego universiteta”] rešajut global’nuju zadaču, postavljenuju pravitel’stvom, po sozdaniju na **Špicbergene.LOC** postojanno dejstvujuščego naučnogo stacionara [...]. [Arxangel’sk, “Plavučij universitet” gotovitsja k sezonu, 29.05.2014].

The members of the expedition [of the Russian Arctic Floating University] solve the global task set by the government to create a permanent scientific station on **Svalbard.LOC** [...]. [Arxangel’sk, Floating University is preparing for the season, 29.05.2014].

Both types of media also frame Svalbard as a location where the Russian presence, or presence of Russian citizens, is challenged. For example, the federal media often focus on Rogozin’s visit to Svalbard in 2015 and on reporting the opinions justifying this visit and criticizing the opinion of the Norwegian side, for example:

- (138) “[...] samolet soveršil texničeskiju posadku s čelovekom, kotoryj i tak imeet pravo naxodit’sja na **Špicbergene.LOC** bez razrešenija,” – udivljaetsja deputat Gosdumy RF Vjačeslav Nikonov. [Vesti.Ru, Posle draki kulakami ne mašut: Norvegija ne imeet prava zapreščat’ poseščenie Špicbergena, 20.04.2015].

“[...] the plane made a technical landing with a person who already has the right to be on **Svalbard.LOC** without permission,” Russian State Duma deputy Vyacheslav Nikonov says surprisingly. [Vesti.Ru, After a fight, people don’t wave their fists: Norway has no right to ban visits to Svalbard, 20.04.2015].

The regional media express concern in relation to possible interests of China in Svalbard. They frame the archipelago as an attractive location for the Chinese side which is interested in buying a plot of land there. In example (139), China is portrayed as an actor with “bad ecological behavior”. This representation can be interpreted as an ecological argument given to justify Russia’s unwillingness to let another actor into the archipelago:

- (139) Učënye vyskazyvajut opaseniya, čto giperaktivnyj Kitaj, zainteresovannyj v ugol’nyx razrabotkax na **Špicbergene.LOC**, možet destabilizirovat’ xrupkiju èkosistemu regiona. [Xibiny.com, V Arktike budet prodan učastok zemli, 05.05.2014]. Scientists are raising concerns that a hyperactive China interested in coal mining in **Svalbard.LOC** could destabilize the region's fragile ecosystem. [Xibiny.com, A plot of land will be sold in the Arctic, 05.05.2014].

Thus, ‘Spitsbergen’ is portrayed through the Locative case as a place where accidents happen and as a place of Russia’s strong interests. Challenges to Russian presence in Svalbard, both real and potential, are also depicted. These representations are built through topics and narratives that can vary according to the media type. A focus of the regional media on the ecology in the region is noticeable. Ecological problems are sometimes used as an argument for defending Russia’s interests in the archipelago.

Neither Russia nor Norway is represented prominently as a location in any of the media types.

7.2.2.7 Summary

In subsection 7.2.2, I have shown the distribution of the grammatical cases for the nouns ‘Russia’, ‘Norway’, and ‘Spitsbergen’ in the texts of the federal and regional media in 2014-2017 and revealed the representations of Russia, Norway, and Svalbard constructed. I have revealed important differences in representations of Russia and Norway in comparison with the period of 2010-2013. After 2013 Russia’s role as an agent considerably decreases. Though Russia is still portrayed as a dynamic actor, it also appears as a victim of Norway and the West overall. Both Russia and Norway become less personified, and their agency is portrayed more indirectly, for example, through organizations and people associated with these countries. The context of cooperation between Russia and Norway decreases radically. The relations between the countries are directly described as deteriorated and Norway’s neighborhood is seen as a threat to Russia’s security.

Svalbard is stably presented as a label, a destination, and a location. The latter two roles relate to the contexts of accidents and development of tourism concerning the Russian side in the archipelago. The media also attract attention to real and possible challenges to the Russian presence in Svalbard. On the one hand, Norway is depicted as exceeding its authority on Svalbard and squeezing Russia out of this territory. On the other hand, Norway is seen as an ally against the arrival of another competitor, namely China, on the archipelago.

I have found differences in preferable prioritization of the reporting of events between the federal and regional media. The regional media are more preoccupied with the possible economic entry of China into Svalbard and the ecological situation in the region. The federal media draw more attention to the accidents and to Russia’s participation in rescue operations in the archipelago. However, these topics overall can be interpreted as consistent with the preoccupation of both types of media with pursuing Russia’s interests in the Svalbard region.

7.2.3 Period 2018-2021

The use of grammatical case for the nouns *Rossija* ‘Russia’, *Norvegija* ‘Norway’, and *Špicbergen* ‘Spitsbergen’ in the federal and regional media of 2018-2021 is represented in Table 15. These results are visualized in Figure 9 and Figure 10.

Case	Federal 2018–2021*			Regional 2018–2021*		
	DIN* (Rossija)	DIN* (Norvegija)	DIN* (Špicbergen)	DIN* (Rossija)	DIN* (Norvegija)	DIN* (Špicbergen)

Nom	19.777	-6.183	-3.042	11.656	-5.508	-2.457
Gen	21.636	6.757	-39.545	26.166	20.598	8.495
Dat	-26.47	-11.392	67.442	-75.51	-6.024	48.148
Acc	-34.426	-5.405	11.429	-27.132	-45.794	-3.911
Ins	49.123	26.214	-8.861	7.937	-13.433	-62.264
Loc	-65.602	-6.725	20.513	-51.461	-22.693	-2.952

Table 15. DIN* values of the use of grammatical case for the nouns *Rossija*, *Norvegija*, and *Špicbergen* in the federal and regional media in 2018-2021⁴⁹

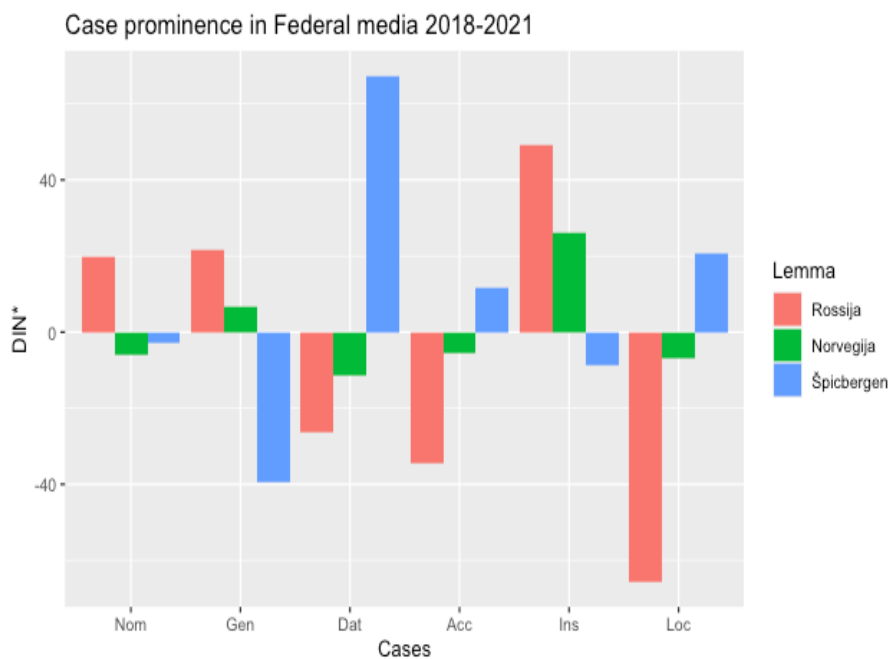


Figure 9. Visualization of prominence of grammatical case for the nouns *Rossija*, *Norvegija*, and *Špicbergen* in the federal media in 2018-2021, given in DIN* values

⁴⁹ The most extreme DIN* values are given in bold.

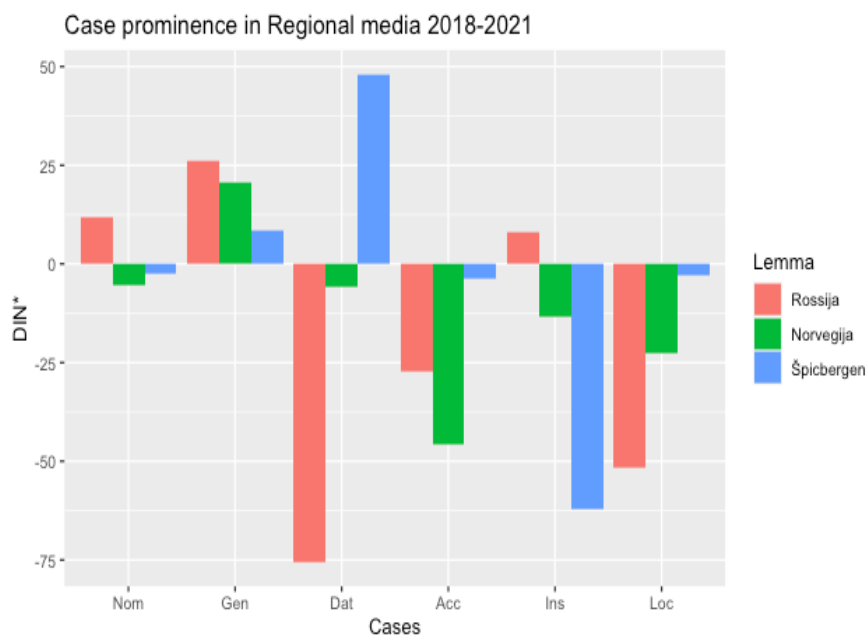


Figure 10. Visualization of prominence of grammatical case for the nouns *Rossija*, *Norvegija*, and *Špicbergen* in the regional media in 2018-2021, given in DIN* values

7.2.3.1 Nominative case

In 2018-2021, ‘Russia’ in the Nominative case is represented almost extremely prominently in the federal media (DIN* 19.777) and prominently in the regional media (DIN* 11.656). ‘Norway’ is a little underrepresented in both types of media (DIN* - 6.183 in the federal media, DIN* -5.508 in the regional media). ‘Spitsbergen’ is situated closer to the “norm” (DIN* -3.042 in the federal media, DIN* -2.457 in the regional media).

In 2018-2021, appearing mostly in the NAME meaning of the Nominative case, ‘Russia’ is often portrayed as an agent in both types of media. Russia is seen as an active participant in life in the archipelago, for example:

- (140) **Rossija.NOM** aktiviziruet rabotu na arxipelage. V Barenburge planiruetsja otkryt' morskiju spasatel'nuju bazu. Rossijskie učenye tože strojat masšabnye plany, svjazannye so Špicbergenom. [Vesti.Ru, Kak **Rossija.NOM** vozvraščaetsja na Špicbergen, 09.02.2020].

Russia.NOM activates work in the archipelago. It is planned to open a marine rescue base in Barentsburg. Russian scientists are also building large-scale plans related to Svalbard. [Vesti.Ru, How **Russia.NOM** is returning to Svalbard, 09.02.2020].

- (141) **Rossija.NOM** peredast do konca mesjaca 2,2 tysjači obrazcov vo Vsemirnoe semenoxranilišče na Špicbergene [TV-21, 26.02.2018].

Russia.NOM will deliver 2.2 thousand samples to the World Seed Storage Facility in Svalbard until the end of the month [TV-21, 26.02.2018].

Russia is portrayed in the federal media as an important and fair actor who tries to restore justice in relation to Svalbard, for example:

- (142) V posol'stve podčerknuli, čto **Rossija.NOM** ne stavit vopros nad norvežskim suverenitetom nad Špicbergen[om], odnako napomnili, čto arhipelag polučen Oslo na uslovijax, oboznačennyx v dogovore 1920 goda. [Gazeta.Ru, RF obvinila Norvegiju v narušenii objazatel'stv po Špicbergenu, 08.02.2020].
The embassy emphasized that **Russia.NOM** does not question Norwegian sovereignty over Svalbard, but they recalled that the archipelago was received by Oslo on the terms specified in the 1920 treaty. [Gazeta.Ru, Russia accused Norway of violating obligations on Svalbard, 08.02.2020].

In addition, the federal media depict Russia as an important and responsible actor in the Arctic, for example:

- (143) **Rossija.NOM** – samoe bol'soe pribrežnoe arktičeskoe gosudarstvo s samoj protjažennoj beregovoj liniej, i my berem na sebja otvetstvennost' za bezopasnost', v tom čisle èkologičeskiju, v regione. [Rossijskaja Gazeta, V Finljandii gotovjatsja k vstreče Lavrova i Pompeo, 06.05.2019].
Russia.NOM is the largest Arctic coastal state with the longest coastline, and we take responsibility for security, including environmental security, in the region. [Rossijskaja Gazeta, Finland is preparing for the meeting between Lavrov and Pompeo, 06.05.2019].

In the regional media, *Rossija* 'Russia' is often a part of the symmetrical reciprocal construction *Rossija.NOM i Norvegija.NOM* 'Russia and Norway'. This phrase (6 occurrences) prevails over the reciprocal construction *Norvegija.NOM i Rossija.NOM* 'Norway and Russia' (2 occurrences). The former construction can be interpreted as assigning a little more active role to Russia than to Norway. It is often used in the context of fishing regulation in the Barents Sea, for example:

- (144) **Rossija.NOM i Norvegija.NOM** utverdili ob"emy vylova vodnyx bioresursov na 2019 god [TV-21, 19.10.2018].
Russia.NOM and **Norway.NOM** approved the catch volumes of aquatic biological resources for 2019 [TV-21, 19.10.2018].

In the federal media, the symmetrical reciprocal construction *Norvegija.NOM i Rossija.NOM* 'Norway and Russia' (3 occurrences) is used almost as frequently as the construction *Rossija.NOM i Norvegija.NOM* 'Russia and Norway' (2 occurrences).

The noun 'Norway' appears mostly in the NAME meaning of the Nominative case in the federal media. The federal media often portray Norway as an agent performing actions criticized by the Russian side. This context is illustrated in examples (145), (146), and (147):

- (145) [...] **Norvegija.NOM** planiruet "ispodtiška" prisoedinit' arhipelag Špicbergen, obladajuščij osobym statusom. [Vzgljad.ru, Byvšij posol Rossii obvinil Norvegiju v planax prisvoit' Špicbergen, 23.01.2018].

[...] **Norway.NOM** is “sneakily” planning to annex the Svalbard archipelago, which has a special status. [Vzgljad.ru, Former Russian ambassador accused Norway of plans to appropriate Svalbard, 23.01.2018].

(146) **Norvegija.NOM** otkazalas' ot konsul'tacij s Rossiej po Špicbergenu [Lenta.ru, 15.02.2020].

Norway.NOM refuses to consult with Russia concerning Svalbard [Lenta.ru, 15.02.2020].

(147) Zaxarova: **Norvegija.NOM** vedet skrytuju militarizaciju Špicbergena [Rossijskaja Gazeta, 12.11.2021].

Zaxarova: **Norway.NOM** conducts covert militarization of Svalbard [Rossijskaja Gazeta, 12.11.2021].

Examples (145) - (147) indicate that through personification Norway appears as a cunning liar and thief: it deprives Russia of the rights to the archipelago, does not consider Russia as a full-fledged partner, and secretly tries to deprive the archipelago of its demilitarized status. These representations of Norway presuppose the victimized position of Russia.

The regional media offer a different representation of Norway. First, along with the NAME meaning, ‘Norway’ is also used in the IDENTITY meaning of the Nominative case in the regional media. In the latter meaning, ‘Norway’ is part of the phrase *Korolevstvo Norvegija* ‘Kingdom of Norway’ which is the official name of Norway, for example:

(148) Vstreča rukovodstva [Kol'skogo naučnogo] centra s diplomatičeskim korpusom Korolevstva **Norvegija.NOM** poslužila ukrepleniju suščestvujuščix vzaimootnošenij i dalo tolčok k zapusku novyx sovmestnyx proektov. [Xibiny.com, Apatitskie učenyje i norvežskie diplomaty obsudili rossijsko-norvežskie naučnye proekty, 12.02.2020].

The meeting of the leadership of the [Kola Science] Center with the diplomatic corps of the Kingdom of **Norway.NOM** served to strengthen existing relationships and gave impetus to the launch of new joint projects. [Xibiny.com, Apatity scientists and Norwegian diplomats discussed Russian-Norwegian scientific projects, 12.02.2020].

Example (148) shows the context where the Russian scientific center and the Norwegian diplomatic mission are represented as partners in the field of science. The context of partnership and cooperation is also reported in the regional media through the NAME meaning of ‘Norway’. Thus, in example (149) Russia and Norway are shown as collaborators in development of resources of the Barents Sea:

(149) V Olesunde (Korolevstvo Norvegija) 15-18 oktjabrja sostojalas' 48-ja sessija Smešannoj Rossijsko-Norvežskoj komissii po rybolovstvu (SRNK), po itogam kotoroj **Rossija.NOM** i **Norvegija.NOM** soglasovali ob"emy kvot vylova vodnyx bioresursov na 2019 god. [Murmanskij Vestnik, V Barencevom more zapretili vylov mojvy, 18.10.2018].

On October 15-18, Ny-Ålesund (Kingdom of Norway) hosted the 48th session of the Joint Russian-Norwegian Fisheries Commission, following which **Russia.NOM** and

Norway.NOM agreed on the volume of quotas for catching aquatic biological resources for 2019. [Murmanskij Vestnik, Capelin fishing banned in the Barents Sea, 18.10.2018].

Another context indicated by ‘Norway’ through the NAME meaning of the Nominative case in the regional media is Norway’s and Russia’s presence in Svalbard, for example:

- (150) Èkonomičeskoe prisutstvie na Špicbergene, gde postojanno proživajut okolo 2,6 tys. čelovek, seččas aktivno podderživajut liš’ **Norvegija.NOM** i RF. [Murmanskij Vestnik, Izučenie oblomkov Mi-8 ne vyjavilo pričín katastrofy u Špicbergena, 10.02.2018].

The economic presence on Svalbard, where about 2.6 thousand people permanently reside, is now actively supported only by **Norway.NOM** and the Russian Federation. [Murmanskij Vestnik, Study of the Mi-8 wreckage did not reveal the causes of the disaster near Svalbard, 10.02.2018].

The noun ‘Spitsbergen’ is mostly used in the IDENTITY meaning of the Nominative case in both types of media, for example:

- (151) Vlasti arxipelaga **Špicbergen.NOM** soobščili o pojavlenii koronavirusa na “kraju sveta” [Moskovskij Komsomolec, 08.10.2021].

The authorities of the **Svalbard.NOM** archipelago reported the emergence of coronavirus at the “end of the world” [Moskovskij Komsomolec, 08.10.2021].

- (152) V ètom godu na bortu naučno-issledovatel’skogo sudna “Professor Molčanov” k beregam arxipelaga **Špicbergen.NOM** otpravilis’ 58 učenyx i studentov iz 11 stran mira. [TV-21, Vysokoširotnaja èkspedicija Arktičeskogo plavučego universiteta zaveršila rabotu i uspešno vernulas’ v Arxangel’sk, 11.07.2019].

This year 58 scientists and students from 11 countries went to the shores of the **Svalbard.NOM** archipelago on board of the research vessel Professor Molchanov. [TV-21, The high-latitude expedition of the Arctic Floating University completed its work and successfully returned to Arkhangelsk, 11.07.2019].

Even if ‘Spitsbergen’ is used in the NAME meaning, it is combined with non-agentive verbs *ostavat’sja* ‘stay’, *byt’* ‘be’, *javljat’sja* ‘be’, for example:

- (153) Posol’stvo [Rossijskoj Federacii] takže napomnilo, čto **Špicbergen.NOM** ne javljaetsja “iskonno norvežskoj territoriej”. [Gazeta.Ru, Problemy na Špicbergene: Rossija vydvinula pretenzii k Oslo, 09.02.2020].

The embassy [of the Russian Federation] also reminded that **Svalbard.NOM** is not “native Norwegian territory”. [Gazeta.Ru, Problems in Svalbard: Russia put forward claims to Oslo, 09.02.2020].

- (154) V ètot raz v centre vnimanija byl **Špicbergen.NOM**. Na plavučem universitete issledovali akvatoriju poljarnogo arxipelaga, tēplye atlantičeskie tečenija, posetili naučnyj centr Špicbergena. [Region29.ru, Arktičeskij plavučij universitet vernulsja v Arxangel’sk, 11.07.2019].

This time **Svalbard.NOM** was in the spotlight. The floating university explored the waters of the polar archipelago, of warm Atlantic currents, and visited the scientific

center of Svalbard. [Region29.ru, Arctic floating university returned to Arkhangelsk, 11.07.2019].

Thus, through the use of ‘Russia’, ‘Norway’, and ‘Spitsbergen’ in the Nominative case, the federal and regional media offer both similar and different representations of these actors. Svalbard is portrayed as a label and a non-agentive entity in both types of media. Russia is represented to be actively developing its presence in Svalbard. The federal media also represent Russia as an independent, important, responsible, and fair actor in Svalbard and the Arctic overall who tries to restore justice in relation to its rights on the archipelago. Norway appears in the federal media as a liar and a thief who does not respect Russia’s intentions for cooperation in relation to the archipelago and who merely tries to take full possession of the archipelago. The regional media, on the contrary, portray Russia and Norway in interaction, namely as partners, for example, in the context of scientific cooperation and cooperation on fishing regulation in the Barents Sea.

7.2.3.2 Genitive case

The federal and regional media show some similarities and differences in the use of ‘Russia’, ‘Norway’, and ‘Spitsbergen’ in the Genitive case. ‘Russia’ tends to be extremely overrepresented in both types of media (DIN* 21.636 in the federal media, DIN* 26.166 in the regional media). ‘Norway’ is extremely overrepresented in the regional media (DIN* 20.598) and is located closer to the “norm” in the federal media (DIN* 6.757). ‘Spitsbergen’ is used in the Genitive case very differently: while it is extremely underrepresented in the federal media (DIN* -39.545), it is overrepresented in the regional media (DIN* 8.495).

The use of ‘Russia’ in the Genitive case is mostly characterized by its WHOLE meaning in both types of media. A variety of the nouns combine with ‘Russia’ in the Genitive case in the federal and regional media, which makes it rather difficult to reveal clear patterns of the use of these nouns. However, there is a tendency to use nouns related to diplomatic missions – *posol’stvo* ‘embassy’, *genkonsul* ‘consul general’, *genkonsul’stvo* ‘consulate general’ – together with ‘Russia’ in the Genitive case in both types of media. It is easy to guess that the phrases *genkonsul Rossii* ‘Consul General of Russia’ and *genkonsul’stvo Rossii* ‘Consulate General of Russia’ are used in relation to reporting on work of Consulate General of Russia in Barentsburg, for example:

- (155) Genkonsul’stvo **Rossii.GEN** na Špicbergene staraetsja reguljarno poseščat’ memorial “Dekabristu” na ostrove Xopen, no v svjazi s ego udalennost’ju popast’ tuda udaetsja ne každyj god. [Rossijskaja gazeta, Rossijskie diplomaty počtili pamjat’ sovetkix morjakov na norvežskom ostrove, 18.09.2020].

The Consulate General of **Russia.GEN** in Svalbard tries to regularly visit the Dekabrist memorial⁵⁰ on Hopen Island, but due to its remoteness, it is not possible to get there every year. [Rossijskaja gazeta, Russian diplomats paid tribute to the memory of Soviet sailors on the Norwegian island, 18.09.2020].

(156) Genkonsul'stvo **Rossii.GEN** vyjasnjaet podrobnosti zaderžanija rossijanina na Špicbergene [TV-21, 24.12.2018].

The Consulate General of **Russia.GEN** finds out the details of the detention of a Russian in Svalbard [TV-21, 24.12.2018].

Example (156) refers to the context of an attempted bank robbery by a Russian citizen in Svalbard in 2018.

In addition to the WHOLE meaning, 'Russia' is also used in the SOURCE meaning of the Genitive case in both types of media. In the federal media, these examples often relate to the context of the above-mentioned bank robbery in Svalbard, for example:

(157) Turist iz **Rossii.GEN** podozrevaetsja v vooružennom ograblenii Sparebank 1 na ostrove Špicbergen, kotoroe proizošlo 21 dekabrja v gorode Longjir. [Kommersant, Rossijskij turist podozrevaetsja v vooružennom ograblenii banka na Špicbergene, 23.12.2018].

A tourist from **Russia.GEN** is suspected of the armed robbery of Sparebank 1 on the island of Svalbard, which took place on December 21 in the city of Longyearbyen. [Kommersant, Russian tourist suspected of armed bank robbery in Svalbard, 23.12.2018].

In the regional media, the SOURCE meaning of 'Russia' often relates to representation of Russia as a source of participants for international scientific expeditions and as a source of films for international cultural events. In example (158), Russia is listed among participants of the Arctic Open film festival which took part in 2018 in Arkhangelsk and some other towns in North-West Russia:

(158) V dni festivalja ARCTIC OPEN budut predstavleny 52 kinokartiny, sredi kotoryx 9 xudožestvennyx fil'mov iz **Rossii.GEN**, SŠA, Danii i Islandii [...]. [News29.ru, Opublikovana konkursnaja programma arktičeskogo kinofestivalja, 26.10.2018].

During the ARCTIC OPEN festival, 52 films will be presented, including 9 feature films from **Russia.GEN**, USA, Denmark, and Iceland [...]. [News29.ru, The competition program of the Arctic Film Festival has been published, 26.10.2018].

⁵⁰ The Dekabrist memorial was erected in memory of the crew of the Soviet vessel Dekabrist which was torpedoed near Hopen by a German submarine in 1942 (<https://www.spitsbergen-svalbard.com/spitsbergen-information/islands-svalbard-co/hopen.html>, <https://cruise-handbook.npolar.no/en/hopen/history-and-cultural-remains.html>).

‘Russia’ also occurs with the GOAL meaning of the Genitive case in both types of media. One of the contexts where the examples of this meaning are used is the emphasis of the importance of Svalbard and the Arctic for Russia:

- (159) Špicbergen byl i ostaetsja odnim iz vorot i v Arktiku, i v Atlantiku i nedoocenivat' ego važnost' dlja **Rossii.GEN** nel'zja. [Vzgljad.Ru, Politika: Norvegija primenila protiv Rossii naglaju taktiku, 09.02.2020].
Svalbard has been and remains one of the gates to both the Arctic and the Atlantic, and its importance for **Russia.GEN** cannot be underestimated. [Vzgljad.Ru, Politics: Norway used brazen tactics against Russia, 09.02.2020].
- (160) [...] kraevedčeskoe izdanie “Russkaja Arktika” možet stat' svoevremennym napominaniem o važnosti ètoj territorii dlja **Rossii.GEN**. [29.ru, Privivka ot bespamjatstva: vyšla v svet kniga s unikal'nymi arxivnymi dokumentami ob Arktike, 11.04.2018].
[...] the local history publication “Russian Arctic” can become a timely reminder of the importance of this territory for **Russia.GEN**. [29.ru, Vaccination against amnesia: a book with unique archival documents about the Arctic has been published, 11.04.2018].

In addition, ‘Russia’ occurs with the REFERENCE meaning in the federal media. One of the contexts for this meaning relates to the image of Russia as a possessor of rights to be present in Svalbard, for example:

- (161) S 1947 goda u SSSR, a zatem i **Rossii.GEN** pojavilis' isključitel'nye prava na prisutstvie na Špicbergene narjadu s Norvegiej. [Lenta.ru, Ukraina osvoit Arktiku, 05.07.2019].
Since 1947, the USSR, and then **Russia.GEN**, had exclusive rights to be present in Svalbard along with Norway. [Lenta.ru, Ukraine will develop the Arctic, 05.07.2019].

The noun ‘Norway’ occurs in both types of media mostly in the WHOLE meaning of the Genitive case. In the federal media, ‘Norway’ is often combined with the nouns *suverenitet* ‘sovereignty’, *posol* ‘ambassador’, *posol'stvo* ‘embassy’, and *MID* ‘MFA’ which indicates that this country is associated with statehood and diplomatic missions. In some examples, Norway is portrayed as unwilling to cooperate with Russia in connection to Svalbard, for example:

- (162) MID **Norvegii.GEN** otkazalsja obsuždat' Špicbergen s Rossiej [Kommersant, 15.02.2020].
The Foreign Ministry of **Norway.GEN** refused to discuss Svalbard with Russia [Kommersant, 15.02.2020].

The other group of words often occurring with ‘Norway’ in the WHOLE meaning in the federal media comprise military vocabulary: the nouns *razvedka* ‘intelligence’, *sojuzniki* ‘allies’, and *armija* ‘army’, for example:

- (163) Voennyj èkspert: “Vse čto nam nado znat' ob armii **Norvegii.GEN**, my znaem” [Pravda.Ru; 30.09.2019].

Military expert: “All we need to know about the army of **Norway.GEN**, we know” [Pravda.Ru; 30.09.2019].

- (164) Ranee izdanje Aldrimer so ssylkoj na svoi istočniki v razvedke **Norvegii.GEN** i NATO zajavili ob “obnaruženii” rossijskogo specnaza na ostrovax arhipelaga Špicbergen [...]. [Gazeta.Ru, “Fejk i grubaja provokacija”: posol'stvo RF o specnaze v Norvegii, 30.09.2019].

Earlier the media outlet Aldrimer, citing its intelligence sources in **Norway.GEN** and NATO, announced the “discovery” of Russian special forces on the islands of the Svalbard archipelago [...]. [Gazeta.Ru, “Fake and gross provocation”: Russian Embassy about special forces in Norway, 30.09.2019].

In the regional media, ‘Norway’ in the WHOLE meaning of the Genitive case often occurs with the nouns related to nature, science, and natural resources. These are, for example, the nouns *priroda* ‘nature’, *klimat* ‘climate’, and *geologi* ‘geologists’:

- (165) Na Špicbergene reguljarno velis' issledovanija geologami **Norvegii.GEN**, Velikobritanii, Japonii, SŠA – ni u kogo iz nix net faktičeskix dannyx o zaležax nefti i točnoj ocenki eë potencial'nyx resursov. [TV-21, Ledjanye i kamennye stranicy Špicbergena - čto iskali geologi v gorax Piramidy i počemu gidy bez karabinov ne xodjat? 09.08.2019].

On Svalbard, geologists from **Norway.GEN**, Great Britain, Japan, USA regularly conducted research – none of them have actual data on oil deposits and an accurate assessment of its potential resources. [TV-21, Ice and stone pages of Svalbard - what were geologists looking for in the Pyramid Mountains and why don't guides go without carbines? 09.08.2019].

In addition, through the SOURCE meaning of the Genitive case, the regional media represent ‘Norway’ as a source of participants of international scientific events. Russia is also mentioned in these examples:

- (166) “Plavučij universitet” v nynešnem godu sobral 58 učastnikov iz Rossii, **Norvegii.GEN**, Germanii, Turkmenistana, Kyrgyzstana, Rumynii, Švejcarii, Kitaja, Francii, Korei, Velikobritanii. [Arxangel'sk – gorod voinskoj slavy, Serdce kak druga more vstrečaet, 26.06.2019].

This year the “floating university” brought together 58 participants from Russia, **Norway.GEN**, Germany, Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan, Romania, Switzerland, China, France, Korea, Great Britain. [Arxangel'sk – gorod voinskoj slavy, The sea meets the heart as a friend, 26.06.2019].

The noun ‘Spitsbergen’ appears in the WHOLE meaning of the Genitive case in both the federal and regional media. In the regional media, ‘Spitsbergen’ often occurs with the nouns *priroda* ‘nature’, *issledovateli* ‘researchers’, the phrase *prirodnaja sreda* ‘natural environment’, and the verbal nouns *issledovanie* ‘exploration’, *otkrytie* ‘discovery’, *osvoenie* ‘development’. These words indicate that the archipelago is framed in the context of nature, scientific research, and exploration:

- (167) V Murmanskoj Naučke [Oblastnoj naučnoj biblioteke] rasskazali ob istorii otkrytija **Špicbergena.GEN** [Murmanskij vestnik, 12.12.2018].

The Murmansk Nauchka [Regional Scientific Library] talked about the history of the discovery of **Svalbard.GEN** [Murmanskij vestnik, 12.12.2018].

- (168) Konferencija “Kompleksnye issledovanija prirody **Špicbergena.GEN** i privilegajuščego šel’fa” otkrylas’ v Murmanske [Arktik-TV, 31.10.2018].
Conference “Comprehensive research into the nature of **Svalbard.GEN** and the adjacent shelf” opened in Murmansk [Arktik-TV, 31.10.2018].

Though ‘Spitsbergen’ is extremely underrepresented in the Genitive case in the federal media, some patterns can be traced in the usage of this case. The words *skaly* ‘rocks’, *ledniki* ‘glaciers’, *territorija* ‘territory’, *akvatorija* ‘water area’, *raspoloženie* ‘location’ which occur with ‘Spitsbergen’ in the WHOLE meaning of the Genitive case indicate that the archipelago is portrayed as a place for scientific research and resource exploration, for example:

- (169) Raspoloženie **Špicbergena.GEN** obespečivaet unikal’nye uslovija dlja provedenija vysokoširotnyx naučno-praktičeskix issledovanij v oblasti okeanografii, issledovanij atmosfery, geofiziki, geologii, arxeologii, gljaciologii, gidrologii, paleografii, biologii. [Rossijskaja gazeta, Počemu Norvegija grubo narušaet Dogovor s Rossiej o Špicbergene, 05.02.2020].
The location of **Svalbard.GEN** provides unique conditions for conducting high-latitude scientific and practical research in the field of oceanography, atmospheric research, geophysics, geology, archeology, glaciology, hydrology, paleography, and biology. [Rossijskaja gazeta, Why Norway grossly violates the Svalbard Treaty with Russia, 05.02.2020].

On the other hand, there are several occurrences of the nouns denoting people, namely *gubernator* ‘governor’ in both types of media and *policija* ‘police’ in the federal media, connected with ‘Spitsbergen’. These examples normally relate to reporting on events happening in Svalbard, mostly accidents, for example:

- (170) Zamestitel’ gubernatora **Špicbergena.GEN** Arve Jonsen zajavil izdaniju Svalbardposten, čto stolknovenie moglo proizojti iz-za texničeskoj neispravnosti na sudne. [Murmanskij Vestnik, Passažirskoe sudno vrezalos’ v pričal v portu rossijskogo Barenburga na Špicbergene, 17.07.2018].
Svalbard.GEN Deputy Governor Arve Johnsen told Svalbardposten that the collision could have been due to a technical problem on the ship. [Murmanskij Vestnik, A passenger ship crashed into a pier in the Russian port of Barentsburg on Svalbard, 17.07.2018].

‘Spitsbergen’ also occurs in the REFERENCE and SOURCE meanings in both types of media as well as GOAL meaning of the Genitive case in the regional media. The occurrences of these meanings indicate that Svalbard is portrayed as a location, a landmark for something, for example:

- (171) V poslednie gody Rossija modernizirovala svoj severnyj atomnyj podvodnyj flot i usilila voennoe prisutstvie na raspoložennom nedaleko ot **Špicbergena.GEN**

arhipelage Zemlja Franca-Iosifa. [Murmanskij Vestnik, Norvegija namerena dobyvat' neft' v Arktike, 01.09.2020].

In recent years, Russia has modernized its northern nuclear submarine fleet and strengthened its military presence in the Franz Josef Land archipelago near **Svalbard.GEN**. [Murmanskij Vestnik, Norway intends to extract oil in the Arctic, 01.09.2020].

(172) [...] Rossija ne priznaet ustanovlennuju Oslo rybooxrannuju zonu vokrug **Špicbergena.GEN**, o čem Moskva soobščala i ranee. [Gazeta.Ru, Zaderžannyj trauler: Moskva napravila notu protesta Norvegii, 18.04.2020].

Russia does not recognize the fisheries protection zone around **Svalbard.GEN** established by Oslo, which Moscow reported earlier. [Gazeta.Ru, Detained trawler: Moscow sent a note of protest to Norway, 18.04.2020].

Thus, the use of the nouns 'Russia' and 'Norway' in the Genitive case demonstrates that Russia and Norway are portrayed as agents functioning, for example, via their diplomatic missions. The federal media tend to frame Norway in a more negative light than the regional media do. The federal media portray Norway as an uncooperative state and as Russia's abuser in the Svalbard region. In addition, these media associate Norway with military contexts. The regional media are inclined to represent Norway in the context of international research and scientific events. Svalbard is represented through the Genitive case as a place, and it is framed in the context of nature, scientific research, resource exploration, and accidents in both types of media. The emphasis on importance of the Arctic region for Russia also exists in both types of media.

7.2.3.3 Dative case

The tendency for the use of the Dative case is similar in both types of media. 'Russia' is extremely underrepresented (DIN* -26.47 in the federal media, DIN* -75.51 in the regional media) and 'Norway' is underrepresented in this case (DIN* -11.392 in the federal media, DIN* -6.024 in the regional media). 'Spitsbergen' is extremely overrepresented in the Dative case (67.442 in the federal media, 48.148 in the regional media).

Examination of the context reveals that 'Spitsbergen' is mostly used in the COMPETITOR meaning of the Dative case in both types of media. In other words, Svalbard is represented as an influential entity. Through this meaning the federal media often represent Svalbard as the entity that attracts the attention of the Russian and Norwegian Foreign Ministries:

(173) MID Norvegii dal otkaz na pis'mo Lavrova po **Špicbergenu.DAT** [Moskovskij Komsomolec, 15.02.2020].

The Norwegian Foreign Ministry rejected Lavrov's letter on **Svalbard.DAT** [Moskovskij Komsomolec, 15.02.2020].

The regional media tend to represent Svalbard as a place of some importance, for example, as the destination of a Russian research vessel:

- (174) “Professor Molčanov” podojdet k **Špicbergenu.DAT** s vostoka i napravitsja v Is-ford, gde raspoloženy krupnye naselennye punkty arhipelaga [...]. [Murmanskij Vestnik, “Arktičeskij plavučij universitet” izučit morskoj mikroplastik, 24.06.2019].
 “Professor Molchanov” will approach **Spitsbergen.DAT** from the east and will head to Isfjord, where large settlements of the archipelago are located [...]. [Murmanskij Vestnik, “Arctic Floating University” will study marine microplastics, 24.06.2019].

The regional media contain the only occurrence of the EXPERIENCER meaning for ‘Spitsbergen’. Through this meaning the archipelago is represented as an influential entity, namely the topic of a conference:

- (175) Meždunarodnaja naučnaja konferencija, posvjaščennaja **Špicbergenu.DAT**, projdet v stolice Pomor’ja na baze Arxangel’skogo kraevedčeskogo muzeja 29-30 oktjabrja. [Arxangel’sk, Sobytie, 27.02.2020].
 The international scientific conference dedicated to **Svalbard.DAT** will be held in the capital of Pomorye at the premises of Arkhangelsk Regional Lore Museum on October 29-30. [Arkhangelsk, Event, 27.02.2020].

As mentioned above, both media types tend to underrepresent ‘Norway’ in the Dative case. However, as these underrepresentations are not very radical and there are contextual tendencies in the use of ‘Norway’ in the Dative case, I will pay attention to this noun. ‘Norway’ occurs in both types of media mostly in the RECEIVER and EXPERIENCER meanings often indicating similar contexts for both types of media. Through the RECEIVER meaning ‘Norway’ is, for example, represented as a receiver of the territories in the Barents Sea in 2010. In example (176), this discussion is framed as a competition for resources in the Arctic, and Norway is seen as a competitor:

- (176) Resursy jugo-vostočnoj časti Barenceva morja, kotoraja otošla **Norvegii.DAT** po soglašeniju s Rossiej, podpisannomu v 2010 g., budut sposobstvovat’ rostu zapasov na šel’fe Norvegii na 15%. V ètix uslovijax našej strane prosto žiznenno neobxodimo aktivizirovat’ raboty na arktičeskom šel’fe. [Arktik-TV, Stirajut belye pjatna s karty šel’fovoj zony arktičeskix morej, 03.10.2018].
 The resources of the south-eastern part of the Barents Sea, which went to **Norway.DAT** under an agreement with Russia, signed in 2010, will contribute to the growth of reserves on the Norwegian shelf by 15%. Under these conditions, it is simply vital for our country to intensify work on the Arctic shelf. [Arktik-TV, They erase white spots from the map of the shelf zone of the Arctic seas, 03.10.2018].

The EXPERIENCER meaning often represents ‘Norway’ as having sovereignty over Svalbard with the mention that this sovereignty has special conditions, for example:

- (177) Soglasno dogovoru ot 1920 goda, arhipelag prinadležit **Norvegii.DAT**, no Rossija imeet pravo na èkspluataciju ego estestvennyx resursov. [Gazeta.Ru, “Fejk i grubaja provokacija”: posol’stvo RF o specnaze v Norvegii, 30.09.2019].

According to the treaty of 1920, the archipelago belongs to **Norway.DAT**, but Russia has the right to exploit its natural resources. [Gazeta.Ru, “Fake and gross provocation”: Russian Embassy about special forces in Norway, 30.09.2019].

Thus, due to the use of ‘Spitsbergen’ in the Dative case, the archipelago is represented in the federal media as an entity attracting attention of the Russian and Norwegian diplomats. The regional media tend to frame Svalbard in the context of science and travel. ‘Norway’ in the Dative case is seen in both types of media as a possessor of sovereignty over Svalbard with the reservations in accordance with the Treaty of 1920. In addition, Norway is discussed as a receiver of territories and natural resources in the Barents Sea.

7.2.3.4 Accusative case

The use of ‘Russia’ in the Accusative case is similar: ‘Russia’ is extremely underrepresented in both types of media (DIN* -34.426 in the federal media, DIN* -27.132 in the regional media). ‘Norway’ is extremely underrepresented in the regional media (DIN* -45.794) and a little underrepresented in the federal media (DIN* -5.405). ‘Spitsbergen’ is overrepresented in the federal media (DIN* 11.429) and a little underrepresented in the regional media (DIN* -3.911) which can be considered as close to the “norm”. These results imply that ‘Spitsbergen’ is quite prominent in the role of a destination and / or dimension in both types of media. ‘Russia’ is not prominently represented as a destination or as a dimension. The same can be said about ‘Norway’ although in the federal media this noun is used quite close to the “norm”.

‘Spitsbergen’ is used in the DESTINATION meaning of the Accusative case in both types of media. Both the federal and regional media often represent the archipelago as a destination for tourism and science, for example:

(178) [...] inostrannye turisty mogut priletet' na **Špicbergen.ACC**, otkuda na kruiznom sudne ujtj na territoriju nacional'nogo parka “Russkaja Arktika” bez neobxodimosti zaxodit' v Murmansk dlja proxoždenija granicy [...]. [Vzgljad.Ru, Èkonomika: Arktika otpugivaet turistov dikimi cenami, 14.09.2019].

[...] foreign tourists can fly to **Svalbard.ACC**, from where they can go on a cruise ship to the territory of the Russian Arctic National Park without having to go to Murmansk to pass the border [...]. [Vzgljad.Ru, Economy: The Arctic scares off tourists with wild prices, 14.09.2019].

(179) Učenyje podveli itogi issledovanij, provedennyx učastnikami Arktičeskogo plavučego universiteta po itogam dvux èkspedicij: na **Špicbergen.ACC** i v Beloe i Barencevo morja. [Murmanskij Vestnik, Na zapade Barenceva morja mikroplastika men'še, čem na vostoce, 09.01.2020].

The scientists summed up the results of research conducted by the participants of the Arctic floating university following the results of two expeditions: to **Spitsbergen.ACC** and to the White and Barents Seas. [Murmanskij Vestnik, There is less microplastic in the west of the Barents Sea than in the east, 09.01.2020].

The federal media also frame Svalbard as a geopolitical destination in both a literal and metaphorical sense. The literal version of the DESTINATION meaning in the geopolitical context is shown in example (180) which illustrates the interest of the federal media in a visit of the Ukrainian Ambassador Vjačeslav Jatjuk to Svalbard. In example (181), Svalbard is represented as a metaphorical destination for China's rights. Examples (180) and (181) can be interpreted as demonstrating a certain concern of the authors / the Russian side about the emergence of other geopolitical competitors in the archipelago in addition to Norway. Recall that in 2014-2017 the regional media also expressed concern in relation to China's possible economic presence in Svalbard (see, for example, 7.2.2.3).

- (180) Edinstvennyj vizit [ukrainskogo] posla na **Špicbergen.ACC** ničego ne rešaet, sčitaet norvežskij èkspert. [Pravda.ru, V Norvegii skeptičeski otneslis' k želaniju Ukrainy osvivaivaj' Arktiku, 05.07.2019].
The only visit of the [Ukrainian] ambassador to **Svalbard.ACC** does not solve anything as the Norwegian expert believes. [Pravda.ru, Norway skeptical about Ukraine's desire to explore the Arctic, 05.07.2019].
- (181) [...] kitajcy [...] imejut ambicii na sobstvennyj poljarnyj šelkovyj put' i dostatočno uspešno prodvigajut ètu ideju v rjade evropejskix stran. Oni daže zajavljajut, čto imejut bol'she prav na **Špicbergen.ACC**, čem sami norvežcy. [RT na russkom, Samaja xolodnaja "gorjačaja točka", 29.03.2019].
[...] the Chinese [...] have ambitions for their own polar silk road and quite successfully promote this idea in a number of European countries. They even claim to have more rights to **Svalbard.ACC** than the Norwegians themselves. [RT na russkom, The coldest "hot spot", 29.03.2019].

The federal media contain some occurrences of “the most characteristic use of Accusative case” – a metaphorical version of the DESTINATION meaning where a direct object is marked (Janda et. al. 2022: 19). In these examples, the archipelago is mostly represented as an object which does not fully belong to Norway, for example:

- (182) [...] **Špicbergen.ACC** byl peredan pod suverenitet Norvegii na opredelennyx uslovijax, kotorye Oslo v poslednie gody faktičeski narušaet. [Argumenty i fakty, MID napravil posol'stvu Norvegii notu iz-za zaderžanija rossijskogo traulera, 17.04.2020].
[...] **Svalbard.ACC** was transferred under the sovereignty of Norway on certain conditions, which Oslo has actually violated in recent years. [Argumenty i fakty, The Foreign Ministry sent a note to the Norwegian Embassy due to the detention of the Russian trawler, 17.04.2020].

As mentioned earlier, ‘Norway’ is a little underrepresented in the Accusative case in the federal media. As ‘Norway’ is located quite close to the “norm”, I will show how this noun is used. ‘Norway’ often occurs in the federal media as a direct object in the metaphorical version of the DESTINATION meaning. ‘Norway’ is often combined with the verbs *prizvat'* ‘urge’, *upreknut'* ‘reproach’, *obvinit'* ‘accuse’ and is portrayed as a destination of Russia's accusations and demands. In example (183), Norway is blamed for militarization of Svalbard and in example (184), Norway is demanded to follow the provisions of the Svalbard Treaty:

- (183) MID Rossii obvinil **Norvegiju.ACC** v militarizaciji arhipelaga Špicbergen [Gazeta.Ru, 13.11.2021].
The Russian Foreign Ministry accused **Norway.ACC** of militarizing the Svalbard archipelago [Gazeta.Ru, 13.11.2021].
- (184) Moskva v poslanii Lavrova vnov' prizvala **Norvegiju.ACC** sobljudat' dux i bukvu dogovora 1920 goda v časti obespečenija "odinakovogo svobodnogo dostupa" na arhipelag i vozmožnostej vesti tam èkonomičeskiju dejatel'nost' na uslovijax "polnogo ravenstva." [Vzgljad, Politika: Norvegija primenila protiv Rossii naglaju taktiku, 09.02.2020].
Moscow, in Lavrov's message, again called on **Norway.ACC** to comply with the spirit and letter of the 1920 treaty in terms of ensuring "equal free access" to the archipelago and opportunities to conduct economic activities there on conditions of "complete equality." [Vzgljad, Politics: Norway used brazen tactics against Russia, 09.02.2020].

'Norway' also occurs in the non-metaphorical DESTINATION meaning and the DIMENSION meaning both in the federal and regional media. These meanings frame Norway as a place. In example (185), Norway is represented as a destination for study. In example (186), Norway is portrayed as an inconvenient stopover on the way to the main destination of Svalbard. Example (186) can be interpreted as representing Svalbard as not part of Norway:

- (185) Rossijanka otpravilas' učit'sja v **Norvegiju.ACC** i osela v Gollandii [Lenta.ru, 14.05.2018].
Russian woman went to study in **Norway.ACC** and settled in Holland [Lenta.ru, 14.05.2018].
- (186) Rossijskie turističeskie kompanii zainteresovany v otkrytii čarternyx rejsov iz Murmanska na arhipelag Špicbergen. Sejčas ceniteljam arktičeskogo otdyxa prihoditsja letet' čerez **Norvegiju.ACC**. [TV-21, Čartery iz Murmanska na Špicbergen, 06.12.2019].
Russian travel companies are interested in opening charter flights from Murmansk to the Svalbard archipelago. Now connoisseurs of arctic holidays have to fly via **Norway.ACC**. [TV-21, Charters from Murmansk to Svalbard, 06.12.2019].

Thus, the use of noun 'Spitsbergen' in the Accusative case shows that the archipelago is represented as a tourist and scientific destination in both types of media. In addition, the federal media portray Svalbard as a destination where Russia's geopolitical competitors are striving and as a part of Norway, but under certain conditions. Norway is seen as both a physical destination and a stopover. The federal media also represent this country as a recipient of Russia's accusations and demands caused by Russia's dissatisfaction with Norway's policy on Svalbard.

7.2.3.5 Instrumental case

Both types of media show a tendency to overrepresent 'Russia' in the Instrumental case: 'Russia' is extremely overrepresented in the federal media (DIN* 49.123) and overrepresented in the regional media (DIN* 7.937). The tendency for the use of

‘Norway’ in the Instrumental case varies: ‘Norway’ is extremely overrepresented in the federal media (DIN* 26.214) and underrepresented in the regional media (DIN* -13.433). The tendency for the use of ‘Spitsbergen’ is similar for both types of media: ‘Spitsbergen’ is extremely underrepresented in the regional media (DIN* -62.264) and underrepresented in the federal media (DIN* -8.861). These results show that the federal media potentially put an emphasis on Russia and Norway as independent agents (for example, through the MEANS meaning) or as agents interacting with each other or some other agents (for example, through the ADJUNCT and LANDMARK meanings). Svalbard is not represented in these roles in either type of media.

The noun ‘Russia’ is mostly used in the ADJUNCT meaning in both types of media. The federal media put an emphasis on a lack of interaction and cooperation between Norway and Russia, for example:

- (187) Norvegija otkazalas' ot peregovorov po Špicbergenu s **Rossiej.INS** [Rossijskaja Gazeta, 15.02.2020].
Norway refuses to negotiate about Svalbard with **Russia.INS** [Rossijskaja Gazeta, 15.02.2020].
- (188) Norvežskaja storona voobšče posledovatel'no svoračivaet kontakty s **Rossiej.INS** v Barencevom more daže v samyx bezobidnyx oblastjax. [Vzgljad.Ru, Politika: Norvegija primenila protiv Rossii naglujuju taktiku, 09.02.2020].
The Norwegian side is generally consistently curtailing contacts with **Russia.INS** in the Barents Sea, even in the most harmless areas. [Vzgljad.Ru, Politics: Norway used brazen tactics against Russia, 09.02.2020].

Examples (187) and (188) can be interpreted as assigning Russia a victim position in relations with Norway. Some other examples from the federal media indicate that Russia is victimized by the USA as well, for example:

- (189) Amerikancy izvestny tem, čto lgut obo vsem, i osobenno obo vsem, čto svjazano s **Rossiej.INS**. [Pravda.ru, Voennyj èkspert: “Vse čto nam nado znat' ob armii Norvegii, my znaem”, 30.09.2019].
Americans are known for lying about everything, and especially about everything related to **Russia.INS**. [Pravda.ru, Military expert: “We know everything we need to know about the Norwegian army”, 30.09.2019].

Three examples of the ADJUNCT meaning in the regional media mostly relate to various contexts. One of them is cooperation between Russia and Norway on demarcation in the Barents Sea, for example:

- (190) Parlament korolevstva [Norvegija] bolee tridcati let nazad otkryl dlja neftjanikov počti vse Barencevo more, za isključeniem ego jugo-vostočnoj časti. Raboty v ètoj časti morja byli razrešeny v 2013 godu posle podpisaniya s **Rossiej.INS** soglašenija o morskix granicax v regione. [Murmanskij Vestnik, Norvegija namerena dobyvat' neft' v Arktike, 01.09.2020].
More than thirty years ago, the Parliament of the Kingdom [of Norway] opened almost the entire Barents Sea for oilmen, with the exception of its southeastern part. Work in this part of the sea was allowed in 2013 after the signing of an agreement with

Russia.INS on maritime boundaries in the region. [Murmanskij Vestnik, Norway intends to extract oil in the Arctic, 01.09.2020].

There are some occurrences of the MEANS meaning of ‘Russia’ in the federal media. These examples portray Russia as an active participant in economic activity on Svalbard and as a party whose rights to be present there are, for unspecified reasons, violated by Norway, for example:

- (191) [...] v 2011 godu norvežskij gubernator Špicbergena potreboval snesti vozvodimuju **Rossiej.INS** sputnikovuju stanciju v Barenburge. [Argumenty Nedeli, Arhipelag pretknovenija: Norvegija ignoriruet interesy Rossii na Špicbergene, 07.05.2020].
 [...] in 2011, the Norwegian governor of Svalbard demanded the demolition of the satellite station being built by **Russia.INS** in Barentsburg. [Argumenty Nedeli, Stumbling archipelago: Norway ignores Russian interests in Svalbard, 07.05.2020].
- (192) Kak polučilos', čto èta territorija upravljalas' počti na ravnyx Norvegiej i **Rossiej.INS**, počemu Norvegija protivodejstvuet rossijskomu prisutstvuju na arhipelage, i čem važen on dlja našej strany? [Vzgljad.Ru, Politika: Norvegija primenila protiv Rossii naglaju taktiku, 09.02.2020].
 How did it happen that this territory was ruled almost equally by Norway and **Russia.INS**, why does Norway oppose the Russian presence in the archipelago, and why is it important for our country? [Vzgljad.Ru, Politics: Norway used brazen tactics against Russia, 09.02.2020].

Several occasions of the LANDMARK meaning of ‘Russia’ in the Instrumental case both in the federal and regional media indicate various contexts. For example, the reader is told about the Russian Arctic explorer Vladimir Rusanov and his contribution to Russia’s economic presence in Svalbard more than a hundred years ago:

- (193) Obsledovav vse zapadnoe poberež'e ostrova, Rusanov otkryl bogatye mestoroždenija uglja. 28 zajavočnyx znakov, postavlennyx Rusanovym, zakrepljali za **Rossiej.INS** pravo na razrabotku uglja na Špicbergene. [Arxangel'sk, Rejs, ušedšij v istoriju, 19.11.2020].
 Having examined the entire western coast of the island, Rusanov discovered rich coal deposits. Rusanov's 28 registration marks gave **Russia.INS** the right to develop coal in Svalbard. [Arxangel'sk, A voyage that has gone down in history, 19.11.2020].

The noun ‘Norway’ is mostly used in the federal media in the MEANS meaning. The examples with this meaning indicate that Norway is portrayed as a country exceeding its authority in Svalbard and violating international agreements in relation to the archipelago, for example:

- (194) Po suti, **Norvegiej.INS** iskusstvenno sozdana transportnaja monopolija na arhipelage, čto takže grubo narušael položenija Dogovora 1920 goda i prava drugix èkonomičeskix operatorov. [Rossijskaja Gazeta, Počemu Norvegija grubo narušael Dogovor s Rossiej o Špicbergene, 05.02.2020].

In fact, **Norway.INS** artificially created a transport monopoly in the archipelago, which also grossly violates the provisions of the 1920 Treaty and the rights of other economic operators. [Rossijskaja Gazeta, Why Norway grossly violates the Svalbard Treaty with Russia, 05.02.2020].

Some occurrences of the ADJUNCT meaning in the federal media mostly indicate that Russia is represented as a full owner of rights to presence in Svalbard and as Norway's full partner in relation to presence in the archipelago, for example:

- (195) Dogovor o Špicbergene zaključen v 1920 godu. V mnogostoronnem dokumente zafiksirovani ravnye s **Norvegij.INS** prava Rossii na osvoenie ostrova. [Gazeta.Ru, MID Rossii obvinil Norvegiju v militarizaciji arxipelaga Špicbergen, 13.11.2021].
The Svalbard Treaty was concluded in 1920. The multilateral document establishes equal rights with **Norway.INS** for Russia to develop the island. [Gazeta.Ru, The Russian Foreign Ministry accused Norway of militarizing the Svalbard archipelago, 13.11.2021].
- (196) [...] Rossijskaja Federacija zainteresovana v podderžanii na arxipelage atmosfery konstruktivnogo vzaimodejstvija s **Norvegij.INS** po nasuščnym voprosam našej xozjajstvennoj i naučnoj dejatel'nosti. [Rossijskaja Gazeta, Počemu Norvegija grubo narušael Dogovor s Rossiej o Špicbergene, 05.02.2020].
[...] The Russian Federation is interested in maintaining an atmosphere of constructive interaction with **Norway.INS** on the pressing issues of our economic and scientific activities in the archipelago. [Rossijskaja Gazeta, Why Norway grossly violates the Svalbard Treaty with Russia, 05.02.2020].

As mentioned above, 'Norway' is underrepresented in the Instrumental case in the regional media. There are only three occurrences of 'Norway' in this case. Each of them is characterized by each meaning of the Instrumental case: the ADJUNCT, LANDMARK, and MEANS meanings. All these examples are about economic and political cooperation between Russia / USSR and Norway. The following example contains 'Norway' with the MEANS meaning:

- (197) Sovetskij Sojuz, pervonačal'no ne priznavšij dogovor [o Špicbergene], izmenil poziciju posle priznanija SSSR **Norvegij.INS** i v 1935 godu prisoedinilsja k traktatu. [Region29.ru, Meroprijatie budet nazyvatsja "Arxipelag Špicbergen: ot terra nullius k territorii vzaimodejstvija", 24.02.2020].
The Soviet Union, which initially did not recognize the [Svalbard] treaty, changed its position after the recognition of the USSR by **Norway.INS** and in 1935 joined the treaty. [Region29.ru, The event will be called "Spitsbergen archipelago: from terra nullius to the territory of interaction", 24.02.2020].

I also mentioned above that 'Spitsbergen' is underrepresented in the Instrumental case in both types of media. The regional media contain only two occurrences of this noun in the Instrumental case. The federal media contain six occurrences of 'Spitsbergen' in the Instrumental case and represent it as a passive entity: a place or Norway's property rather than an agent. This is done, for example, through the LANDMARK meaning:

- (198) V 1924 godu SSSR priznal suverenitet Norvegii nad **Špicbergenom.INS**, a v 1935 godu prisoedinilsja k dokumentu [dogovoru o Špicbergene]. [Vzgljad.Ru, Moskva prizvala Oslo k neukosnitel'nomu sobljudeniju dogovora o Špicbergene, 12.03.2021]. In 1924, the USSR recognized Norway's sovereignty over **Svalbard.INS**, and in 1935 joined the document [the Svalbard Treaty]. [Vzgljad.Ru, Moscow called on Oslo to strictly comply with the Svalbard Treaty, 12.03.2021].

Thus, the use of 'Norway' in the Instrumental case and the given examples indicate a preoccupation of the federal media with the economic presence of Russia in Svalbard and blame Norway for limiting this presence. Russia is represented as having full rights to being economically present in the archipelago in the same way as Norway does. Russia hopes for partnership with Norway in matters related to Svalbard. Norway is portrayed as the side that exceeds its authority in Svalbard, violating Russia's rights in the archipelago, and refusing to discuss this situation with Russia. In this context, Russia appears to be a victim. Russia is also victimized by the USA which has overall a negative attitude towards Russia. The federal media do not prescribe any agency to Svalbard – it is represented as a place or a property. The regional media do not show any clear patterns related to the use of 'Russia', 'Norway', and 'Spitsbergen' in the Instrumental case, mostly due to a low number of occurrences.

7.2.3.6 Locative case

The federal and regional media demonstrate similar tendencies in terms of the use of the nouns 'Russia' and 'Norway' in the Locative case. Both 'Russia' (DIN* -65.602 in the federal media, DIN* -51.461 in the regional media) and 'Norway' (DIN* -22.693 in the regional media) are mostly extremely underrepresented in both types of media. However, 'Norway' is located quite close to the "norm" in the federal media (DIN* -6.725). 'Spitsbergen' is overrepresented in the federal media (DIN* 20.513) and somewhat underrepresented in the regional media (DIN* -2.952) which can be considered as close to the "norm". Thus, the media tend to portray Svalbard as a place where something is happening or existing.

In a number of examples, Svalbard is represented as a place connected to sensational news or at least news presented as sensational by the media, for example a bank robbery, the COVID-virus infection, and a cat's death. This tendency is noticeable in both types of media:

- (199) Sud nad ograbivšim bank na **Špicbergene.LOC** rossijaninom načnetsja do vesny [Moskovskij Komsomolec, 18.01.2019].
The trial of a Russian who robbed a bank in **Svalbard.LOC** will begin before spring [Moskovskij Komsomolec, 18.01.2019].
- (200) Na **Špicbergene.LOC** umer samyj izvestnyj kot [Argumenty i Fakty, 17.02.2021].
The most famous cat died on **Svalbard.LOC** [Argumenty i Fakty, 17.02.2021].
- (201) Na **Špicbergene.LOC** vyjaven pervyj slučaj COVID-19, zanes ego rossijskij morjak [Xibiny.com, 08.10.2021].

First case of COVID-19 detected on **Svalbard.LOC**, brought by Russian sailor [Xibiny.com, 08.10.2021].

In addition, the federal media discuss Svalbard as a place potentially connected to a military context. For example, these media cite the words of Russian official Maria Zakharova who criticizes the Norwegian media's speculation about the landing of Russian special forces in Svalbard and labels this news "an apotheosis of unscrupulousness":

(202) Apofeož besprincipnosti: Zaxarova oprovergla vysadku specnaza na **Špicbergene.LOC** [Vesti.ru, 03.10.2019].

The apotheosis of unscrupulousness: Zakharova denied that special forces had landed on **Svalbard.LOC** [Vesti.ru, 03.10.2019].

'Spitsbergen' is also portrayed as the site of severe accidents in both types of media, such as a mountain fall and a polar bear attack:

(203) Dvoe učenyx iz Pol'si pogibli na **Špicbergene.LOC** [Pravda.ru; 20.05.2019].

Two scientists from Poland died on **Svalbard.LOC** [Pravda.ru; 20.05.2019].

(204) Na **Špicbergene.LOC** belyj medved' ubil turista [Xibiny.com; 28.08.2020].

In **Svalbard.LOC**, a polar bear killed a tourist [Xibiny.com; 28.08.2020].

Another prominent context noticeable from the use of 'Spitsbergen' in the Locative case is Russia's presence in the archipelago. The federal media often frame Russian presence in the geopolitical context, namely from the point of view of fulfillment of the provisions of the Svalbard Treaty by Norway, for example:

(205) "Na **Špicbergene.LOC** nakopilis' problemy", – otmetili v dipredstavitel'stve [Rossii], prizvav k dialogu i napomniv o sootvetstvujuščem pis'me glavy MID RF Sergeja Lavrova k svoemu norvežskomu kollege. [Rossijskaja Gazeta, Posol'stvo RF obvinilo Norvegiju v narušenii Dogovora o Špicbergene, 09.02.2020].

"Problems have accumulated in **Svalbard.LOC**," the [Russian] diplomatic mission noted, calling for dialogue and recalling the corresponding letter from Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov to his Norwegian counterpart. [Rossijskaja Gazeta, Russian Embassy accuses Norway of violating Svalbard Treaty, 09.02.2020].

The regional media often discuss Russia's scientific presence in the archipelago. In example (206), this presence is viewed as having the global task of saving all of humanity:

(206) Te issledovanija, kotorye provodjatsja rossijskimi učenyymi na **Špicbergene.LOC** – krajne važny dlja ponimanija perspektiv našego vyživanija na ètoj planete. [TV-21, Čto izučajut učenyje na Špicbergene i začem, 31.10.2018].

Those studies that are being carried out by Russian scientists on **Svalbard.LOC** are extremely important for understanding the prospects for our survival on this planet. [TV-21, What are scientists studying in Svalbard and why, 31.10.2018].

Closeness to the “norm” of the noun ‘Norway’ in the Locative case in the federal media makes the context of these occurrences potentially interesting. The examples of ‘Norway’ in the Locative case in the federal media are often connected to the news about the landing of Russian special forces in Svalbard, for example:

- (207) [...] posol'stvo Rossii v Oslo na oficial'noj stranice v fejsbuke nazvalo soobščeniya o prisutstvii rossijskix sil special'nogo naznačeniya v **Norvegii.LOC** fejkom. [Gazeta.Ru, Agressivnyj "vbros": v MIDE oprovergli soobščeniya o specnaze v Norvegii, 03.10.2019].
 [...] the Russian Embassy in Oslo, on its official Facebook page, called reports about the presence of Russian special forces in **Norway.LOC** a fake. [Gazeta.Ru, Aggressive “disinformation”: the Foreign Ministry denied reports on special forces in Norway, 03.10.2019].

Another prominent context is reports on the statements of the Russian Embassy in Norway in which Norway is blamed for violation of the Svalbard Treaty of 1920, for example:

- (208) Posol'stvo Rossii v **Norvegii.LOC** upreknulo vlasti ètoj skandinavskoj strany v narušenii Dogovora o Špicbergene, kotoryj v voskresen'e otmečaet svoj 100-letnij jubilej. [Rossijskaja gazeta, Posol'stvo RF obvinilo Norvegiju v narušenii Dogovora o Špicbergene, 09.02.2020].
 The Russian Embassy in **Norway.LOC** has reproached the authorities of this Scandinavian country for violating the Svalbard Treaty, which celebrates its 100th anniversary on Sunday. [Rossijskaja gazeta, Russian Embassy accuses Norway of violating Svalbard Treaty, 09.02.2020].

The occurrences of ‘Norway’ in the Locative case in the regional media do not indicate clear patterns of contexts. One of the examples is connected to reporting on life of Barentsburg which is represented as an “island” or a small part of Russia in Norway:

- (209) Kak vygljadit “ostrovok” Rossii v **Norvegii.LOC**, kak i čem živët naselenie Barenburga, i v čem sut' strategii buduščego [TV-21, 13.08.2019].
 What the “island” of Russia looks like in **Norway.LOC**, how the population of Barentsburg lives, and what the essence of the future strategy is [TV-21, 13.08.2019].

Thus, the use of the nouns ‘Spitsbergen’ and ‘Norway’ in the Locative case demonstrates a focus of the media, especially the federal media, on what is happening directly in Svalbard and in Norway. The archipelago is framed as a place where something important or extraordinary happens, for example the spread of the COVID-infection or a bank robbery. The natural conditions of Svalbard are represented as dangerous for people. Russia’s presence in the archipelago is important for both types of media. The federal media represent Svalbard as a place where the Russian presence is challenged by Norway. These media also discuss the archipelago from the perspective of militarization. The regional media put emphasis on Russia’s scientific presence in Svalbard and frame it as important for humanity.

7.2.3.7 Summary

In subsection 7.2.3, I have examined the representations of Russia, Norway, and Svalbard in the federal and regional media in 2018-2021 through the prominence of the grammatical cases of the nouns *Rossija* ‘Russia’, *Norvegija* ‘Norway’, and *Špicbergen* ‘Spitsbergen’. This analysis has shown that Russia and Norway are represented as protagonists in relation to Svalbard. The federal media tend to portray Russia as an important, responsible, and fair actor in Svalbard. Russia appears on the side of trying to restore justice in relation to its rights in the archipelago. Norway appears as the country that violates the Svalbard Treaty of 1920 in neglecting Russia’s rights to economic activities in the archipelago. However, Russia hopes for partnership with Norway in relation to these activities. As examples shown in subsection 7.2.3 demonstrate, the Russian side’s dissatisfaction with Norway’s policies is in many ways related to the context of the 100th anniversary of the Svalbard Treaty and the exchange of statements between the foreign ministers of Russia and Norway in this regard. Norway is also associated with military contexts in the federal media. The regional media are inclined to portray Russia and Norway as partners in relation to scientific research and fishing regulations.

Svalbard is seen as a place in the context of scientific research and resource exploration as well as a destination in the context of science and tourism in both types of media. In addition, the federal media express concern about a possible arrival and permanent economic presence of other actors, namely China and Ukraine, in the archipelago. The events happening directly in Svalbard are also a focus of attention in both types of media. Among these events are the accidents happening due to the harsh natural conditions of the archipelago.

7.3 Summary and conclusion

In chapter 7, I have demonstrated the use of Keymorph Analysis to investigate the discursive roles of Russia, Norway, and Svalbard in the Russian federal and regional media during the periods of 2010-2013, 2014-2017, and 2018-2021. First, I calculated the distribution of the grammatical cases of the nouns ‘Russia’, ‘Norway’, and ‘Spitsbergen’ in terms of their prominence as compared to the reference corpus. Then I qualitatively examined the occurrences of each case for each noun based on Janda’s et al. (2022: 17-20) description of the semantics of the Russian grammatical cases.

The dynamics of the prominence of the grammatical cases used with the noun *Rossija* ‘Russia’ in the federal and regional media are shown in Figure 11. The cases that ‘Russia’ is prominently used in with some fluctuations are the Nominative, Genitive, and Instrumental cases in both types of media. This tendency overall indicates that Russia is portrayed as a protagonist: an agent acting independently and in cooperation with others. The underrepresentation, although with some fluctuations, of ‘Russia’ in the Locative, Accusative, and Dative cases indicates that Russia is mostly not viewed as a location (Locative), a destination or manipulated object (Accusative), or, for example, a receiver (Dative).

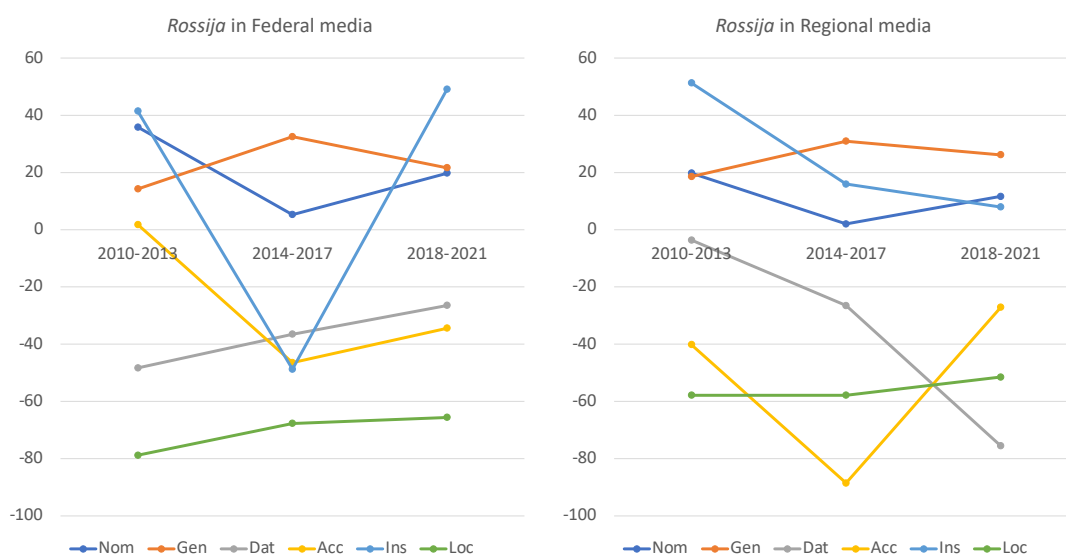


Figure 11. The prominence of grammatical cases for the noun *Rossija* in the federal and regional media in 2010-2013, 2014-2017, and 2018-2021, given in DIN* values

The prominence of the grammatical cases used with the noun *Norvegija* ‘Norway’ in the federal and regional media is shown in Figure 12. The noun ‘Norway’ appears prominently, although with some fluctuations, in the Genitive and Instrumental cases in both types of media. ‘Norway’ is used in the Nominative case within the “norm” which is lower in comparison with the use of ‘Russia’ in the Nominative case (compare with Figure 11). The use of these cases indicates that Norway is mostly assigned the role of an agent acting independently or in cooperation with others. The use of the Dative case near the “norm” in both types of media indicates a consistent representation of Norway as a receiver. The overall underrepresentation of ‘Norway’ in the Accusative and Locative cases demonstrates that Norway is not assigned the role of a destination, manipulated object, or location. However, these roles become quite typical for Norway in the federal media after 2017.

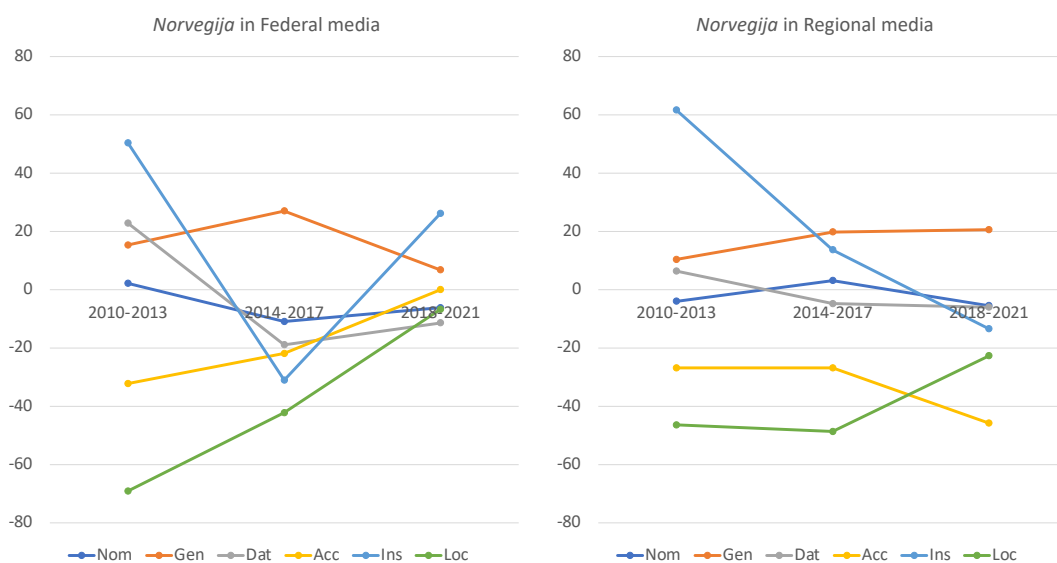


Figure 12. The prominence of grammatical case for the noun *Norvegija* in the federal and regional media in 2010-2013, 2014-2017, and 2018-2021, given in DIN* values

One of the grammatical cases that makes the behavior of ‘Spitsbergen’ different in comparison with the behavior of ‘Russia’ and ‘Norway’ is the Dative case where ‘Spitsbergen’ is represented very prominently in both types of media (Figure 13). In this wordform, Svalbard is often portrayed as an entity that attracts some attention. ‘Spitsbergen’ is used close to the “norm”, but with some fluctuations, in the Nominative, Genitive, Accusative, and Locative case in both types of media. The use of these cases indicates that the archipelago is represented as a label, a geographical landmark, a geographical destination, a manipulated object, and a location. The systematic underrepresentation of ‘Spitsbergen’ in the Instrumental case in both types of media justifies the observation that the discourse representation of the archipelago does not presume agency since Svalbard is not portrayed as, for example, a partner.

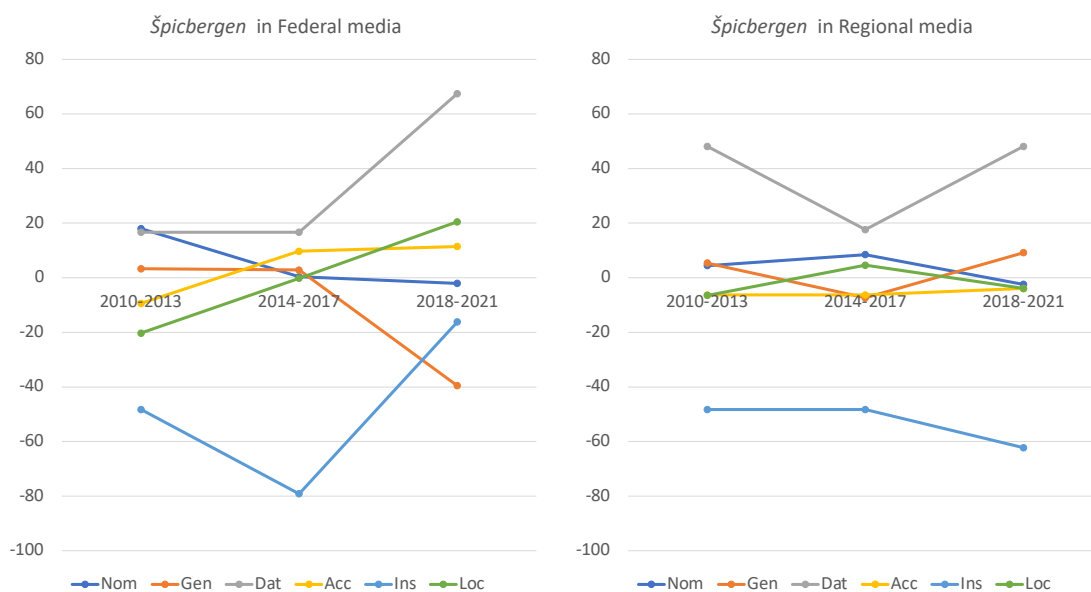


Figure 13. The prominence of grammatical case for the noun Špicbergen in the federal and regional media in 2010-2013, 2014-2017, and 2018-2021, given in DIN* values

An investigation of the statistical prominence of the use of the grammatical cases of the nouns ‘Russia’, ‘Norway’, and ‘Spitsbergen’ combined with the contextual use of these nouns overall reveals the following picture. ‘Russia’ and ‘Norway’ show in many ways similar distribution and contribute to partially similar discursive roles. Russia and Norway are consistently viewed as protagonists in relation to the Svalbard context by both federal and regional media (Nominative and Instrumental). Russia and Norway are portrayed as dynamic agents acting independently or in interaction with each other. In 2010-2013, Russia and Norway are seen both as partners and as opponents (e.g., in terms of regulation of fishing in the waters near Svalbard). Starting from 2014 Russia and Norway’s interaction decreases (through a radical decrease of prominence of the Instrumental case) and deteriorates considerably. Norway’s policy in Svalbard receives criticism from the Russian side. This is especially noticeable after 2017 in the federal media which blames the Norwegian authorities for limitation of Russia’s activities in Svalbard and for militarization of the archipelago (Accusative and Instrumental). Norway as a receiver of sovereignty over Svalbard in 1920 is a focus of persistent attention in both types of media (Dative). The right of a number of countries to be present in Svalbard in accordance with the Svalbard Treaty is presented as an argument in favor of Russia’s rectitude in the context of dissatisfaction with Norwegian policy on the archipelago. Russia regularly appears as a victim whose rights to presence in Svalbard are seriously damaged by Norway. Unlike Russia and Norway, Svalbard is assigned mostly a passive discursive role. It is consistently discussed in both types of media as a label, a non-dynamic agent, and a passive entity, namely Norway’s “incomplete” property (Nominative). Svalbard is also portrayed as a destination for

tourism and scientific studies (Accusative) and a site of Russia's presence and severe accidents (Locative).

Though there are no considerable differences between the federal and regional media in portraying Russia, Norway, and Svalbard between 2010 and 2017, such differences are found in 2018-2021. In this period the federal media tend to portray Norway and Russia as geopolitical competitors, and Russia as a victim protecting its economic interests in Svalbard. In addition, the archipelago is embedded in the securitization rhetoric. The regional media are more inclined to portray Svalbard as a location of Russia's scientific presence and to represent Russia and Norway as partners in relation to economic and scientific activities in the archipelago. It should be noted that the regional media in all investigated periods often connect Russian scientific activities in Svalbard with scientific institutions of the Russian north-west.

The results of the Keymorph Analysis conducted in the present study are comparable to the results of Janda et al.'s (2022) study that used the same method to examine the grammatical cases of the nouns 'Russia', 'Ukraine', and 'NATO' in Putin's political speeches pronounced shortly before and during the first days of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict in 2022. The role of 'Ukraine' revealed in Janda et al. (2022) is a passive, peripheral entity in the overall discourse. On the contrary, 'Russia' is portrayed as a restrained strong actor and a reasonable partner that needs to be protected and that is unfairly treated. As for 'NATO', it is represented as a label, a threat, and as a destination – an organization that 'Ukraine' strives to get into. In addition, 'NATO' is seen as an entity not worthy to be a partner for 'Russia'⁵¹.

The discursive roles of the nouns from Janda's et al. (2022) study are to a large extent consistent with the discursive roles of the nouns in my study. Similar to 'Ukraine' in Putin's speeches, 'Svalbard' is mostly represented as a passive entity. 'Svalbard' is discussed as a region where the interests of strong actors, namely Russia and Norway, are focused. The similarity of the discursive roles for 'Svalbard' and 'Ukraine' can be interpreted as "extremely disadvantageous" for the latter. While it is natural for 'Svalbard' to be described as a passive entity due to its regional status within the Norwegian state, assignment of a similar role to Ukraine completely undermines its status as an independent state and automatically prescribes Ukraine with the status of merely a region and an object of struggle between Russia and NATO. As for the noun 'Russia', it demonstrates striking similarities in terms of discursive roles in both the Ukrainian and the Svalbard contexts. 'Russia' is viewed as a strong actor and a reliable partner which is victimized, and which is seeking justice. Lastly, the discursive roles of 'NATO' and 'Norway' have similarities and differences. On the one hand, both 'NATO' and 'Norway' act as important actors in the Ukrainian and the Svalbard contexts

⁵¹ Janda et al. (2023) also explored discursive roles of 'Russia', 'Ukraine', and 'NATO' via Keymorph Analysis conducted on Putin's speech pronounced in February 2023. This research indicates that NATO's discursive role radically changes – NATO's agency increases considerably, and this organization starts to be regarded as an aggressor towards Russia. I do not compare the results of the present analysis with those obtained by Janda et al. (2023), since the latter was published as a newspaper article.

respectively. On the other hand, unlike ‘Norway’, ‘NATO’ is not assigned an active role; in addition, it is completely deprived of the status of Russia’s partner and is seen as Russia’s opponent. As for ‘Norway’, it is portrayed as an agentive actor which is both viewed as Russia’s opponent and as a partner. In addition, ‘NATO’ acts as a “physical” destination for Ukraine. Such a representation is less relevant for the Svalbard context – ‘Norway’ does not appear as a “physical” destination for Svalbard since the archipelago is already a part of Norway.

As shown in chapter 7, Keymorph Analysis is an effective tool for scrutinizing the discursive roles of specific discourse participants. The advantage of Keymorph Analysis is that it is based on the study of word forms. This feature makes it possible to effectively compare the discursive roles assigned to certain discourse participants in terms of time, as well as to compare the discursive roles of participants belonging to different discourses.

8 Metaphor Analysis

8.1 Description of the method and data

The present stage of the analysis is aimed at investigation of metaphoric representation of Svalbard. The Metaphor Analysis is expected to contribute to the discursive representation of Svalbard revealed through the Keyword Analysis (see chapter 7). In addition, since I explore the immediate context of the keyword *Spitsbergen* ‘Spitsbergen’, the metaphoric representations of Svalbard-related actors, actions, events, processes, and relations occurring in this context are also examined.

The Metaphor Analysis demonstrated in this chapter is based on Charteris-Black’s (2004) Critical Metaphor Analysis, which incorporates Conceptual Metaphor Theory, Critical Metaphor Theory, and Corpus Linguistics. Within the present Metaphor Analysis, metaphor is regarded as a means of persuasion and ideology construction (see subsection 3.3.3).

A corpus approach to metaphor analysis involves two basic methodological issues: 1) how to find metaphors in corpus data, and 2) what to count as metaphors (Musolff 2004: 8). The existing automatic retrieval of metaphors from corpora, e.g., the MetaNet project (see, e.g., David & Matlock 2018), though aimed at coverage of large corpora, is connected to the challenge of effective metaphor identification per se. Two factors, namely dependence on annotation and the potential diversity of conceptual metaphors, since “conceptual mappings are not linked to particular linguistic forms” (Stefanowitsch 2006: 2), can cause automatic searches to leave some metaphors unidentified.

A manual search for metaphors in corpora can be implemented through “top-down” and “bottom-up” approaches (Skrynnikova 2019: 131). The “top-down” approach for extraction of metaphors from non-annotated corpora is based on the application of a prepared source domain vocabulary, or a target domain vocabulary, or a combination of both strategies (Stefanowitsch 2006: 2-4). Source domain vocabulary and / or target

domain vocabulary are used as search terms to extract concordances that are explored further to search for metaphors (e.g., Koller 2006; Skrynnikova et al. 2022). This approach requires certain prior knowledge and assumptions on the part of the researcher, i.e., previous knowledge of the discourse and anecdotal evidence (Koller 2006: 245). This is especially relevant if search terms are vocabulary from source domains.

Advocates of the “bottom-up approach” identify metaphors through close reading of full texts. The “bottom-up” approach implies that metaphor identification procedures start from actual discourse and takes into consideration human creativity in metaphor production (Pragglejaz Group 2007: 33; Devylder & Zlatev 2020: 261). A challenge in using the “bottom-up” approach is that it cannot cover large corpora of texts without sampling them.

The metaphor search undertaken in the present study combines “top-down” and “bottom-up” approaches, namely an automated search for a lemma with a manual analysis. A search for the lemma *Špicbergen* ‘Spitsbergen’ from the target domain is implemented in SketchEngine (Kilgarriff et al. 2014) and the obtained concordances are analyzed from the point of view of the presence of metaphors. This approach is seen as a tool for focused reading and investigation of the context directly related to Svalbard. The subcorpora used for the present analysis are Federal 2010-2013*, Regional 2010-2013*, Federal 2014-2017*, Regional 2014-2017*, Federal 2018-2021*, and Regional 2018-2021*. These are the same subcorpora investigated through Market Basket Analysis (chapter 6) and Keymorph Analysis (chapter 7) in this dissertation. The approach for creating these subcorpora is discussed in subsection 6.1. Since the word *Špicbergen* ‘Spitsbergen’ is not lemmatized in SketchEngine, I obtained its concordances through the seed word *Špicbergen**. This seed word included all the word forms of the noun *Špicbergen* and all the word forms of the adjective *Špicbergenskij*. The size of the subcorpora and the number of occurrences of the lemmas *Špicbergen* and *špicbergenskij* overall are shown in Table 16.

Subcorpus	Number of words	Overall number of occurrences of <i>Špicbergen*</i>
Federal 2010-2013*	130,569	561
Federal 2014-2017*	175,614	2,299
Federal 2018-2021*	153,714	1,340
Regional 2010-2013*	73,326	550
Regional 2014-2017*	88,210	849
Regional 2018-2021*	51,850	338

Table 16. The size of subcorpora and the number of occurrences of *Špicbergen**

The immediate context of the lemmas *Špicbergen* and *špicbergenskij* is further explored qualitatively from the perspective of Charteris-Black’s (2004: 34-41) Critical Metaphor Analysis consisting of three stages: 1) metaphor identification, 2) metaphor interpretation, and 3) metaphor explanation. In other words, metaphorical expressions

are identified and combined into conceptual metaphors. The latter are combined into conceptual keys, if possible. Further, discourse functions of conceptual metaphors and conceptual keys are identified (see also subsection 3.3.3).

The problem of metaphor identification is based on the fact that metaphor “is a relative rather than an absolute concept” (Charteris-Black 2004: 20). This implies that various language speakers have different metaphor intuitions depending on their language experience (Charteris-Black 2004: 20). In the present study, metaphor identification is done by a single analyst which means that identified metaphorical expressions, conceptual metaphors and keys have not been systematically verified through discussions with other analysts. For this reason, the present analysis is rather explorative, and it is not aimed at examination of differences in metaphor use between the periods and media types. The purpose of the present analysis is collection of an inventory of metaphors through which Svalbard and other context-related actors are conceptualized in the Russian media. The obtained results can be utilized in future studies, for example, as evidence of the source domains of metaphors used in the context of Svalbard. However, in subsection 8.2, while describing the found metaphors, I mention in what type of media they occur.

8.2 Analysis

8.2.1 War metaphors

In the present subsection, I demonstrate some found metaphorical expressions that project war-related conceptual metaphors. These metaphors contain such necessary elements of war as participants (enemies, aggressors, and victims), war zones, defense, and military activities.

One prominent context framed by the WAR metaphors is fishing activity conducted by the Russian side in the 200-mile fisheries protection zone near Svalbard (the disagreement between Norway and Russia related to FPZ is described in section 2.1). The metaphorical expressions that form the conceptual metaphor THE DISAGREEMENT BETWEEN RUSSIA AND NORWAY ABOUT FPZ IS WAR are found in both types of media. In one of the texts from the federal media, this disagreement is named *rybnaja vojna* ‘fish war’ between Russia and Norway which are represented as human beings. This representation thus forms another metaphor RUSSIA AND NORWAY ARE ENEMIES:

- (210) Bez malogo polveka Rossija vedet neob"javlennuju **rybnuju vojnu** s Norvegiej [Argumenty Nedeli, **Rybnaja vojna** v sumerečnoj zone, 03.03.2011].
For almost half a century, Russia has been waging an undeclared **fish war** with Norway. [Argumenty Nedeli, **Fish war** in the twilight zone, 03.03.2011].

In example (210), ‘Russia’ functions as a subject and is thus assigned a more active agentive role in comparison with ‘Norway’. Through this representation Russia acts as a strong actor trying to get justice.

In one of the texts from the regional media, a series of detainments of Russian fishermen by the Norwegian Coast Guard is named *rybnye konflikty* ‘fish conflicts’:

(211) Snačala byli mnogočislennye “**rybnye**” konflikty, kogda Norvegija raz za razom pred’javljala svoi isključitel’nye prava v rybopromyslovyx akvatorijax, privilegajuščix k Špicbergenu. [Severnaja Nedelja, Sval’bord ne vpisyvaetsja v Parižskij dogovor, 03.11.2017].

At first there were numerous “**fish**” conflicts, when Norway repeatedly presented its exclusive rights in the fishing areas adjacent to Svalbard. [Severnaja Nedelja, Svalbard does not conform to the Paris Treaty, 03.11.2017].

In example (211), the protracted nature of the disagreement about FPZ is strengthened with the adjective *mногоčislennye* ‘numerous’ and the expression *raz za razom* ‘repeatedly’.

The conceptual metaphor THE DISAGREEMENT BETWEEN RUSSIA AND NORWAY ABOUT FPZ IS WAR is also presented by the verb *začiščat’* ‘cleanse’. An author of one of the texts from the regional media uses the verb in relation to detention of Russian fishing trawlers by the Norwegian Coast Guard:

(212) Norvežcy naporisto “**začiščali**” zonu Špicbergena ot našix rybakov i do podpisanija novogo dogovora [o razgraničenii morskix prostranstv i sotrudničestve v Barencevom more]. [News29.ru, Rossija gotova podarit’ Norvegii sotni tysjač kvadratnyx kilometrov Barenceva morja, 24.03.2011].

The Norwegians aggressively “**cleansed**” the Svalbard area from our fishermen even before the signing of a new agreement [the Barents Sea Border Agreement]. [News29.ru, Russia is ready to give Norway hundreds of thousands of square kilometers of the Barents Sea, 24.03.2011].

The verb *začiščat’ / začistit’* is a military term which means “eliminate people who pose a danger to the civilian population somewhere”.⁵² The use of the verb *začiščat’* ‘cleanse’ implies that the Norwegian side is represented in example (212) as the one that treats Russian fishermen in the Svalbard waters as a danger and that eliminates Russian fishermen from this area by applying physical force. The author of example (212) regards Russian fishermen as innocent victims. The verb *začiščat’* ‘cleanse’ can also be interpreted as connected to the term *etničeskaja čistka* ‘ethnic cleansing’ that originally relates to the Kosovo conflict and that is interpreted as “a policy aimed at expelling a certain people from a territory historically inhabited by them on the basis of cultural, often linguistic and religious differences”.⁵³ Conducting ethnic cleansing is a war crime.

⁵² Bol’šoj tolkovyj slovar’: <http://gramota.ru/slovari/dic/?word=Зачистить&all=x>

⁵³ Deutsche Welle (DW): <https://www.dw.com/ru/справка-что-такое-этническая-чистка/a-3548242>

Application of the term *ètničeskaja čistka* to the context of example (212) would imply that Russian fishermen are represented as illegally expelled from the territory, namely Svalbard, that historically belongs to them. The use of both the verb *zachiščat'* 'cleansed' and the expression *ètničeskaja čistka* 'ethnic cleansing' assigns a victimized role to Russian fishermen and thus forms the metaphor RUSSIAN FISHERMEN ARE WAR VICTIMS. The Norwegian Coast Guard is a target domain of the metaphor THE NORWEGIAN COAST GUARD IS A WAR CRIMINAL. The illegal actions of the Norwegian Coast Guard are intensified with the adverb *naporisto* 'aggressively'. The opposition 'we' (Russian fishermen) – 'they' (the Norwegian Coast Guard) is clearly expressed through the pronoun *naši* 'our' related to the noun *rybaki* 'fishermen'.

Example (213) is another illustration of the metaphor THE DISAGREEMENT BETWEEN RUSSIA AND NORWAY ABOUT FPZ IS WAR. This metaphor is projected through the phrases *voennye manevry* 'military maneuvers', *silovoj zaxvat* 'forceful seizure' and the verb *otbit'* 'recapture' used in the context of detention of the Russian trawler Sapphire II:

- (213) Na podmogu rybakam pospešili srazu tri rossijskix sudna [...]. Norvežcy takže vyzvali pomošč'. Posle ètogo na more načalis' nastojaščie **voennye manevry**. [---] Èto bylo ne zaderžanie, a samyj nastojaščij **silovoj zaxvat** sudna s odstraneniem èkipaža i pogonej [---]. [Izvestija, Rossijskie rybaki **ne otbili** trauler "Sapfir II", 29.09.2011].
Three Russian ships hurried to help the fishermen [...]. The Norwegians also called for help. After that, real **military maneuvers** began at sea. [---] It was not a detention, but a real **forceful seizure** of the vessel with the removal of the crew [...]. [Izvestija, Russian fishermen **did not recapture** the trawler Sapphire II, 29.09.2011].

A comparison of the detention of the trawler with the military operation is reinforced through the combination of the above-mentioned phrases with the adjective *nastojaščij* 'real' and the phrase *samyj nastojaščij* 'most real'. The author even explicitly rejects the neutral conceptualization of the event as *zaderžanie* 'detention' in favor of the military-oriented conceptualization *silovoj zaxvat* 'seizure'.

The following example illustrates the metaphor RUSSIAN FISHERMEN ARE WAR VICTIMS. This metaphor is projected through the expression *zaščita interesov* 'protection of interests' used in the title of one of the texts in the regional media shown in example (214). Through this metaphor Russian fishermen are thus represented as passive victims who need help:

- (214) **Interesy [rossijskix] rybakov v vodax Špicbergena nuždajutsja v zaščite**
[Murmanskij Vestnik, 02.12.2015].
The interests of [Russian] fishermen in the waters of Svalbard need to be defended
[Murmanskij Vestnik, 02.12.2015].

In example (215) some fishermen are assigned a more active role through the use of the noun *bunt* 'revolt' which is often related to military contexts. The first meaning of this word is "spontaneous uprising, rebellion" that can take place on a ship or among

troops.⁵⁴ In example (215), the noun *bunt* ‘revolt’ indicates that the Russian fishermen protest the demands of the Norwegian Coast Guard and thus try to achieve justice. This representation is naturally expected to evoke the sympathy of the reader:

(215) Aresty norvežskoj beregovoj oxranoj stanovilis’ delom obyčnym. **“Bunt”** murmanskogo traulera “Elektron” skoree liš’ jarkoe isključenje iz pravila. Kuda bol’še bylo slučae v ynuždenogo prinjatija našimi sudovladel’cami pretenzij norvežskix vlastej i vyplaty nemalyx štrafov. [Murmanskij Vestnik, Naš patrol’ budet rjadom, 15.09.2010].

Arrests by the Norwegian Coast Guard were becoming commonplace. The **“revolt”** of the Murmansk trawler Electron is rather a striking exception to the rule. There were many more cases of forced acceptance by our shipowners of the Norwegian authorities’ claims and payment of considerable fines. [Murmanskij Vestnik, Our patrol will be near, 15.09.2010].

In example (215), the role of Russian fishermen and shipowners as passive victims of the Norwegian side is regarded as more typical in comparison with the role of active protestors. However, both roles, passive and more active, are evidently aimed at getting the reader to support the Russian fishermen’s position.

Russia’s economic presence in Svalbard overall also serves as a target domain of the WAR metaphors. The metaphor RUSSIAN AND NORWEGIAN ECONOMIC PRESENCE IN SVARLBARD IS WAR is used both in the historical and modern contexts. In one of the texts from the regional media, the Soviet presence in the archipelago is named *demonstracija flaga* “flag hoisting”:

(216) No sovetskoe pravitel’stvo šlo na ljubye zatraty i dotirovanie šaxterskix poselkov, vidja v nix svoego roda simvol, **“demonstraciju flaga”** na territorii, kotoruju norvežcy vseгда sčitali isključitel’no svoej. [Murmanskij Vestnik, Ne uglem ediny..., 10.07.2013].

But the Soviet government went to any cost in subsidizing the mining villages, seeing them as a kind of symbol, **“flag hoisting”** on the territory that the Norwegians have always considered exclusively theirs. [Murmanskij Vestnik, Not by coal alone..., 10.07.2013].

Demonstracija flaga “flag hoisting” is a navy term denoting non-military actions of the Navy ships of a certain state in a certain area. Though these actions do not involve military activities per se, they are aimed at presence of a particular state’s Navy ships somewhere which means exerting influence (pressure) on another state and thus ensuring national interests in the area.⁵⁵ In the context of example (216), the expression *demonstracija flaga* “flag hoisting” forms the metaphor SOVIET MINING VILLAGES IN SVALBARD ARE A NAVY SHIP FLYING ITS FLAG. This metaphor means that

⁵⁴ Bol’šoj tolkovyj slovar’: <http://www.gramota.ru/slovari/dic/?word=бунт&all=x>

⁵⁵ Terminy voenno-morskogo flota: https://terminy-voenno-morskogo-flota.slovaronline.com/46-демонстрация_флага

the purpose of the Soviet presence in the archipelago was not the economic development of the country in the area, but a reminder of the rights of the USSR to be present in Svalbard and to monitor the implementation of the Svalbard Treaty.

Another metaphorical expression related to war is *sdal' bez boja* 'surrender without putting up a fight' found in one of the texts from the federal media. This expression is used by the author in relation to the territories in the Barents Sea which passed to Norway in 2010 in accordance with the Barents Sea Border Agreement:

- (217) [...] my ustupili norvežcam polovinu spornoj territorii v 175 tys. kv. kilometrov. [---] [...] my **bez boja sdali** bogatejšie neftegazovye morskije mestoroždenija, razvedannye sovetскими geologami. [Argumenty Nedeli, Rybnaja vojna v sumerečnoj zone, 03.03.2011].
 [...] we ceded to the Norwegians half of the disputed territory of 175 thousand square kilometers. [---] [...] we **handed over** the richest offshore oil and gas fields explored by Soviet geologists **without a fight**. [Argumenty Nedeli, Fish war in the twilight zone, 03.03.2011].

The expression *sdal' bez boja* 'surrender without putting up a fight' and the context where it is used contribute to at least two metaphors: RUSSIA AND NORWAY ARE ENEMIES and THE BARENTS SEA AND ITS NATURAL RESOURCES ARE AN OBJECT OF A MILITARY BATTLE. Russia is thus represented as the side that refused to "fight" for the territory that belongs to Russia or Russia has a right for. In other words, the author criticizes the Russian side for weakness and unwillingness to dispute the mentioned territories and their resources.

Another occurrence of a war-related metaphor is illustrated in example (218) from the federal media:

- (218) Moskva načala "bitvu" za Špicbergen [Argumenty nedeli, 03.03.2020].
 Moscow began the "battle" for Svalbard [Argumenty nedeli, 03.03.2020].

Example (218) refers to the media reporting on a note sent to the Norwegian Foreign Minister by the Russian side in which Norway was accused of limiting Russia's economic activities in the archipelago and of non-compliance with the provisions of the Svalbard Treaty. The note was sent in honor of the 100th anniversary of signing of the Svalbard Treaty. The noun *bitva* 'battle' and the context where it is used can be interpreted as indicating two metaphors: RUSSIA AND NORWAY ARE ENEMIES, where Russia is represented as a strong adversary initiating a battle, and SVALBARD IS AN OBJECT OF A MILITARY BATTLE. These metaphors indicate Russia's determination to get justice in relation to its economic rights on Svalbard.

Another example from the federal media contains the phrase *konfliktnaja točka* 'a conflict point' which can be interpreted as a direct metaphor SVALBARD IS A (POSSIBLE) CONFLICT POINT:

- (219) Odin iz predstavitelej norvežskoj pressy sprosil Sergeja Lavrova, pravda li, čto arhipelag Špicbergen možet stat' **konfliktnoj točkoj** meždu Moskvoj i Oslo. (Izvestija, Arktičeskaja diplomatija, 19.10.2017).
One of the representatives of the Norwegian press asked Sergey Lavrov if it was true that the Svalbard archipelago could become **a conflict point** between Moscow and Oslo. (Izvestija, Arctic diplomacy, 19.10.2017).

Example (219) projects the metaphor RUSSIA AND NORWAY ARE ENEMIES through the phrase *meždu Moskvoj i Oslo* 'between Moscow and Oslo' where Moscow and Oslo metonymically indicate the whole countries and their governments. The use of the noun *točka* 'point' can also be interpreted as contributing to conceptualization of Svalbard as a small manipulable object (OBJECT metaphors are described in section 8.2.3).

Another relevant metaphor found in one of the texts from the regional media is projected with the expressions *ukrepljat' pozicii* 'strengthen positions' and *sdavat' pozicii* 'lose positions':

- (220) Rossija i Norvegija **ukrepljajut svoi pozicii** na Špicbergene. [---] V konce 2012 goda v naselennom punkte [Barencburg] čislilsja 471 čelovek, čto na 101 žitelja bol'se, čem v 2010 godu. [...] Norvegija takže **ne sdaet pozicii** v ètom regione. 31 dekabreja 2012 goda naselenie v stolice norvežskoj časti Špicbergena [...] – gorodke Long"ir – sostavilo 2090 žitelej. [TV-21, Rossijan na Špicbergene stalo bol'se, 4.02.2013].
Russia and Norway **are strengthening their positions** on Svalbard. [---] At the end of 2012, there were 471 people in the settlement [of Barentsburg], which is more than in 2010 by 101 inhabitants. [...] Norway **is not losing its position** in this region either. On December 31, 2012, the population in the capital of the Norwegian part of Svalbard [...] – the town of Longyearbyen – amounted to 2090 inhabitants. [TV-21, The number of Russians in Svalbard has increased, 4.02.2013].

Example (220) can be interpreted from various perspectives. When used in plural, the noun *pozicija* 'position' denotes a military operations area.⁵⁶ In addition, one of the meanings of the verb *ukrepiť/ukrepljat'* / 'strengthen' is "to create fortifications somewhere, to supply means of defense".⁵⁷ On the other hand, one of the meanings of the verb *sdat'/sdavat'* is "give to the enemy by having ceased resistance".⁵⁸ This implies that example (220) contains the conceptual metaphor SVALBARD IS A WAR ZONE. Example (220) does not contain words and phrases denoting direct confrontation between Russia and Norway. For this reason, example (220) may be interpreted as projecting the metaphor SVALBARD IS A COMPETITION ZONE. Within this conceptualization, the population of the Russian Barentsburg and the population of the Norwegian Longyearbyen can be seen as a means to compete for space and influence.

⁵⁶ Bol'soj tolkovyj slovar':

<http://gramota.ru/slovari/dic/?lop=x&bts=x&zar=x&ag=x&ab=x&sin=x&lv=x&az=x&pe=x&word=позиция>

⁵⁷ Bol'soj tolkovyj slovar': <http://gramota.ru/slovari/dic/?word=укрепить&all=x>

⁵⁸ Bol'soj tolkovyj slovar':

<http://gramota.ru/slovari/dic/?lop=x&bts=x&zar=x&ag=x&ab=x&sin=x&lv=x&az=x&pe=x&word=сдать>

In addition, example (220) can also be interpreted as representing Russia and Norway as allies strengthening their presence in Svalbard and thus preparing to “resist” economic activities of other possible actors in the archipelago.

Example (221) is another illustration of the metaphor SVALBARD IS A WAR / COMPETITION ZONE. This metaphor is projected through the phrase *ukreplenie pozicij* ‘strengthening positions’. A presence of the noun *soperničestvo* ‘rivalry’ in this example speaks in favor of conceptualizing Svalbard more as a competition area rather than a war area. Russia’s competitors are not named explicitly:

- (221) Rossii neobходимо forsirovat’ dejatel’nost’ po **ukrepleniju svoix pozicij** na Špicbergene. Odnim iz ključevyx momentov dlja Rossii v dannom **soperničestve** javljaetsja obespečenie prisutstvija na arxipelage Špicbergen. [Gazeta.Ru, 25.05.2012]. Russia needs to speed up activities **to strengthen its positions** in Svalbard. One of the key points for Russia in this **rivalry** is to ensure a presence in the Svalbard archipelago. [Gazeta.Ru, 25.05.2012].

One of the texts from the federal media offers an explicit conceptualization of Russia and Norway as allies. The conceptual metaphor RUSSIA AND NORWAY ARE / SHOULD BE ALLIES is projected via the simile *vesti sebja kak sojuzniki* ‘behave as allies’:

- (222) Kak otmetil zamglavy Rosrybolovstva Vladimir Sokolov, Rossija i Norvegija upravljajut edinym èkologičeskim kompleksom Barenceva morja i poèтому dolžny **vesti sebja kak sojuzniki**. [RT na rusском, V Barencevom more Norvegija “**dolžna deržat’sja za Rossiju**”, 28.10.2011]. As Vladimir Sokolov, deputy head of the Federal Agency for Fisheries, noted, Russia and Norway manage the single ecological complex of the Barents Sea and therefore should **behave as allies**. [RT na rusском, Norway “**should hold on to Russia**” in the Barents Sea, 28.10.2011].

As example (222) shows, the representation of Russia and Norway as allies or partners is offered as a desired situation rather than a real one. The phrase *Norvegija dolžna deržat’sja za Rossiju* ‘Norway should hold on to Russia’ in the title of the text represents Norway and Russia as human beings and projects the CONNECTION metaphor NORWAY IS A HUMAN WHO SHOULD HOLD ON TO RUSSIA IN THE BARENTS SEA (more CONNECTION metaphors are shown in section 8.2.13). This metaphor conveys the idea that Norway is a weak partner and Russia is a strong one.

Russia and Norway are not the only actors that serve as components of the WAR metaphors related to Svalbard. Some WAR metaphors involve China, which is regarded as a possible serious actor in the region. In one of the texts from the regional media, Svalbard is conceptualized as *placdarm* ‘a foothold’ for China’s presence in the Arctic in case China buys a plot on the territory of the archipelago:

- (223) [...] želanie Kitaja sdelat' podobnoe priobrenenie svjazano skoree s meždunarodnoj politikoj i vozmožnost'ju polučit' **placdam** v Arktike. [Xibiny.com, Norvegija ne otdast učastok Špicbergena kitajskomu magnatu, 25.05.2014].
 [...] China's desire to make such a purchase is more related to international politics and the opportunity to gain a **foothold** in the Arctic. [Xibiny.com, Norway won't hand over Svalbard plot to Chinese tycoon, 25.05.2014].

The first meaning of the noun *placdam* 'a foothold' is "space, a piece of terrain on which a military operation is being prepared and deployed".⁵⁹ Thus this noun contributes to formation of the metaphors SVALBARD IS A FOOTHOLD FOR CHINA'S PRESENCE IN THE ARCTIC and CHINA'S PRESENCE IN THE ARCTIC IS A MILITARY OPERATION. The former metaphor represents China as a possible very active actor in the Arctic because presence on a foothold presumably involves a lot of activities. The latter metaphor suggests that China is perceived as an aggressive actor in the Arctic.

Another projection of the metaphors SVALBARD IS A FOOTHOLD FOR CHINA'S PRESENCE IN THE ARCTIC and CHINA'S PRESENCE IN THE ARCTIC IS A MILITARY OPERATION is the use of the phrase *opornyj punkt* 'foothold, stronghold' in the same context of the possible purchase of Svalbard's land plot by China. This phrase is illustrated by example (224) from the federal media where Willy Østremg, the director of the Norwegian Academy of Polar Research, is quoted:

- (224) "KNR posredstvom dannoj pokupki možet ispol'zovat' Špicbergen v kačestve **opornogo punkta** dlja dal'nejšego osvoenija Severnogo Ledovitogo okeana". [Gazeta.Ru, Arktičeskij Kitaj. Kitajskij biznes idet v Arktiku, 18.05.2014].
 "China, through this purchase, can use Svalbard as a **stronghold** for further exploration of the Arctic Ocean". [Gazeta.Ru, Arctic China. Chinese business goes to the Arctic, 18.05.2014].

The adjective *opornyj* 'supporting' denotes something that "helps to settle, to gain a foothold somewhere" while the phrase *opornyj punkt* 'a stronghold' relates to the military sphere and denotes "the area prepared for all-round defense".⁶⁰ The use of these words implies that the land plot in Svalbard will provide China with a strong position in the Arctic and will give China the rights to explore the Arctic. Comparison of the presence of China in the Arctic with a military operation means that China is perceived as an aggressive actor in the region, and therefore its actions are assessed negatively.

The phrase *zaščitit' norvežskie interesy* 'protect Norwegian interests' is used in another text of the regional media in relation to the same context of China's possible purchase.

⁵⁹ Bol'soj tolkovyj slovar':

<http://gramota.ru/slovari/dic/?lop=x&bts=x&zar=x&ag=x&ab=x&sin=x&lv=x&az=x&pe=x&word=плацдарм>

⁶⁰ Bol'soj tolkovyj slovar':

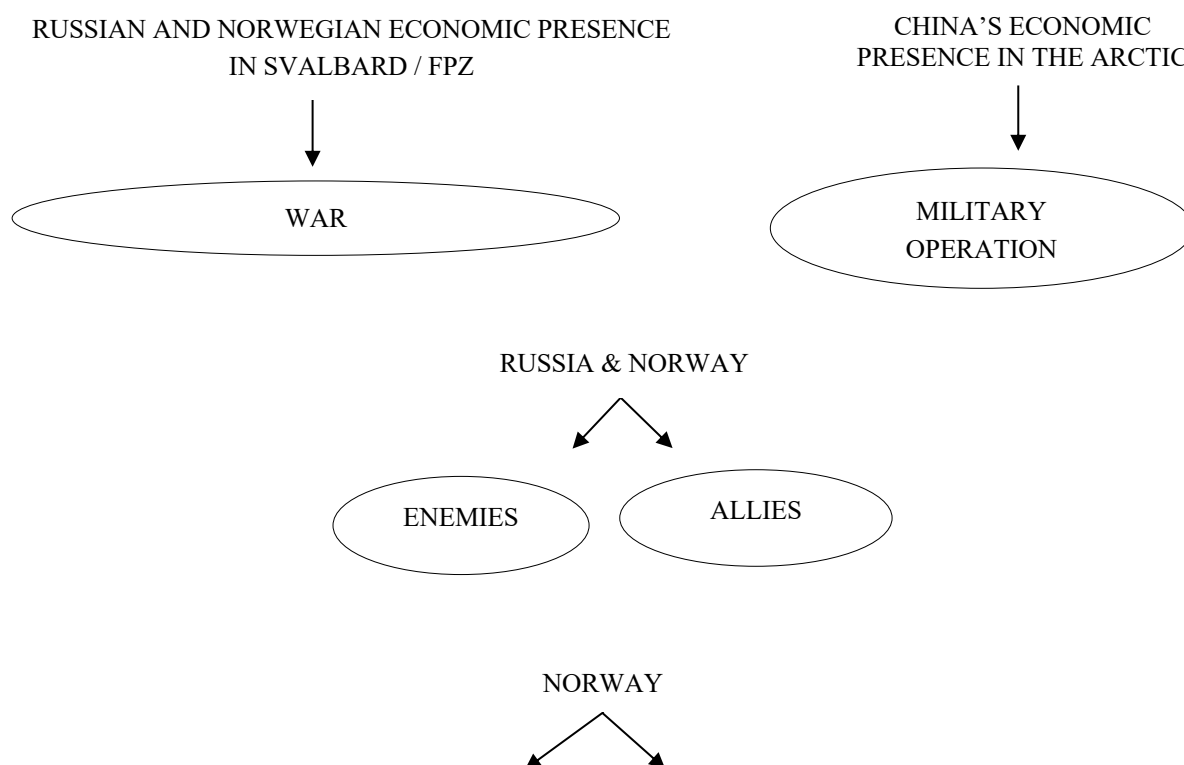
<http://gramota.ru/slovari/dic/?lop=x&bts=x&zar=x&ag=x&ab=x&sin=x&lv=x&az=x&pe=x&word=опорный>

This text quotes Petter Barlindhaug, Chairman of the Board of the Norwegian company North Energy:

- (225) “Norvegii sleduet priobresti ètu zemlju - i dlja togo, ètoby **zaščitit’ norvežskie interesy** na Špicbergene, i dlja togo, ètoby sobstvennost’ju ne vospol’zovalis’ dlja nagnetanija naprjažènnosti na arxipelage”. [Murmanskij vestnik, “Gorjaščij” zemel’nyj učastok na studènom Krajnem Severe, 07.05.2014].
 “Norway should acquire this land, both in order **to protect Norwegian interests** in Svalbard, and so that the property is not used to escalate tension in the archipelago”. [Murmanskij vestnik, A last-minute land plot in the icy Far North, 07.05.2014].

The phrase *zaščitit’ norvežskie interesy* ‘protect Norwegian interests’ projects the war-related metaphor, namely THE NORWEGIAN INTERESTS IN SVALBARD ARE A HUMAN / AN OBJECT THAT NEEDS TO BE PROTECTED / DEFENDED. Within this context it is expected that Norway itself will protect its interests. Although the metaphors illustrated in examples (224) and (225) appear in translations of the words of the Norwegian experts, they have been included in the present work. It has been expected that all the metaphors related to China in Svalbard can provide a fuller understanding of the metaphoric conceptualization of the actors in the region. Indeed, when another actor, namely China, is discussed in relation to Svalbard, the disagreement between Russia and Norway is not found, at least metaphorically.

The conceptual metaphors that map the source domain of war onto the target domain of Svalbard are summarized in Figure 14. This figure shows the contexts and actors that are related to Svalbard and conceptualized through war-related notions.



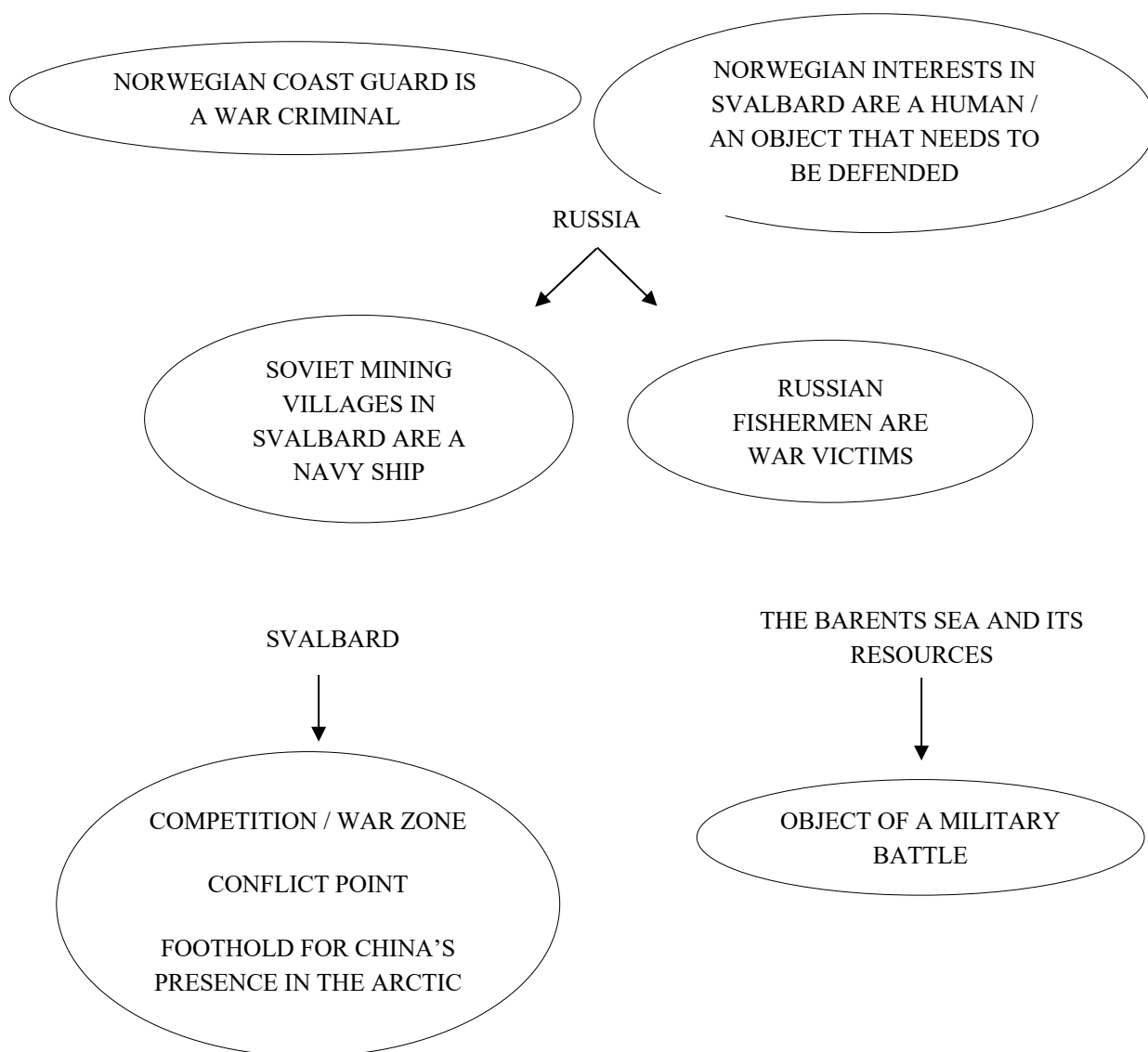


Figure 14. The conceptual metaphors that map the source domain of war onto the target domains of Svalbard and the Arctic

The conceptual metaphors shown in the present subsection can be united into one group **ECONOMIC PRESENCE IN SVALBARD AND IN THE ARCTIC IN GENERAL IS WAR** which can be interpreted as forming the conceptual key **INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS ARE WAR**. This conceptual key and the conceptual metaphors represent Svalbard and the Arctic as the territories of high competition between various countries, at least Russia, Norway, and China. Economic presence in these territories is very important for these countries, for examples, in terms of prestige, economic profit, ensuring security in the region.

The revealed **WAR** metaphors indicate a clear oppositional division of the Svalbard actors, namely Russia and Norway. The Norwegian side is assigned the role of a strong enemy while the Russian side often, but not always, appears in the weak position of a victim. Conceptualizing the relationship between these actors in the form of war creates

a picture of them being in a heated dispute with a lack of dialogue and compromise. However, not all war metaphors found provide such a simplified picture of the confrontation between Russia and Norway. On the one hand, Norway is also viewed as Russia's desired partner in the archipelago. On the other hand, the appearance of another actor in the region, namely China, shifts the target of negative attitude. In this context, the metaphors do not indicate any opposition between Russia and Norway, but rather China is viewed as an undesired actor in the region.

8.2.2 Criminality metaphors

The metaphorical expressions presented in this present subsection have been combined into CRIMINALITY metaphors. This conceptualization includes the roles of pirates, hooligans, and thieves, as well as their victims.

One of the contexts where the target domain of criminality is mapped onto the target domain of Svalbard is detentions of Russian fishermen by the Norwegian Coast Guard. In this context, the Norwegian Coast Guard is represented as pirates. The metaphor THE NORWEGIAN COAST GUARD IS A GROUP OF PIRATES appears in the texts of the federal and regional media between 2010-2014. This metaphor is projected by a number of words explicitly related to the semantic field of piracy, for example, the noun *piratsvto* 'piracy':

- (226) No malo kto znaet, gde imenno norvežcy pytalīs' zaderžat' sudno Jaranceva [kapitana rossijskogo ryboloveckogo sudna Elektron]. A bylo èto v zone dogovora o Špicbergene! To est', s rossijskoj točki zrenija, v otkrytom more, tak èto dejstvija norvežcev voobščè-to popaxivali **piratstvom**. [News29.ru, Rossija gotova podarit' Norvegii sotni tysjač kvadratnyx kilometrov Barenceva morja, 24.03.2011].
But few people know where exactly the Norwegians tried to detain Yarantsev's ship [Yarantsev is the captain of the Russian fishing vessel Elektron]. It was in the zone of the agreement on Svalbard! That is, from the Russian point of view, on the high seas, so the actions of the Norwegians actually smacked of **piracy**. [News29.ru, Russia is ready to give Norway hundreds of thousands of square kilometers of the Barents Sea, 24.03.2011].

Another phrase related to the semantic field of piracy is *piratskij zaxvat* 'a pirate seizure'. This phrase is illustrated in example (227), which cites Vladimir Pisarenko, a captain of one of the detained Russian trawlers, and in example (228):

- (227) “[...] Menja, graždanina Rossii, predstavitelja strany v meždunarodnyx vodax **nasil'no zaxvatili**, zaveli buksir i nasil'no otbuksirovali v port Tromse. Èto èto? Èto **piratskij zaxvat**”. [Vesti.Ru, Xozjaeva traulera “Orlik” podali isk v Norvežskij korolevskij sud, 05.10.2011].
“[...] I, a citizen of Russia, a representative of the country in international waters, was **forcibly captured**, brought in a tugboat and forcibly towed to the port of Tromsø. What is this? This is **a pirate seizure**”. [Vesti.Ru, The owners of the trawler Orlik filed a lawsuit with the Norwegian Royal Court, 05.10.2011].

- (228) Zatem sudno [rossijskij trauler “Sapfir-2”] bylo vzjato korabem “Nordkap” na buksir. Po suti, proizošel **piratskij zaxvat**. [Arxangel’sk, “Nordkapskij” plennik, 06.10.2011].
Then the ship [Russian trawler Sapphire-2] was taken in tow by the ship Nordkap. In fact, there was a **pirate seizure**. [Arxangel’sk, Prisoner of Nordkap, 06.10.2011].

The meaning of some words in examples (227) – (228) denotes the use of force. These are the adverb *nasil’no* ‘forcibly’, the verb *zaxvatit’* ‘capture’, and the noun *zaxvat* ‘seizure’. These words conceptualize Russian fishermen as victims and thus project the other metaphor: RUSSIAN FISHERMEN ARE VICTIMS OF PIRATES.

Another related representation is achieved with the help of the verb *ščemit’* ‘squeeze, tighten’. When used as part of youth slang, this verb means ‘bully in order to take money or other things from someone’.⁶¹ This meaning is demonstrated in the following example:

- (229) Pri ètom Moskve sleduet podumat’ o zaščite interesov svoix rybakov, kotoryx, čto nazyvaetsja, reguljarno “**ščemjat**” norvežskie pograničniki i kotorye na segodnjašnjij den’ tol’ko liš’ terjajut v rezul’tate podpisannyx soglašenij. [Pravda.Ru, Resursy Barenceva morja podelili po-bratski? 06.03.2013].
At the same time, Moscow should think about protecting the interests of its fishermen, who, as they say, are regularly “**bullied**” by the Norwegian border guards and who today only lose as a result of signed agreements. [Pravda.Ru, Have the resources of the Barents Sea been divided fraternally? 06.03.2013].

In example (229) the actions of the Norwegian Coast Guard (named border guards by the author of the text) are compared to the actions of hooligans. From this perspective, example (229) projects two metaphors: THE NORWEGIAN COAST GUARD IS A HOOLIGAN and RUSSIAN FISHERMEN ARE VICTIMS OF THE HOOLIGAN.

The other context where at least one metaphor invoking criminality was found is blaming Norway for limitations on Russia’s economic activities in Svalbard in general. One of the verbs used within this context is *prisvoit’* ‘appropriate’. The expanded meaning of this verb is ‘to take possession of something, to make something one’s own property without permission’.⁶² The verb *prisvoit’* occurs in the texts of the federal media published in 2018 and 2020:

- (230) Byvšij posol Rossii obvinil Norvegiju v planax **prisvoit’** Špicbergen [Vzgljad.ru, 23.01.2018].
Former Russian ambassador accused Norway of plans **to appropriate** Svalbard [Vzgljad.ru, 23.01.2018].
(231) Norvegija **prisvoila** Špicbergen. Oficial’nyj Oslo grubo narušaet Dogovor o Špicbergene 1920 goda, gde zafiksirovany ravnye s Norvegiej prava Rossii na osvoenie

⁶¹ Slovar’ sovremennoj leksiki, žargona i slenga: <https://argo.academic.ru/6372/щемить>

⁶² Bol’šoj tolkovyj slovar’:

<http://gramota.ru/slovari/dic/?lop=x&bts=x&zar=x&ag=x&ab=x&sin=x&lv=x&az=x&pe=x&word=присвоить>

ostrova. [Rossijskaja Gazeta, Počemu Norvegija grubo narušat Dogovor s Rossiej o Špicbergene,].

Norway **appropriated** Svalbard. Oslo officials grossly violate the 1920 Svalbard Treaty, which stipulates Russia's equal rights with Norway to develop the island. [Rossijskaja Gazeta, Why Norway grossly violates the Svalbard Treaty with Russia, 05.02.2020].

Examples (230) and (231) show that Norway is represented as a human being. The phrase *prisvoit' Špicbergen* 'appropriate Svalbard' assigns Norway the role of a thief and thus projects the metaphor NORWAY IS A THIEF. The other metaphor that examples (230) and (231) project is SVALBARD IS A POSSESSION. The use of the verb *prisvoit'* 'appropriate' implies that Norway is seen as Svalbard's illegal possessor. Example (231) indicates that Svalbard is viewed as the territory to be developed exclusively by two countries: Russia and Norway. This idea is projected through the phrase *ravnje s Norvegiej prava Rossii na osvoenie ostrova* 'Russia's equal rights with Norway to develop the island' and through the title of text illustrated by example (231) which clearly foregrounds only two signatories of the Svalbard Treaty, namely Norway and Russia. Thus, representation of Norway as an illegal possessor of Svalbard automatically represents Russia as the party deprived of its rights to the archipelago by Norway.

As it is shown in example (232), the metaphor NORWAY IS A THIEF is also projected by the verb *otžat'* 'squeeze' used as a slang word denoting 'seize'. This verb occurs in the text mentioning the Barents Sea Border Agreement of 2010. This agreement is regarded by the author as a means used by the Norwegian side to deceive the Russian side and to seize a part of the Barents Sea. As a slang word, the verb *otžat'* 'squeeze' means to forcibly take something away from a person. This verb thus projects the metaphors NORWAY (NORWEGIANS) IS A HOOLIGAN / THIEF and TERRITORIES IN THE BARENTS SEA ARE POSSESSIONS:

(232) Odnako vrjad li na ètot raz u norvežcev polučitsja fokus, kotoryj oni provernuli vo vremja prezidentstva Dm. Medvedeva. Napomnim, togda oni **otžali** u Rossii 80 tys. kv. km Barenceva morja. [Argumenty Nedeli, Moskva načala "bitvu" za Špicbergen, 03.03.2020].

However, it is unlikely that this time the Norwegians will succeed in the trick that they pulled during the presidency of Dm. Medvedev. Recall that then they **seized** from Russia 80 thousand square km of the Barents Sea. [Argumenty Nedeli, Moscow began the "battle" for Svalbard, 03.03.2020].

Example (233) illustrates another CRIMINALITY metaphor, namely BARENTSBURG IS A PRISON. This metaphor is projected through the simile *kak na zone* 'like in a prison'. The noun *zona* 'zone', when used as a slang word, denotes 'prison'. The metaphor BARENTSBURG IS A PRISON conveys the idea that living conditions in this settlement are very bad:

(233) V Barenburge ljudi život **kak na zone**, - sčitaet naučnyj sotrudnik odnogo iz murmanskix universitetov Osip Kokin. [--] Tuda sejčas priezžajut rabotat' tol'ko ukrajskie šaxtery i tadžiki s uzbekami. Russkie v takix tjaželyx uslovijax za malen'kuju

zarplatu trudit'sja ne xotjat. [Moskovskij Komsomolec, Zabloženaja Arktika: S ruskogo Špicbergena ubegajut poslednie žiteli, 30.12.2011].

In Barentsburg, people live **like in a prison**, – says Osip Kokin, a researcher at one of the Murmansk universities. [---] Only Ukrainian miners, Tajiks, and Uzbeks come there to work now. Russians do not want to work in such difficult conditions for low wages. [Moskovskij Komsomolec, Abandoned Arctic: The last inhabitants of Russian Svalbard are fleeing, 30.12.2011].

The conceptual metaphors that map the source domain of criminality onto the target domain of Svalbard and of related actors are summarized in Figure 15.

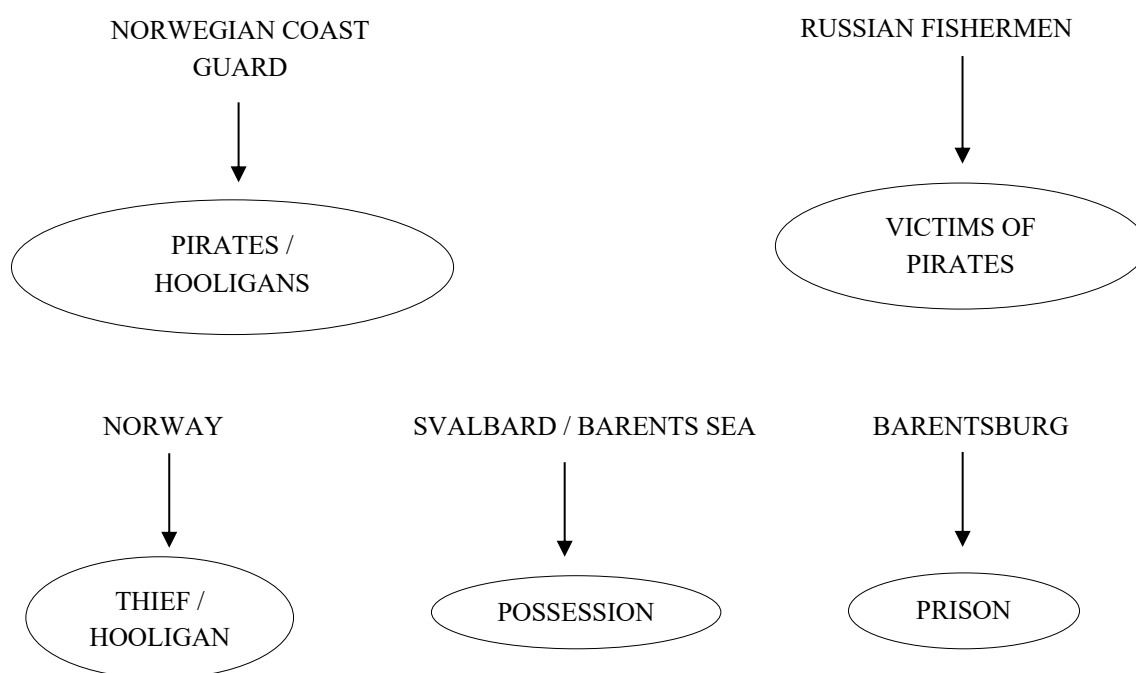


Figure 15. The conceptual metaphors that map the source domain of criminality onto the target domain of Svalbard

Most of the metaphors presented in this subsection can be grouped under the conceptual key A COUNTRY IS A HUMAN, indicating that the conceptualization of Svalbard in terms of crime involves at least two national actors with their own roles. The revealed conceptual metaphors assign Norway the role of a criminal state and represent Russia as a victim of Norway's criminal actions. It is expected that the one who has the status of a criminal will be brought to justice. Therefore, in this context Russia does not appear as a completely weak actor. Instead, Russia is represented as an actor which has justice on its side.

The metaphor BARENTSBURG IS A PRISON stands out from the general trend of confrontation between the Norwegian and Russian sides shown by the CRIMINALITY metaphors and focuses on the Russian Barentsburg as a place not much suitable for life.

8.2.3 Object metaphors

A number of texts from both the federal and regional media contain metaphorical expressions projecting OBJECT metaphors. The OBJECT conceptualization includes the role of objects, people holding or losing objects, and containers containing certain objects.

In example (234), the OBJECT metaphor is generated by the phrase *Svalbard uplyvaet iz ruk Rossii* ‘Svalbard is slipping out of the hands of Russia’. This phrase can be regarded as the antonymic variant of the phrase *deržat' čto-libo v rukax* ‘to hold something in one’s hands’ which is paraphrased as ‘to have at one’s disposal, to possess’.⁶³ Thus, the phrase *Svalbard uplyvaet iz ruk Rossii* ‘Svalbard is slipping out of the hands of Russia’ projects the metaphors SVALBARD IS AN OBJECT and RUSSIA IS A HUMAN BEING that possesses this object or has control over it and is gradually losing this object:

- (234) Špicbergen - arxipelag v Severnom Ledovitom okeane - medlenno **uplyvaet iz ruk Rossii**. [Moskovskij Komsomolec, Zabloženaja Arktika. S ruskogo Špicbergena ubegajut poslednie žiteli, 30.12.2011].
Svalbard, an archipelago in the Arctic Ocean, is slowly **slipping out of the hands of Russia**. [Moskovskij Komsomolec, Abandoned Arctic. The last inhabitants of Russian Svalbard are fleeing, 30.12.2011].

Example (234) is taken from an article describing the devastating state of Russian mining settlements in Svalbard at the beginning of the 2010s. A possible complete abandonment of these settlements means for the author of the article that Russia will lose Svalbard in favor of Norway. The verb *uplyvaet*, used in example (234), has the basic meaning ‘swims, sails’ and can be interpreted as projecting another metaphor – SVALBARD IS A SHIP. A ship relates to the concept of journey described by Lakoff & Johnson (1980: 117) as one of the basic domains of experience or natural kinds of experience that are often used for conceptualization of other basic domains of experience, for example, love, time, and argument. The metaphor SVALBARD IS A SHIP sailing away from Russia assigns an active role to Svalbard and portrays the sailing process as uncontrollable by Russia. The aim of the SHIP metaphor as used within the context of the text illustrated in example (234) is to criticize the Russian policies of that time in relation to the Russian presence in the archipelago.

⁶³ Bol’šoj tolkovyj slovar’: <http://gramota.ru/slovari/dic/?word=pyka&all=x>

As example (235) demonstrates, the OBJECT metaphors are also projected through the verb *terjat'* 'lose'. In this example related to the context of climate change, Kim Holmen, the head of Norwegian Polar Institute, is cited:

- (235) “My **terjaem** Sval'bard, k kotoromu my privykli, my **terjaem** Arktiku, k kotoroj my privykli, iz-za izmenenij klimata”. [Izvestija. My ego terjaem: kak poteplenie menjaet žizn' ljudej na Špicbergene, 05.09.2019].
 “We **are losing** the Svalbard we are used to, we **are losing** the Arctic we are used to due to climate change”. [Izvestija, We are losing it: how warming is changing people's lives in Svalbard, 05.09.2019].

Example (235) thus shows the metaphors SVALBARD AND THE ARCTIC ARE OBJECTS that people are losing. The aim of these metaphors is to call for action to stop global warming otherwise Svalbard and the Arctic will change radically.

Svalbard, or rather a part of it, is also conceptualized as an object controlled by Norway. This is achieved with the help of the phrase *ostat'sja v norvežskix rukax* 'remain in Norwegian hands' and the verb *(ne) odtat'* '(not) hand over' illustrated in example (236):

- (236) Pravitel'stvo Norvegii rabotaet na[d] tem, čtoby učastok Èustre Adventf'ord na Špicbergene **ostalsja v norvežskix rukax**. [Xibiny.com, Norvegija **ne otdast** učastok Špicbergena kitajskomu magnatu, 25.05.2014].
 The Norwegian government is working to ensure that the Austre Adventfjord land plot on Svalbard **remains in Norwegian hands**. [Xibiny.com, Norway **won't hand over** Svalbard plot to Chinese tycoon, 25.05.2014].

Thus, example (236) projects the metaphors THE AUSTRE ADVENTFJORD IS AN OBJECT / POSSESSION and NORWAY IS A HUMAN BEING.

In example (237), the verb *zabirat'* 'take' contributes to representation of Svalbard as a thing taken away from Russia by Norway. This verb is used in the title of the text blaming Norway for restrictions of Russian economic activities in the archipelago, and it projects the metaphors NORWAY AND RUSSIA ARE HUMAN BEINGS and SVALBARD IS AN OBJECT / POSSESSION:

- (237) Norvegija **zabiraet** u Rossii Špicbergen? [Argumenty Nedeli, 06.02.2020].
 Norway **takes** Svalbard from Russia? [Argumenty Nedeli, 06.02.2020].

Another example of the OBJECT metaphor is the representation of Svalbard as an object manipulated by Norway's military policy. This metaphor is illustrated in example (238):

- (238) Nakonec, eščë odin spor, grozjaščij priobresti gorjačie formy, - **vtjagivanie** “ničejnogo” **Špicbergena v orbitu** voennoj politiki Norvegii, napomnim - strany NATO. [Severnaja Nedelja, Sval'bord ne vpisyvaetsja v Parižskij dogovor, 03.11.2017].

Finally, another dispute that threatens to become a hot conflict is **the pulling of a “no man’s” Svalbard into the orbit** of the military policy of Norway, which is a NATO country. [Severnaja Nedelja, Svalbard does not fit the Paris Treaty, 03.11.2017].

The phrase *orbita voennoj politiki Norvegii* ‘the orbit of the military policy of Norway’ represents the military policy of Norway as a mighty celestial body with a strong gravitational sphere. This phrase thus projects the metaphor NORWAY’S MILITARY POLICY IS A POWERFUL CELESTIAL BODY. The metaphor SVALBARD IS AN OBJECT is projected through the phrase *vtjagivanie Špicbergena* ‘pulling of Svalbard’. The archipelago is thus represented as a manipulable object that can be moved and easily pulled into the trajectory of Norway’s military policy which is portrayed as a big and powerful body. Putting these metaphors in the context of the main Svalbard actors, namely Norway (NATO) and Russia, one can say that these metaphors highlight the role of Norway and NATO as strong actors and downplay the role of Russia, thus representing it as the weaker party. Note that example (238) contains a misrepresentation of Svalbard. The author of the text undermines the status of the archipelago by naming it *ničejnyj* ‘no man’s’ despite the fact that nowadays this territory belongs to Norway.

The situation of object pulling is also illustrated in example (239) through the verb *vtjanut’* ‘pull’. This time it is NATO that performs the role of a manipulable object being pulled by the Norwegian authorities into Svalbard and the Arctic:

- (239) Popytki norvežskix vlastej **vtjanut’ NATO v Arktiku i na Špicbergen** v častnosti, ne mogut ne vyzyvat’ ozabočennosti. [Rossijskaja Gazeta, Počemu Norvegija grubo narušaet Dogovor s Rossiej o Špicbergene, 05.02.2020].
Attempts of the Norwegian authorities **to pull NATO into the Arctic and Svalbard** in particular cannot but cause concern. [Rossijskaja Gazeta, Why Norway grossly violates the Svalbard Treaty with Russia, 05.02.2020].

Example (239) illustrates two metaphors projected by the phrase *vtjanut’ NATO v Arktiku i na Špicbergen* ‘pull NATO into the Arctic and Svalbard’: NATO IS AN OBJECT and THE ARCTIC AND SVALBARD ARE CONTAINERS (more CONTAINER metaphors are shown in subsection 8.2.8). The verb *vtjanut’* ‘pull into’ embodies the CONTAINER metaphor through marking “the limit of space projected through the concept of inclusion” (Moraru 2010: 59). At the same time, the concept of the CONTAINER is evoked through the opposition in-out created by the verb *vtjanut’* ‘pull into’ and its antonyms *vytjanut’* ‘pull out of’ and *vytolknut’* ‘push out’. This opposition evokes the image of a container by defining “the separation line – either inside the container or outside it” (Moraru 2010: 59). Overall, being represented as a manipulable object, NATO is assigned a much weaker role in comparison with the agent of the action, namely the Norwegian authorities.

In example (240), the phrase *vydavlivanie Rossii iz Špicbergena* ‘forcing Russia out of Svalbard’ can be interpreted as projecting the metaphors SVALBARD IS A CONTAINER and RUSSIA IS AN OBJECT being forced out from this container. The

meaning of the phrase *vydavlivanie iz* ‘forcing out of’ can imply an existence of a certain force inside a container, which is able to force something out of this container. In example (240), the role of such a force is assigned to Norway and this representation conveys the idea of Norway’s strong position in Svalbard. On the other hand, since the meaning of *vydavlivanie* ‘forcing out’ implies a use of physical effort applied to something, the object, which is forced out, specifically Russia, is also seen as having a fairly strong position in the container, namely Svalbard. On the other hand, the phrase *po Rossii èto b’et sil’nee* ‘it hits Russia harder’ projects the metaphor **RUSSIA IS AN OBJECT** being hit by Norway which assigns Russia a passive role of the victim:

- (240) [...] Norvegija prodolžает liniju na **vydavlivanie Rossii iz Špicbergena** [...]. Ètu liniju Norvegija provodit i v otnošenii drugix učastnikov Parižskogo dogovora, no **po Rossii èto b’et sil’nee**, potomu što my na Špicbergene prisutstvuem ne virtual’no, a real’no [...]. [Moskovskij Komsomolec, Vizovyj skandal: Norvegii ne vygodno oxlaždenie s Rossiej pered vyborami, 01.02.2017].
 [...] Norway continues the line of **forcing Russia out of Svalbard** [...]. Norway is pursuing this line in relation to other parties to the Paris Treaty, but **it hits Russia harder**, because we are present in Svalbard not virtually, but really” [...]. [Moskovskij Komsomolec, Visa scandal: Norway does not benefit from coolness with Russia before the elections, 01.02.2017].

The conceptual metaphors that map the source domain of object onto the target domains of Svalbard and the Arctic are summarized in Figure 16.

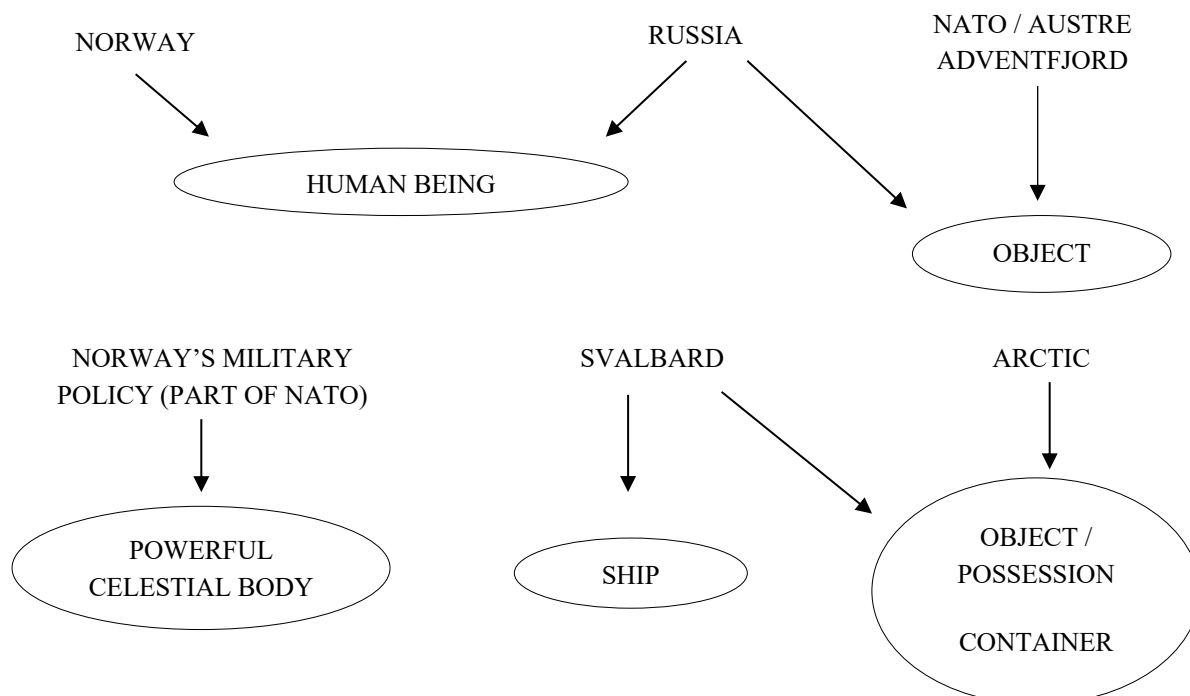


Figure 16. The conceptual metaphors that map the source domain of object (as well as of human being and container) onto the target domains of Svalbard and the Arctic

The revealed conceptual key consisting of at least two or more conceptual metaphors are A COUNTRY IS A HUMAN, A REGION IS AN OBJECT, and A REGION IS A CONTAINER. The metaphors comprising these conceptual keys form various conceptualizations and assign various roles to Svalbard and Svalbard-related actors. For example, the conceptualization of Svalbard and Austre Adventfjord as objects implies that they are represented as powerless entities that are easy to manipulate which means that they can be transferred from an owner to an owner. On the other hand, Svalbard and the Arctic are represented as active objects and this representation highlights the inability of their present owners or controllers to manage these objects. Russia is often assigned a role of a victim, for example, by being represented as an object being forced out of Svalbard or as a person being deprived of the Svalbard object. Almost in all these cases, Norway is explicitly blamed for oppressing Russia in the region. Representation of Svalbard as an object related to Russia highlights Russia's ownership or at least control over this territory.

8.2.4 Health and body metaphors

Some texts contain metaphorical expressions that project HEALTH and BODY metaphors. These metaphorical conceptualizations are realized through reference to physical pain, suffering and illness. For instance, the text from the regional media illustrated in example (241) cites Konstantin Drevetnjak, an expert from the Russian Federal Agency for Fishery, who names a 200-mile zone around Svalbard (regarded by the Norwegian side as FPZ) as a *bolevaja točka* 'sore point':

(241) Zona Špicbergena [dvuxsotmil'naja zona vokrug arxipelaga Špicbergen] ostaetsja **bolevoj točkoj** v otnošenijax meždu Rossiej i Norvegiej [...]. [Murmanskij vestnik, Rossijskie pograničniki otpravjatsja oxranjat' rybakov u Špicbergena, 30.05.2013].

The Svalbard area [200-mile zone around the Svalbard archipelago] remains a **sore point** in relations between Russia and Norway [...]. [Murmanskij Vestnik, Russian border guards will head to protect fishermen near Svalbard, 30.05.2013].

The metaphorical expression *bolevaja točka* 'sore point' thus projects the following metaphors – THE RUSSIAN-NORWEGIAN RELATIONS ARE A HUMAN BODY and FPZ IS A PART OF THIS BODY that is in pain. The aim of these metaphors is to rather emotionally demonstrate that the Russian-Norwegian interaction in relation to fishing near Svalbard is difficult and problematic.

In another text, FPZ is referred to as *mnogostradal'nyj rajon* 'long-suffering region':

(242) [...] v Kaliningrade v 2005 godu na očerednom zasedanii SRNK [Smešannoj rossijsko-norvežskoj komissii po rybolovstvu] byl v pervye zapisan punkt o probleme Špicbergena. [---] I liš' v 2007 godu rossijskaja delegacija stala posledovatel'nee i tverže trebovat' konkretnogo rešenija voprosa vedenija kontrolja v "**mnogostradal'nom**" rajone. [Murmanskij Vestnik, Otpravit' by za bort... razdory, 19.10.2011].

[...] in Kaliningrad in 2005, at a regular meeting of the Joint Russian-Norwegian Commission on Fisheries, the topic of the Svalbard problem was first addressed. [---] And only in 2007 did the Russian delegation become more consistent and firmer in demanding a concrete solution to the issue of control **in the “long-suffering” region**. [Murmansky Vestnik, Why not send strife overboard, 19.10.2011].

The adjective *mногострадал'nyj* ‘long-suffering’ often describes animate nouns, for example, *materi* ‘mothers’.⁶⁴ For this reason, the phrase *mногострадал'nyj rajon* ‘long-suffering region’ can be interpreted as projecting the metaphor FPZ IS A LONG-SUFFERING PERSON which represents this area as experiencing a long-lasting problem.

The other phrase that relates to the semantic field of human body is *polita potom i krov'ju našix predkov* ‘watered with the sweat and blood of our ancestors’ used in connection with the Svalbard territory:

- (243) [...] Špicbergen - i naša [rossijskaja] zemlja tože, ona **polita potom i krov'ju našix predkov**. [Rossijskaja gazeta, Genkonsul RF na Špicbergene: Nel'zja delat' perekos tol'ko v storonu turizma, 21.03.2020].
 [...] Svalbard is our [Russian] land too, it is **watered with the sweat and blood of our ancestors**. [Rossijskaja gazeta, Consul General of the Russian Federation in Svalbard: You can't skew only towards tourism, 21.03.2020].

The phrase *polita potom i krov'ju našix predkov* ‘watered with the sweat and blood of our ancestors’ produces the image of the ground soaked with sweat and blood. It is a metonymical expression, rather than the metaphorical one, because it stands for the Russian ancestors who struggled and died in Svalbard. The expression is aimed at emphasizing the connection between Russia and Svalbard.

Example (244) contains the phrase *zarazit'sja Arktikoj* ‘become infected with the Arctic’ which projects the metaphor THE ARCTIC IS AN INFECTIOUS DISEASE. In this example, the Russian Deputy Prime Minister Dmitry Rogozin shares his impression after travelling to Svalbard in April 2015:

- (244) Ja xorošo informirovannyj čelovek, no ne predstavljaj, kak ustroena žizn' rossijan zdes', na Špicbergene. Zdes' est' čto posmotret', i možno **zarazit'sja Arktikoj** na vsju žizn' [...]. [Argumenty Nedeli, Rogozin pribyl na Špicbergen i dalee otpravitsja na Severnyj poljus, 18.04.2015].
 I am a well-informed person, but I had no idea how the life of Russians works here in Svalbard. There is something to see here, and you can **become infected with the Arctic** for life [...]. [Argumenty Nedeli, Rogozin arrived in Svalbard and then he will go to the North Pole, 18.04.2015].

⁶⁴ Bol'šoj tolkovyj slovar': <http://www.gramota.ru/slovari/dic/?word=многострадальный&all=x>

The metaphor THE ARCTIC IS AN INFECTIOUS DISEASE represents the Arctic as a region that easily impresses people, that makes them very interested, and that makes them come back there again and again.

The conceptual metaphors that map the source domains of health and body onto the target domains of Svalbard and the Arctic are summarized in Figure 17.

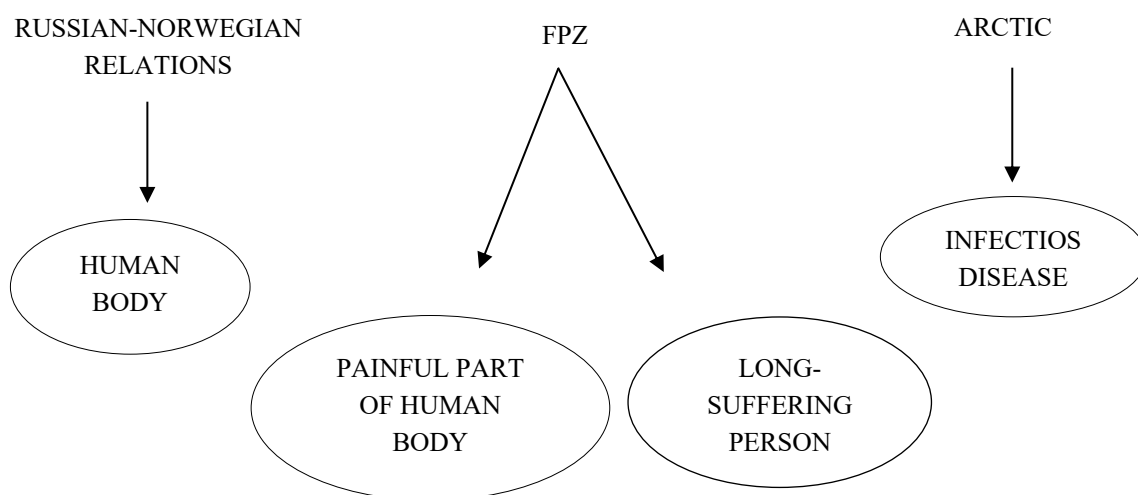


Figure 17. The conceptual metaphors that map the source domain of health and body onto the target domains of Svalbard and the Arctic

Although the identified conceptual metaphors are few, they can be classified according to conceptual keys: INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS ARE A HUMAN BODY, A REGION IS A HUMAN, and A REGION IS A DISEASE.

Conceptualization of Russian-Norwegian relations around the FPZ as a painful experience through the metaphors FPZ IS A PAINFUL PART OF HUMAN BODY and FPZ IS A LONG-SUFFERING PERSON implies a certain sympathy and a natural desire to alleviate or end this pain. For this reason, these metaphors can be interpreted as suggesting a call for problem-solving. Representation of the Arctic as an infectious disease provides a romantic image of this region as an impressive and magnetic place.

8.2.5 Animal metaphors

The ANIMAL metaphors are projected by several metaphorical expressions referring to birds and a crab.

The ANIMAL metaphors are projected, for example, through the phrase *pod krylo* ‘under the wing’. The phrase *pod krylom* ‘under the wing’ is the allegorical expression which produces the image of a hen with chicks under its wings and which means ‘under

protection'⁶⁵. This phrase is used by the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs which is cited in several texts of the federal media, for example:

- (245) V kontekste že nunešnego **kursa NATO na “sderživanje” Rossii** popytki podtjanut' Špicbergen **“pod krylo”** voenno-političeskogo bloka i provedenie tam meroprijatij pod ego ègidoj ne sootvetstvujut duxu Dogovora 1920 goda. [Parlamentskaja Gazeta, V MID RF sočli provokaciej plany NATO organizovat' meroprijatie na Špicbergene, 19.04.2017].
In the context of **NATO's current course of “detering” Russia**, attempts to drag Svalbard **“under the wing”** of the military-political bloc and holding events there under its auspices do not correspond to the spirit of the 1920 Treaty. [Parlamentskaja Gazeta, The Russian Foreign Ministry considered NATO plans to organize an event in Svalbard a provocation, 19.04.2017].

The metaphors that the phrase *podtjanut' pod krylo* ‘drag under the wing’ projects are NATO IS A MOTHER HEN and SVALBARD IS A CHICK. NATO is thus represented as a patronizing and protecting organization while Svalbard, which is the object of the verb *podtjanut'* ‘drag’, is represented as an immature entity that does not have its own will. Since NATO is portrayed as Russia’s competitor through the phrase *kurs NATO na “sderživanje” Rossii* ‘NATO’s course of “detering” Russia’, the metaphors NATO IS A MOTHER HEN and SVALBARD IS A CHICK are interpreted as expressing disapproval of NATO’s actions towards Svalbard.

Another example is occurrence of the simile *povesti sebja kak arktičeskij straus* ‘act like an Arctic ostrich’ used by the Russian Deputy Prime Minister Dmitrij Rogozin to refer to Norwegian diplomats. Rogozin is cited in both the federal and regional media:

- (246) Vice-prem'er Dmitrij Rogozin poironiziroval nad rešeniem Norvegii zapretit' v"ezd na Špicbergen popavšim pod sankcii rossijanam. **“Norvežskie diplomaty poveli sebja kak arktičeskij straus, zakopavšij golovu v sneg,”** - napisal Rogozin v svoem Twitter. [TV-21, Rogozin nazval norvežskix diplomatov “arktičeskimi strausami”, 11.08.2015].
Deputy Prime Minister Dmitry Rogozin sneered at Norway's decision to ban entry to Svalbard for Russians who fell under sanctions. **“Norwegian diplomats acted like an Arctic ostrich with its head buried in the snow,”** Rogozin tweeted. [TV-21, Rogozin called Norwegian diplomats “Arctic ostriches”, 11.08.2015].

Rogozin’s statement is formed from another expression which is adapted to “the Arctic context”. The original expression is *zaryt' golovu v pesok kak straus* ‘bury your head in the sand like an ostrich’ which denotes a person’s desire to ignore a problem.⁶⁶ Rogozin’s statement thus projects the metaphor NORWEGIAN DIPLOMATS ARE OSTRICHES. This metaphor expresses the irony towards the actions of the Norwegian side and represents the Norwegian authorities as unresponsive and incompetent.

⁶⁵ Bol'šoj tolkovo-frazeologičeskij slovar' Mixel'sona: https://dic.academic.ru/dic.nsf/michelson_new/7876/под

⁶⁶ Bol'šoj tolkovyj slovar': <http://gramota.ru/slovari/dic/?word=српаяс&all=x>

In example (247), the metaphorical phrase *ètot krab* ‘this crab’, a part of the phrase *vynudit' ètogo kraba pokinut' peščeru* ‘force this crab to leave the cave’, refers to Norwegian authorities. These phrases embody the metaphor NORWEGIAN AUTHORITIES IS A CRAB sitting in a cave. Like the ostrich metaphor described in example (246), the crab metaphor represents the Norwegian authorities as hiding from the real problems on Svalbard, and thus as unprofessional and incompetent:

(247) Kstati, nado skazat', čto rossijskij MID dejstvitel'no dovol'no mnogo vnimanija udeljaet probleme Špicbergena, no vse èto upiraetsja v opisannuju vyše poziciju norvežskoj storony. Nado kak-to **vynudit' ètogo kraba pokinut' peščeru**, potomu čto **voprosov nakopilos' mnogo**. [Vzgljad.ru, Politika: Norvegija primenila protiv Rossii naglaju taktiku, 09.02.2020].

By the way, I must say that the Russian Foreign Ministry really pays quite a lot of attention to the problem of Svalbard, but all this rests on the position of the Norwegian side described above. It is necessary to somehow **force this crab to leave the cave**, because **a lot of questions piled up**. [Взгляд.ру, Politics: Norway used brazen tactics against Russia, 09.02.2020].

The phrase *voprosov nakopilos' mnogo* ‘a lot of questions piled up’ from example (247) projects another metaphor THE QUESTIONS REGARDING SVALBARD ARE A HEAP. This metaphor emphasizes a big amount of problems.

The conceptual metaphors that map the source domain of animals onto the target domain of Svalbard and Svalbard-related actors are summarized in Figure 18.

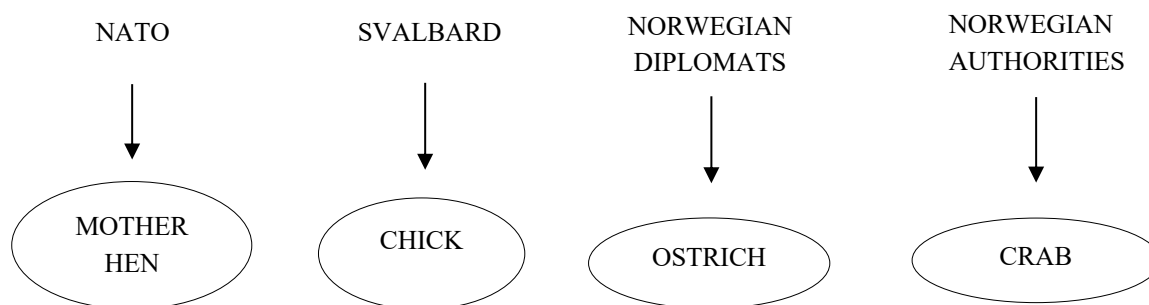


Figure 18. The conceptual metaphors that map the source domain of animals onto the target domain of Svalbard

The conceptual metaphors shown in the present subsection form the following conceptual keys: A COUNTRY IS AN ANIMAL, PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS, and AN ORGANIZATION IS AN ANIMAL. Three of the metaphors comprising these conceptual keys represent some Svalbard-related actors as birds. While NATO and Norwegian diplomats are conceptualized as adult birds, Svalbard is viewed as a chick. This conceptualization implies that Svalbard is not an independent actor, and it can potentially be manipulated by other “more mature” and powerful actors such as NATO. The image of a mother hen is quite positive in Russian culture. However, when this role

is assigned to NATO, it is perceived negatively since NATO is Russia's competitor and NATO's influence in Svalbard is perceived by the Russian side as compromising the demilitarized status of the archipelago. As for the ostrich and crab metaphors, they serve as a vivid example of dehumanization – depriving people of positive qualities and assigning them, for example, qualities of animals which a human can perceive as negative qualities. Conceptualizing Norwegian diplomats as ostriches and Norwegian authorities as crabs implies that they are represented as cowards having a lack of connection with reality which in this particular context means incompetence. According to Moraru (2010: 176), conceptualization that is focused on the adversary's negative qualities does not take into consideration the adversary's other qualities and thus emphasizes one's own strengths. In other words, this conceptualization emphasizes the difference between two sides and contributes to construing positive “we” and negative “they” presentation.

8.2.6 Building and construction metaphors

Several words and phrases conceptualizing Svalbard denote parts of a building (attic, showcase, platform) and rooms (pantry, kitchen). The notions associated with Svalbard are also conceptualized through the source domain of construction process. This source domain is represented by words that convey the idea of fixing and strengthening.

The noun *čerdak* ‘attic’ projects the direct metaphor SVALBARD IS THE ATTIC OF THE ARCTIC:

- (248) Svoimi vpečatlenijami o poezdke **na mifičeskij “čerdak” Arktiki** – poljarnyj arxipelag Špicbergen – delitsja s čitateljami našej gazety učastnik rejsa Artem Čircov. [Arxangel'sk, Tam, gde glaz vseгда v ljublen v dal', 07.08.2014].
Artem Chirtsov, a member of the voyage, shares his impressions of the trip **to the mythical “attic” of the Arctic** – the polar archipelago of Spitsbergen – with the readers of our newspaper. [Arkhangelsk, Where the eye is always in love with the distance, 07.08.2014].

Čerdak ‘attic’ is the room between the ceiling and the roof. It is often used as a storeroom which contains old and forgotten things some of which can be valuable. A comparison of Svalbard with the attic of the Arctic represents the archipelago as a place potentially full of Arctic natural resources that people are still not aware of.

Another BUILDING metaphor is constructed through the phrase *neftegazovaja kladovaja* ‘oil and gas pantry’:

- (249) [...] Špicbergen očen' interesen s obščegeologičeskoj točki zrenija, poskol'ku ètot arxipelag javljaetsja vystupom barencevomorskogo šel'fa, kotoryj po pravu nazyvajut **“buduščej neftegazovoj kladovoj”**. [Izvestija, Rossija iščet ključ k novoj neftegazovoj kladovoj, 22.03.2012].
[...] Spitsbergen is very interesting from a general geological point of view, since this archipelago is a ledge of the Barents Sea shelf, which is rightly called **the “future oil**

and gas pantry.” [Izvestija, Russia is looking for **keys to** a new oil and gas pantry, 22.03.2012].

The phrase *neftegazovaja kladovaja* ‘oil and gas pantry’ forms the metaphor the BARENTS SEA SHELF IS AN OIL AND GAS PANTRY. The Barents Sea shelf is a part of Svalbard, and the source domain of pantry is thus mapped onto the target domain of Svalbard. This results in the metaphor SVALBARD IS AN OIL AND GAS PANTRY. The noun *kladovaja* ‘pantry’ is a room for storing food, goods, and various materials. Similar to the metaphor SVALBARD IS THE ATTIC OF THE ARCTIC, the pantry metaphor conceptualizes the archipelago as a place with plenty of natural resources. The adjective *neftegazovaja* ‘oil and gas’ specifies the types of resources that Svalbard has. The use of the adjective *buduščaja* ‘future’ can be interpreted as indicating development of the oil and gas resources in the future. The title of the text illustrated in example (249) demonstrates that it is Russia that intends to develop these resources. This representation is achieved with the help of the phrase *ključ k čemu-libo* ‘key to something’ which is normally used to refer to “a means or an opportunity [...] for unraveling, understanding or mastering something”.⁶⁷ The noun *ključ* ‘key’ is also metonymically related to the concept of building.

In another example, Svalbard is conceptualized through the source domain of kitchen. This is done through the phrase *kuxnja mira* ‘kitchen of the world’:

- (250) Okeanologija, geologija, geofizika - spektr issledovanij Špicbergena - širokij. Učěnye izučajut daže severnye sijanija. Vsě potomu, čto Špicbergen nazývajut **“kuxnej mira”**. Po izmenenijam v Arktike možno sudit’ o global’nyx prirodnyx peremenax v mire. [TV-21, Čto izučajut učěnye na Špicbergene i začem? 31.10.2018].
Oceanology, geology, geophysics - the range of research in Svalbard is wide. Scientists even study the northern lights. This is why Svalbard is called **the “kitchen of the world”**. Changes in the Arctic can be used to judge global natural changes in the world. [TV-21, What are scientists studying in Svalbard and why? 31.10.2018].

Kuxnja ‘kitchen’ is a place at home where food is cooked. It is an important place which determines the well-being and health of the whole family. The metaphor SVALBARD / THE ARCTIC IS THE KITCHEN OF THE WORLD projected by the phrase *kuxnja mira* ‘kitchen of the world’ thus represents this region as an important place because natural processes happening there influence the weather, climate, and other natural phenomena in the whole world.

Another metaphorical phrase that maps the source domain of building onto the target domain of Svalbard is *vitrina socialističeskogo stroja* ‘showcase of the socialist system’:

- (251) Rossiya vsě eščě soxranjaet prisutstvie na arxipelage Špicbergen. No **byvšaja vitrina socialističeskogo stroja** prišla v upadok: rossijskoe naselenie sokratilos’ vrazy,

⁶⁷ Bol’šoj tolkovyj slovar’:

<http://gramota.ru/slovari/dic/?lop=x&bts=x&zar=x&ag=x&ab=x&sin=x&lv=x&az=x&pe=x&word=ключ>

dobyča uglja prinosit okolo milijarda rublej ubytku v god, pokryvaemyx iz federal'nogo bjužžeta. [Argumenty nedeli, Ugol' padenija, 27.10.2011].

Russia still maintains a presence in the Svalbard archipelago. But **the former showcase of the socialist system** has fallen into decay: the Russian population has decreased significantly, coal mining brings about a billion rubles of loss per year, covered from the federal budget. [Argumenty nedeli, Coal fall, 27.10.2011].

The noun *vitrina* 'showcase' denotes "space between window frames, a glass cabinet or stand (in a store, museum, library, etc.) used to display various goods, exhibits, etc."⁶⁸ The things that are displayed in the showcase are aimed at attracting the attention of potential buyers. These things are the best in the collection of goods. Thus, the phrase *vitrina socialističeskogo stroja* 'showcase of the socialist system' conveys the idea of displaying the best features of the socialist system and projects the metaphor SVALBARD IS THE SHOWCASE OF THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM. This conceptualization includes a certain amount of pride, flaunting and hiding the shortcomings. The adjective *byvšaja* 'former' however places the showcase conceptualization into the context of the past.

The BUILDING metaphors foreground several aspects of a target domain. According to Lakoff & Johnson (1980: 98-99), in case of the metaphors ARGUMENTS ARE BUILDINGS, the aspects of the concept ARGUMENT that are focused are content, progress, basicness, strength, and structure. As the examples below demonstrate, the aspects of some Svalbard-related actors foregrounded by the BUILDING metaphors are basicness, strength, and structure. One of the words that foregrounds these aspects is the noun *platforma* 'platform' used in the context of a possible purchase of a land plot in Svalbard by China:

(252) Priobretja ètot učastok zemli, èta strana [Kitaj] mogla by vospol'zovat'sja Špicbergenom v kačestve **platformy** dlja dolgosročnogo plana po Severnomu Ledovitomu okeanu. [Murmanskij vestnik, "Gorjaščij" zemel'nyj učastok na studěnom Krajnem Severe, 07.05.2014].

By acquiring this piece of land, this country [China] could use Svalbard as **a platform** for a long-term plan for the Arctic Ocean. [Murmanskij vestnik, A last-minute land plot in the icy Far North, 07.05.2014].

The noun *platforma* 'platform' denotes an elevated area, a firm foundation for placing something that is heavy and stable or for launching something. This noun thus conveys the idea of consistency, strengths, and stability. As it is shown in example (252), the noun *platforma* 'platform' projects the metaphor SVALBARD IS A PLATFORM FOR CHINA'S LONG-TERM PLAN FOR THE ARCTIC OCEAN which can be paraphrased into the metaphor SVALBARD IS A PLATFORM FOR CHINA'S PRESENCE IN THE ARCTIC. The use of this metaphor implies that China is planning to have a permanent base, namely Svalbard, for launching its projects in the Arctic. The

⁶⁸ Bol'šoj tolkovyj slovar':

<http://gramota.ru/slovari/dic/?lop=x&bts=x&zar=x&ag=x&ab=x&sin=x&lv=x&az=x&pe=x&word=витрина>

metaphor SVALBARD IS A PLATFORM FOR CHINA'S PRESENCE IN THE ARCTIC is comparable with the metaphor SVALBARD IS A FOOTHOLD FOR CHINA'S PRESENCE IN THE ARCTIC discussed in subsection 8.2.1. Both metaphors convey the idea of China acquiring a strong and permanent base in the Arctic, which will give it the opportunity to explore and develop the region.

The words related to the source domain of construction process are the verbs *zakrepiť* 'fix', *ukrepiť* 'strengthen', and the noun *ukreplenie* 'strengthening' found in both types of media at various periods. The verbs *zakrepiť* 'fix' is often used in connection with the Russian presence in Svalbard, for example:

- (253) Rossiya **zakrepiť** prisutstvie na Špicbergene s pomošč'ju Murmanskoj oblasti. [Moskovskij Komsomolec, 17.04.2017].
Russia **will consolidate** its presence in Svalbard with the help of the Murmansk region. [Moskovskij Komsomolec, 17.04.2017].
- (254) Ožidaetsja, čto takoj kruiznyj turističeskij maršrut privlečet bol'šuju čast' turistov i v Barenburg, čto naxoditsja v Rossii. Èto, v svoju očered', dast vozmožnost' **zakrepiť** prisutstvie RF kak na Špicbergene, tak i v Arktike. [News29.ru, Na arxipelag Špicbergen otpravilsja pervyj turističeskij rejs, 09.07.2015].
It is expected that such a cruise route for tourism will attract a large number of tourists to Barentsburg, which is located in Russia. This, in turn, will make it possible **to consolidate** the presence of the Russian Federation both in Svalbard and in the Arctic. [News29.ru, The first tourist flight departed for the Svalbard archipelago, 09.07.2015].

The verb *zakrepiť* 'fix' means "give something a strong, stable position by attaching, tying, nailing, etc., to something".⁶⁹ This meaning implies that something was already somewhere, and it just needs to be attached firmly. If one considers the verb *zakrepiť* 'fix' from the perspective of construction work, one can say that in the context of examples (253) and (254) this verb projects the following metaphors: SVALBARD / THE ARCTIC IS A BASE and RUSSIAN PRESENCE IN SVALBARD IS AN OBJECT THAT WILL BE TIGHTLY ATTACHED TO THIS BASE with the help of the Murmansk region and the cruise tourist tours. These metaphors convey the idea that Russia was already present in Svalbard and in the Arctic before and this presence needs to be strengthened now. This overall implies that a closer connection between Russia and Svalbard / the Arctic must be developed.

The verb *ukrepljat'* 'strengthen' is used to refer to the international-legal status of Svalbard as shown in example (255):

- (255) Nužno **ukrepljat'** meždunarodno-pravovoj status Špicbergena [...]. [Arktik-TV, 24.12.2015].
It is necessary **to strengthen the international legal status of Svalbard** [...]. [Arktik-TV, 24.12.2015].

⁶⁹ Bol'šoj tolkovyj slovar': <http://gramota.ru/slovari/dic/?word=закрепить&all=x>

The verb *ukrepiť/ ukrepljat'* 'strengthen' used in example (255) means "make something stronger, more durable" and "give a stable position with the help of something, make it firmly held somewhere".⁷⁰ The use of the phrase *ukrepljat' meždunarodno-pravovoj status Špicbergena* 'strengthen the international legal status of Svalbard' can be interpreted as portraying the international-legal status of Svalbard as a wall or a building and projecting the metaphor THE INTERNATIONAL-LEGAL STATUS OF SVALBARD IS A WALL / BUILDING TO BE STRENGTHENED. This metaphor foregrounds the international character of the status of Svalbard and de-emphasizes Norway's sovereignty over Spitsbergen.

The noun *ukreplenie* 'strengthening' is used in connection with Russian-Norwegian relations:

- (256) V Moskve otmečajut, čto rossijsko-norvežskie otnošenija naxodjatsja **na pod"eme**. "V ix osnove - tverdyj obojudnyj nastroj **na dal'nejšee ukreplenie** dialoga i konstruktivnogo vzaimodejstvija v dvustoronnix otnošenijax i regional'nyx delax, po aktual'nym meždunarodnym problemam", - otmetil predstavitel' Kremlja. [Vzgljad.Ru, Medvedev provedet peregovory s prem'erom Norvegii, 15.09.2010].
 Moscow notes that Russian-Norwegian relations are **on the rise**. "They are based on a firm mutual disposition **to further strengthen** dialog and constructive interaction in bilateral relations and regional affairs, on topical international issues," the Kremlin spokesman said. [Vzgljad.Ru, Medvedev to hold talks with Prime Minister of Norway, 15.09.2010].

According to example (256), the things that need to be strengthened are dialog and constructive interaction in Russian-Norwegian relations. The noun *ukreplenie* 'strengthening' thus projects the following metaphor DIALOG AND CONSTRUCTIVE INTERACTION WITHIN RUSSIAN-NORWEGIAN RELATIONS IS A WALL / BUILDING TO BE STRENGTHENED. Example (256) contains another metaphor represented by the phrase *rossijsko-norvežskie otnošenija naxodjatsja na pod"eme* 'Russian-Norwegian relations are on the rise'. The noun *pod"em* 'rise' conveys the idea of moving up and thus projects the metaphor PROGRESS (IN THE RUSSIAN-NORWEGIAN RELATIONS) IS UP. This metaphor is consistent with the spatial metaphor GOOD IS UP described by Lakoff & Johnson (1980: 16) (more about spatial metaphors is in section 8.2.7). Note that example (256) dates to 2010, the period when Russian-Norwegian relations were characterized from the positive side.

The conceptual metaphors that map the source domains of buildings and construction onto the target domain of Svalbard are summarized in Figure 19.

⁷⁰ Bol'soj tolkovyj slovar': <http://gramota.ru/slovari/dic/?word=укрепить&all=x>

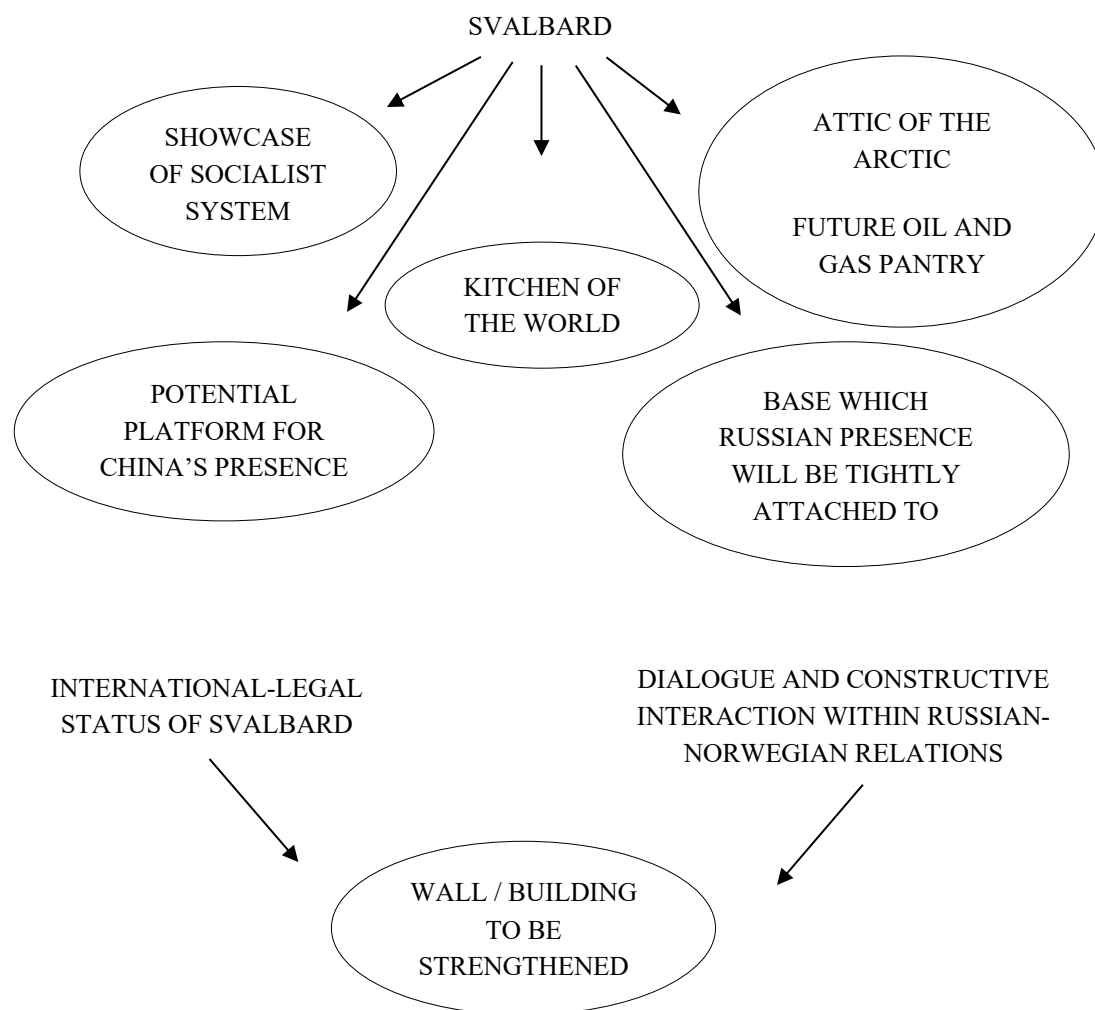


Figure 19. The conceptual metaphors that map the source domains of buildings and construction onto the target domain of Svalbard

Most of the conceptual metaphors presented in this subsection contain the conceptual key A REGION IS A BUILDING. On the one hand, these metaphors emphasize the natural features of Svalbard and its resource potential. On the other hand, the archipelago is conceptualized as a region in which countries such as Russia and China strive to have a strong presence.

The metaphor DIALOG AND CONSTRUCTIVE INTERACTION WITHIN RUSSIAN-NORWEGIAN RELATIONS IS A WALL / BUILDING TO BE STRENGTHENED, gives quite a positive view of cooperation between Russia and Norway in relation to the archipelago, that is, this cooperation already exists, but needs further development. However, the call for the development of the international status of Svalbard through the metaphor THE INTERNATIONAL-LEGAL STATUS OF SVALBARD IS A WALL / BUILDING TO BE STRENGTHENED can be interpreted as relegating Norway's sovereignty over Svalbard to the background.

8.2.7 Spatial metaphors

Lakoff & Johnson (1980: 15) understand spatial metaphors or orientational metaphors as the ones that “give a concept a spatial orientation”: up-down, in-out, front-back, on-off, deep-shallow, central-peripheral. An example of spatial metaphor related to Svalbard is the metaphor PROGRESS IN THE RUSSIAN-NORWEGIAN RELATIONS IS UP mentioned in subsection 8.2.6. This metaphor corresponds to the up-down orientation.

Some other found spatial metaphors conceptualize Svalbard within the central-peripheral orientation. One of the instances of these metaphors is illustrated in example (257) representing a title of a text. In this title, Svalbard is referred to as *kraj sveta* ‘the edge of the world’:

(257) **Na kraju sveta.** Na Špicbergene ne zapirajut dveri i otkrivajut duši [Večernij Murmansk, 08.10.2011].

On the edge of the world. In Svalbard, they do not lock the doors and open the souls [Večernij Murmansk, 08.10.2011].

The phrase *na kraju sveta* ‘on the edge of the world’ frames Svalbard as a far-away place, distant from a hypothetical center. This phrase projects the metaphor SVALBARD IS PERIPHERAL. According to Goatly (2007: 40), the notions of center and periphery suggest that what is central is more important than what is situated on the edge. However, peripherality of Svalbard in example (257) can be interpreted in a different way. The text illustrated in this example is about a film festival organized in the archipelago. Within the given context, the metaphor SVALBARD IS PERIPHERAL portrays the archipelago as an exotic place for cultural events. In this respect, this metaphor can contribute to representation of Svalbard as an extreme place, unusual for most people.

In example (258), the noun *gluš'* ‘the back of beyond’ and the phrase *po sosedstvu s belymi medvedjami* ‘next to polar bears’ also embody the metaphor SVALBARD IS PERIPHERAL. Example (258) illustrates the text discussing the pros and cons of the “digital nomad” visa providing an opportunity for foreigners engaged in remote work via internet to work in European countries. The offered places are mostly a remote province that need “a new life” and this feature of the “digital nomad” program is represented as a disadvantage to some extent. Thus, Svalbard mentioned as a location offered by Norway within this program is viewed as a peripheral place not necessarily suitable for everyone:

(258) **V gluš'**, na Špicbergen [--] Norvegija zovet na Špicbergen, **po sosedstvu s belymi medvedjami.** [Gazeta.Ru, "Cifrovoj kočevnik": kak v Evrope stimulirujut trudovuju migraciju. Evropa otkryvaet vizy dlja novyx specialistov, gotovyx vdoxnut' žizn' v glubinku, 26.08.2021].

Off the beaten path, to Svalbard [---] Norway calls to Spitsbergen, **next to polar bears**. [Gazeta.Ru, "Digital nomad": how Europe stimulates labor migration. Europe opens visas for new specialists who are ready to breathe life into the outback, 26.08.2021].

In example (259), Svalbard is represented as *kraj zemli* ‘the edge of the Earth’ and *zemlja obetovannaja* ‘promised land’. These phrases form an opposition through the conjunction *ili* ‘or’:

- (259) Lekcija “Arxipelag Špicbergen – **Kraj Zemli ili Zemlja Obetovannaja**” [Xibiny.com, 15.10.2016].
Lecture “The Svalbard Archipelago – **the Edge of the Earth or the Promised Land**”. [Xibiny.com, 15.10.2016].

The phrase *kraj zemli* ‘the edge of the Earth’ is comparable with the phrase *kraj sveta* ‘the edge of the world’ illustrated in example (257). The phrase *kraj zemli* ‘the edge of the Earth’ also represents Svalbard as a place located far away from a center and embodies the metaphor SVALBARD IS PERIPHERAL. Since example (259) is a title of the lecture advertisement about scientific expeditions from Murmansk to Svalbard, the metaphor SVALBARD IS PERIPHERAL represents the archipelago as a faraway place and an extreme one. The phrase *zemlja obetovannaja* ‘the promised land’ offers the opposite conceptualization of Svalbard. This phrase originates from the Old Testament to refer to a region in Palestine where God brought the Jews out of Egypt.⁷¹ The phrase *zemlja obetovannaja* ‘the promised land’ can be used allegorically to refer to a place where dreams come true, where there is happiness, abundance, and peace, and where everyone aspires to go.⁷² Conceptualization of Svalbard as the promised land assigns positive features to the archipelago and makes it a center of attraction. Within this conceptualization Svalbard acquires the features of a center rather than the features of a periphery. This means that the phrase *zemlja obetovannaja* ‘the promised land’ projects the metaphor SVALBARD IS CENTRAL. Thus, the conceptual metaphors SVALBARD IS PERIPHERAL and SVALBARD IS CENTRAL represented in example (259) form an opposition peripheral and extreme vs. central and pleasant.

In example (260), a spatial orientation is given to another target domain, namely the Russian mining settlement / town Barentsburg. This is achieved with the help of the phrase *centr geopolitičeskogo prisutstvija Rossii na Špicbergene* ‘the center of Russia’s geopolitical presence in Svalbard’:

- (260) Členy ekspedicii [vserossijskogo predprinimatel'skogo ob"edinenija] posetili **centr geopolitičeskogo prisutstvija Rossii na Špicbergene** – unikal'nyj gorod Barenburg i vstretilis' s rossijskim konzulom Vjačeslavom Nikolaevym. [Murmanskij Vestnik, Arktičeskaja ekspedicija Kluba liderov vozvraščaetsja nazad, 13.04.2016].
Members of the expedition [of All-Russian business association] visited **the center of Russia’s geopolitical presence in Svalbard**, the unique city of Barentsburg, and met

⁷¹ Slovar' krylatyx slov i vyraženij: https://dic.academic.ru/dic.nsf/dic_wingwords/941/Земля

⁷² Slovar' krylatyx slov i vyraženij: https://dic.academic.ru/dic.nsf/dic_wingwords/941/Земля

with the Russian consul Vyacheslav Nikolaev. [Murmanskij Vestnik, The Arctic Expedition of the Leaders Club is coming back, 13.04.2016].

The phrase *centr geopolitičeskogo prisutstvija na Špicbergene* ‘the center of Russia’s geopolitical presence in Svalbard’ projects the metaphor BARENTSBURG IS CENTRAL FOR RUSSIA’S GEOPOLITICAL PRESENCE IN SVALBARD. If one interprets geopolitical presence at a certain place as a means of establishing control over this territory, the metaphor BARENTSBURG IS CENTRAL FOR RUSSIA’S PRESENCE IN SVALBARD conceptualizes Barentsburg as a very important place which Russia controls Svalbard from. The idea of importance of this town is also conveyed through the adjective *unikal’nyj* ‘unique’ which describes the noun phrase *gorod Barenburg* ‘city of Barentsburg’.

The spatial metaphors are summarized in Figure 20.

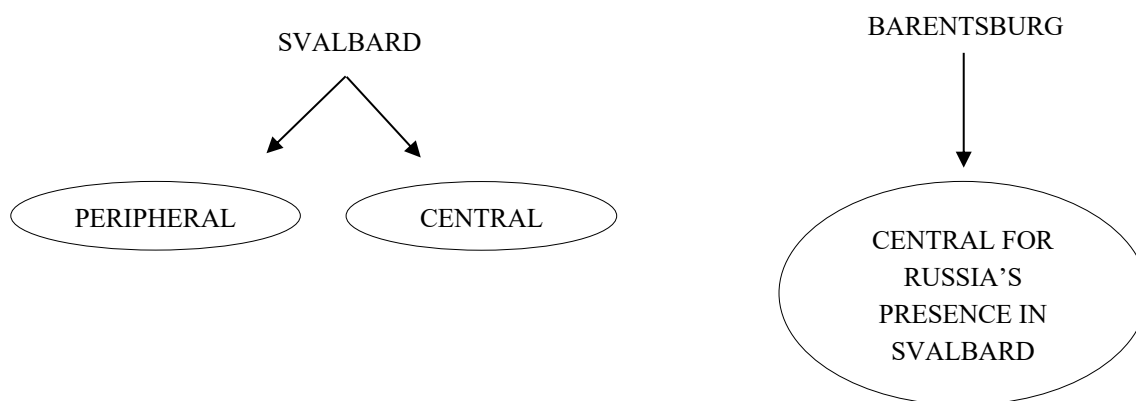


Figure 20. The conceptual metaphors that map the source domain of space onto the target domain of Svalbard

The spatial metaphors create a tension between two conceptualizations: Svalbard is an extremely distant place and Svalbard is a central place, an object of many people's aspirations. On the other hand, reference to Svalbard as a peripheral place may make it an object of attention and thus reinforce the idea of its centrality.

8.2.8 Container metaphors

Some metaphorical conceptualizations found in the data can be interpreted as representing Svalbard and Svalbard-related actors as containers. Two CONTAINER metaphors were already mentioned in section 8.2.3. These metaphors suggest “limitation through inclusion” (Moraru 2010: 59) and exclusion. One of these metaphors conceptualizes the Arctic and Svalbard as the containers which the object NATO is being pulled into. The other metaphor conceptualizes Svalbard as the container from which Russia is being forced out.

According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 29), we impose metaphorical boundaries even to entities that do not have physical boundaries by marking off a territory and a bounding surface (a wall, a fence, an abstract line, etc.) of these entities. In the present analysis, the examples of the metaphorical expressions marking bounding surfaces of certain entities are *vorota* ‘gates’ and *vyxod* ‘exit, access’. Some other nouns, for example, *ostrovok*, which is a diminutive form of the noun *ostrov* ‘island’, *zona* ‘zone’, and *territorija* ‘territory’ can be explicitly understood as containers through the concept of boundaries included into their semantics. The cases when these nouns form noun phrases with another noun used in the Genitive case, e.g., *ostrov kommunizma.GEN* ‘island of communism’, and *territorija mira.GEN i nauki.GEN* ‘territory of peace and science’, I regard as occurrences of the CONTAINER metaphor. The concept of container “implies the presence of a recipient which is filled or will be filled with a substance with the purpose of storage” (Moraru 2010: 58). From this perspective, in the above-mentioned examples, the nouns *ostrov* ‘island’ and *territorija* ‘territory’ function as recipients filled with the concepts of communism, peace, and science transferred into a substance.

In example (261) from the federal media, the source domain of a gate is mapped onto the target domain of Svalbard through the metaphorical phrase *vorota v Arktiku i v Atlantiku* ‘the gate to the Arctic and to the Atlantic’. The Arctic and the Atlantic are thus represented as a closed space or containers with the entrance in the form of a gate which is Svalbard:

- (261) Špicbergen byl i ostaetsja odnim iz **vorot i v Arktiku, i v Atlantiku** i nedoocenivat’ ego važnost’ dlja Rossii nel’zja. [Vzgljad.Ru, Politika: Norvegija primenila protiv Rossii nagljuju taktiku, 09.02.2020].
Svalbard has been and remains one of **the gates to both the Arctic and the Atlantic**, and its importance for Russia cannot be underestimated. [Vzgljad.Ru, Politics: Norway used brazen tactics against Russia, 09.02.2020].

Example (261) contains two metaphors THE ARCTIC AND THE ATLANTIC ARE CONTAINERS and SVALBARD IS A GATE TO THE ARCTIC AND TO THE ATLANTIC. These metaphors create a map with the Arctic and the Atlantic on one side and the rest of the world on the other side where Svalbard acts as a key point connecting these two sides. In example (261), Svalbard is explicitly referred to as an important place for Russia. Indeed, representation of Svalbard as a gate implies that the archipelago is a movable point that can be opened and closed. The one controlling this gate decides who enters the Arctic and the Atlantic and what they can do there. In other words, it is the gatekeeper who has the power and as example (261) indicates, Russia wants to have or to keep having this power.

The metaphorical expression *vorota v Arktiku* ‘the gate to the Arctic’ is also used in the regional media. These media, however, map the source domain of gate onto other target domains, namely Murmansk and Arkhangelsk, for example:

(262) Murmansk po pravu nazývaetsja **vorotami v Arktiku**, a vorota - èto **lico**, kotoroe, v našem ponimanii, dolžno byt' krasivym. [Arktik-TV, "Arktičeskaja gavan'" bez glamura, 07.09.2018].

Murmansk is rightly called **the gateway to the Arctic**, and the gate is **a face** that, in our understanding, should be beautiful. [Arktik-TV, "Arctic harbor" without glamor, 07.09.2018].

(263) Èta akcija [naučnaja èkspedicija "Arktičeskogo plavučego universiteta"] uže stala vizitnoj kartočkoj Arxangel'ska, ešče raz podtverždajušče, čto naš gorod po pravu nosit imja **vorot v Arktiku**. [Arxangel'sk - gorod vojskoj slavy, Serdce kak druga more vstrečaet, 26.06.2019].

This act [the scientific expedition of the "Floating Arctic University"] has already become the hallmark of Arkhangelsk, once again confirming that our city rightfully bears the name of **the gateway to the Arctic**. [Arxangel'sk – gorod vojskoj slavy, The heart meets the sea like a friend, 26.06.2019].

The phrase *vorota v Arktiku* 'the gate to the Arctic' used in examples (262) and (263) thus projects the metaphors MURMANSK / ARKHANGELSK IS A GATE TO THE ARCTIC and THE ARCTIC IS A CONTAINER. Similar to conceptualization of Svalbard as the gate to the Arctic, provided in example (261), understanding Murmansk and Arkhangelsk as the gates to the Arctic construct the image of these cities as important places. Since Murmansk and Arkhangelsk are the Russian cities, representing them as the gates to the Arctic implies that Russia is the gatekeeper and controller of the Arctic region. The noun *lico* 'face' used in example (262) projects another metaphor MURMANSK IS THE FACE OF THE ARCTIC which is the BODY metaphor. This metaphor conveys an idea that Murmansk is the front side of the Arctic, and this city provides the first impression about the Arctic for the people travelling to this region.

The following example, taken from the regional media, contains the metaphorical phrase *vyxod v Arktiku* 'access to the Arctic' used in relation to Svalbard:

(264) Na Krajnem Severe [na Špicbergene] vystavljaetsja na prodážu zemel'nyj učastok, i pri takom množestve stran, želajuščix polučit' svoj "**vyxod**" v Arktiku, emu ne dolgo ostavat'sja bez pokupatelja. [Murmanskij vestnik, "Gorjaščij" zemel'nyj učastok na studěnom Krajnem Severe, 07.05.2014].

In the Far North (in Svalbard), a land plot is put up for sale, and with so many countries wishing to get their "**access**" to the Arctic, it will not be left without a buyer for long. [Murmanskij vestnik, "Gorjaščij" zemel'nyj učastok na studěnom Krajnem Severe, A last-minute land plot in the icy Far North, 07.05.2014].

In example (264), the wish of many countries to gain access to the Arctic is connected to buying a plot of land located in Svalbard. This example thus contains the metaphors SVALBARD IS ACCESS TO THE ARCTIC. The noun *vyxod* 'exit, access' can denote a way or a passage from one space to another space. This meaning thus automatically projects the metaphor THE ARCTIC IS A CONTAINER. Similar to the metaphor SVALBARD IS A GATE TO THE ARCTIC AND TO THE ATLANTIC illustrated in example (261), the metaphor SVALBARD IS ACCESS TO THE ARCTIC creates a map where the Arctic is represented as a container, a certain space located on one side

and the rest of the world is seen as a certain space located on the other side. Svalbard has a role of connecting these two spaces. Having access to the Arctic in the form of Svalbard can be interpreted as controlling the Arctic.

In example (265), the CONTAINER metaphors are projected through the metaphorical expressions *ostrovok socializma v Arktike* ‘an island of socialism in the Arctic’ and *zona medvedej i čaek* ‘a zone of bears and seagulls’. This example is a title of a text about the Russian settlement Pyramiden in the Soviet past and nowadays:

- (265) **Ostrovok socializma v Arktike, zona medvedej i smelyx čaek.** [TV-21, 12.08.2019].
An island of socialism in the Arctic, a zone of bears and bold seagulls. [TV-21, 12.08.2019].

Since the noun *ostrovok* ‘island’ conveys an idea of a little cute place that is good, the metaphor PYRAMIDEN IS AN ISLAND OF SOCIALISM provides a positive image of Pyramiden as the settlement that represented socialism in the non-socialist region. This image creates a nostalgic feeling for the Soviet past. The metaphor PYRAMIDEN IS A ZONE OF BEARS AND SEAGULLS provides another image of Pyramiden as a place where only animals live, but no humans. This representation corresponds to the current status of the settlement as mothballed.

Example (266) is another example of a nostalgic image of the Russian settlements in Svalbard. This image is created with the help of the metaphorical phrase *byvšie sovetskie oazisy dlja šaxtërov* ‘the former Soviet oases for miners’ which projects the metaphor BARENTSBURG AND PYRAMIDEN ARE FORMER OASES FOR MINERS. The aim of this metaphor is representing Barentsburg and Pyramiden in the past as pleasant places for Soviet miners to live and work, radically different from other places in Svalbard. The context where the metaphor BARENTSBURG AND PYRAMIDEN ARE FORMER OASES FOR MINERS is used creates an opposition between the state of these settlements in the Soviet past and in the present time:

- (266) V naše vremena **byvšie sovetskie “oazisy dlja šaxtërov”** naxodjatsja v upadke i ix naselenie sokratilos’ do neskol’kix soten čelovek. [Argumenty I fakty, Delo “otmorožennyx”. Na Špicbergene est’ i dačniki, i parniki, i semena, 21.09.2015].
 Nowadays, **the former Soviet “oases for miners”** are in decline and their population has been reduced to a few hundred people. [Argumenty i Fakty, The case of “frostbitten”. There are summer residents, greenhouses, and seeds on Svalbard, 21.09.2015].

In the title of a text illustrated in example (267), the metaphorical phrase *ostrovok Rossii v Norvegii* ‘the island of Russia in Norway’ relates to the Russian settlement Barentsburg and projects the metaphor BARENTSBURG IS AN ISLAND OF RUSSIA IN NORWAY. This metaphor creates a positive image of this settlement as a Russian space in a non-Russian territory. Another phrase that can be regarded as embodying the CONTAINER metaphor is *territorija mira i nauki* ‘a territory of peace and science’ which relates to Svalbard. This phrase forms the metaphor SVALBARD IS A

TERRITORY OF PEACE AND SCIENCE creating a representation of the archipelago as a quiet, peaceful place where people are engaged into the scientific activity:

- (267) Špicbergen – **teritorija mira i nauki**, zdes' život ljudi 50 nacional'nostej! [TV-21, Kak vygljadit “**ostrovok**” **Rossii v Norvegii**, kak i čem živet naselenie Barenburga, i v čem sut' strategii buduščego, 13.08.2019].
Svalbard is **a territory of peace and science**, people of 50 nationalities live here! [TV-21, What **the “island” of Russia in Norway** looks like, how the population of Barentsburg lives, and what the essence of the strategy of the future is, 13.08.2019].

Example (268) illustrates a text about the international scientific conference dedicated to the Russian-Norwegian relations and the 100th anniversary of the signing of the Svalbard Treaty. In this example, Svalbard is referred to as *teritorija vzaimodejstvija* ‘the territory of mutual collaboration’. This phrase projects the direct metaphor SVALBARD IS A TERRITORY OF MUTUAL COLLABORATION, that is the territory of Russian-Norwegian cooperation:

- (268) Meždunarodnaja naučnaja konferencija, posvjaščennaja Špicbergenu, projdet v stolice Pomor'ja na baze Arxangel'skogo kraevedčeskogo muzeja 29 - 30 oktjabrja. Ona budet nazyvatsja “Arxipelag Špicbergen: ot terra nullius k **teritorii vzaimodejstvija**” [Arxangel'sk, 27.02.2020].
An international scientific conference dedicated to Svalbard will be held in the capital of Pomorie on the basis of the Arkhangelsk Museum of Local Lore on October 29-30. It will be called “Spitsbergen archipelago: from terra nullius to the **territory of mutual collaboration**”. [Arxangel'sk, 27.02.2020].

In example (269), the phrase *teritorija obščego pol'zovanija* ‘a public use territory’ projects the direct metaphor SVALBARD IS A PUBLIC USE TERRITORY. This metaphor foregrounds the international status of Svalbard and backgrounds Norway’s sovereignty over the archipelago. This metaphor is also misleading. In Russia, *teritorija obščego pol'zovanija* ‘a public use territory’ is a territory “that can be freely used by an unlimited number of people”.⁷³ Comparing Svalbard to a public use territory is incorrect since the economic activity on the archipelago is available only for the Svalbard Treaty signatories:

- (269) Igor' Černyšenko [deputat Gosudarstvennoj Dumy] podčerknul: “Špicbergen – **teritorija obščego pol'zovanija**. Rossija vseгда tam vela xozjajstvennuju dejatel'nost’”. [Vesti.Ru, Rossijskij promysel v rajone Špicbergena ne ograničat, 18.03.2011].
Igor Chernyshenko [deputy of the State Duma] emphasized: “Svalbard is **a public use territory**. Russia has always conducted economic activities there”. [Vesti.Ru, Russian fishing in the Svalbard area will not be limited, 18.03.2011].

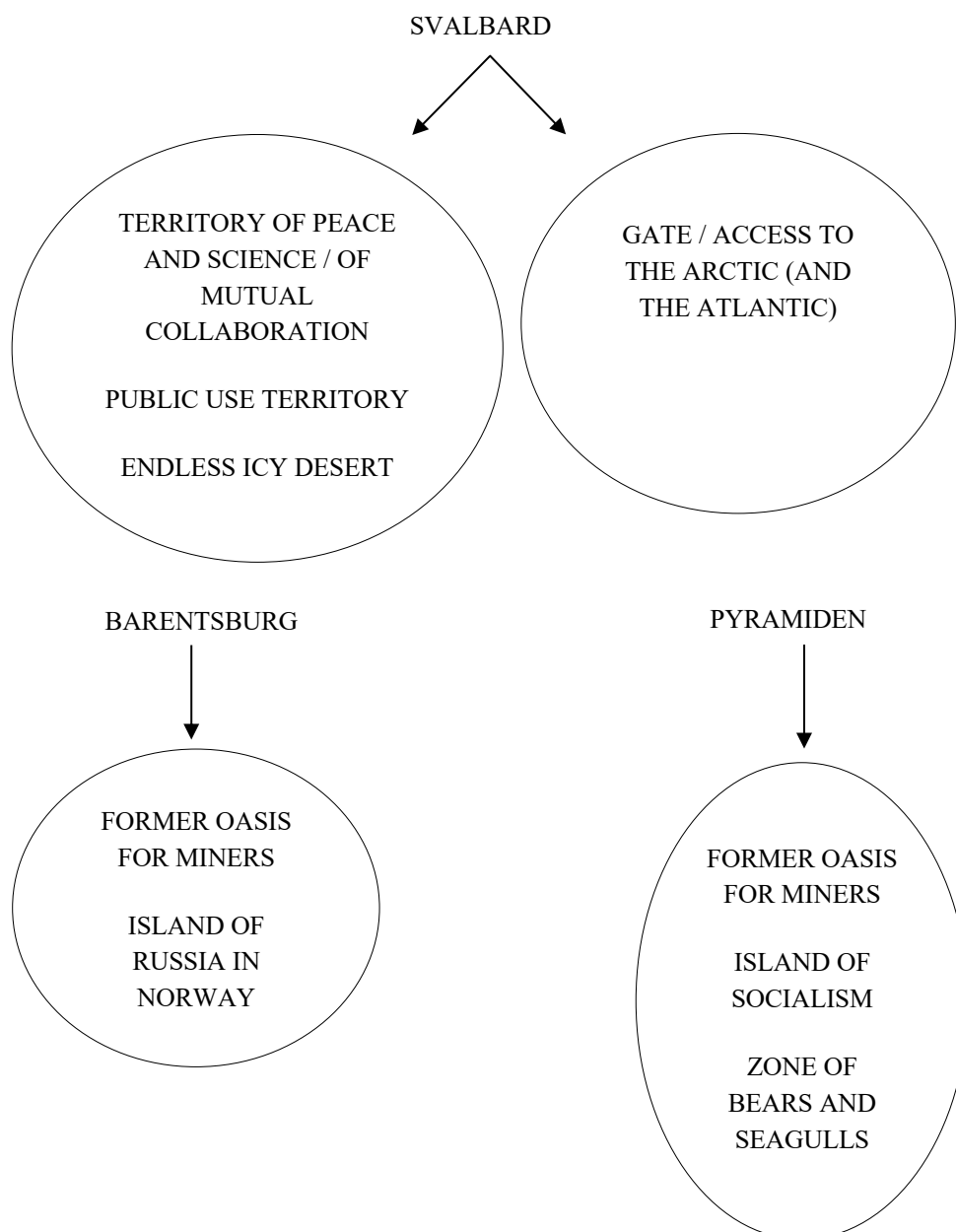
⁷³ <https://geoburo.ru/kategorii/territoriya-obshchego-polzovaniya.html>

The phrase *beskrajnjaja ledjanaja pustynja* ‘endless icy desert’ shown in example (270) can also be interpreted as embodying the CONTAINER metaphor SVALBARD IS AN ENDLESS ICY DESERT:

- (270) Komu-to prihoditsja govorit', što Špicbergen - èto ne Švejcarija. A kto-to dumaet, što èto **beskrajnjaja ledjanaja pustynja**. No tam est' žizn', pričem dovol'no sovremennaja. [Lenta.ru, Sjuda xotjat popast' mnogie, 08.02.2020].
I have to say to someone that Svalbard is not Switzerland. And someone thinks that this is **an endless icy desert**. But there is life there, and quite modern life at that. [Lenta.ru, Many want to get here, 08.02.2020].

The metaphor SVALBARD IS AN ENDLESS ICY DESERT represents the archipelago as a cold severe place with no life. The adjective *beskrajnij* ‘endless’ indicates a big size of this place rather than a real lack of boundaries.

The CONTAINER metaphors are summarized in Figure 21.



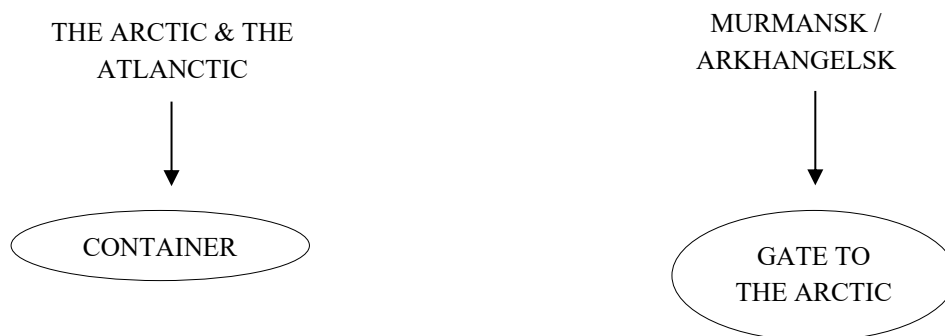


Figure 21. The conceptual metaphors that map the source domain of containers onto the target domains of Svalbard, the Arctic, and the Atlantic

The conceptual keys consisting of the conceptual metaphors presented in this subsection are **REGIONS ARE CONTAINERS**, **REGIONS ARE BORDERS OF CONTAINERS**, **CITIES / SETTLEMENTS ARE CONTAINERS**, and **CITIES / SETTLEMENTS ARE BORDERS OF CONTAINERS**. Representations of Svalbard, Murmansk, and Arkhangelsk as entities located at the border of the Arctic-container assigns them a crucial role in controlling the access to the Arctic. When conceptualized as a container itself, Svalbard is often seen as a territory of international presence. This conceptualization foregrounds the special status of Svalbard, namely the international character of this status, which automatically embeds Russia into the archipelago. The **CONTAINER** metaphors also show a contrast in representation of Barentsburg and Pyramiden. While the former settlement is central for ensuring Russian interests in the archipelago nowadays, the activity of latter mostly belongs to the past.

8.2.9 Journey metaphors

Lakoff & Johnson (1980: 45) define **JOURNEY** metaphors as the ones specifying different means of travel as the source domain. One of the **JOURNEY** metaphors **SVALBARD IS A SHIP** was already mentioned in subsection 8.2.3. It represented Svalbard as a ship sailing away from Russia's hands. Some other journey metaphors are projected by phrases denoting going to or returning to Svalbard. In other words, these phrases are focused directly on the fact of travel. One of such phrases is *vozvraščat'sja na Špicbergen* 'return to Svalbard' illustrated in example (271):

- (271) Kak Rossija **vozvraščaetsja na Špicbergen** [Vesti.ru, 09.02.2020].
How Russia **is returning to Svalbard** [Vesti.ru, 09.02.2020].

Since *Rossija* 'Russia' is the subject of the verb *vozvraščaetsja* 'returns', this combination projects the conceptual metaphor **RUSSIA IS A HUMAN BEING**. The article illustrated in example (271) talks about the decline of Russian economic and

scientific activities in Svalbard after the collapse of the Soviet Union and about the development of these activities in the recent years. The noun *Rossija* ‘Russia’ used in this context can also be interpreted as a metonymy for Russian presence in Svalbard. The verb *vozvraščat’sja* ‘return’ projects the conceptual metaphor RUSSIAN PRESENCE IN SVALBARD IS A JOURNEY. The meaning of the verb *vozvraščat’sja* ‘return’ implies that a moving person or an object has been at a place before and they are going there again. The use of this verb creates a nostalgic mood where Russia’s presence in the archipelago during the Soviet period is viewed as something good and something that Russia strives to return.

Example (272) contains the journey-related phrase *uxodit’ so Špicbergena* ‘leave Svalbard’. In the text illustrated by this example, a prosperous state of the Russian settlements in the archipelago during the Soviet period is contrasted to a shabby state of these settlements at the beginning of 2010-s:

- (272) No **uxodit’ so Špicbergena** Rossija ne planiruet, potomu čto est’ nekie političeskie soobraženija. [Argumenty nedeli, Ugol’ padenija, 27.10.2011].
But Russia does not plan **to leave Svalbard**, because there are some political considerations. [Argumenty nedeli, Coal fall, 27.10.2011].

In example (272), the phrase *Rossija ne planiruet uxodit’* ‘Russia does not plan to leave’ projects the metaphor RUSSIA IS A HUMAN BEING. The other metaphor formed by the context and the phrase *ne planiruet uxodit’* ‘does not plan to leave’ is RUSSIAN PRESENCE IN SVALBARD IS NOT A JOURNEY. While the metaphor RUSSIAN PRESENCE IN SVALBARD IS A JOURNEY implies moving and thus an unstable position of Russian presence in the archipelago, the metaphor RUSSIAN PRESENCE IN SVALBARD IS NOT A JOURNEY indicates a firm and stable state of this presence.

The phrase *putešestvie skvoz’ mify i legendy* ‘a journey through myths and legends’ illustrated in example (273) maps the source domain of journey onto the target domain of placenames in Svalbard and projects the metaphor NAMES OF PLACES IN SVALBARD IS A JOURNEY THROUGH MYTHS AND LEGENDS. This metaphor is aimed at indicating that places in Svalbard relate to a range of myths and legends which makes the history of these places interesting and even exciting:

- (273) Lekcija “Nazvanie na karte Špicbergena – **putešestvie skvoz’ mify i legendy**” [Arktik-TV, 21.04.2018].
Lecture “A name on the map of Svalbard is **a journey through myths and legends**” [Arktik-TV, 21.04.2018].

The JOURNEY metaphors are summarized in Figure 22. This figure also includes the ship metaphor discussed in subsection 8.2.3.



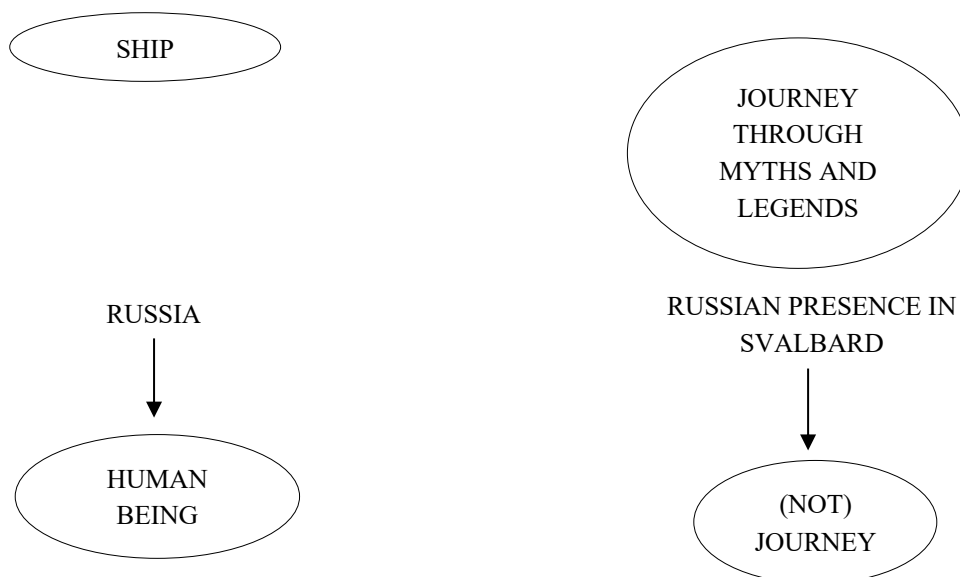


Figure 22. The conceptual metaphors that map the source domain of journey onto the target domain of Svalbard

The JOURNEY metaphors represent Russia as both a passive and an active actor. On the one hand, Russia is losing Svalbard which is sailing away. On the other hand, Russia is coming back to Svalbard. Another representation rejects the idea of leaving Svalbard and portrays Russia as an actor who is permanently present in the archipelago and who is not going to fold its activities there. Seregina & Čudinov (2014: 92) refer to the JOURNEY metaphors as traditional in Russian political discourse. For example, these metaphors were used in the Russian political and media discourse to justify Russia's annexation of Crimea in 2014 (see subsection 3.3.3). Svalbard is also portrayed through one of the JOURNEY metaphors as a place with a fascinating history.

8.2.10 Countries and regions as human beings

Some metaphors which conceptualize Russia and Norway as human beings were described above: NORWAY / RUSSIA AS A HUMAN BEING (for example, in subsections 8.2.3 and 8.2.9) and NORWAY IS A THIEF (subsection 8.2.2). The latter metaphor provides a negative evaluation of Norway as the country that appropriated Svalbard. The metaphors represented in the present section assign positive or negative human qualities to some countries and regions. Further I show that Svalbard is assigned positive human qualities through the source domain of neighborhood and family ties while Norway is portrayed, for example, as a bad neighbor, a thief, a bully, and a despot.

In a range of metaphors, the source domain of a human being is mapped onto the target domain of Svalbard, for example:

- (274) Èl'vira Serga, korrespondent TV-21: “**Surovyj** severnyj arxipelag Špicbergen **vstretil nas očen' gostepriimno**. I pod konec daže poradoval xorošej solnečnoj

pogodoj!” [TV-21, Kak vygljadit “ostrovok” Rossii v Norvegii, kak i čem živet naselenie Barenburga, i v čem sut’ strategii buduščego, 13.08.2019].

Elvira Serga, correspondent of TV-21: “The **harsh** northern archipelago of Svalbard **met us very hospitably**. And in the end, it even pleased us with good sunny weather!” [TV-21, What the “island” of Russia in Norway looks like, how the population of Barentsburg lives, and what the essence of the strategy of the future is, 13.08.2019].

The phrase *vstretil nas očen’ gostepriimno* ‘met us very hospitably’ used in relation to Svalbard represents archipelago as a hospitable human and projects the metaphor SVALBARD IS A HOSPITABLE HUMAN. This representation is contrasted with the image of Svalbard as a harsh place created with the help of the adjective *surovyj* ‘harsh’.

In another example, the phrase *naš severnyj sosed* ‘our northern neighbor’ projects the direct metaphor SVALBARD IS A NEIGHBOR:

(275) Arxipelag Špicbergen, ešče odin **naš severnyj sosed**, unikalen uže svoej istoriej i političeskim statusom. [Večernij Murmansk, Belaja èkzotika, 07.04.2017].

The Svalbard archipelago, another of **our northern neighbors**, is already unique in its history and political status. [Večernij Murmansk, White exotic, 07.04.2017].

A neighbor is a person who lives nearby and who can be expected to behave friendly towards the speaker unless it is explicitly stated that the neighbor is bad. The conceptual metaphor SVALBARD IS A NEIGHBOR thus implies the author’s neutral or positive attitude towards Svalbard.

In example (276), Svalbard is conceptualized in terms of closer relations, namely family ones, to Russian territories. The noun *bliznec* ‘twin’ represents the Russian Franz Josef Land archipelago as a twin of Svalbard which automatically implies that Svalbard is a twin of the Franz Josef Land. The noun *bliznec* ‘twin’ thus projects the metaphor FRANZ JOSEF LAND AND SVALBARD ARE TWINS:

(276) Norvežskij opyt [v oblasti nauki] polezen ne tol’ko dlja togo, čtoby diversificirovat’ rossijskuju dejatel’nost’ na Špicbergene, no i čtoby razvivat’ naučno-issledovatel’skuju dejatel’nost’ v našem sektore Arktiki [...]. V perspektive èti narabotki možno vnedrit’ na arxipelage Zemlja Franca-Iosifa – èto takoj **bliznec Špicbergena** i tam nam nužen normal’nyj issledovatel’skij naukograd. [Murmanskij Vestnik, “Arktičeskij plavučij universitet” izučit morskoj mikroplastik, 24.06.2019].

The Norwegian experience [related to science] is useful not only to diversify Russian activities in Svalbard, but also to develop research activities in our sector of the Arctic [...]. In the future, this practice can be implemented on the Franz Josef Land archipelago – this is a sort of **a twin of Svalbard**, and we need a normal research science city there. [Murmanskij Vestnik, “Floating Arctic University” to study marine microplastics, 24.06.2019].

The family metaphor FRANZ JOSEF LAND AND SVALBARD ARE TWINS illustrated in example (276) represents these archipelagos as identical in terms of natural conditions and geographical location. For this reason, it is proposed to adopt the

Norwegian scientific experience for establishing a scientific research center in Franz Josef Land and thus strengthen the Russian-Norwegian scientific cooperation. However, the metaphor FRANZ JOSEF LAND AND SVALBARD ARE TWINS can be also interpreted as emphasizing a connection between Svalbard and the Russian territory and thus justifying Russia's presence in Svalbard.

The other target domain that the source domain of neighborhood is mapped onto is Norway. Unlike Svalbard, Norway is explicitly conceptualized as a problematic neighbor. This is done, for instance, in the following example related to detentions of Russian trawlers by the Norwegian authorities near Svalbard, for example:

(277) No sleduet otmetit', čto za tri poslednix mesjaca èto uže šestoj rossijskij trauler, zaderžannyj v vodax Špicbergena. I potomu dejstvija gosudarstva [Norvegii], kotoroe sčitaetsja **dobroporjadočnym sošedom**, ne mogut ne **bespokoit'**. [Arxangel'sk, "Nordkapskij" plennik, 06.10.2011].

But it should be noted that over the past three months this is already the sixth Russian trawler detained in the waters of Svalbard. And therefore, the actions of the state [Norway], which is considered **a respectable neighbor**, are **worrying**. [Arkhangelsk, "North Cape" prisoner, 06.10.2011].

As shown in example (277), the author of the article refers to Norway as a state which is considered a respectable neighbor. This means that the author expects Norway to behave as a respectable neighbor. The detentions of Russian trawlers by the Norwegian authorities do not fit into these expectations and the actions of the Norwegian authorities make the author of the article worried. The phrase *dobroporjadočnyj sošed* 'respectable neighbor' and the verb *bespokoit'* 'concern' can thus be interpreted as projecting the metaphor NORWAY IS A NEIGHBOR WHOSE BEHAVIOR CAUSES WORRIES.

In example (278), Norway is represented as a problematic neighbor in the context of establishment of the so-called exclusive economic zone around Svalbard considered by the Norwegian side as the Fisheries Protection Zone:

(278) Vskore Oslo v odnostoronnem porjadke ob"javil 200-mil'noe vodnoe prostranstvo vokrug arxipelaga Špicbergen svoej isključitel'noj èkonomičeskoj zonoj. [---] [...] **postupok sošeda ne lez uže ni v kakie ramki**. [Argumenty Nedeli, Rybnaja vojna v sumerečnoj zone, 03.03.2011].

Oslo soon unilaterally declared the 200-mile stretch of water around the Svalbard archipelago to be its exclusive economic zone. [---] [...] **the neighbor's act did not fit into any framework / took the cake**. [Argumenty Nedeli, Fish war in the twilight zone, 03.03.2011].

The phrase *postupok sošeda ne lez uže ni v kakie ramki* 'the neighbor's action did not fit into any framework' used in example (278) implies that establishment of the exclusive economic zone around Svalbard by Norway was a completely unacceptable act from the author's point of view. This phrase thus projects the metaphor NORWAY IS A NEIGHBOR WHOSE BEHAVIOR IS UNACCEPTABLE.

Some other metaphorical phrases further lead to conceptualization of Norway as a human with negative qualities. This group of phrases is represented, for example, by the phrase *primenit' nagluju taktiku* 'use brazen tactics' used in the title of one of the texts criticizing Norway's actions on limitation of Russia's activities in Svalbard as it is interpreted by the Russian side:

(279) Politika: Norvegija primenila **protiv Rossii nagluju taktiku** [Vzgljad.Ru, 09.02.2020].

Politics: Norway used **brazen tactics against Russia** [Vzgljad.Ru, 09.02.2020].

The phrase *primenit' nagluju taktiku* 'use brazen tactics' projects the metaphor NORWAY IS AN IMPUDENT HUMAN. The phrase *protiv Rossii* 'against Russia' conceptualizes Russia as a human being whom Norway's brazen tactics is directed at. This phrase thus projects the metaphor RUSSIA IS A VICTIM OF NORWAY'S IMPUDENT BEHAVIOR.

In example (280), Norway is assigned a negative evaluation through the phrase *primenjat' žandarmskie mery* 'apply police measures'. This phrase is used to refer to detentions of Russian fishing trawlers near Svalbard:

(280) Norvežcy isxodjat iz togo, što oni ob"javili 200-mil'nuju rybooxrannuju zonu vokrug arhipelaga Špicbergen, no ved' oni prekrasno ponimajut, što RF ne priznaet ètu 200-mil'nuju zonu za Norvegij. Poètomu Norvegija dolžna dogovarivat'sja s Rossiej po ètim voprosam, a ne **primenjat' žandarmskie mery** - arestovyvat' i štrafovat' v odnostoronnem porjadke. [Vzgljad.Ru, "Nebyvaloe čislo arestov", 10.10.2011].

The Norwegians proceed from the fact that they have declared a 200-mile fish protection zone around the Svalbard archipelago, but they are aware that the Russian Federation does not recognize this 200-mile zone as belonging to Norway. Therefore, Norway should negotiate with Russia on these issues instead of **applying police measures**, that is arresting and fining unilaterally. [Vzgljad.Ru, "An unprecedented number of arrests", 10.10.2011].

When used in the Russian language in its colloquial meaning, the noun *žandarm* 'gendarme/policeman' denotes "a despotic person who suppresses the will of another person, other people".⁷⁴ Within the context of example (280), Norway can also be viewed as *mirovoj žandarm* 'global policeman', that is a state intervening into other sovereign states. The phrase *primenjat' žandarmskie mery* 'apply police measures' thus projects the metaphor NORWAY IS A DESPOT / GLOBAL POLICEMAN.

In a similar vein, example (281) demonstrates a negative evaluation of Norway through the verb *tretirovat'* 'bully'. This example also relates to the context of detentions of Russian fishing trawlers near Svalbard:

⁷⁴ Bol'soj tolkovyj slovar': <http://gramota.ru/slovari/dic/?word=жандарм&all=x>

- (281) Počemu my tak sebja vedem u Špicbergena, kogda nas **tretiruet** Norvegija?
 [Argumenty Nedeli, Rybnaja vojna v sumerečnoj zone, 03.03.2011].
 Why do we behave like this near Svalbard when we **are being bullied** by Norway?
 [Argumenty Nedeli, Fish war in the twilight zone, 03.03.2011].

The verb *tretirovat'* 'bully' thus forms the metaphor NORWAY IS A BULLY. The direct object *nas* 'us' of the verb *tretirovat'* 'bully' conceptualizes Russia as an object of bullying and thus projects the other metaphor RUSSIA IS A VICTIM OF NORWAY'S BULLYING. Example (281) is a rhetorical question aimed at conveying certain emotions, namely indignation, towards passive reaction of the Russian authorities on detentions of Russian trawlers by the Norwegian side. According to Basovskaja (2004: 62), it is typical for Russian newspaper texts to use rhetorical questions that convey only negative emotions, for example, indignation and irony.

Finally in example (282), Norway is conceptualized negatively through the phrase *sliškom mnogo na sebja brat'* 'take on too much (power)' related to the context of detentions of Russian fishing trawlers near Svalbard:

- (282) Sejčas Švecija podderžala Norvegiju v spore o zone vokrug arhipelaga Špicbergen. Rossiya sčitaet, čto Norvegija **sliškom mnogo na sebja berët**, iz-za čego postojanno vznikajut konflikty. [RT na ruskom, **Rybolovnyj spor Rossii i Norvegii** prodolžilsja pod zemlëj, 13.10.2011].
 Now Sweden has supported Norway in the dispute over the zone around the Svalbard archipelago. Russia believes that Norway **is taking on too much (power)**, which is why conflicts constantly arise. [RT na ruskom, **Fishing dispute between Russia and Norway** continued underground, 13.10.2011].

The phrase *sliškom mnogo na sebja berët* 'taking on too much (power)' can be used in a situation when someone exceeds his rights or powers. In example (282), this phrase is used to express criticism of the Norwegian side and to demonstrate that Norway does not have any right or powers to detain Russian trawlers in the waters near Svalbard. Thus, the phrase *sliškom mnogo na sebja berët* 'taking on too much (power)' projects the metaphor NORWAY IS A HUMAN WHO EXCEEDS ITS POWERS. The phrase *rybolovnyj spor Rossii i Norvegii* 'fishing dispute between Russia and Norway' used in the title of text shown in example (282) forms another metaphor RUSSIA AND NORWAY ARE HUMANS ARGUING ABOUT FISHERY.

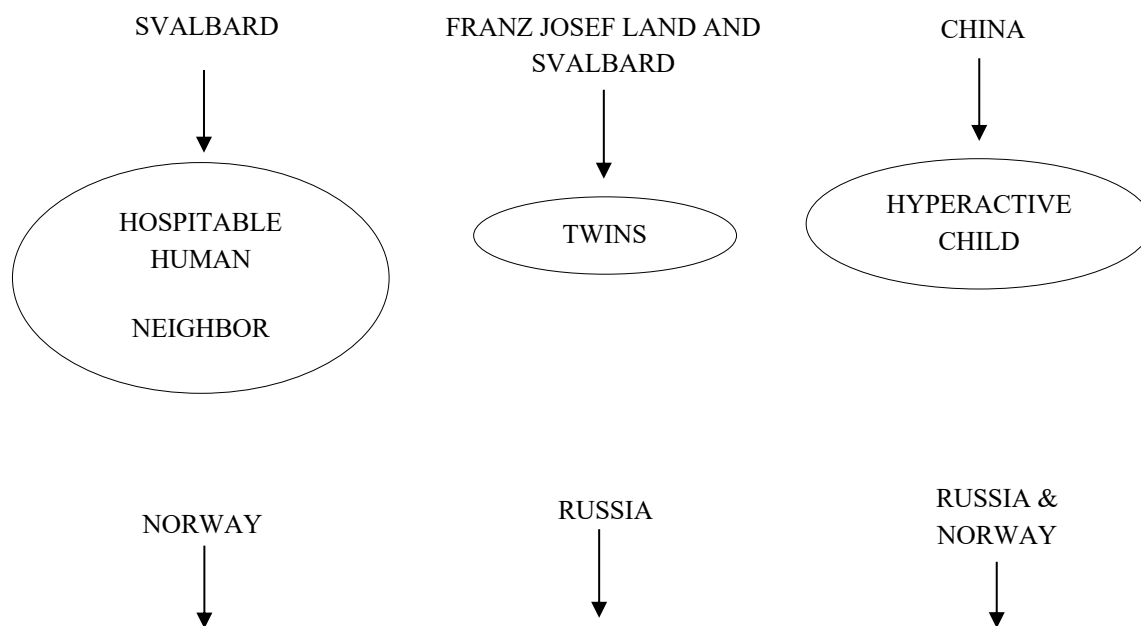
China is another actor conceptualized as a human being. In example (283) related to the context of a possible purchase of a land plot on Svalbard by a Chinese businessman, China is assigned human qualities through the adjective *giperaktivnyj* 'hyperactive':

- (283) Učënye vyskazyvajut opaseniya, čto **giperaktivnyj** Kitaj, zainteresovannyj v ugol'nyx razrabotkax na Špicbergene, možet destabilizirovat' xrupkuju èkosistemu regiona. [Murmanskij vestnik, "Gorjaščij" zemel'nyj učastok na studënom Krajnem Severe, 07.05.2014].

Scientists are raising concerns that a **hyperactive** China interested in coal mining in Svalbard could destabilize the region's fragile ecosystem. [Murmanskij Vestnik, A last-minute land plot in the icy Far North, 07.05.2014].

A hyperactive human is characterized by excessive motor activity and inability to focus on organized purposeful activities. In the educational process, these qualities are often typical for younger students.⁷⁵ Applying these qualities to China means that it is viewed as a hectic actor that cannot be managed in its aspirations for industrial development and profit at any cost. Through these qualities China is also represented as an immature unprofessional actor which has no environmental expertise. The adjective *giperaktivnyj* 'hyperactive' thus projects the metaphor CHINA IS A HYPERACTIVE CHILD.

The metaphors representing Svalbard, Norway, Russia, and China as human beings are summarized in Figure 23. This figure also includes the metaphor NORWAY IS A THIEF discussed in subsection 8.2.2.



⁷⁵ Slovar' metodičeskix terminov:

<http://www.gramota.ru/slovari/dic/?lop=x&bts=x&zar=x&ag=x&ab=x&sin=x&lv=x&az=x&pe=x&word=гиперактивность>

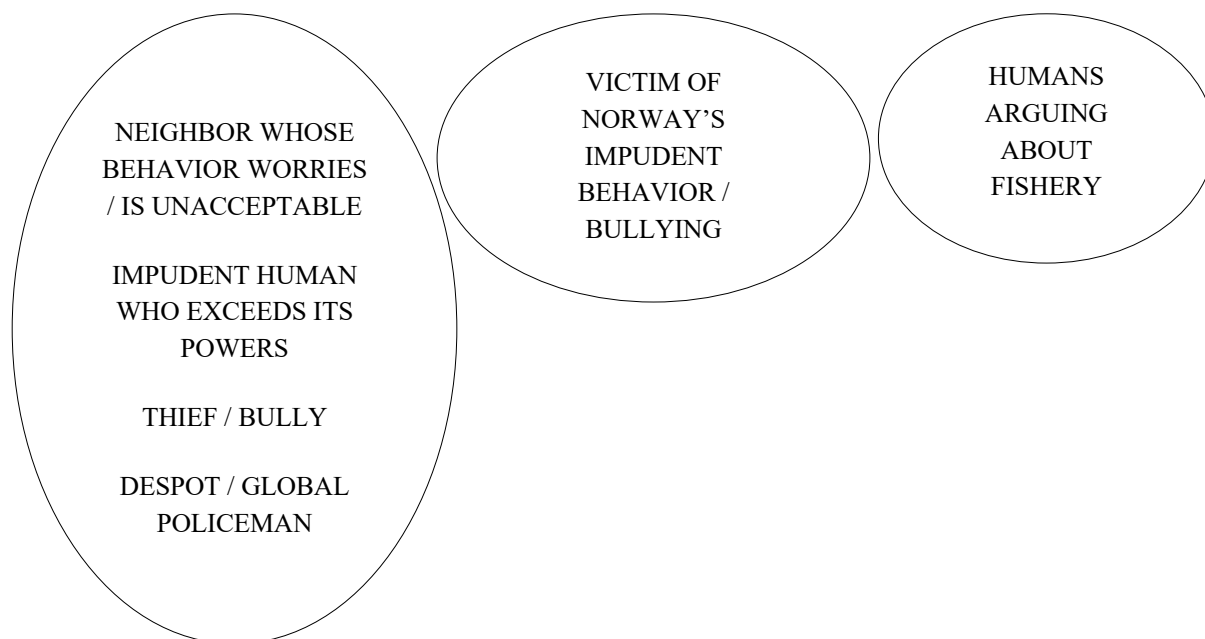


Figure 23. The conceptual metaphors that map the source domain of human being onto the target domain of Svalbard

The revealed conceptual metaphors form the following conceptual keys: A COUNTRY IS A HUMAN BEING and A REGION IS A HUMAN BEING. The human metaphors assign positive human qualities to Svalbard thus representing the archipelago as a lively welcoming place. These metaphors also indicate a connection between the archipelago and Russia. As the examples shown in this subsection demonstrate, the metaphors conceptualizing Svalbard as a human being mostly occur in the regional media. The human metaphors represent Norway as an aggressive and unreliable actor who does not want to play by the rules in the Svalbard region. Russia and Norway are seen as arguing opponents and Russia is also represented as a victim of Norway's actions. The designation of the position of the victim can be interpreted as a cry for justice. Metaphors demonizing Norway and pitying Russia occur in the federal media and mostly relate to the period of 2010-2014, to the context of detentions of Russian fishing trawlers near Svalbard. Conceptualization of China as a hectic actor in Svalbard implies that China's presence in the region is potentially dangerous and should be prevented.

8.2.11 Food metaphors

In this subsection I demonstrate that natural resources of Svalbard, namely coal and fish, are conceptualized as a pie and the views of Svalbard are represented as a marshmallow.

The metaphorical expressions *severnyj kamennougol'nyj pirog* 'northern coal pie' is used in the context of the Russian Arctic explorer Vladimir Rusanov's expedition to Svalbard at the beginning of the 20-th century aimed at exploration of coal plots there:

(284) Neožidanno ot ministerstva vnutrennix del postupilo predloženie vozglavit' èkspediciju na Špicbergen. V to vremja russkoe pravitel'stvo ves'ma obespekilos' aktivnost'ju zapadnyx predprinimatelej na ničejnomo togda poljarnom arxipelage. Kak by ne okazat'sja v storone ot **deležki severnogo kamennougol'nogo piroga!** [Murmanskij Vestnik, Idu na Vy, Arktika! 28.08.2012].

Unexpectedly, an offer to lead an expedition to Svalbard was received from the Ministry of the Interior. At that time, the Russian government was very worried about the activity of Western entrepreneurs in the no one's polar archipelago then. How not to be aloof from **the division of the northern coal pie!** [Murmanskij Vestnik, I'm coming after you, Arctic! 28.08.2012].

The phrase *severnyj kamennougol'nyj pirog* 'northern coal pie' from example (284) represents Svalbard as a baked product with the coal filling inside and projects the metaphor SVALBARD IS A NORTHERN COAL PIE. This metaphor evokes the image of a number of people coming to divide up a pie. The metaphorical Svalbard pie contains natural resources attractive for the development of the economies of several countries. In example (284), the colloquial noun *deležka* 'division' implies that the land plots full of coal resources in Svalbard were being divided between various Western entrepreneurs. The presence of this noun implies that this division was carried out not according to any rules, but according to the principle that the first and most active received their shares which were not necessarily fair. As example (284) indicates, Russia also had to act fast to receive the right to develop coal resources in Svalbard.

Another metaphorical expression occurring in the data is *rybnyj pirog* 'fish pie'. It is used in the title of an article discussing a possible impact of the Barents Sea Border Agreement on fishing implemented by Russia and Norway in the waters near Svalbard:

(285) Kak **podelit' rybnyj pirog** bez obid. Predstojaščee razgraničenie v Barencevom more ne dolžno uxudšit' uslovija raboty. [Murmanskij Vestnik, 28.06.2010].

How **to divide a fish pie** without resentment. The forthcoming delimitation in the Barents Sea should not worsen working conditions. [Murmanskij Vestnik, 28.06.2010].

The phrase *rybnyj pirog* 'fish pie' maps the source domain of a fish pie onto the target domain of the Barents Sea and projects the metaphor THE BARENTS SEA IS A FISH PIE. This metaphor foregrounds the fish supplies of the Barents Sea and represents them as attracting the interests of certain actors. As the context of the Barents Sea Border Agreement indicates, these actors are Russia and Norway. The verb *podelit'* 'divide' and the phrase *bez obid* 'without resentment' used in example (285) indicate the idea of dividing the fish resources, that is drawing the border in the Barents Sea, in a way that suits both sides – Russia and Norway.

Example (286) contains the FOOD metaphor embodied through the phrase *ogromnyj kusok pastily* 'a huge piece of marshmallow' which is used to describe views of Svalbard. The metaphor THE VIEWS OF SVALBARD ARE A PIECE OF MARSHMALLOW represents the archipelago as a stunning and attractive place:

(286) Slovo **ogromnyj kusok pastily** prositsja v rot kakogo-to velikana. Takie vidy vpolne obyčny dlja poljarnogo arhipelaga, kotoryj my nazyvaem na nemeckij lad Špicbergenom, a po-norvežski – Sval’bard. [Pravda.Ru, Špicbergen – ne podelennaja krasota, 29.03.2016].

As if **a huge piece of marshmallow** is asking for the mouth of some giant. Such views are quite common in the polar archipelago, which we call in German Spitzbergen, and in Norwegian Svalbard. [Pravda.Ru, Svalbard – undivided beauty, 29.03.2016].

The FOOD metaphors are summarized in Figure 24.

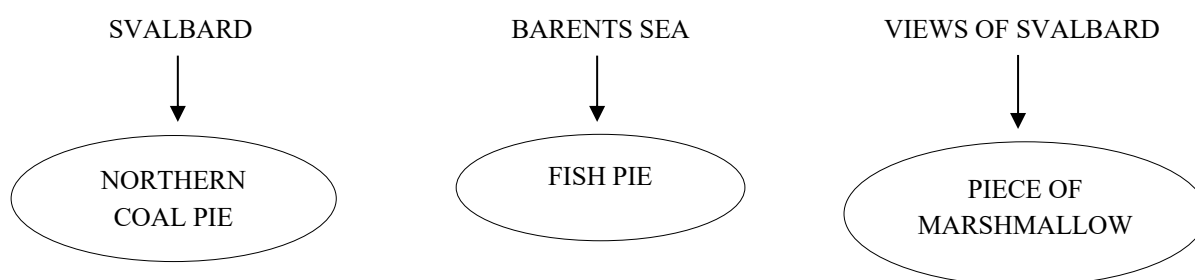


Figure 24. The conceptual metaphors that map the source domain of food onto the target domains of Svalbard and the Barents Sea

The conceptual metaphors presented in this subsection form the conceptual key A REGION IS FOOD. The conceptualization of Svalbard and the Barents Sea as a coal pie and a fish pie respectively indicates a focus on the natural resource potential of the Arctic region and Russia’s strong interest in development of these resources. Representing the Arctic region directly as a pie conveys an idea of division of the region’s natural resources between different countries.

8.2.12 Fire and water metaphors

In this subsection I discuss the FIRE and WATER metaphors. The first metaphor is used to conceptualize the disputes over the resources of Svalbard, while the second metaphor is related to the life of the Russian settlements in the archipelago.

Example (287) contains the phrase *razgoraetsja novyj požar* ‘a new fire is flaring up’ used in the context of Russia’s disapproval of Norway’s decision to open some oil drilling sites near Svalbard:

(287) [---] sejčas **razgoraetsja novyj požar**, uže iz-za mestoroždenij nefi. Tak, v marte 2015 goda Rossija napravila v norvežskij MID rezkujuju notu, v kotoroj govorilos’, čto otkrytie dlja burenija trex učastkov v akvatorii bliz Špicbergena narušaet položenija dogovora [o Špicbergene]. [Severnaja Nedelja, Sval’bord ne vpisyvaetsja v Parižskij dogovor, 03.11.2017].

[---] now **a new fire is flaring up**, this time because of the oil fields. In March 2015, Russia sent a sharp note to the Norwegian Foreign Ministry, stating that the opening of three sites for drilling in the water area near Svalbard violates the provisions of the [Svalbard] Treaty. [Severnaja Nedelja, Svalbard does not fit the Paris Treaty, 03.11.2017].

Since the context illustrated in example (287) concerns a dispute about oil drilling sites, the phrase *razgoraetsja novyj požar* ‘a new fire is flaring up’ can be interpreted as projecting the metaphor DISPUTE ABOUT OIL DRILLING SITES NEAR SVALBARD IS A GROWING FIRE.

Example (288) also indicates the context of a dispute about oil drilling sites near Svalbard regarded in the text as *meždunarodnyj konflikt* ‘international conflict’. In this example, the phrase *razgoraetsja meždunarodnyj konflikt* ‘international conflict flares up’ projects the metaphor INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT AROUND OIL DRILLING SITES NEAR SVALBARD IS A GROWING FIRE:

(288) V ijune 2018 g. ministerstvo nefti i ènergetiki Norvegii ob"javilo o vydaèe licenzij na dobyèu nefti na šel'fe v nevidannoj blizosti k oxranjaemoj zone Špicbergena. [Argumenty.ru, Vokrug arhipelaga Špicbergen **razgoraetsja meždunarodnyj konflikt**, 30.05.2019].

In June 2018, the Norwegian Ministry of Petroleum and Energy announced the issuance of licenses for offshore oil production in unprecedented proximity to the Svalbard protected area. [Argumenty.ru, **International conflict** around the Svalbard archipelago **flares up**, 30.05.2019].

Mapping the source domain of fire onto the target domain of a dispute or conflict conveys the idea that the dispute or conflict is developing fast, intensely, and uncontrollably and can lead to serious consequences.

Example (289) illustrates the WATER metaphor which occurs in a text describing a life of the Russian settlement Barentsburg:

(289) Zapomnilsja Barenburg. Pravda, on kakoj-to mračnyj [...]. Nesmotrja na to èto èto vtoroj po veličine naseleennyj punkt na arhipelage Špicbergen, **žizn' zdes' ne kipjatok**. [Arxangel'sk, Tam, gde glaz vsegda vljubljen v dal', 07.08.2014]. Barentsburg is stuck in memory. It is true that it is rather gloomy [...]. Despite the fact that this is the second largest settlement on the Svalbard archipelago, **life here is not boiling water**. [Arkhangelsk, Where the eye is always in love with the distance, 07.08.2014].

Example (289) contains the clause *žizn' zdes' ne kipjatok* ‘life here is not boiling water’ used to define life in Barentsburg. This clause projects the metaphor LIFE IN BARENTSBURG IS NOT BOILING WATER. In the Russian language, the idiomatic phrase *žizn' kipit* ‘life is boiling, life is in the full swing’ is used to describe lively and busy places. The metaphor LIFE IN BARENTSBURG IS NOT BOILING WATER thus

creates the opposite image – Barentsburg is represented as an abandoned place where nothing is happening.

Example (290) contains the metaphor offering an opposite representation of the Russian settlements in Svalbard in comparison with the metaphor LIFE IN BARENTSBURG IS NOT BOILING WATER. One of the meanings of the word *ključ* used in example (290) is “a spring gushing out of the ground” and the phrase *bit' ključom* ‘be in full swing’, used in the same example, activates an image of a spring and denotes a very active state of something. The metaphor LIFE IN THE SOVIET SETTLEMENTS IN SVALBARD WAS A SPRING GUSHING OUT OF THE GROUND projected by the phrase *bit' ključom* conveys the idea of the Soviet Barentsburg and Pyramiden being lively and busy places:

- (290) Žizn' v sovetskix šaxterskix posёлkax na arktičeskom ostrove Špicbergen v 1960-e gody **bila ključom**. [Argumenty i fakty, Zapoljarnyj ogorod, 30.01.2018].
Life in the Soviet mining villages on the Arctic Island of Svalbard in the 1960s was **in full swing**. [Argumenty i fakty, Polar Garden, 30.01.2018].

The FIRE and WATER metaphors are summarized in Figure 25.

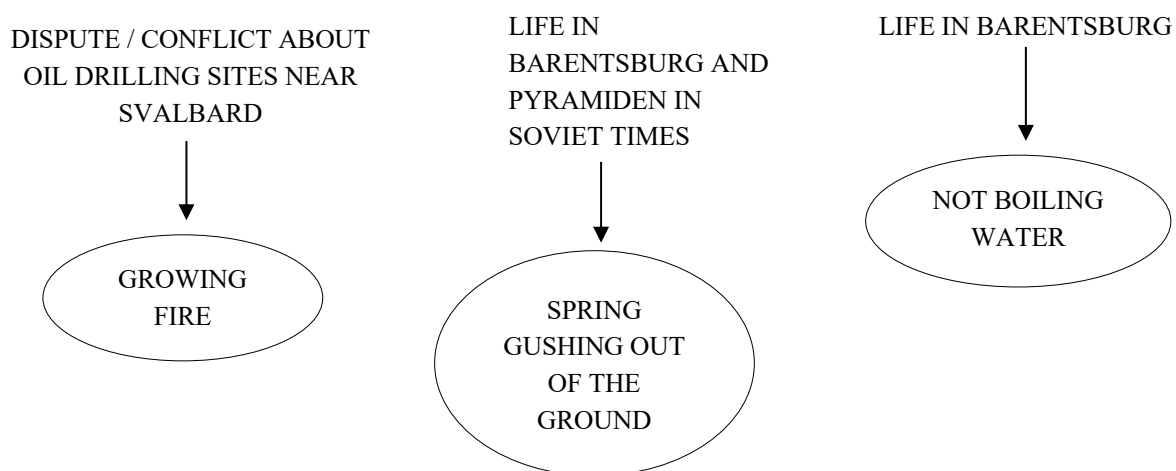


Figure 25. The conceptual metaphors that map the source domains of fire and water onto the target domain of Svalbard

The conceptual keys consisting of the conceptual metaphors presented in this subsection are A DISPUTE / CONFLICT IS A FIRE and LIFE IN A CITY / IN A SETTLEMENT IS WATER. The WATER metaphors illustrated in the present section create a contrast between almost lifeless Barentsburg in the present and lively Barentsburg and Pyramiden in the Soviet past. This contrast can be interpreted as constructing a certain nostalgia towards the Soviet times. The FIRE metaphors indicate a potential

dangerousness and unpredictability of the disputes about the oil drilling sites near Svalbard.

8.2.13 Connection metaphors

A range of metaphorical expressions found in the data map the source domain of connection onto the target domain of Svalbard or Svalbard-related actors. Such metaphorical expressions contain words denoting physical objects whose elements are closely connected, for example, threads in a tapestry and a knot, or denote the act of connection. In subsection 8.2.1, a connection metaphor NORWAY IS A HUMAN WHO SHOULD HOLD ON TO RUSSIA IN THE BARENTS SEA was already described.

Example (291) contains the phrase *Špicbergen perepletěn s rossijskoj istoriej* ‘Svalbard is intertwined with Russian history’. This phrase projects the metaphor RUSSIA AND SVALBARD ARE INTERTWINED THREADS IN THE TAPESTRY OF HISTORY:

(291) Špicbergen nastol’ko **perepletěn s rossijskoj istoriej**, čto my ne možem prosto tak otsjuda ujti. Èto **naneset**, prežde vsego, **udar po imidžu Rossii**. [Rossijskaja gazeta, Genkonsul RF na Špicbergene: Nel’zja delat’ perekos tol’ko v storonu turizma, 21.03.2020].

Svalbard is so **intertwined with Russian history** that we can't just leave [Svalbard]. First, this **will deal a blow to the image of Russia**. [Rossijskaja gazeta, Consul General of the Russian Federation in Svalbard: You can't skew only towards tourism, 21.03.2020].

Tapestry threads are linked very closely and they are difficult to break. The metaphor RUSSIA AND SVALBARD ARE INTERTWINED THREADS IN THE TAPESTRY OF RUSSIAN HISTORY thus represents Svalbard as an essential part of Russian history. Example (291) contains another metaphorical expression *nanesti udar po imidžu Rossii* ‘deal a blow to the image of Russia’. This expression forms the metaphor RUSSIAN IMAGE IS AN OBJECT THAT CAN BE DAMAGED BY A BLOW. The meaning of the noun *udar* ‘blow’ implies a certain amount of pain and damage. The metaphor RUSSIAN IMAGE IS AN OBJECT THAT CAN BE DAMAGED BY A BLOW thus conveys the idea that ending the Russian presence in Svalbard would be extremely bad for Russia’s reputation.

Example (292) contains the phrase *Špicbergen ešče tesnej budet svjazan s Rossiej* ‘Svalbard will be even more closely connected with Russia’ and represents Russia and Svalbard as two items that are already tied together and that will be connected even more tightly in the future. This phrase thus projects the metaphor SVALBARD AND RUSSIA ARE ITEMS THAT WILL BE STRONGER TIED TOGETHER:

(292) Artur Čilingarov, člen Soveta Federacii: "Rešeno, čto v bližajšie gody Špicbergen **ešče tesnej budet svjazan s Rossiej**, i s Murmanskoj oblast’ju v častnosti. [TV-21, **Arktičeskij uzél**, 09.07.2013].

Artur Chilingarov, member of the Federation Council: “It was decided that in the coming years Svalbard **will be even more closely connected with Russia**, and with the Murmansk region in particular”. [TV-21, **Arctic knot**, 09.07.2013].

Example (292) is taken from the text discussing the problem of interaction between the Russian and Norwegian sides on fisheries issues near Svalbard and Russia’s presence in the Arctic overall. The title of this text *Arktičeskij uzal* ‘Arctic knot’ contains the noun *uzal* ‘knot’ which conveys the idea of connection. If one relates this title to the context of interaction on fisheries, the noun *uzal* ‘knot’ can be interpreted as projecting the metaphor PROBLEMS BETWEEN RUSSIA AND NORWAY REGARDING FISHERIES IN SVALBARD IS A KNOT. A knot is a strong weave of thread or rope which is difficult and sometimes impossible to untie. This conceptualization thus represents the misunderstanding between Russia and Norway related to fisheries in Svalbard as complicated and difficult to resolve. On the other hand, if interpreted as related to Russia’s presence in the Arctic, the title *Arktičeskij uzal* ‘Arctic knot’ projects the metaphor RUSSIA AND THE ARCTIC ARE THE ENDS OF A ROPE TIED IN A KNOT. This metaphor thus conveys the idea of inseparability of the Arctic from Russia.

Similar to example (292), example (293) contains the noun *uzal* ‘knot’ which is a part of the phrase *razvjazat’ uzly* ‘untie the knots’. This phrase is also used in the context of the interaction between Russia and Norway on fisheries in Svalbard and it projects the metaphor PROBLEMS BETWEEN RUSSIA AND NORWAY REGARDING FISHERIES IN SVALBARD IS A KNOT. The complexity of negotiations related to Svalbard is expressed by other words as well, for example, the verb *pytalis’* ‘tried’ and the phrase *očen’ ostraja sessija* ‘a very sharp session’.

(293) God okazalsja dostatočno naprjažennym, - prodolžzet Valentin Balašov [rukovoditel’ Barencevo-Belomorskogo territorial’nogo upravlenija Rosrybolovstva]. - Vsledstvie ètogo sostojalas’ **očen’ ostraja sessija** rossijsko-norvežskoj komissii v Kaliningrade. Na nej my **pytalis’ “razvjazat’ uzly”**, kasajuščiesja rajona Špicbergeny. [Murmanskij Vestnik, Staryj opyt promysla ne isportit, 29.11.2011 09:25].

The year turned out to be quite tense, - continues Valentin Balashov [Head of the Barents-Belomorsky territorial department of Rosrybolovstvo]. - As a result, **a very sharp session** of the Russian-Norwegian commission took place in Kaliningrad. On it, we **tried to “untie the knots”** concerning the Svalbard region. [Murmansky Vestnik, The old experience will not spoil fishing, 29.11.2011 09:25].

The CONNECTION metaphors are summarized in Figure 26. This figure also includes the metaphor NORWAY IS A HUMAN WHO SHOULD HOLD ON TO RUSSIA discussed in subsection 8.2.1.

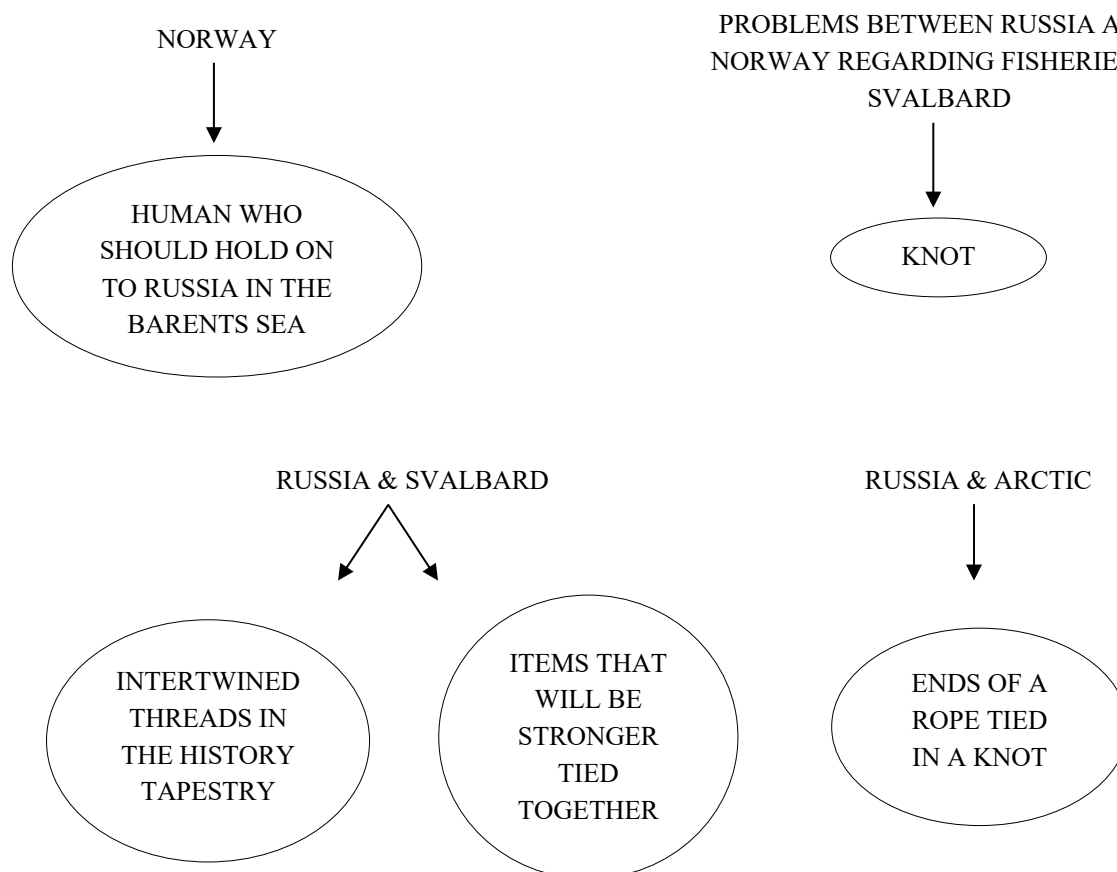


Figure 26. The conceptual metaphors that map the source domain of connection onto the target domains of Svalbard and the Arctic

The majority of identified conceptual metaphors form the following conceptual keys: A COUNTRY AND A REGION ARE OBJECTS TIED TOGETHER and A PROBLEM IS A KNOT. The conceptual key A COUNTRY AND A REGION ARE OBJECTS TIED TOGETHER and the metaphors comprising this conceptual key emphasize a strong connection between Svalbard and Russia as well as the Arctic and Russia. The conceptual key A PROBLEM IS A KNOT and the relevant metaphor represent Norway as a difficult negotiator in relation to fisheries in Svalbard since the problems in this area are represented as unresolvable. The metaphor NORWAY IS A HUMAN WHO SHOULD HOLD ON TO RUSSIA indicates some connection between Norway and Russia. Within this conceptualization, Norway is downplayed as a weak actor in the Barents Sea while Russia is assigned a role of a strong actor.

8.2.14 Science metaphors

Some of the metaphorical expressions found in my data map the source domain of science onto the target domain of Svalbard. One of these expressions is *meždunarodnaja naučna laboratorija* 'international scientific laboratory' projecting the direct metaphor SVALBARD IS AN INTERNATIONAL SCIENTIFIC LABORATORY:

- (294) Među tem Špicbergen – ešče i ogromnaja **meždunarodnaja naučnaja laboratorija** posredi Severnogo Ledovitogo okeana. [Murmanskij Vestnik, Poka est' vremena i neft', 08.06.2011].
 Meanwhile, Svalbard is also a huge **international scientific laboratory** in the middle of the Arctic Ocean. [Murmanskij Vestnik, As long as there is time and oil, 08.06.2011].

Example (295) contains two direct metaphors SVALBARD IS A KEY POINT FOR STUDYING THE ENVIRONMENT and SVALBARD IS A CENTRAL INTERNATIONAL TESTING GROUND FOR STUDYING THE ARCTIC. Conceptualization of Svalbard as a key point assigns it a role of a small place but a very important one:

- (295) Èto [Špicbergen] **ključevaja točka dlja izučenija okružajuščeje sredy** [...]. Poèтому Špicbergen javljaetsja **central'nym meždunarodnym poligonom dlja izučenija prirodnoj sredy Arktiki** [...]. [Vesti.Ru, Kak Rossija vozvraščaetsja na Špicbergen, 09.02.2020].
 This [Špicbergen] is **a key point for studying the environment** [...]. Therefore, Spitsbergen is **a central international testing ground for studying the natural environment of the Arctic** [...]. [Vesti.Ru, How Russia is returning to Svalbard, 09.02.2020].

Example (296) contains the phrase *indikator global'nyx izmenenij, kotorye nabljudajutsja na Zemle* 'indicator of the global changes that are observed on Earth' which compares the archipelago with a technical device that can indicate global natural changes. This phrase thus projects the direct metaphor SVALBARD IS AN INDICATOR OF GLOBAL NATURAL CHANGES:

- (296) Jurij Ugrjumov, načal'nik naučno-arktičeskoj èkspedicii na arxipelage Špicbergen: "Špicbergen – prekrasnyj **ob"ekt**. Èto prekrasnyj **indikator** tex **global'nyx izmenenij, kotorye nabljudajutsja na Zemle**". [TV-21, Čto izučajut učěnye na Špicbergene i začem? 31.10.2018].
 Yuri Ugryumov, head of the scientific-arctic expedition to the Svalbard archipelago: "Svalbard is a wonderful **object**. It is an excellent **indicator of the global changes that are observed on Earth**". [TV-21, What are scientists studying in Svalbard and why? 31.10.2018].

The noun *ob"ekt* 'object' from example (296) can be interpreted as projecting the OBJECT metaphor, namely SVALBARD IS AN OBJECT OF SCIENTIFIC STUDY.

The SCIENCE metaphors are summarized in Figure 27.

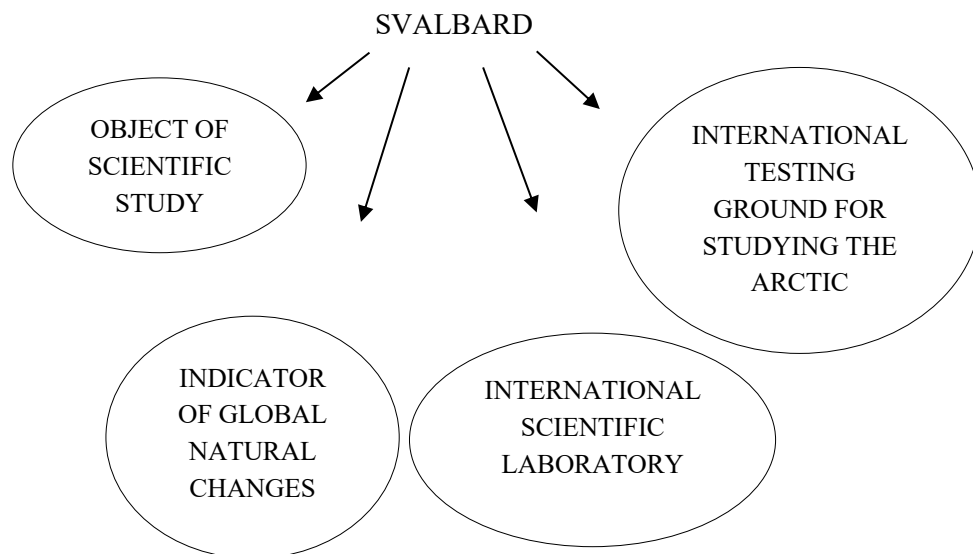


Figure 27. The conceptual metaphors that map the source domain of science onto the target domain of Svalbard

The SCIENCE metaphors foreground the opportunities for scientific research that Svalbard offers and the international character of this research. These metaphors conceptualize Svalbard as an important component of the natural processes both in the Arctic and in the whole world.

8.2.15 Religion and death metaphors

The metaphorical phrase *zemlja obetovannaja* ‘promised land’ related to Svalbard was already described in section 8.2.7 as projecting the SPATIAL metaphor SVALBARD IS CENTRAL. This phrase can also be interpreted as forming the RELIGION metaphor SVALBARD IS A PROMISED LAND which represents the archipelago as a place of peace and happiness, a goal of many people. Other RELIGION metaphors described in this subsection conceptualize Svalbard-related context as hell, heaven, (religious) sacrifice, ghost, and place of pilgrimage.

Example (297) contains the metaphorical expression *kraj – ne raj* ‘a region which is not heaven’ used in relation to Svalbard:

- (297) Ljudi v ètoj večnoj merzlote, bez vsjakogo nameka na derev’ja, dolgo starajutsja ne zaderživat’sja, **kraj – ne raj**. [Murmanskij Vestnik, **Kraj – ne raj**, 28.05.2016].
 People try not to stay for a long time in this permafrost, without any hint of trees. **This region is not heaven**. [Murmanskij Vestnik, **A region, which is not heaven**, 28.05.2016].

The first meaning of the noun *raj* in the Russian language is ‘paradise’. The second meaning is “a beautiful place; living conditions that bring pleasure and enjoyment”.⁷⁶ The sentence *kraj – ne raj* ‘a region which is not heaven’ thus forms the metaphor SVALBARD IS NOT PARADISE which together with the context of example (297) represents the archipelago as a place with harsh climate conditions that are not pleasant and even not suitable for human life.

Example (298) contains the phrase *ledjanoj ad* which explicitly names Svalbard as an ‘icy hell’. The metaphor SVALBARD IS AN ICY HELL foregrounds the severe climate conditions in the archipelago. The whole context illustrated in example (298) activates a historical image of skillful and strong Russian Pomors able to survive, hunt, and even live in Svalbard. Since this image is also created to contrast the inability of Norwegians to survive in the harsh conditions of Svalbard, this image can be interpreted as developing a representation of the archipelago as a Russian space:

- (298) Starajas’ kolonizirovat’ arxipelag, Norvegija v XVIII veke prizyvala dobrovol’cev za den’gi i prestupnikov za proščenie... No nikto ne kupilsja. [---] Nikto ne veril, čto v **ledjanom adu** možno vyžit’ xotja by god. Tem ne menee ruskie neodnokratno na Špicbergen xodili bit’ moržej, tjulenej i kitov. I daže zimovali. [Komsomol’skaja Pravda, Russkie robinzony: šest’ let v **ledjanom adu**. Kak četverke pomorov na Špicbergene udalos’ vyžit’, 15.11.2021].
Trying to colonize the archipelago, Norway in the 18th century called for volunteers for money and criminals for forgiveness ... But no one fell for it. [---] No one believed that one could survive at least a year in **an icy hell**. Nevertheless, the Russians repeatedly went to Svalbard to kill walruses, seals, and whales. They even hibernated there. [Komsomol’skaja Pravda, Russian Robinsons: six years in **icy hell**. How four Pomors managed to survive on Svalbard, 15.11.2021].

As example (299) shows, Longyearbyen serves as another target domain for the RELIGION metaphors. The metaphorical expression *filial raja na zemle* ‘a branch of heaven on earth’, used to name Longyearbyen, projects the business metaphor PARADISE IS AN ENTERPRISE and the religion metaphor LONGYEARBYEN IS A BRANCH OF PARADISE ON EARTH:

- (299) Po sravneniju s Barenburgom i Piramidoj norvežskij poselok Longierbjuen – **filial raja na zemle**. [Moskovskij Komsomolec, Zabloženaja Arktika: S ruskogo Špicbergena ubegajut poslednie žiteli, 30.12.2011].
Compared to Barentsburg and the Pyramid, the Norwegian village of Longyearbyen is **a branch of paradise on earth**. [Moskovskij Komsomolec, Abandoned Arctic: The last inhabitants of Russian Svalbard are fleeing, 30.12.2011].

The metaphor LONGYEARBYEN IS A BRANCH OF PARADISE ON EARTH represents the Norwegian town as a place that is very comfortable and pleasant for

⁷⁶ Bol’šoj tolkovyj slovar’:

<http://www.gramota.ru/slovari/dic/?lop=x&bts=x&zar=x&ag=x&ab=x&sin=x&lv=x&az=x&pe=x&word=paï>

living. This metaphor is used to emphasize the contrast between life in the Norwegian Longyearbyen and in the Russian settlements.

As shown in example (300), the noun *raj* 'paradise' also occurs as a part of the metaphorical expression *sbylas' mečta o kommunističeskom rae na zemle* 'the dream of a communist paradise on earth came true' which is used to describe life in Pyramiden during the Soviet period. This phrase thus projects the metaphor LIFE IN THE SOVIET PYRAMIDEN WAS A COMMUNIST PARADISE which represents life in the Soviet Pyramiden as the most possible enjoyable one born of the communist system. The metaphor LIFE IN THE SOVIET PYRAMIDEN WAS A COMMUNIST PARADISE creates a nostalgic memory for the Soviet time:

- (300) Na glavnoj ploščadi pustynnogo šaxterskogo poselka Piramida – granitnyj Il'ič [Vladimir Lenin], samyj severnyj v mire, smotrit na ledniki ostrova Špicbergen. Na ego glazax snačala **sbylas'**, a potom **kak kartočnyj domik ruxnula mečta o kommunističeskom rae na zemle**. [Vesti.Ru, Nazad v buduščee, 16.04.2011].
On the main square of the deserted mining village Pyramid - granite Ilyich [Vladimir Lenin], the northernmost in the world, looks at the glaciers of the island of Svalbard. Before his eyes, **the dream of a communist paradise on earth** at first **came true** and then **collapsed like a house of cards**. [Vesti.Ru, Back to the future, 16.04.2011].

The other metaphorical expression from example (300) is *kak kartočnyj domik ruxnula mečta o kommunističeskom rae na zemle* 'the dream of a communist paradise on earth collapsed like a house of cards'. This phrase can be interpreted as projecting the GAMBLING metaphor THE DREAM OF A COMMUNIST PARADISE WAS A HOUSE OF CARDS which implies that this dream and even the realization of it did not last long and ended abruptly. The metaphor THE DREAM OF A COMMUNIST PARADISE WAS A HOUSE OF CARDS creates an atmosphere of nostalgia and regret about the lost Soviet past.

Another example of a metaphorical expression that forms a RELIGION metaphor is *mesto palomničestva dlja ljubitelej astronomii* 'a place of pilgrimage for astronomy lovers' which is used to refer to Barentsburg. This example occurs in the text reporting on the total solar eclipse that was expected to be observed in Svalbard in March 2015:

- (301) Gorod Barenburg, raspoložennyj na arxipelage Špicbergen, okažetsja praktičeski na central'noj linii zatmenija, čto obeščает ego prevratit' v **mesto palomničestva dlja ljubitelej astronomii**. [Rossijskaja Gazeta, V marte zemljane uvidjat polnoe solnečnoe zatmenie, 02.03.2015].
The city of Barentsburg, located on the Svalbard archipelago, will be almost on the central line of the eclipse, which promises to turn it into **a place of pilgrimage for astronomy lovers**. [Rossijskaja Gazeta, In March, earthlings will see a total solar eclipse, 02.03.2015].

The phrase *mesto palomničestva dlja ljubitelej astronomii* 'a place of pilgrimage for astronomy lovers' thus projects the metaphor BARENTSBURG WILL BE A PLACE

OF PILGRIMAGE FOR ASTRONOMY LOVERS which represents this settlement as very popular among scientists and tourists during the period of the solar eclipse.

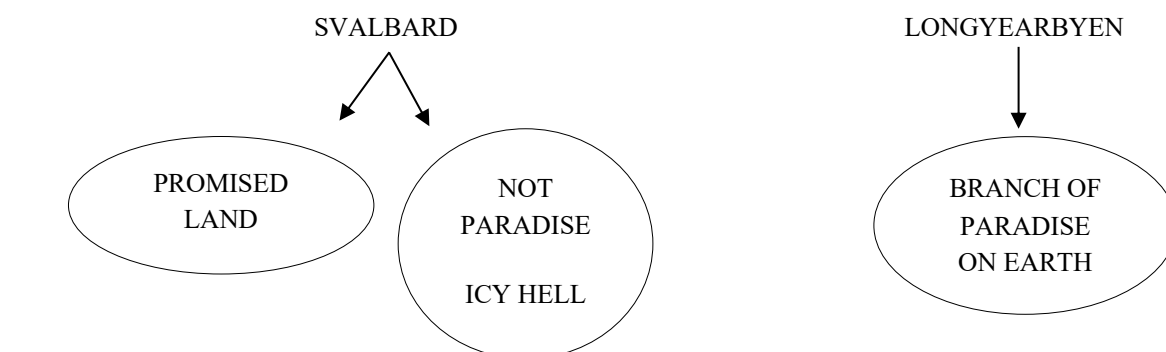
In example (302), *ix* ‘them’ is an anaphoric pronoun which refers back to the noun *rybaki* ‘fishermen’ and which is a direct object of the verb *prinesti*, a part of the phrase *prinesti v žertvu* ‘offer up a sacrifice’. This example is used in the text criticizing the Russian side for signing the Barents Sea Border Agreement of 2010. The author of this text claims that the signing of this agreement deprives Russian fishermen of the right to fish in the Western part of the Barents Sea. The first meaning of the noun *žertva* ‘sacrifice, victim’ is “an object or living creature (usually killed) offered as a gift to a deity according to the rites of some religions”.⁷⁷ The phrase *prinesti v žertvu* ‘sacrifice’ thus projects the RELIGION metaphor RUSSIAN FISHERMEN ARE A SACRIFICE which assigns Russian fishermen the passive role of a victim sacrificed for the sake of big political decisions:

- (302) A čto [rossijskie] rybaki? Ix **prinesli v žertvu** pervymi. [Argumenty Nedeli, Rybnaja vojna v sumerečnoj zone, 03.03.2011].
 What about the [Russian] fishermen? They were the first **to be sacrificed**. [Argumenty Nedeli, Fish war in the twilight zone, 03.03.2011].

Example (303) is another example of a metaphorical conceptualization of the Pyramiden settlement. In this example, Pyramiden is named *posëlok-prizrak* ‘ghost town’ which projects the DEATH metaphor PYRAMIDEN IS A GHOST TOWN representing the settlement as dead, almost not existing. On the other hand, the verb *živët* ‘lives’ projects the metaphor PYRAMIDEN IS A HUMAN which implies that the settlement is functioning:

- (303) Kak i čem živët segodnja rossijskij **posëlok-prizrak** na Arxipelage Špicbergen? [TV-21, Ostrovok socializma v Arktike, zona medvedej i smelyx čaek, 12.08.2019].
 How and by what does the Russian **ghost town** on the Spitsbergen Archipelago live today? [TV-21, An island of socialism in the Arctic, a zone of bears and bold seagulls, 12.08.2019].

The RELIGION and DEATH metaphors are summarized in Figure 28.



⁷⁷ Bol'šoj tolkovyj slovar':

<http://gramota.ru/slovari/dic/?lop=x&bts=x&zar=x&ag=x&ab=x&sin=x&lv=x&az=x&pe=x&word=жертва>

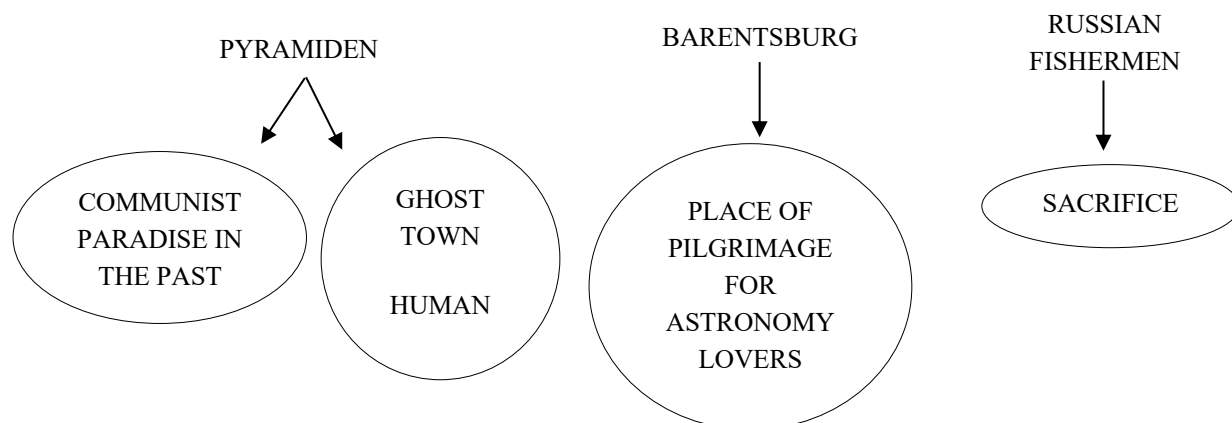


Figure 28. The conceptual metaphors that map the source domain of religion and death onto the target domain of Svalbard

Most of the identified conceptual metaphors can be united into the following conceptual keys: A REGION / A SETTLEMENT IS (NOT) A PARADISE and A REGION / A SETTLEMENT IS A HOLY PLACE. These metaphors and conceptual keys offer various, including opposite, conceptualizations of Svalbard and Svalbard-related actors. For instance, Svalbard is viewed as a desirable place for many people and as a place with severe climate conditions not suitable for normal human life. The context associated with the latter representation attributes the Russian Pomors with a unique ability to survive in these harsh conditions.

The Russian settlement Pyramiden is represented as almost dead through the ghost town metaphor, and this image is contrasted with the image of Pyramiden as an enjoyable lively place during the Soviet period created by the paradise metaphor. Another opposition created is a contrast between Pyramiden, an almost dead place, and Barentsburg which is represented as a desired and crowded place, at least during the solar eclipse. The RELIGION metaphors also conceptualize Longyearbyen as a pleasant place to visit and reside.

8.2.16 Rivalry and sports metaphors

A range of phrases map the source domain of rivalry and sports on the target domain of Svalbard and Svalbard-related actors. I have combined these source domains in one section because these concepts include competition which makes them semantically similar.

The RIVALRY metaphor is projected, for instance, by the phrase *mesto pod arktičeskim solncem* ‘place in the Arctic sun’ shown in example (304). This phrase originates from the expression *mesto pod solncem* ‘place in the sun’ meaning a competition and a

struggle for “the right to such a dignified existence as the speaker sees it”.⁷⁸ The phrase *mesto pod arktičeskim solncem* ‘place in the Arctic sun’ can be interpreted as projecting the metaphor THE ARCTIC IS A RIVALRY ZONE.

- (304) Na Špicbergene vystavljajeta na prodaju učastok zemli, i strany, **želajuščie imet’ sobstvennoe mesto pod arktičeskim solncem**, polučat šans takoe mesto priobresti. [Murmanskij vestnik, “Gorjaščij” zemel’nyj učastok na studěnom Krajnem Severe, 07.05.2014].
A piece of land is being put up for sale in Svalbard, and countries that **want their own place in the Arctic sun** will have a chance to acquire such a place. [Murmanskij vestnik, “Gorjaščij” zemel’nyj učastok na studěnom Krajnem Severe, A last-minute land plot in the icy Far North, 07.05.2014].

The RIVALRY metaphor is also embodied by the phrases *prioritet ruskogo prisutstvija v Arktike* ‘the priority of the Russian presence in the Arctic’ and *bezrazdel’noe pervenstvo v dele pokorenija Arktiki* ‘undivided primacy in the conquest of the Arctic’ shown in example (305):

- (305) Prezidentskaja biblioteka peredast dlja obnovlennoj muzejnoj èkspozicii na Špicbergene kopiju unikal’nogo dokumenta, kotoryj, kak otmečajut v učreždenii, podtverždaet **prioritet ruskogo prisutstvija v Arktike**. [---] V biblioteke [muzejnoj kolekcii Špicbergena] otmečajut, čto èlektronnye dokumenty iz fonda Prezidentskoj biblioteki pomagajut ponjat’, kakuju bol’šuju cenu zaplatila Rossija za svoe **bezrazdel’noe pervenstvo v dele pokorenija Arktiki** i nynešnee prisutstvie v nej. [TV-21, V muzejnuju kolekciju Špicbergena budet peredan dokument svidetel’stvujuščij o bezrazdel’nom pervenstve Rossii v Arktike, 16.07.2015].
The Presidential Library will donate a copy of a unique document for the updated museum exhibition in Svalbard, which, as noted by the institution, confirms **the priority of the Russian presence in the Arctic**. [---] The library [the museum collection in Svalbard] notes that electronic documents from the Presidential Library’s collection help to understand the great price Russia paid for its **exclusive primacy in the conquest of the Arctic** and its current presence in it. [TV-21, A document testifying to the undivided championship of Russia in the Arctic will be transferred to the museum collection of Svalbard, 16.07.2015].

The noun *prioritet* ‘priority’ has two dictionary meanings – “being the first from the time perspective in scientific discovery, invention, etc.” and “the predominant, primary meaning of something”.⁷⁹ The phrase *prioritet ruskogo prisutstvija v Arktike* ‘the priority of the Russian presence in the Arctic’ thus can indicate that Russia was the first country that appeared in the Arctic and that Russia has a predominant role in the Arctic. The meaning of the noun *pervenstvo* ‘primacy’ is “top position in importance, in merit,

⁷⁸ Slovar’ krylatyx slov i vyraženij: https://dic.academic.ru/dic.nsf/dic_wingwords/1480/Место

⁷⁹ Bol’šoj tolkovyj slovar’:

<http://gramota.ru/slovari/dic/?lop=x&bts=x&zar=x&ag=x&ab=x&sin=x&lv=x&az=x&pe=x&word=приоритет>

in quality”.⁸⁰ In example (305), this meaning is intensified by the adjective *bezrazdel'noe* ‘unchallenged, exclusive’. Both these words indicate the idea that Russia’s contribution to the exploration of the Arctic was so important that it cannot be compared with contribution of other countries. The phrases *prioritet ruskogo prisutstvija v Arktike* ‘the priority of the Russian presence in the Arctic’ and *bezrazdel'noe pervenstvo v dele pokorenija Arktiki* ‘exclusive primacy in the conquest of the Arctic’ thus can be interpreted as projecting two metaphors – EXPLORATION OF THE ARCTIC IS A RIVALRY and RUSSIA IS / WAS FIRST IN THE ARCTIC.

In a similar vein, the phrase *prioritety v osvoenii Špicbergena prinadležat Rossii* ‘the priorities in the exploration of Svalbard belong to Russia’ from example (306) projects the metaphor EXPLORATION OF SVALBARD IS A RIVALRY and RUSSIA WAS FIRST IN SVALBARD:

- (306) V 1912 godu Rusanov sobiralsja tuda (na Novuju Zemlju) vnov', kogda emu postupilo predloženie vozglavit' èkspediciju na Špicbergen. Ètot arhipelag byl neobyknovenno važen, potomu što v pravitel'stve ponimali: xotja **prioritety v osvoenii Špicbergena** praktičeski **prinadležat Rossii**, v seredine XIX veka ruskie promysloviki ušli ottuda. [Arxangel'sk - gorod vojskoj slavy, Istoričeskij rakurs, 22.02.2017].
In 1912, Rusanov was going there (to Novaya Zemlya) again when he received an offer to lead an expedition to Svalbard. This archipelago was extremely important, because the government understood that although **in practice Russia has priority in the exploration of Svalbard**, in the middle of the 19th century, Russian hunters and fishers left the archipelago. [Arxangel'sk - gorod vojskoj slavy, Historical perspective, 22.02.2017].

Other metaphorical phrases that project the RIVALRY metaphor are *politika vytesnenija* ‘a policy of ousting’ and *osnovnoj konkurent* ‘main competitor’ shown in example (307):

- (307) V 50-e gody XX veka Norvegija načala **politiku vytesnenija** s arhipelaga Špicbergen vsex stran-učastnikov Dogovora o Špicbergene, v tom čisle i SSSR, kak svoego **osnovnogo konkurenta**. [Gazeta.Ru, Rossii neobxodimo forsirovat' dejatel'nost' po ukrepleniju svoix pozicij na Špicbergene, 25.05.2012].
In the 1950s Norway began **a policy of ousting** from the Svalbard archipelago all countries participating in the Svalbard Treaty, including the USSR, its **main competitor**. [Gazeta.Ru, Russia needs to speed up activities to strengthen its positions in Svalbard, 25.05.2012].

The metaphors projected in example (307) are SIGNATORIES OF THE SVALBARD TREATY ARE NORWAY’S COMPETITORS, THE USSR WAS NORWAY’S MAIN COMPETITOR IN SVALBARD, and overall ECONOMIC PRESENCE IN

⁸⁰ Bol'šoj tolkovyj slovar':

<http://gramota.ru/slovari/dic/?lop=x&bts=x&zar=x&ag=x&ab=x&sin=x&lv=x&az=x&pe=x&word=первенство>

SVALBARD IS A RIVALRY. These representations demonize Norway and assign the role of a victim to the other signatories of the Svalbard Treaty, especially to the USSR.

Example (308) shows the SPORTS metaphor embodied by the phrase *špicbergenski borbovski kover* ‘the Svalbard wrestling mat’. This phrase can be interpreted as projecting two metaphors: SVALBARD IS A WRESTLING MAT and ECONOMIC PRESENCE IN SVALBARD IS A WRESTLING COMPETITION:

(308) **Špicbergenski borbovski kover** – ešče odin vopros, kotoryj nas volnuet. Soxranitsja li režim Dogovora o Špicbergene v morskix rajonax, kotorye priliegajut k akvatorii arxipelaga? [Komsomol'skaja pravda, Vyigrala ili proigrala Rossija ot razgraničenija Barenceva morja s Norvegiej? 06.08.2010].

The Svalbard wrestling mat is another issue that worries us. Will the regime of the Svalbard Treaty continue in the maritime areas adjacent to the waters of the archipelago? [Komsomolskaya Pravda, Has Russia gained or lost from delimiting the Barents Sea with Norway? 06.08.2010].

The RIVALRY and SPORTS metaphors are summarized in Figure 29.

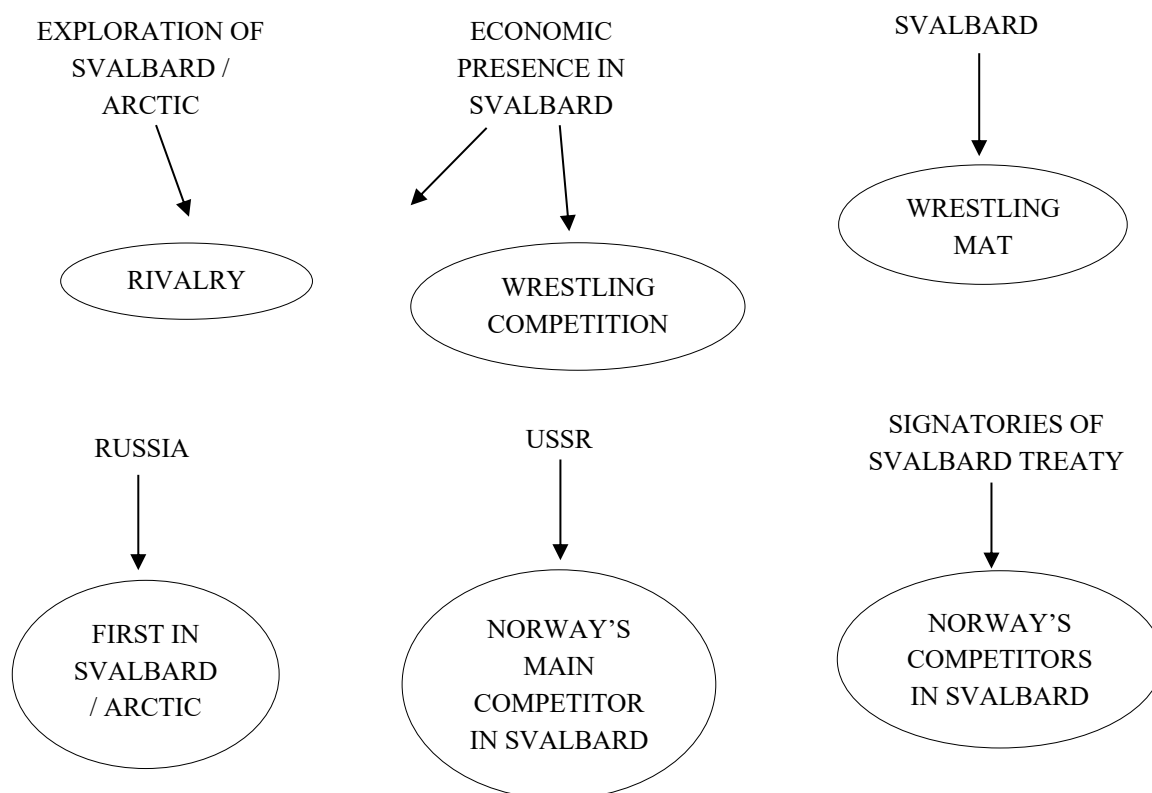


Figure 29. The conceptual metaphors that map the source domains of rivalry and sports onto the target domains of Svalbard and the Arctic

The identified conceptual metaphors form the conceptual keys EXPLORATION OF A REGION IS A RIVALRY AND COMPETITION and ECONOMIC PRESENCE IN A

REGION IS A RIVALRY AND COMPETITION. The metaphors comprising these conceptual keys represent exploration and economic presence in the Arctic overall and in Svalbard as highly competitive activities. Russia is assigned the role of the absolute pioneer in historical exploration of Svalbard and the Arctic. Russia is represented as the country having unquestioned authority in the Arctic region. Some of the RIVALRY metaphors represent Norway as having viewed other countries, especially USSR, as its competitors in Svalbard.

8.2.17 Gambling and entertainment metaphors

An example of the GAMBLING (also the RELIGION) metaphor THE DREAM OF A COMMUNIST PARADISE WAS A HOUSE OF CARDS was given in subsection 8.2.15. Other GAMBLING and entertainment metaphors described in this subsection conceptualize Svalbard-related context as Norwegian roulette, an action movie, a TV-series, and as a gift.

The metaphor FISHERY IN THE SVALBARD AREA IS A NORWEGIAN ROULETTE, occurs in example (309). This metaphor is related to the context of detentions of Russian fishermen by the Norwegian Coast Guard. This metaphor is projected by the phrase *igrat' v svoeobraznuju norvežskuju ruletku* 'play a kind of Norwegian roulette' derived from the phrase *ruskaja ruletka* 'Russian roulette' used to indicate a very risky game. The metaphor FISHERY IN THE SVALBARD AREA IS A NORWEGIAN ROULETTE thus represents fishery near Svalbard as an activity which is not properly regulated and which can have unpredictable results for Russian trawlers, for example, their detentions by the Norwegian Coast Guard. The adjective *norvežskij* 'Norwegian' indicates that it is the Norwegian side who is blamed for these risks:

- (309) Každyj raz, kogda rossijskie rybaki vedut promysel v rajone Špicbergena, oni **igrajut v svoeobraznuju norvežskuju ruletku**. [Vesti.Ru, Storoževoj korabl' "Murmansk" vyšel na dežurstvo v rajon Špicbergena, 14.10.2011].
Every time Russian fishermen fish in the Svalbard area, they **play a kind of Norwegian roulette**. [Vesti.Ru, Patrol ship Murmansk went on duty in the Svalbard region, 14.10.2011].

Several other metaphorical expressions involve the source domain of movies thus projecting ENTERTAINMENT metaphors. One of these expressions, namely *razygralsja dramatičeskij boevik* 'a dramatic action movie played out', maps the source domain of an action movie onto the target domain of the detention of the Russian trawler Sapphire II by the Norwegian Coast Guard:

- (310) Norvežskaja beregovaja oxrana v rajone arxipelaga Špicbergen zaderžala rossijskix rybakov. V sredu v vodax Barenceva morja **razygralsja dramatičeskij boevik**, kotoryj edva ne zakončilsja meždunarodnym konfliktom. [Izvestija, Rossijskie rybaki ne otbili trauler "Sapfir II", 29.09.2011].
The Norwegian Coast Guard detained Russian fishermen in the Svalbard archipelago. On Wednesday, **a dramatic action movie played out** in the waters of the Barents Sea

and almost ended in an international conflict. [Izvestija, Russian fishermen did not recapture the trawler Sapphire II, 29.09.2011].

The phrase *razygralsja dramatičeskij boevik* ‘a dramatic action movie played out’ shown in example (310) thus projects the metaphor THE DETENTION OF THE RUSSIAN TRAWLER IS AN ACTION MOVIE. This metaphor represents the detention as a spectacular event in which readers are invited to take on the role of spectators. At the same time, the metaphor THE DETENTION OF THE RUSSIAN TRAWLER IS AN ACTION MOVIE conceptualizes the detention as a dangerous event which can involve armed clashes, fights, and murders.

In example (311), the source domain of a TV-series is mapped on the target domain of maps of Svalbard through the phrase *zaxvatyvajuščij serial* ‘an exciting [TV] series’. A TV-series is long, and it has an interesting, even exciting, plot. The metaphor READING THE MAPS OF SVALBARD IS A TV-SERIES projected by the phrase *zaxvatyvajuščij serial* ‘an exciting [TV] series’ indicates that Svalbard is a place with a long exciting history:

- (311) Čtenie kart Špicbergena – **zaxvatyvajuščij serial**, načínajuščijsja v mire skandinavskix mifov, prodolžajuščijsja veličajšimi učenyimi i smelyimi pervootkryvateljami. [Arktik-TV, Lekcija “Nazvanie na karte Špicbergena – putešestvie skvoz’ mify i legendy”, 21.04.2018].

Reading the maps of Svalbard is **an exciting [TV] series** that begins in the world of Scandinavian myths and continues with the greatest scientists and brave discoverers. [Arktik-TV, Lecture “A name on the map of Svalbard is a journey through myths and legends”, 21.04.2018].

Example (312) also contains the ENTERTAINMENT metaphor. Here the noun *podarok* ‘present’ projects the metaphor TRANSFER OF SOVEREIGNTY OVER SVALBARD IS A GIFT TO NORWAY:

- (312) No vo vremja Graždanskoj vojny v Rossii, v fevrale 1920 goda vosem’ gosudarstv (SŠA, Danija, Francija, Italija, Japonija, Niderlandy, Velikobritanija i Švecija) bez učeta mnenija Rossii [...] peredali Norvegii suverenitet nad Špicbergenom. **Podarok** byl šikarnyj...no s podvojom. Norvegija polučila pravo tol’ko na sušu. [Pravda.Ru, Resursy Barenceva morja podelili po-bratski? 06.03.2013].

But during the Civil War in Russia, in February 1920, eight states (USA, Denmark, France, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Great Britain and Sweden), without taking into account the opinion of Russia, [...] transferred sovereignty over Svalbard to Norway. **The gift** was chic ... but with a catch. Norway received the rights to the land only. [Pravda.Ru, Have the resources of the Barents Sea been divided fraternally? 06.03.2013].

The metaphor TRANSFER OF SOVEREIGNTY OVER SVALBARD IS A GIFT TO NORWAY conveys the idea that Norway received Svalbard too easily and that Norway does not deserve Svalbard.

The GAMBLING and ENTERTAINMENT metaphors are summarized in Figure 30. The GAMBLING metaphor THE DREAM OF A COMMUNIST PARADISE WAS A HOUSE OF CARDS from section 8.2.15 is also included.

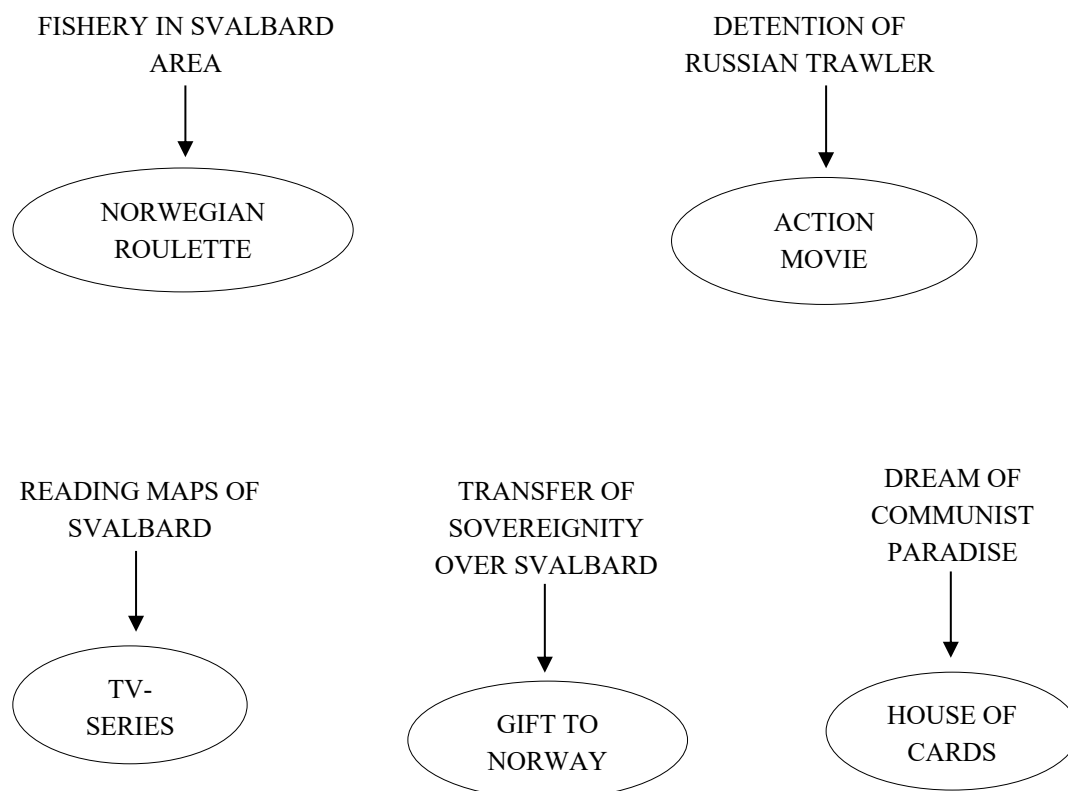


Figure 30. The conceptual metaphors that map the source domains of gambling and entertainment onto the target domain of Svalbard

The GAMBLING and ENTERTAINMENT metaphors create various conceptualizations of Svalbard and Svalbard-related actors that produce different effects. On the one hand, through these metaphors the Norwegian side is blamed for creating a dangerous and risky situation for Russian fishermen in the Barents Sea. In addition, Norway is represented as a state that has undeservedly received Svalbard, which can be interpreted as undermining Norway's sovereignty over Svalbard. On the other hand, Svalbard is seen as a special place from a historical point view and as a place embedded into a certain kind of nostalgia and regret for the failed idea of communism.

8.3 Summary and conclusion

Chapter 8 presents an analysis of the metaphors found in the immediate context of the seed lemma *Špicbergen* retrieved from six subcorpora: Federal 2010-2013*, Regional 2010-2013*, Federal 2014-2017*, Regional 2014-2017*, Federal 2018-2021*, and Regional 2018-2021*. This analysis was aimed at collecting evidence related to the use

of metaphors in the Svalbard context by the media overall rather than at exploring differences in metaphor use between these periods and media types.

The analysis revealed a number of source and target domains involved in the construction of the metaphorical conceptualization of the Svalbard context. The target domain is represented by Svalbard and the Svalbard region (mainly including the Arctic, Barentsburg, Pyramiden, and FPZ). The target domain also includes people (Russian fishermen), people within state structures and organizations (the Norwegian Coast Guard, Norwegian authorities, and diplomats), countries (mainly Norway, Russia, China), and concepts (mainly economic presence in the Svalbard region).

There is a wide range of source domains mapped on the relevant target domains. These source domains are war, criminality, objects, health and body, animals, buildings and construction, space, containers, journey, human beings, food, fire and water, connection, science, religion and death, rivalry and sports, gambling, and entertainment. These source domains are both neutral per se – for example, the domains of animals, containers, science – and negative, for example, the domains of war and criminality.

The metaphors discovered in this analysis offer a range of representations of the target domains. Within each target domain, these representations are both consistent with each other and in some instances oppose each other.

Svalbard is seen as a lively and welcoming place with a fascinating history. The image of Svalbard as a desirable destination for many people stands in contradiction to its image as a peripheral location with a severe climate. The archipelago is also viewed as a site of international research and cooperation. On the other hand, economic presence in Svalbard presents severe competition among some countries, especially Russia and Norway. Svalbard is mostly not assigned an agentive role; it is rather represented as a manipulable and movable entity that can be transferred from one owner to another. Nevertheless, Svalbard and the Arctic overall are tightly connected to Russia, and Svalbard acts as a crucial point for controlling access to the Arctic.

The locations in Svalbard have various kinds of representations. The Norwegian Longyearbyen is viewed as a pleasant place to visit and reside. The Russian Barentsburg and Pyramiden are embedded in a nostalgic idealistic picture of Soviet prosperity. The image of these settlements in the present is more pessimistic – Pyramiden is represented as almost dead and Barentsburg as not very suitable for life. The latter is however seen as an important location for Russia's presence in the archipelago and as a place that attracts tourists.

A certain attention within these conceptualizations is given to the natural resources of Svalbard. They attract Russia's strong interest and at the same time they are seen as potentially shareable among various countries. However, sharing does not imply amicable cooperation – exploration and development of Svalbard and the Arctic overall are seen as competitive activities. The situation with fishery in the FPZ is represented as especially problematic and painful for the Russian side, and the dispute with the Norwegian side in relation to this matter is unresolvable.

Metaphorical representation of Norway is often negative. Norway is a strong enemy, a criminal, and an aggressive and unreliable actor in Svalbard. Norway creates a dangerous and risky situation for fisheries in the FPZ and it is a difficult negotiator when it comes to attempts to solve the fishery problem. Norway is represented as trying to achieve complete sovereignty over Svalbard and as viewing other countries in Svalbard as competitors. At the same time, Norway is Russia's desired partner and good cooperation between these countries in the Barents region does take place.

Russia is given a special role in the Svalbard context. Russia is seen as an absolute pioneer in historical exploration of Svalbard and the Arctic and as a country having unquestioned authority in the Arctic region. This image is consistent with one of the representations of Norway as a weak actor who should ally itself with Russia in the Barents Sea. Nevertheless, Russia is constantly represented as a victim deprived of Svalbard by Norway, and Russian fishermen are assigned the role of victims abused by Norwegian authorities in the Barents Sea. The dissatisfaction with Norway's policies in Svalbard is consistent with the metaphorical representations foregrounding the international status of the archipelago and backgrounding, even to some extent questioning, Norway's sovereignty over Svalbard.

The other actors, namely China and NATO, are viewed as entirely undesirable in the region.

To sum up, the metaphorical representation of the Svalbard context in the Russian federal and regional media in 2010-2021 often involves two actors with agentive roles – Russia and Norway. The interaction between these actors is mostly, but not always, viewed as especially difficult. Svalbard and the Arctic are seen as tightly connected to Russia, for example, from a historical perspective. This is one of the reasons why Russia's presence in Svalbard and development of this presence – its “strengthening” and Russia's “returning” to the archipelago is a matter of importance.

The metaphorical representation of the Svalbard context presented in this chapter was found in both types of media – federal and regional. However, examining similarities and differences in metaphorical conceptualization across media types and periods was not the purpose of the present analysis. In the future, research that involves both qualitative and quantitative analysis of the use of Svalbard-related metaphors in terms of time, events and media type seems interesting and important. Another feature that is not explicitly discussed in the present analysis is the presence of conventional and novel metaphors in the data. A number of metaphors have been identified through figurative or non-first meanings of words recorded in dictionaries. Some metaphors were found in quotations from Norwegian sources, apparently translated from Norwegian or English into Russian. For these reasons, these metaphors can be considered conventional. However, a detailed examination of the metaphors associated with Svalbard in terms of their conventionality or novelty might shed more light on how familiar these metaphors are to audiences and the extent to which their effectiveness is determined by conventionality or novelty.

9 Discussion

9.1 Main findings

The aim of the present work was to examine the coverage of Svalbard by the Russian federal and regional media between 2010 and 2021. The present study proposed a linguistic approach to data analysis: the search for patterns of lexical and grammatical units in textual data and the interpretation of these patterns were done from the perspective of Cognitive Linguistics, Discourse Analysis, and Corpus Linguistics. The textual data was processed with the help of three types of analysis: Market Basket Analysis, Keymorph Analysis, and Metaphor Analysis. Market Basket Analysis and Keymorph Analysis are both quantitative methods that approach data from different perspectives. In the present study, Market Basket Analysis helped to investigate the context of the keyword *Špicbergen* ‘Spitsbergen’ comprised by other keywords. One of the results of Market Basket Analysis is that Russia and Norway are viewed as main protagonists associated with Svalbard in both types of media. Keymorph Analysis provides a more focused approach. In the present study, this type of analysis was implemented to investigate representations of Russia, Norway, and Svalbard through the prominence of grammatical cases used with the nouns *Rossija* ‘Russia’, *Norvegija* ‘Norway’, and *Špicbergen* ‘Spitsbergen’ and the immediate context of these word forms. Metaphor Analysis is a qualitative analysis similar in some ways to Keymorph Analysis in that it examines representations of Svalbard and other related discourse participants. Metaphor Analysis is however focused on metaphorical representations and metaphors are regarded within this study as a means of persuasion and ideology construction.

The results of Market Basket Analysis indicate that both types of media often discuss the archipelago in terms of economic activities (e.g., tourism) and science. Associating Svalbard with science is however more typical for the regional media. In addition, these media tend to connect Svalbard with Arkhangelsk and Murmansk. Both types of media demonstrate interest in fisheries, particularly regarding detentions of Russian fishing trawlers by the Norwegian Coast Guard near Svalbard, between 2010-2013. A clear difference between the regional and federal media is that the federal media consistently discuss Svalbard in the context of geopolitics and state interests. The coverage of the archipelago by these media reflects a shift from Russian-Norwegian cooperation (signing of the Barents Sea Border Agreement in 2010) to the deterioration of Russian-Norwegian relations that happened after 2013. The decline of Russian-Norwegian relations is noticeable through a discussion of two contexts: sanctions, particularly a visit to the archipelago by a Russian official under the EU sanctions, and the militarization of the archipelago. The federal media also demonstrate a noticeable interest in accidents in Svalbard between 2014-2017.

The Keymorph Analysis revealed that the federal and regional media generally present similar portrayals of Russia, Norway, and Svalbard, except for the period 2018-2021. Overall, Russia and Norway are viewed as dynamic agents in the Svalbard context, acting independently and as partners or opponents. Norway is consistently represented as a receiver of sovereignty over Svalbard after 1920. At the same time, focused

attention is paid to the international nature of the Svalbard Treaty of 1920 and the infringement on Russia's rights to an economic presence in the archipelago by Norway. Svalbard is represented as a non-dynamic agent, a label, a passive entity, a destination, and the site of certain activities. A noticeable change in representations of Russia and Norway occurs between 2014 and 2017: the countries are not seen as cooperating and/or conflicting entities in any type of media (due to a radical decrease in the prominence of the Instrumental case). After 2017, another shift occurs: while the federal media view Norway and Russia as competitors, they portray Russia as a victim protecting its economic interests in the region, and they discuss Svalbard in the context of securitization, the regional media treat Russia and Norway as partners in relation to economic and scientific activities.

The discursive roles of Russia and Svalbard revealed through Keymorph Analysis show striking similarities with the discursive roles of Russia and Ukraine from Putin's official speeches pronounced in 2022 (see Janda et al. 2022). While Svalbard and Ukraine act as passive entities and regions "manipulated by" other actors (including Russia), Russia is seen as a strong actor and a reliable partner who becomes a victim and who seeks justice through access to territory in both Svalbard and Ukraine. These representations can be interpreted as a legal justification, at least for the domestic Russian audience, to protect Russian interests both in Svalbard and in Ukraine.

The Metaphor Analysis was conducted to collect evidence in relation to the use of metaphors in the data overall rather than to find differences in metaphor use between the media types and among the periods. The Metaphor Analysis revealed a wide range of source and target domains involved in metaphorical conceptualization of the Svalbard context. The source domains include war, criminality, food, objects, space, containers, etc. and the target domains include Svalbard and related locations and territories (e.g., the Arctic, Barentsburg, FPZ), people (Russian fishermen), state structures and organizations (the Norwegian Coast Guard, Norwegian authorities, etc.), countries (Norway, Russia, etc.), and concepts (natural resources, economic presence in the Svalbard region, etc.). The metaphorical conceptualizations observed in the data overall occurred in both types of media. In brief, the metaphorical representation of Svalbard includes the following images: Svalbard as an object, a destination, a location tightly connected to Russia, the site of severe competition between Russia and Norway, and a crucial point for controlling access to the Arctic. The Soviet past of Russian Barentsburg and Pyramiden is idealized. Some metaphors conceptualize fishery in the FPZ as problematic and painful for the Russian side, and development of Svalbard and the Arctic are seen as competitive activities. Norway is represented as a partner but more often as an enemy and a criminal, an aggressive and unreliable actor, and a difficult negotiator in relation to Svalbard. Norway is seen as striving for complete sovereignty over Svalbard. The metaphorical representation of Russia includes the image of a pioneer in exploration of Svalbard and the image of a country which has unquestioned authority in the Arctic. Russia and Russian fishermen are also seen as victims of Norway. Some metaphorical representations foreground the international status of Svalbard and background Norway's sovereignty over Svalbard.

The results of all three analyses indicate that both federal and regional media often discuss economic and scientific presence in the Svalbard region. This discussion mostly involves Russia and Norway as actors.

As revealed through Market Basket Analysis, the federal media regularly cover Svalbard in terms of Russian-Norwegian relations and often focus on negative developments in these relations. Embedding Svalbard into such political and geopolitical contexts can be seen as a direct way of demonstrating to the reader that Russia is a strong actor in the Svalbard region and that it is always ready to protect its interests on Svalbard. The regional media seem to avoid connecting the archipelago with twists and turns of Russian-Norwegian political relations in a prominent way. This is especially shown by the results of Keymorph Analysis which demonstrated that between 2018-2021 the federal media portrayed Norway as Russia's strong opponent in relation to Svalbard policies (for example, reporting the exchange of statements between Russian and Norwegian foreign ministries dedicated to the centenary of the signing of the Svalbard Treaty in 2020), while the regional media represented Norway as Russia's partner in terms of scientific and economic activities on the archipelago. However, the regional media do not always follow this trend. Economic interests of the Russian northwest on Svalbard, embedded into the scandals of international politics, can also surface as a focus of interest in the regional media. This was demonstrated by Market Basket Analysis which revealed that during 2010-2013 both federal and regional media were preoccupied with detentions of Russian trawlers (which were from Murmansk and Arkhangelsk) by the Norwegian Coast Guard near Svalbard. In addition, Keymorph Analysis revealed that in 2014-2017, the regional media expressed some concern about the possible arrival of China in the archipelago, which can be interpreted as viewing this country as a threat to the economic interests of the Russian North-West in the Svalbard region.

A special mention should be made in relation to the consistent interest of both types of media, especially the regional media, in science and a preoccupation with accidents typical for the federal media especially in 2014-2017. The regional media discussed scientific opportunities in Svalbard in the context of international research involving Russia, or in the context of Russian scientific presence, often associated with Russian northwestern scientific institutes, in the Svalbard region. On the one hand, science and rescue can be treated as neutral activities. On the other hand, in the context of Svalbard, promotion of rescue operations can be interpreted as a means of "reaffirming" presence in the region (Wæhler 2024: 62) and promotion of scientific activities contribute to construction of narratives of belonging (Roberts & Paglia 2016).

Norway's role in the Svalbard context also deserves special mention. As the results of Keymorph Analysis indicate, Norway is perceived both as Russia's partner and as an opponent in relation to Svalbard in both types of media. In addition, Norway is consistently portrayed as a "inferior steward" of the archipelago driven by greed. Via "demonization" of Norway as an actor abusing its rights in the archipelago the victim role is attributed to Russia. These roles "naturalize" Russia's intentions to call for justice. Metaphor Analysis deepens our understanding of these results by revealing that

metaphorical representations of Norway often include strong negative emotions and attitudes. Furthermore, metaphorical representation of Russia and especially of Russian fishermen evoke sympathy and compassion. Strong feelings are also related to metaphorical representations of Russian and Norwegian presence on Svalbard, which are seen as engaged in a highly competitive activity and as a struggle to survive. These conceptualizations potentially yield a strong persuasive effect, although an additional experimental study is needed to confirm this point.

The results summarized in this subsection are consistent with the hypothesis described in chapter 4 that mainstream federal and regional media might create different and at the same time similar agendas related to coverage of Svalbard. As it is finally demonstrated in this study, the examined federal media show larger focus on federal / national interests and regional focus more on scientific and regional economic interests in Svalbard. At the same time both types of media are mostly loyal to the prevailing government policy and they, to one degree or another, contribute to the formation of the image of Svalbard as a region of strong Russian interests, and a region where Russia has the right and the will to maintain its presence.

9.2 Limitations

The present research has certain limitations. One of the limitations is that the study included only media texts but not official documents, for example, in the form of statements published by the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Though a portion of the examined articles reported on official statements, no differentiation between the official view and the opinions expressed in the texts was made explicitly in this analysis. According to Moe & Jensen (2020: 516), the Russian Foreign Ministry and the Russian media offer different opinions regarding Svalbard: while media representations give Russia historical rights to Svalbard and blame Norway for exceeding its powers in relation to the archipelago (this view is consistent with the results of the present study), the official statements of the Russian Foreign Ministry appear to be quite mild. However, the authors admit that it is not always easy to determine who decides in Russia about politics concerning Svalbard. Therefore, in the future, it would be useful to compare the official and media views on certain events related to Svalbard and follow the development of these views in the course of time.

Another limitation of the present research is a division of the data into three four-year periods rather than considering each year individually. The latter approach would have revealed a more exact picture of the portrayal of events and the media reaction to them.

The scope of the article collection offered by the Integrum database is another limitation of the present work. It is not known exactly whether the articles offered by Integrum are an exhaustive list of the articles published by the selected media at a given period and whether the articles are complete texts. These limitations are, however, difficult to overcome since Integrum was the only available database with a wide collection of media articles at the time the present study was conducted.

The methods used in the present study also contain some limitations. Using parameters within Market Basket Analysis different from those used in this study may produce slightly different results. However, the parameters used in this study (see subsection 6.1) were optimal to obtain manageable results. The grouping of keywords from the Associative Arrays into contexts, concepts and co-text words was performed by one analyst, which can also be considered as a limitation of the study. Likewise, the identification of metaphors within the Metaphor Analysis was also conducted by one analyst.⁸¹ In addition, the metaphors were identified from a potentially narrow context, namely the immediate context of the lemma *Špicbergen* ‘Spitsbergen’. In the future, a metaphor search based on full texts and group discussion of metaphors with calculations of inter-rater reliability might be suitable. The present study did not take into consideration similarities and differences in metaphor use across media types and periods. In the future, the percentages of conceptual metaphors, for example, related to certain source domains in federal and regional media, would be suitable for study.

Finally, the present work does not categorize Svalbard-related narratives according to topics. Following the appearance (and disappearance) of such topics explicitly could contribute to understanding the dynamics of formation of opinions in Russian public discourse. For this purpose, discourse analysis of Svalbard-related data could be combined, for example, with one of the Digital Humanities methods, such as Topic Modeling (e.g., Gritsenko 2016; Isoaho et al. 2019).

10 Conclusion and future directions

This dissertation has shown that coverage of Svalbard in the Russian mainstream federal and north-western regional media between 2010 and 2021 was in many ways focused on the presence of Russia in the Svalbard region and the maintenance of this presence. Russian media perceptions of Svalbard can be interpreted as aligned with compliance, promotion, and defense of Russian interests in the archipelago. Each type of media, however, achieves these tasks by using different strategies.

The federal media consistently appeal to events related to official Russian-Norwegian relations. The coverage of Svalbard by these media shows a clear shift in time: the discussion of interaction and cooperation between the countries is replaced by a decline in this discussion and the emergence of topics of sanctions and securitization. As part of this trend, the federal media are preoccupied with political scandals, which are often associated with Russian criticism of Norway’s policies on Svalbard.

The regional media offer a softer view on Svalbard, neglecting to address in a prominent way major political, often negative, events involving Russia and Norway in the context of Svalbard. However, the regional media from time to time may focus attention on such

⁸¹ I received comments on a number of metaphors from some colleagues. However, these discussions were not systematic.

events when they concern protecting the economic interests of the Russian northwestern regions in Svalbard. An example of such interest is the concern of these media about the facts of the detention of Russian fishing trawlers by the Norwegian Coast Guard at the beginning of the period under study. The regional media are focused on connecting Svalbard with science to a greater degree than the federal media. In the context of Svalbard, this interest can also be interpreted as an orientation towards the Russian scientific presence in the archipelago and, thus, towards the promotion of Russian interests in the Svalbard region.

The present study can be regarded as a contribution to clarifying the Russian view on its presence and the presence of other countries, especially Norway, in the Svalbard region. In the future, it seems important to continue studying Russian media in relation to Svalbard, taking into account the ongoing conflict in Ukraine and its impact on life in Svalbard: for example, the negative impact of EU sanctions imposed after the escalation of the conflict on the development of Russian tourism in the archipelago (Jørgensen & Moe 2023: 24).

In future studies, it may be worthwhile to cover further stages of transdiscursive intertextuality proposed by Duguid & Partington (2017: 72) and described in subsection 2.2 to gain a better understanding of the construction of meaning related to Svalbard in Russian public discourse. These studies can be focused on a political source (e.g., official statements from the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs), the mainstream media, and social media. The role of social media is particularly interesting in construction of meanings related to Svalbard. Unlike newspaper discourse (and political discourse) controlled by privileged communities, discourses appearing on social media are more democratic because they are created by a wider range of discourse communities (Baker & McEnery 2015: 262–263).

Another interesting angle of the research on media coverage of Svalbard could be a comparison of views on the archipelago by Russian and Norwegian media. As in the present study, such research can cover various types of media: national, regional, and even local (e.g., the Norwegian *Svalbardposten*) ones. This approach is particularly relevant in terms of the perception of threats or issues in the archipelago as portrayed by the Russian and Norwegian sides.

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