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The concept 'roshia' (Russia) in
the Japanese print media.
The case of *Asahi Shinbun*.

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要旨

本論文の目的は、日本の朝日新聞のディスコースにおける「ロシア」と言うコンセプト、日本語の語学的な世界観におけるこのコンセプトの表し方、また、「ロシア」と言うコンセプトの構造の明確化である。そのため、朝日新聞の2013年1月1日から一年間に発行された「ロシア」と言う語を含む記事を分析した。

本論文の第一章では研究の目的とその研究方法を詳細に説明する。それに加えて、文献レビューやこの研究で利用される認知言語学の基本的な用語の説明を含み、第一章は日ロ関係、世界のロシアに対する見解、また、ロシアに関する一般的なステレオタイプについて述べる。

具体的には、本研究のタスクは第一に、他の国とロシアとの関係や人文科学におけるこの関係の解釈に関する文献レビュー、コンセプトの構造を基礎とするジャーナリスティックな文章の特徴について記述することである。第二に、朝日新聞における「ロシア」と言うコンセプトの表れ方が語学的にどのような手段を用いられるかの詳細な記述である。第三に、コンセプトを現す語彙素の文字通りの意味に基づく「ロシア」と言うコンセプトのフレームモデリングとコンセプトの周囲にある語彙素の間接的な意味に基づくメタファーモデリングである。第四に、朝日新聞のディスコースにおける、異なる価値観のある国としてのロシアに関する見解の研究である。最後のタスクは、朝日新聞に描写されている通りにロシアの社会的、文化的なイメージの構成である。

そのような目的を果たすために本論文では、次の方法が使用される。まず、演繹と帰納推論など、一般的な科学的アプローチを研究の基本とする。そして、複合的な分析であるコンセプト分析は次のような構成要素を含む：A. 日本の印刷メディアにおける「ロシア」と言うコンセプトを表す語学的な手段の説明、B. ジャーナリスティックな文章の「ロシア」と言うコンセプトを表す重要な語彙素の分布解析、C. ロシアについての知識のフレームの集合、あるいは知識の構造として実現するフレーム分析、D. コンセプトの特質の統計分析である。

第二章は「ロシア」と言うコンセプトの構造を構成するため、それを表す語彙素の分布解

析を行う。それに基づいてフレームとメタファーモデルの基礎になった核心の意味素、また、「ロシア」と言うコンセプトを顕在化する核心の統語構造を論証する。動詞句はコンセプトのフレーム構造のシナリオと言う動的な側面を構成する一方、名詞句、形容詞句などはスロットと言う静的な側面を構成することにも触れる。最後に、朝日新聞のディスコースにおけるロシアについてのステレオタイプはどのように表れるかも考察する。

第三章では、第二章で発見されたデータを参考にしながら、フレーム分析を行った。結論として、「ロシア」と言うコンセプトは七部の分節構造があると理解した。そのコンセプトは朝日新聞のディスコースにおける日本語の語学的な世界観の一部であると考えられる。例えば、フレーム構造によって、日本文化の担い手である朝日新聞の記者に、どんな国家の特徴が基準、もしくは偏差と認知されているかが明確になった。そして、ジャーナリスティックな文章の特徴のために、ロシアについての知識は単純化され、ステレオタイプ化されたことを最終的に結論づける。

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Introduction

The object of this research is the verbal realization of the concept 'roshia' in the Japanese language as it is represented within the discourse of the Japanese newspaper *Asahi Shinbun*.

The importance of the research, dedicated to the delineation of structure of the concept 'roshia' and the forms of its realization, consists, first of all, in the orientation on one of the leading currents of modern linguistics, that is cognitive linguistics and cognitive modeling of languages. Under the hypothesis that the knowledge of a person about the world and the way he/she classifies it are reflected into their language; on the other hand, "the language is the only means that is able to help us to enter into the hidden spheres of human mind"¹, the conceptual analysis helps approach common regularities and a specific character of the human learning of the world by means of languages.

Secondly, the importance of study of the concept 'roshia' in the discourse of Japanese printed media by the example of *Asahi Shinbun* can be explained by the importance of Japan for Russia, as well as by the significance for Russia of political, cultural, social, economic and scientific contacts with Japan. These contacts have been influenced by the periods of hostility and indifference, which sometimes gave place to friendship and collaboration. Today's image of Russia in Japan tends to be negative: Russia is not seen as an attractive investment object, the development of business collaboration is slow and cultural contacts are few. The present study may help shed light on the reasons of the current situation in Japan-Russia relations. The study does not aim at the contribution to the creation of objective notions of the nations about each other, but at the construction of a generalized vision of Russia according to the influential newspaper *Asahi Shinbun*.

G.W. Leibniz wrote: "languages are really the best miracle for the human spirit and... by means of thorough analysis of the words' meanings we can understand better the activities of the mind"². Recently, the conditions of international, inter-ethnic relationships have become complicated, and researches into the field of a language as means of the world conceptualization are quite important. This kind of knowledge helps people approach the vision of themselves, their country and their compatriots through eyes of another nation, foresee conflicts with other countries and to some extent to prevent them.

Finally, the problem of notions of different nations about each other is very complicated and contradictory. Every nation divides the world into two poles: a "Self" (native, familiar world, close to a given nation) and an "Other" (the world of other nations, alien and often incomprehensible to a given nation). The relations "Self – Other", "familiar – unfamiliar" find their reflection into languages. The difference between "Self" and "Other", intrinsic to human beings from extreme antiquity, is realized, first of all, in the repulsion of "alien" as unacceptable, and "the perception of a different

1 Valentina MASLOVA, *Cultural linguistics*, Moscow, Akademia, 2001.

2 Quoted from: Natalia SANTSEVICH, *Modeling of world-views on the basis of bilingual corpus of journalistic texts (metaphors and semantic oppositions)*, Kemerovo, 2003.

country is always realized through the prism of proper national values and features of character”³. Consequently, the perception of Russia and Russians in the discourse of *Asahi Shinbun* can potentially give abundant material for the study of what is seen as a norm and deviation according to the policies of this newspaper.

The material of the research consists of approximately 3.300 syntactic constructions that include key words (“ロシア” *roshia* or other words that represent the concept), chosen by means of continuous sampling technique from texts of *Asahi Shinbun* over the period of one year (2013). The choice of journalistic texts as the material of research is determined by the premise that the language of mass media is in the close connection with the life of a given society. T. van Dijk has pointed out that “the mass media are probably the most widespread form of discourse that reproduces in symbols the notion of power, and which realizes the processes of social cognition”⁴. The choice of *Asahi Shinbun* is caused by the fact that it is the second biggest national newspaper with the circulation of around 7.61 million copies for its morning edition and the readership of more than 18 million people, 38% of whom are universities graduates⁵, and by the fact that in general its editorial policies can be characterized by the left-wind deviation and the inclination for progressiveness.

The aim of this research is the definition of structure of concept 'roshia' within the discourse of the newspaper *Asahi Shinbun*.

The tasks of the research are:

1. literature review on the relationships of Russia with other countries and its perception in humanities, the revelation of features of journalistic texts as a source for studies of conceptual structure, definition of basic terms that will be used in the present research. The task will be fulfilled in the first chapter of the present thesis;
2. the second chapter will be dedicated to the complex description of linguistic means and ways of realization of the concept 'roshia' in the discourse of *Asahi Shinbun*;
3. the third chapter will be dedicated to the frame modeling of the concept 'roshia' (on the basis of revealed literal meanings of lexemes, that actualize the concept) and metaphoric models of the concept (on the basis of indirect meanings of words that enter its surrounding); and to the identification of patterns of Russia's perception (the perception of a country as a different system of values) by authors of *Asahi Shinbun*.

The research methods. In order to accomplish the formulated tasks the following methods will be used:

1. literature review, methods of deductive and inductive reasoning as common scientific methods;

3 Olga GRISHINA, *Frame model of the concept “America” in modern Russian language. Abstract of PhD dissertation*, Kemerovo, 2004.

4 Teun Adrianus van DIJK, *News as discourse*, Moscow, Nauka, 1988.

5 Data *Asahi Shinbun Advertising Division* (<http://adv.asahi.com/modules/english/>)

2. method of conceptual analysis that consists in the application of the following methods:

- a) the description of ways and means of realization of the concept 'roshia' in the Japanese print media;
- b) the analysis of lexical compatibility of the key lexeme in journalistic texts;
- c) the method of frame analysis that allows to represent knowledge about Russia as a set of frames (structures of knowledge);
- d) statistical analysis of concept's features.

As it is considered that “the more methods and techniques are applied in a research, the more features of a concept will be revealed, and the more veritable will be a constructed structure of a concept”⁶, the complex methodology will be applied in this study.

As it will be shown in the part “Russia's image and heterostereotypes about Russia” of the first chapter, many researchers have conducted their studies on the perception of Russia abroad and in Japan in particular. But the scientific novelty of the present research consists in the fact that the object of the research is a sociocultural concept studied in the frame of cognitive linguistics. For the first time, the means of linguistic expression of the concept 'roshia' (as well as frames and slots that comprise its structure) will be studied in journalistic texts in order to approach the specific character of vision of a fragment of the world, which is called “Russia”, in the discourse of *Asahi Shinbun*.

6 Zinaida POPOVA, Ivan STERNIN, *Linguistic consciousness and other types of consciousness*, Voronezh, Istoki, 2003.

CHAPTER I

COGNITIVE RESEARCHES

1. Conceptual researches

1.1.1. Cognitive linguistics: terms and postulates

The modern linguistics pays increasingly more attention to the theory of W. von Humbolt, according to which different languages reflect the world in different ways. This interest is reflected by various researches on languages (texts) that bring on the forefront different ways, which the mankind, a definite ethnic group or society uses to comprehend and conceptualize the world.

The ways of conceptualization of the reality, formation and representation of the knowledge are the key aspects of cognitive science and cognitive linguistics that studies linguistic consciousness in respect to the categories of prototypes, concepts, conceptual frames (G. Lakoff, C. Fillmore, E. Kubryakova, A. Chudinov, M. Minsky).

The study of knowledge, utilized during the verbal communication is one of the leading fields of the cognitive science. Cognitive science is an interdisciplinary scientific study of knowledge and comprehension, study of the results of the world perception, of subject-cognitive activities of people, accumulated as an acquired and processed system of data, represented in some way to the human consciousness, which is the base of mental or cognitive processes⁷. Gerasimov and Petrov have argued that “behaviour determination, one of the core questions of psychology, have got an important answer within the framework of the cognitive science: human behaviour is determined by the knowledge a person has”⁸.

The origin of this school is connected with the research activities of American linguists G. Lakoff, C. Fillmore, L. Talmy, W. Chafe and was defined by the deconstruction of the structuralism ideology.

N. Chomsky in 1980 argued, that the language consists not only of phrases and it is a concrete conductor of information, abstracted from speakers and entourage, but it also includes the knowledge about language propositions, which speakers have, that is it includes linguistic competence⁹.

In one of his works N. Chomsky (1988) have suggested, that the following issues are the most important for the modern linguistics:

1. What is language knowledge? What is there in the mind of an English, Spanish or a Japanese native speaker?
2. How does the system of knowledge evolve into the human mind?
3. How is this system utilized for the production of speech?
4. What are the physical mechanisms, playing a part of material base for this system of

7 Elena KUBRYAKOVA, “Initial stages of cognitive science formation”, *Issues of linguistics*, 3, 1994.

8 Vladimir GERASIMOV, Victor PETROV, “On the way to a cognitive model of languages”, *Novoe v zarubezhnoi lingvistike*, 23, 1988.

9 Noam CHOMSKY, *Rules of representations*, New York, Columbia University Press, 2005

knowledge and for its application¹⁰.

In this way, the study of language approaches the study of cognition (procedure on acquisition, storing, transmission and elaboration of knowledge)¹¹ within the cognitive science, which axioms are formulated by V. Demiankov in the following way:

1. Its studies do not just observe actions (products), but their mental representations, symbols, strategies and other unobserved processes and human abilities.
2. The proceeding of these processes depends on concrete content of actions an individual does.
3. A culture forms an individual and an individual is always influenced by cultural factors¹².

On the other hand, A. Wierzbicka has claimed, that “cultural differences into the process of reasoning are based rather on the differences of situations, to which various cognitive procedures are applied than on the existence of a definite procedure in one cultural group and its absence in another”¹³.

The postulates of cognitive semantics can be formulated in the following way:

1. Postulate of the primacy of cognitive. The study of linguistic forms is certainly not full, if cognitive categories are not taken into consideration, because the process of thinking is practically inseparable from linguistic categories. Behind meaning of words there are always associated with them cognitive structures: entities that can be described by means of a specially designed language of knowledge representation (among elements of this language there are frames, slots, scenarios, etc.). Cognitive structures define functioning of any components of a linguistic system and aspects of its functioning: grammatical categories, syntactic transformations, registers of speech, etc.
2. Postulate of irrelevance of contraposition of linguistic and extra-linguistic knowledge. Cognitive linguistics that considers the category of knowledge as the fundamental one, rejects the contraposition of linguistic and extra-linguistic knowledge and allows a researcher to use different metalanguages in order to describe knowledge of different types.
3. Postulate of the tendency to economize efforts. This principle allows to explain the reasons of formation of such field of lexical system as phraseology. From the cognitive point of view, the fixation of word-combinations as idioms into vocabulary turns out to be more economic than engendering of these word-combinations in accordance with irregular rules. The tendency to economize efforts often leads to “ritualization” of thinking processes and linguistic behaviour of a person. Frames and prototypes are examples of ways of economizing efforts. They lead practically any unique situation to a definite standard,

10 CHOMSKY, *Languages and problems of knowledge*, New York, The Managua lectures, 1988.

11 Victor DEMIANKOV, “Cognitive linguistics as a kind of interpretative approach”, *Voprosy yazikoznaniya*, 4, 1994.

12 *ibidem*

13 Anna WIERZBICKA, *Language, culture, cognition*, Moscow, Russkie slovari, 1996

wherein the previous experience of a person is realized.

4. Postulate of multiple realizations of cognitive structures into the language. This postulate signifies that cognitive structures are not necessarily attached to one definite linguistic sign: the same cognitive structure can be expressed by means of different meanings of the same word (polysemy) or different words (synonymy).
5. Postulate of heterogeneity of the content plane of linguistic expression. There are assertive part of a meaning, presupposition component, illocutionary component etc. that have different degrees of explicitness into the content plane. Within the framework of cognitive approach this feature of the content plane of a lexical unit is explained by the fact that cognitive structures behind linguistic structures are nonlinear in principle and their language expression needs special "wrapping".
6. Postulate of plurality of semantic description. The existence into the content plane of fundamentally different components demands the usage of different metalanguages and a segmental description. Consequently, it is unlikely to find a single metalanguage, able to explain the content plane in exhaustive way.
7. Postulate of value of irregular uses. A considerable part of lexical units can be used into discourse with evident disregard of different language norms. It engenders effects of language-games, stylistic discrepancies, deviation from standard rules of communication etc. The application of cognitive methods allows to interpret non-standard usages not as mistakes, but as specific operations on knowledge that lead, for instance, to the redistribution of the information between implicit and explicit layers of the content plane, to a deliberate complication of the communication process, to the fixation of attention on the form of linguistic expression, etc¹⁴.

Many researchers maintain that universal (independent from a concrete language) and non-universal cognitive processes are used by a person for interpreting a text and perceiving the reality¹⁵. There are *variable cognitions*, that differ from one language to another (knowledge of syntax, phonological oppositions, categories, prototypes), and *universal strategies* of application of this knowledge (cognition) for production and interpretation of concrete utterances.

A. Wierzbicka has proposed a similar thought in a different way: "...there is a number of semantic primitives, coinciding with a number of semantic universals, and this plurality of primitives-universals underlies the human communication and reasoning, while specific linguistic configurations of these primitives reflect the variety of cultures"¹⁶.

The depository of specific knowledge is "attached" to the universal and final set of cognitive strategies. On-line storage and attention are cognitive phenomena of the on-line type (they are responsible for the real time usage of language). Off-line type phenomena (connected to the

14 Alexei BARANOV, Dmitri DOBROVOLSKY, "Postulates of cognitive semantics" *Izvestiya RAN*, 1, 1997.

15 DEMIANKOV, "Cognitive linguistics as a kind of interpretative approach"

16 WIERZBICKA, *Languages, culture, cognition*

meaning of language as the means of storing and regulating pieces of information) are long-term memory, system of categories and categorization, structures of knowledge representation, vocabulary, etc¹⁷.

1.1.2. Concept, its definition, features, structure

The study of concepts is important for the understanding of processes of categorization and representation of knowledge. Recently, there has been an increasing amount of literature on this topic, the new types of concepts (cultural, linguistic, political, etc.) have appeared, and the methods of analysis and approaches have transformed from individual and intuitive into scientific, developed in the framework of cognitive linguistics.

The concept is a composite unit of thought, that consists of a system of features. In the process of thought a concept activates different features and layers. In the nutshell, three layers can be defined:

1. Conceptual kernel is a sensational basic image, surrounded by a cognitive layer, which reflects features of an object, perceived by senses.
2. More abstract layers that belong to the reflective sphere of human mind, represent a phase of interpretation of existential features.
3. Interpretative field of a concept includes the evaluation of content, that interprets its separate features and forms recommendations on the ways of behaviour and comprehension of reality¹⁸.

At present there are many definitions of the concept, but what unifies them is that the concept is understood as a complex, many-dimensional, sociological, psychological, cultural formation. For instance, the definition of Y. Stepanov reflects psycholinguistic interpretation of the term. In his opinion “concept is a “bunch” or a “clot” of notions, knowledge, associations, emotions, that accompanies a word”¹⁹.

M. Pimenova defines the term as “a national mental image, a notion, which has a complex structure of representation, realized by different linguistic means”²⁰.

Concepts are units of mental lexicon, they exist into the human mind. Indeed, different languages conceptualize the reality in different ways, moreover, different mental formations are correlated with the same word in lexicon of different people²¹.

Linguists have concluded, that an important feature of the concept is the fact, that it bears a “mark” of culture. S. Vorkachev has defined the concept as “a unit of collective

17 Anton KIBRIK, “Cognitive researches on discourse”, *Voprosy yazikoznaniya*, 2, 1994.

18 *Language and national consciousness. Issues of theory and methodology*, Moscow, Nauka, 2002.

19 Yuri STEPANOV, *Constants. Dictionary of Russian culture. Experience of research*, Moscow, Shkola, 1997.

20 Maria PIMENOVA, *Methods of conceptual researches*, Kemerovo, Grafika, 2003.

21 Yulia KETESOVA, Tatiana MAKHANOVA, *Conceptual foundations of culture psychology*, Kurgan, Ethnos, Culture, Text, 1999.

knowledge/perception that has linguistic realization and culturally specified character. The concept belongs to the national language consciousness²². Thus, the concept, being realized in the language (sphere of representation of notions about culture) plays a part of an intermediary between a culture and a person.

A. Zalevskaya has argued, that an individual concept and a concept as an invariant of a definite society and culture must be differentiated. The researcher suggests, that what exists into the mind of individuals is a concept, whereas the result of scientific researches is a construct²³.

The origin of a concept is a question, which interests many researches. The basic arsenal of concepts is formed on the early stages of ethnic consciousness, concurrently with the formation of national lexicon. Some initial (or primary) concepts develop gradually into the rest concepts. In the beginning of its formation concepts are entities, that can not be analyzed. The classification of objects is built in compliance with their belonging to one or another pole of binary opposition. The first symbolic classification was based on simple spatial orientation and sensory perception of the man, which then were complete with time correlation, societal factors and mythological opposition of sacred and temporal. After the completion of the primary naive conceptualization of the world, every phenomena were perceived in terms of those concepts. And as concepts interpret the meaning, later on they became the object of specification and modification, and as a part of a system, they are influenced by different concepts²⁴.

Based on aforesaid the concept 'roshia' is understood as a particular mental object, a structure, a battery of features, actualized by the discourse of *Asahi Shinbun*.

1.1.3. Researches on concepts

At present, the researches do not only develop the theory of concept, but at the same time study concrete concepts.

A. Wierzbicka approaches the study of concept in the view of a limited set of semantic elements (universal, existing in every language), developed by means of this set it has become possible to express the manifold of human ideas: concepts, inherent into lexical units of natural languages, system of value, specific to a definite culture and even religious tenets. With this universal metalanguage the researcher describes various concepts, such as "freedom", "truth", "anger", etc²⁵.

N. Arutyunova has drawn attention to linguistic, logical and philosophical aspects of concepts common for scientific theories and ordinary consciousness, such as "truth", "memory",

22 Sergey VORKACHEV, "Concept of happiness: conceptual and figurative components", *Izvestiya RAN*, 6, 2001.

23 Anna ZALEVSKAYA, *Text and its understanding*, Tver, TGU, 2001.

24 Oleg KORNILOV, *Linguistic world-view as a derivative of national mentality*, Moscow: Nauka, 1999.

25 WIERZBICKA, *Comparison of cultures through language and pragmatics, Moscow, languages of Slavic culture*, 2001.

“charity”, “duty” and others. The concepts have been analyzed on the basis of modern and ancient languages of different types of cultures²⁶.

The material of research varies according to how a concept is analyzed in a language. A concept can be expressed by set expressions, idioms, word combinations, structural and position schemes of sentences (syntactic concepts), texts and corpus of texts²⁷.

Among the method of conceptual analysis there are: analysis of the semanteme of a key word, analysis of etymology of a key word, analysis of lexical compatibility, analysis of aphorisms, experimental methods, comparative analysis of lexical fields of different languages. Usually, different approaches are combined in order to create a complex method. According to Timoschenko all the variety of research methods can be divided into two basic types.

1. “System-oriented approach” is a lexicographic description of key words, which explicate a concept and analysis of relationships between key words within definite context.
2. “Text-oriented approach” is a conceptual analysis of various texts. Within this approach researchers solve several tasks:

1) delineation of lexical compatibility with a key word (which is in this case the name of a concept). By continuous sampling methods. “This approach allows to find the fundamental traits of the corresponding concept”²⁸;

2) construction of frame models, metaphoric models, that represent a concept;

3) analysis of semantic development of key words.

In the present research the “text-oriented approach” will be applied.

1.1.4. Linguistic consciousness

Modern linguists suggest, that cognitive world of a person can be studied by their actions, kinds of activities a person accomplishes, most of which are accompanied by the use of a language. They point out, that a language is not just “intertwined” with different kinds of activities, but forms their base of speech and thought. “Language and consciousness are seen as two kinds of human beings, related to each other, wherein the first one is the way of indicating the second one. In other words, Language is a being that interprets, and consciousness is something that is interpreted”²⁹.

The results of linguistic experiments indicate that among the structures of consciousness there are various types of knowledge: starting with singular ideas and finishing with complex propositional structures, frames, scenarios, and the most substantial structures of the

26 Nina ARUTYUNOVA, *Introduction to logical analysis of the language*, Moscow, Yazyki russkoi kulturi, 1999

27 POPOVA, STERNIN, *Linguistic consciousness and other types of consciousness*, Voronezh, Istoki, 2003.

28 *Ibidem*.

29 Olga OVCHINNIKOVA, *World-view in the framework of ethnopsychological research*, Kurgan, Ethnos. Cultura. Text. 1999.

consciousness are the ones that are represented by means of linguistic signs.

As the language gives material form to the reality, linguistic consciousness is the aspect “that is directly connected to the processes of engendering and perception of speech and that can not be ignored by a linguist in their research and through the study of which we approach the national mental linguistic complex, national conceptosphere”³⁰.

1.1.5. Frame modeling method

C. Fillmore defines frame as “a structure of knowledge about a type object or stereotypical situation. A frame is a declarative way to represent knowledge, formulated in terms of descriptions”. “Some groups of words are connected with each other, because they are motivated, defined and mutually characterized by specific unified constructions of knowledge and stereotypical experience, for which the common term “frame” can be used³¹. Semantics of frames admits the existence of frames, that have only one exponent in the field of lexicon. “Frame is activated, when a person who interprets, while trying to understand the meaning of a fragment of text, is able to attribute it an interpretation and locate the content of that fragment into a known model, unrelated to the text”³².

Frame is the basis of information structuring and utterances that transmit the information about the world.

Following the interpretation of A. Chudinov slot is understood as “an element of a situation, that comprises some part of a frame, an aspect of frame's specialization”³³.

Frames are characterized by complex nature: “Frame is a generalized model of culturally defined organization of knowledge about a definite concept, which is formed by stereotypes of linguistic consciousness. It can be presented as a “clot” of predictable valency connections (slots)”³⁴. Frames can be divided into static ones, that contain information about objects; and dynamic frames, or scenarios, that contain information about object's activities. In many aspects, thinking is the search of scenarios into one's memory and comparison with them, and not generation of new ideas, because³⁵.

A frame can be considered a matrix of slots, that represent aspects of reality's fragments. This matrix contains an assessment of the fragment of reality, represented by the frame³⁶.

V. Hayrullin has described characteristics of frames:

1. they are used for representation of various knowledge;
2. they usually consist of smaller structures, like subframes and slots;

30 Victoria KRASNYH, *Ethnic psycholinguistics and cultural linguistics: lectures*, Moscow, ITDGK “Gnozis”, 2002.

31 Charles FILLMORE, “Frames and semantics of understanding”, *Novoe v zarubejnoj lingvistike*, 23, 1988.

32 *Ibidem*.

33 Anatoly CHUDINOV, *Political linguistics (common issues, metaphor)*, Ekaterinburg, EGU, 2003.

34 KRASNYH, *Ethnic psycholinguistics and cultural linguistics*

35 Elena KUBRYAKOVA, *Desk dictionary of cognitive terms*, Moscow, Russie slovari, 1996.

36 *Ibidem*.

3. they can unite into bigger units, that is a cluster of memory organization;
4. they are often a chain of slots, filled with obligatory or optional information;
5. they are designed for identification and interpretation of new information;
6. a frame can be a part of another frame or can be reflected in a part of another frame. And the second frame will inherit features and relations of the first one³⁷.

Frame modeling has gained ground within the framework of cognitive linguistics. For instance, the method of frame modeling was used in PhD dissertations of O. Grishina and N. Santsevich.

The research of O. Grishina is dedicated to adjacent topic: the structure of concept “America” in the discourse of Russian journalistic texts. In the result of frame analysis, it was discovered, that the concept “America” consists of 8 frames, and the primary segments are “America is a state”, “America is a country”³⁸.

N. Santsevich has considered metaphoric models that describe Russian realities in German journalistic texts and has concluded, that every metaphoric model consists of several frames, that reflect typical knowledge and different areas of Russian life. Frames consist of slots, aspects of specialization. For instance, “mechanic” metaphoric model includes the frame “stage of production cycle”, that includes the slots “setup”, “functioning”, “demolition”³⁹.

1.1.6. Metaphor and metaphoric modeling as one of the principle ways conceptualization

In the view of cognitive linguistics, the result of cognitive processes of the human mind is a classification. The reality is classified in accordance with definite models. Metaphoric models, that classify the reality, are understood as models of transition from structures of one semantic domain to the corresponding structures of another domain⁴⁰, for instance “political activities is a war”, wherein the mental sphere “war” plays a role of a base for the modeling of the mental sphere “political activities”.

Metaphoric connections help overpass the discontinuity of lexical-semantic system and sometimes to connect remote parts of semantic space. It is impossible to overestimate the cognitive function of a metaphor: it serves as a bridge from a well-known area to an unknown one, from a comprehensible area to an incomprehensible.

“Metaphor is a way that provides the possibility to express new knowledge by means of its transfer from one conceptual domain to another, which proves cognitive essence of metaphoric transfer”⁴¹. It plays a unifying role: fills in missing units of the system and restores the lost ones. At

37 Vladimir HAIRULLIN, *Translation and frames*, Moscow, URSS, 2010.

38 GRISHINA, *Frame model of the concept “America” in modern Russian language*.

39 SANTSEVICH, *Modeling of world-views on the basis of bilingual corpus of journalistic texts*.

40 George LAKOFF, Mark JOHNSON, *Metaphors We Live By*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2d edition, 2003.

41 PIMENOVA, *Methods of conceptual researches*.

the same time the domains are connected by analogy, the universal mechanism of thinking. "Analogy is a cognitive mechanism, which sets a structural similarity between objects and reality"⁴². In other words, "similarity connects metaphoric designation and replaceable designation"⁴³.

For this reason metaphor occupies central and not peripheral place into the cognitive model of languages. In every metaphor there must be the source domain and the target domain. For instance, if the verbs of motion are used as verbs of speech, then motion is the source domain for the speech, which, on the other hand, is the target domain. The source domain is concrete and anthropocentric: in order to form it the vocabulary, related to the man is widely used: human body (chair arm, neck, etc.), whereabouts and motion (to be into violent temper, to fly into rage)⁴⁴.

Traditionally metaphors belong to the sphere of individual irregular use of language, to the sphere of speech, text, discourse. The usage of words by different people and, furthermore, the existence of common material objects are the examples of correct use of words, their models, which make it impossible to alternate generally accepted word meanings by individuals⁴⁵. In such a way, "the sense of a word represents stable over the time and invariant content, whereas the meaning of a word contains information, which can gradually change, can have variable denotations and semantic nuances, that reflex individual features of a speaker. This difference between sense and meaning is reflected by speech, utterance"⁴⁶.

1.2. Discourse and features of journalistic texts

1.2.1. Discursive approach to the study of political journalistic texts

There are many definitions of texts that accentuate different sides and characteristics of text as an object of linguistic research. I. Galperin has given the definition of the text, that accentuate its written form and literary editing: "Text is a product of speech, fixed in the written form. The text is realized as a written document, literary edited in accordance with the type of this document, and consists of a title and a set of paragraphs, united by different types of lexical, logical and grammatical connections; it is a work that has purposefulness and a pragmatic aim"⁴⁷. From this point of view, the discourse as the opposite to the text, is sometimes defined as an oral form of the text existence: "The discourse is often realized completely by means of oral speech, for instance, in order to discuss a controversial issue"⁴⁸.

Other linguists do not demarcate oral and written forms, in this sense a text can be called

42 Elena ZHOROVA, *Problem of metaphorization as the mechanism of speech and thinking*, Moscow, URSS, 2003.

43 *Ibidem*.

44 Elena RAKHILINA, *Cognitive analysis on objective names: Semantics and compatibility*, Moscow, Nauka, 2000.

45 Roman HARRE, "The second cognitive revolution", *Psychological journal*, 2, 1996.

46 Ekaterina CHEMAODANOVA, *Meaning and sense of words into the context of culture*, Moscow, Nauka, 2000.

47 Igor GALPERIN, *Essays on English stylistics*, Moscow, ILIY, 2003.

48 HARRE, "The second cognitive revolution".

both oral speech, directed to a limited number of recipients, limited in time and in space or a text fixed in the written form, that is not limited neither in time nor in space, directed to an endlessly wider number of recipients. In this case the characteristics of coherence and integrity are put on the forefront: "Text is organized plurality of sentences, united by different types of lexical, logical, grammatical connections, able to transmit information, organized and directed in a certain manner"⁴⁹. Into the framework of this approach the discourse is understood as a coherent text united with extra-linguistic (pragmatic, sociocultural, psychological and other) factors⁵⁰.

Within the framework of the discursive approach to text, the comprehension of a text proceeds in conditions of interconnectedness between a reader and a writer, a speaker and a listener. "The most important things are cultural and historical context, in which an author and a reader exist"⁵¹. In any case both the text and the discourse are opposed to the language, which is traditionally understood as a system, virtual totality of all speech realizations of a sign.

The advantages of the discursive approach consist in the fact that it takes into consideration background knowledge of a recipient. "The recipient, according to the level of the proper development and knowledge, perceiving a text, analyzes it, finds new information in it and synthesizes it, "includes" into the proper system of ideas about a given object"⁵².

In this way, "every component that is present into the consciousness of a speaker and a listener (or a writer and a reader) and can impact on the engendering and perception of speech: other texts, whose content is taken into consideration by an author and an addressee of a given text, political views of an author and his goals when a text is being created, political situation, in which a text was created and "lives" its life" must be included into the study of political discourse⁵³.

T. van Dijk and W. Kinch have noticed, that cognitive model which is constructed into the mind of recipients according to the interpretation of discourse, "is supposed to reflect the fact that a coherent text and accordingly the process of its understanding are realized into a social context"⁵⁴.

Consequently, the discourse can be defined as a coherent text united with extra-linguistic factors⁵⁵. The study of ideologically labeled political texts needs at the same time "the study of the degree of influence on a given text and on its perception by addressee of various linguistic, cultural, social, economic, political, national and other factors"⁵⁶.

1.2.2. Properties of the language of mass media, their organization and functions

A newspaper article is considered to be constructed according to the presence or absence

49 Zinaida TURAeva, *Linguistics of text (Text: structure and semantics)*, Moscow, Prosveschenie, 1986.

50 Valentina YARTSEVA, *Linguistic encyclopedic dictionary*, Moscow, Soviet encyclopedia, 1990.

51 Maria KOMAROVA, *Issue of text interpretation*, Moscow, Prosveschenie, 1997.

52 *Ibidem*.

53 CHUDINOV, *Political linguistics (common issues, metaphor)*.

54 DIJK, Walter KITNSCH, *Strategies of discourse comprehension*, New York, Academic Press, 1983.

55 YARTSEVA, *Linguistic encyclopedic dictionary*.

56 CHUDINOV, *Political linguistics (common issues, metaphor)*.

of several basic factors. The recipient of a report must get clear answers to the following questions: “who?” did or said “what?” “where?” and “when?”. If an article is not just a report, it must contain the answer to a question “why?”.

A journalistic article is usually created according to the principle “by deduction”, from general to specific. Unlike literary works an article or a TV report sets the core information in the beginning of a message, and then comments or explains it. It gives the possibility to a recipient to omit the following parts of a message, without losing the core information⁵⁷.

There are several common characteristics of printed mass media and principles of journalistic material organization. First of all, publicity, accessibility and general validity. These features demand the standardization of the language. “A newspaper is devoid of poetic function and designed for neutral linguistic environment” (Language and style of mass media and propaganda 1980). For this reason it is important to use set phrases, idioms within a text of a newspaper.

A. Fesyun has enumerated the specific features of Japanese journalistic texts:

1. The use of characters:

a) there are few seldom used place-names and individual names (otherwise the reading can be given in *kana*);

b) a character not included into 常用漢字表 *jōyōkanjihyō* (regular-use characters list) is usually substituted with one included into the list: 諒解 *ryōkai* → 了解 *ryōkai*;

c) some characters are substituted with *kana*: 挨拶 *aisatsu* → あいさつ 挨拶;

d) a part of a compound can be substituted with *kana*: 円錐形 *ensuikei* → 円すい形 *ensuikei*.

2. An increased number of shortenings. Auxiliary words, subjects and predicates can be omitted: 「前向きに検討する」と首相が述べた。 *maemuki ni kentō suru to shushō ga nobeta* → 「前向きに検討」と首相 *maemuki ni kentō to shushō*. Sometimes it makes the reading and perception more difficult. For this reason it is important to be well informed about current event and hence have the ability to understand the meanings from the context.

3. The tendency to avoid “heavy” and complex words: いまだ未完成 *imada mikansei* → 未完成 *mikansei*, 従来から *jūrai kara* → 従来 *jūrai*.

4. The usage of informal words, that can substitute formal or obsolete expressions: 主たる改正点 *omotaru kaiseiten* → 主な改正点 *omona kaiseiten*⁵⁸.

Addressees of an act of mass communication are not homogeneous, and this fact conditions on the heterogeneity of a newspaper style. Indeed, the language of journalism interacts

57 Andrey FESYUN, *Language of Japanese mass media*, Moscow, VSE, 2013.

58 *Ibidem*.

with other registers. The combination of formal and informal registers is typical of newspapers.

The regularity of double addressee can be found in several types of mass media. For instance, a report dedicated to the creation of 114th element of the periodic table is intended mostly for scientists: chemists and physicists. At the same time, the news are perceived by all people, who read a newspaper or a magazine, that published it or watch TV news (in this case the second addressee is not a formally pronounced circle of recipients, to whom the intention of a speaker is applied)⁵⁹.

Another feature of the language of mass media is connected to functions that they are supposed to carry out:

- a) to inform, to produce an utterance;
- b) to advocate something and carry on agitation.

Factual and evaluative utterances can be identified on the basis of this functions. A fact is not an event in itself, but a comment about an event, that reflects it in objective and more or less complete manner. The main requisite of a factual utterance is the verity: it must reflect an event as it actually took place and be verifiable⁶⁰.

Evaluative utterances do not reflect the reality, but subjective opinions about it. "All facts and events, described into a report must be reflected without any kind of favouritism"⁶¹.

The feature "politicization" is connected with functions of agitation and propaganda of mass media. Being the main means of reaction on modern social and political events, mass media are also means of regulation, control and manipulation of political and social life in a country. A magazine or a newspaper have the power to exert influence upon recipients, persuade them to change their positions and act in a definite way. One of the efficient ways of persuasion is a direct or indirect expression of an assessment. Researchers of mass media language have argued, that "bipolarity of assessment remains clear into texts of mass media. The evaluation of any journalistic work has a strong propensity for positive or negative side"⁶².

Positive evaluation of a fact, event, phenomenon attributes to a given phenomenon characteristics of a thing of the "Self" world: pattern of a proper culture are considered normal, ideal, right. A negatively evaluated phenomenon is described as a thing of an "Other" world. In this way, a positively evaluated phenomenon is described as "self, proper" and thus accepted as "due"; negatively evaluated "other, alien" phenomenon is usually rejected. Indeed, according to the pyramid of A. Maslow the desire for safety makes people prefer known objects to unknown ones.

The evaluation is often hidden into a metaphor. At present, there have been conducted many researches on the usage of a metaphor into journalistic texts. A newspaper metaphor has the following properties: it is imaginative and emotive, some metaphors are able to create emotional

59 Tatiana VINOKUR, *Speaker and listener*. Moscow, Nauka, 1993.

60 Elena KARA-MURZA, *My tongue is the enemy of mine*, Moscow, Vestnik MGU, 1998.

61 *Ibidem*.

62 Nadejda MARTYNYENKO, *Evaluation into the journalistic text*. Saratov, SGU Press, 2003.

standards and stamps, finally, a journalistic metaphor is considered “from the view-point of informative intensity of linguistic signs code” and it is interpreted as “one of the most important means of the reduction of superfluity or “condensation” of meaning”⁶³.

Consequently, the language of mass media is characterized by the presence of metaphors, “usage of symbols and signs, tangible presence of mental stereotypes”⁶⁴, that are the base of successful realization of journalistic communicative intention. “Into the modern world the mass media play a part of a “factory”, that produces mental stereotypes and uses them in order to mould public opinion. On one hand, a stereotype can be called a kind of psychological barrier, “safety net” into the human mind, which prevents persons from the perception of one or another fact. On the other hand, mass media can use a stereotype (frequently repeated symbol) in order to exert influence upon audience”⁶⁵.

1.3. Researches on stereotypes about Russia and perception of Russia in other countries

1.3.1. Role of stereotype and “friend or foe” category in the perception of a different culture

Stereotype is defined as a “schematic, standardized image of conception about a social phenomenon or an object, usually emotionally marked and stable. It expresses an attitude of a person towards a phenomenon, formed on the basis of social conditions or past experience”⁶⁶. Despite its schematic and generalized character, stereotypical notions about other nations and cultures prepare a person for the meeting with other cultures, reduce cultural shock. “Stereotypes allow a person to form an opinion about something, go beyond their narrow social, geographical and political world”⁶⁷.

Autostereotypes are ideas of people about themselves, perceived by them as a norm, that should be followed. Heterostereotypes are ideas of people about a different nation, they have a more critical character, as cultural norms of other nations are considered to be deviation from standard. The assessment of such judgments will be positive or negative (often negative in view of negative attitude towards priorities of other cultures), but the starting point will always be in standards of a proper culture.

Schematically the mechanism of stereotype’s action can be shown in the following way: every person being a member of a definite group at the same time feels alien in different groups. Internal rules of a group is the peace for its members and the war for people, who belong to another group. Within a group friendship, loyalty, tolerance and mutual respect are cultivated, while feelings cultivated towards another group are jealousy, distrust and hostility. The loyalty towards a proper group and the hostility

63 Yulia FEDENEVA, “Political metaphor: evolution of pragmatics” *Bulletin of Ural linguistic society*, Volume 4, 2000

64 *Ibidem*.

65 GRISHINA, *Frame model of the concept “America” in modern Russian language*.

66 Svetlana TER-MINASOVA, *Language and intercultural communication*, Moscow, Slovo, 2000.

67 *Ibidem*.

towards an alien group are the main elements into the formation of a stereotype⁶⁸.

In this way, the existence of stereotypes is connected to self-identification of members of an ethnic group as “friends” on the basis of similarities and separation of others as “outsiders” on the basis of differences of their ethnic group. “There is probably no society without division of people into “We” and “They”. It is underlain by multifarious differences, from race and ethnic group to religion and social status, etc. On one hand, people tend to opt for already known things and reject unknown ones; on the other hand, distant and unknown things are attractive as something new and exotic. The dialectics of interrelation between “Us” and “Them” is reflected by formation and perpetuation of stereotypes...”⁶⁹.

L. Gumilev supposed, that ethnic stereotypes are a form of realization of a given ethnic group's rhythm, that they are not available for introspection of a “naive” member of one ethnic group or another and are the part of behaviour and collective unconscious. It can be assumed, that this kind of stereotypes underlie the formation of cultural stereotypes, that are available in a sense for introspection and can become facts of consciousness (individual or societal)⁷⁰.

Cultural stereotype describes “common features of the world-view that members of the same ethnic group have”⁷¹.

Geophysical, economic, historical, cultural and linguistic factors, whose union creates the conception of “mentality” of a society, play a definite part into formation of stereotypes. From this point of view societies differ not in the presence or absence of stereotypes, but in their system as a whole... It can explain the age-old tradition to oppose the West and the East, technology oriented and traditional cultures, worlds of material and spiritual values⁷².

Thus, it can be inferred, that “notions about the West and the East are not geographically defined, they are not connected to government, territories or ethnicity. They are fundamentally opposite ways of existence of the man into the world and opposite type of the world-view”⁷³.

The beginnings of the category “friend or foe” (“we – they”) trace their roots into ancient times and are connected to the fact that a person, being a member of various social groups and communities (classes, male/female and age, professional, religious, political and ethnic groups), opposes oneself and members of a proper group to other people, that represent alien groups. At the same time, the common process of differentiation and identification takes place, which leads to formation of social identity, that is awareness of being a member of a group and evaluative attitude to this belonging⁷⁴.

Often the realization of the proper identity takes the form of opposition “self – other”, “we –

68 Yulia DENISOVA, *Advocating stereotype*, Moscow, URSS, 1997.

69 Maria YELENEVSKAYA, Larisa FIALKOVA, *Russian street in the Jewish country*, Moscow, RAN, 2005.

70 Natalia UFIMTSEVA, *Russians. Another experience of self-knowledge*, Moscow, Slovo, 1996.

71 *Ibidem*.

72 Svetlana BRALINA, *Stereotypes into conceptosphere of folklore. World of men and world of languages*, Kemerovo, IPK “Grafika”, 2003.

73 *Ibidem*.

74 Tatiana GRUSHEVITSKAYA, Victor POPKOV, Andrey SADOKHIN. *Introduction to intercultural communication*, Moscow, Yuniti-Dana, 2003.

they". For instance, in a situation of divergence of cultures on some cultural issues, the notion of "extraneous" or "alien" is getting formed. To present day, no scientific definition of this phenomenon was elaborated. This category is understood on the common level, that is by means of delineation and description of the most typical features of this term. In the framework of this approach the word "alien" has several meanings:

1. alien is foreign, distant, being beyond borders of a proper culture;
2. alien is strange, unusual, opposite to usual and habitual space;
3. alien is unknown, unfamiliar and difficult;
4. alien is supernatural, almighty, something much more powerful than a person;
5. alien is sinister and life-threatening⁷⁵.

The opposite notion of "self, proper" implies a set of objects and phenomena of the world, perceived by a person as familiar, habitual, self-evident. As a rule, both sides take ethnocentric position and attribute to others stupidity, ignorance and malicious intent⁷⁶. "In this way, the opposition "Self – Other" is considered primary in respect of value oppositions"⁷⁷.

The "self" culture is put in the centre of the world and consider itself as a hallmark of everything. Ethnocentrism means, that values of other cultures are examined and evaluated in the view of the proper culture, which becomes a standard of norm and perfection, it is a close, familiar and understandable world, that surrounds every single member of a community on the every-day basis. "There is only one common real world. The ideal world is variable, and it disintegrates into many separate worlds, even if one of them contain the manifold of canons of beauty"⁷⁸. During a collision or a contact with another culture, processes of identification/differentiation come into being. They are accompanied by comparisons that allow to "see clearer and define the variety of deviation from a desirable standard"⁷⁹.

1.3.2. Japan-Russia relations: historical aspects

In the process of expansion of its territory, which meant for Russia the acquisition of status of a great Eurasian country, it always tried to establish control on seacoasts. In this respect, the arrival of Russians to the Pacific Ocean in XVII century and the creation of bases on the space of vast territory from the Chukchi Peninsula to Vladivostok was the natural result of colonization of Eastern Siberia and the Far East.

In Russia the first paper that mentioned Japan appeared with a translation of an edition of "Atlas" prepared by a Flemish scientist G. Merkator in 1637.

⁷⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁷⁶ *Ibidem*.

⁷⁷ SANTSEVICH, *Modeling of world-views on the basis of bilingual corpus of journalistic texts*.

⁷⁸ ARUTYUNOVA, *Introduction to logical analysis of the language*.

⁷⁹ *Ibidem*.

A bit later, the instructions given to a Russian ambassador Nicolae Milescu, delegated to China, included brief characteristics of Japan and its inhabitants: "Japan is a big island, that lies in 700 *verstas*⁸⁰ to the East from China. Rich in gold, silver and other treasures... Japanese customs and characters are similar to Chinese ones, the Japanese themselves are violent people. They put to death many Portuguese and Spanish Jesuits"⁸¹. The last fact was connected with the beginning of Japan's self-isolation in the XVII century. It did not allow to "discover" this country to two Russian missions sequentially: of E. Laksman in 1792 and N. Rezanov in 1803.

Some negative part in the impossibility to establish relations with Japan played the Dutch. The only Europeans who could carry on trade with the Japanese in the XVII century, they apparently did not want to compete with other Europeans on the territory of Eastern Asia. At the same time, two cases of firing and seizure by Russian public vessels of Japanese settlements on the seacoasts of Southern Sakhalin and Kuril Islands resulted in another failure to establish official relations with the Japanese⁸².

The real breakthrough in Russian attempts to enter into relations with the Eastern neighbour was rendered possible only in the midst of the XIX century. It was defined by the increasing strategic value of the Pacific region for the Russian empire with relation to the preparation for the Crimean War and by the beginning of the industrial revolution in Russia, which caused migration of Russian rural population from the European part of the country not only to rapidly growing cities but also on the Eastern outskirts of Russia. In May, 1852 the Special Committee was created in order to discuss Russian policies in the Far East and to prepare the next expedition to the Japanese coast. At that time it was considered that the border between Japan and Russia must be the island Urup⁸³.

In February, 1855 the Treaty of Shimoda was signed. It meant mutual acknowledgment of Russian and Japanese public interests not only in the sphere of politics and but also in the economic sphere. The border between two countries lied between islands Urup and Iturup. In 1858 the first Russian consulate was opened in Hakodate⁸⁴.

At that time the notions about Russia in Japan were grouped into three parts: "teacher", "enemy" and "fellow sufferer"⁸⁵.

The image of Russia as a "teacher" was associated with projects of reforms, prepared by the Japanese officials in the second half of the XVIII century, which modeled on reorganization of Russia, conducted by Peter the Great. But soon after the Meiji restoration Russia was excluded from the list of countries that Japan tried to imitate. In 1869 a governmental journal *Meiji Genkan* published a classification of countries of the world, dividing them into five groups: "civilized" - Great

80 obsolete Russian unit of measurement, equal to 1.067 km

81 Lev KUTAKOV, *Russia and Japan*, Moscow, Prosvetschenie, 1988.

82 *Ibidem*.

83 Konstantin SARKISOV, Konstantin CHEREVKO, *Izvestiya*, 4 October 1991.

84 KUTAKOV, *Russia and Japan*

85 *Ibidem*.

Britain, France, Netherlands, USA, Germany, Sweden; “enlightened” - Russia, Italy, Spain, Portugal; “half-enlightened” - China, India, Turkey, Persia; “uncivilized” - nomadic people of Central Asia and North Africa; “barbarians” - American Indians, primitive tribes of Africa, Aborigines of Australia and Oceania⁸⁶. Consequently, the Japanese authorities aimed at entering into relations (particularly, military and technical) with developed “civilized” countries.

The image of Russia as an “enemy” among Japanese bureaucrats was connected with the widespread notion of Russia as a threat, because it played a part of a barrier on the way of the Japanese advancement in Asia⁸⁷.

Russia was seen as for a “fellow sufferer” by Japanese intellectuals who studied works of Russian philosophers, mostly novels of L. Tolstoy, which found many followers in Japan⁸⁸. “Fellow sufferer” meant for them the closeness of problems, which both empires set themselves as a goal: industrialization of economics and modernization of social organization in order to overtake developed and “civilized” countries of Europe and the USA.

Some revival into quite a sluggish process of the bilateral contacts development was brought about by the signature the Treaty of Saint-Petersburg in 1875. Much as Russia sold Alaska and all its territories in the North America in 1867 to Washington, it gave up all Kuril Island to Tokyo, and in return got the full control over Sakhalin, strategically and economically important for Japan on the threshold of the continent⁸⁹.

Quick activation of the Far East policies of both empires in the end of XIX – beginning of XX led finally to series of wars and armed conflicts of different scales: the Russo-Japanese war in 1904-1905, the interventions of the Japanese army in 1918-1922, the Battles of Lake Khasan and Khalhin Gol in 1938-1939, and, finally, the last period of the World War II in august 1945.

Several “sore” points and tendencies of evolution of Japan-Russia relationships can be singled out in the course of the XX century:

First of all, it is important to take into consideration serious economic contradictions that the two countries shared in the course of decades. The attempts of Russian merchants and industrialists to strengthen themselves in Manchuria and Korea caused protests of business circles in Japan. On the other hand, the intention of economic leaders of the country pour in mineral resources to set control over the nearest continental parts was perceived by Russia and later by the USSR as a challenge to its advancement to non-freezing ports and East Asian markets.

In political sphere in the course of the first half of XX century, the periods of irreconcilable hostility took turns with chronological runs of neutral and even allied relationships, wherein the rhythm of their alternation to a great extent depended on concrete steps of the thirds parties: Great Britain, Germany, USA, China. For instance, Russia-Japan rapprochement on the eve of the World

86 Vladimir KOZHEVNIKOV, *Japan-Russia relations in XVIII-XIX centuries*, Vladivostok, 1997

87 KUTAKOV, *Russia and Japan*

88 *Ibidem*.

89 KOZHEVNIKOV, *Japan-Russia relations in XVIII-XIX centuries*

War I and the signature of the treaty of alliance in July, 1916 was caused by the reinforcement of the American entry into Eastern Asia and the presence of the common for both empires enemy, that is Germany.

Similarly, the breach (by the USSR) of Soviet-Japanese neutrality pact, signed in April, 1941 and the beginning of military operations in August, 1945 was caused, apart from revanchist intentions of the Kremlin authorities, by active actions of the USA directed to the involvement of Moscow into the open armed conflict with Japan. Six years after the end of the war, in San-Fransisco the US diplomacy tried to prevent the slightest possibility of the diplomatic adjustment of Soviet-Japanese relationships, where mutual interests of both countries would be taken into consideration. In fact, the preservation of contradictions between Moscow and Tokyo was the core element of the foreign policy of Washington in Eastern Asia at that time⁹⁰.

Nonetheless, the remarkable share of the responsibility for the absence of good-neighbour relationships must have been taken by nationalistic circles of both countries. In 1920s-1930s, when Japan had foreign policy initiative in the Far East, the bureaucrats of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, wrote a cascade of plans of organization and massive aggression against the USSR⁹¹. Only the defeat in 1929 of the Chinese Army in the Chinese Eastern Railway area made Japanese authorities postpone the realization of the plans against the USSR.

At the same time, the fact of denouncement by I. Stalin of the Neutrality Pact and actions of Russian authorities in august 1945 were perceived (and are still perceived) by the Japanese separately from the context of the Pacific War. In Japan they do not forget about mass plundering of the Japanese population in Manchuria, Southern Sakhalin and Kuril Islands committed by the Soviet Army in the course of military operations; the use of more than 600 thousand Japanese prisoners of war in laborious works until 1956⁹². It is also not a secret, that I. Stalin had an intention to occupy the island of Hokkaido and only under the pressure of the Americans he left his design. According to today's Japanese historians, their "homeland fell a victim to the Soviet aggression", and this situation engendered a difficult territorial issue of Kuril Islands⁹³.

In February 1946 South Kuril Islands became part of the USSR. In 1947-1949 17 thousand Japanese lived previously in "Northern Territories", were evicted by the Soviet administration. ("Northern territories" of Japan (edition of the Embassy of Japan in Russia)⁹⁴.

In the field of cultural contacts and the evolution of notions about each other the first half of XX century must be considered "dark" period of the story of Japan-Russia relationships. Together with real facts of hostility, a substantial part played the official propaganda of both countries. In Japan in USSR was presented as a barbarian, aggressive country, whose government waits for an

90 Boris SLAVINSKY, "Territorial dispute in Japan-Russia relations", in *Russia – Japan on the edge of XXI century*, 1999

91 KUTAKOV, Russia and Japan

92 *Ibidem*.

93 SARKISOV, CHEREVKO, *Izvestiya*, 4 October 1991.

94 *Ibidem*.

opportunity to take revenge for the catastrophe of 1904-1905, but this time under the slogan “world revolution”.

The shock, experienced by the public consciousness of Japan after the catastrophe of 1945, caused not only by the military defeat, but also by the occupation of its territories and nuclear bombardments in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, increased the critical perception of Russia by the Japanese population. This situation remained unchanged during the whole period of the “cold war”. The attempts of the Soviet Minister for Foreign Affairs A. Gromyko to sign the treaty of peace with the prime-minister Sato E. in 1972 on terms of the return of Shikotan and Habomai failed.

According to the public opinion polls of the 50th-80th years of XX century, the USSR had been taking the first place in the list of countries, that constituted a menace to the security of Japan. 70-80% of respondents, independently of sex, age, level of education and profession gave this answer. According to their opinion, national traits of the Russians were cruelty, indifference, slyness and reserved character⁹⁵.

The “age” of M. Gorbachev and “early” B. Yeltsin did not manage to change the character of the new democratic Russia in Japan. In 1994 44.3% of the inquired Japanese described Russia as the most unloved countries (Russia took the second place after North Korea)⁹⁶. Researchers from both sides have noted the vitality and resistance of negative stereotypes about Russia in Japan. The Japanese sense of guilt towards its Eastern neighbours for the outbreak of the Pacific war did not extend to Russia⁹⁷.

On the eve of the Japanese visit of M. Gorbachev on 16-18 April 1991 the rumours about the possibility of “historical deal” between Russia and Japan spread in Russia: in exchange for the “Northern territories” the Japanese allegedly offered M. Gorbachev 200 billion dollars⁹⁸. But the miracle did not happen. Moreover, later assertive attempts of the Japanese diplomacy to exploit the complicated political and economic situation, caused by the collapse of the USSR, in order to push B. Yeltsin in the field of this problem, caused disappointment and discontent of Russia, which was reflected in an abrupt cancellation of the next visit in Japan of Russian President in 1992 without any feasible explanation. At that time the five-stage plan of adjustment of the Kuril Islands dispute, elaborated by the Russia, postponed indefinitely the return of the islands after the signature of the peace treaty. For this reason the Japanese authorities were forced to be satisfied with the sole fact of the recognition by Russia of the territorial issue⁹⁹.

The new efforts directed to the settlement of the “Northern territories” dispute were made by B. Yeltsin and the prime-minister Hashimoto R. during their unofficial meetings in 1997-1998. In accordance with the so called “plan of Yeltsin – Hashimoto” (November, 1997), it was supposed to

95 Vladimir KOZHEVNIKOV, *Russia-Japan relations at present stage. Problems and solutions*. Vladivostok, 1997.

96 *Ibidem*.

97 Dmitry PETROV, “Russia and Japan, stereotypes of perception”, *Znakomtes' – Yaponia*, 7, 1995

98 *Izvestiya*, 2 February 1991

99 KOZHEVNIKOV, *Russia-Japan relations at present stage*.

create possibilities for the signature of the peace treaty by 2000¹⁰⁰. It seemed that Russia and Japan were at the last stage of the lingering peaceful settlement. But Russian financial crisis of August 1998, abrupt aggravation of economic situation in Japan in 1999-2000, the disease of B. Yeltsin in the end of his government and the resistance of conservative nationalistic circles of both countries interrupted the period of positive changes into the relations.

The coming to power of V. Putin in 2000 did not bring about any cardinal changes in the nature of Japan-Russia relationships. But his name in Japan was associated with definite hopes, which were reflected in the meeting of Prime-Minister Mori E. with the President of Russia in April 2000.

In the beginning of XXI century the major problems, which solution touched directly the interests of both states, are strengthening of China and preservation of tension in the Korean Peninsula. The first issue was connected with the intention of Japan and Russia to create military strategic counterbalance to China in Asian Pacific region. The second issue was defined by the intentions of the two countries to guarantee the Korean Peninsula the denuclearized status by pushing the North Korean authorities on the way of democratic reforms. The new challenges, such as terrorism, drug trafficking and the ethnic minorities rights protection also create the base for the rapprochement of the two countries positions¹⁰¹.

Despite the mutual interest in the area of trade and economical activities, culture and science, the territorial dispute is still considered to be defining in the development of bilateral relationships. In November 2010 the head of the state of that time D. Medvedev visited Kuril Islands. The visit was subjected to the pointed criticism from the side of Japanese government. The Japanese Prime-Minister Kan N. expressed discontent with the actions of D. Medvedev¹⁰².

In 2012, for the first time since 2002 Prime-Minister Abe S. came to Russia with the official visit. Though among proposed for discussions issues were the reduction of prices of gas, the construction of an LNG complex on the territory of Japan, the increase in commodity circulation, the main question remained the same: the destiny of four Southern Kurile Islands¹⁰³.

It can be supposed that the main reason of stagnation in the development of relationships between the two countries is the absence of the "critical mass" of mutual interest that could be opposed to the historical memory of Japan, distrust towards Russia and unsettled territorial dispute.

1.3.3. "East - West" dichotomy in the construction of Russian self-identification

100 *Ibidem*.

101 Mikhail TITARENKO, "Eurasianism: Japan-Russia and China-Russia relations", *Problemi Dalnego Vostoka*, 1, 2002.

102 *Golos Ameriki*, 2 November 2010

103 Alexey VOLODIN, Japan and Russia, the peace enforcement (<http://topwar.ru/>)

When Russian cultural self-identification and identification of Russia is examined by different countries, there is always the need to take into consideration several aspects of Russian history and geography. Thus, the fundamental means of definition of Russian specific character is the definition of cultural and historical differences between Europe and Asia, and the inference, that Russia is dissimilar to both of them. It has been argued that the attitude of Russia towards cultural and genetic differences between the two regions defines particularities of the country.

Many of great civilizations came into being during the beginnings of world religions and philosophies (I century b. C.); “Western, Near-Eastern, Arab, Indian and Chinese civilizations were internally oriented to a transformation into a world civilization, by their design they are all universal”¹⁰⁴. “Western civilization took a qualitative leap into its development, and therefore they gained such dynamic character that could make the object of its activities the whole planet, having set the system of connections throughout the Earth. In this sense, Western civilization proved to be the most universal one”¹⁰⁵.

But Russia has always been finding its own way of development.

It has been argued¹⁰⁶ that cultural dimension “collectivism – individualism” coincides with “East – West” dichotomy. The most typical specimen of individualist cultures are English and North American cultures, typical collectivist cultures are countries of Asia and South America¹⁰⁷. Among the values of Russian culture, which are traditionally ascribed to the influence of Eastern countries there are: communal way of life, *sobornost*¹⁰⁸, collectivism, strong dependency of an individual on a collective, patience, cruelty, sense of solidarity.

Increasingly many researchers of Russian culture and mentality have noticed that one of many characteristics of Russian government and Russian ethnic group is the tendency to the authoritarian style of governance, “pronounced tradition of despotism”. In 1885 American president A. Lincoln wrote in his private letter: “I would prefer to immigrate to a country, where they do not pretend to love freedom and independence, for instance, Russia, where we can see the despotism in its pure form, not corrupt by hypocrisy”¹⁰⁹. The beginnings of despotism can be found in the history of a state, and an important part of the formation of this Russian tendency is often attributed to the Mongol invasion of *Kievan Rus*¹¹⁰. The influence of autocracy and totalitarianism moulded such a trait as admiration of authority, whereas national isolation from Western countries for a long time can explain the absence of democratic traditions in Russia.

According to A. Garin, the idea of principle starting equality of all people could not be

104 Yakov SHEMYAKIN, *Europe and Latin America. Interaction of civilizations in the context of world history*, Moscow, Nauka, 2001.

105 *Ibidem*.

106 Geert HOFSTEDÉ, *Culture's Consequence*, Thousand Oaks, 2001

107 Tatiana BOBKOVA, *Features of communicative behaviour of members of different linguistic communities*, Moscow, Slovo, 2004.

108 spiritual community of many people living together. Dictionary of the Russian language “Ozhegov”

109 GRUSHEVITSKAYA, POPKOV, SADOKHIN. *Introduction to intercultural communication*.

110 East Slavic state in Europe from the late IX to the mid-XIII century.

developed in Russia into real democracy. "In Russia there was no Thomas Aquinas, who synthesized Aristotle and Roman law, and in that way made them part and parcel of the Western culture. [...] One of typical traits of Russian life, its absolute symbol is lack of knowledge of every single citizen of basic laws of the government"¹¹¹.

Alexander Levintov has connected Russian authoritarianism with the fear of foreign, extraneous things. During the formation of Russia Russian governors had always been foreign princes, aliens, who came to Russia with the war. They used to come during a period of war to different cities with already formed and elaborated democratic structures of self-government, and in order to extend their principdom, they used to start intestine strifes with their own brothers, who were governing in neighbour cities. Consequently, the authoritarian style of governance was formed in the country, created by intestine strifes: if there was no war, then there was no government. Russian government meant the struggle for supremacy and prestige, it was bellicose. Nowadays modern governors probably do not feel anymore to be always oriented on war: the idea of war has become intrinsic to the power, to the public interest. It means might and overcoming of the world resistance. Russian government is xenophobic, even though in itself, when related to its own population it is often alien.

Ancient princes and tsars were Ruric dynasty, descendants of the Norman¹¹², and they were always seen as enemies of the population, that they governed. The Russians felt xenophobia towards them, as they considered their government as other aliens who had come to infringe on their rights, freedom and justice¹¹³.

In this way the myth of power (which becomes equal to the power of a "foe" over a "fiend", is connected to the state of war and occupies a position of opposition to the population) becomes one of absolute symbols that define specific character of Russian culture¹¹⁴. Russian society is considered typically conflict, not prone to compromises, that are understood as betrayal and cowardice¹¹⁵.

Contentiousness of the modern Russian society has been noted by historians and political scientists. For instance, K. Turnaev has written that "contentiousness of the modern Russian society has been increased to a great extent by extremely painful, and for a part of the society forcible and excessively quick transformation of the country. For the past few years the Russians found themselves in an absolutely different geopolitical and governmental space, into a different economic and political system"¹¹⁶.

111 Alexander GARIN, «The Cultural Roots of the Western Democracy in Comparison with the Russian Development», *Rossia I Zapad: dialog kultur*, 8, 2000.

112 Varagians, this name gave birth to the Russian word "враг – vrag", which means enemy

113 Alexey LEVINTOV, *From the USA to Russia*, Moscow, Poligrafix, 2000.

114 *Ibidem*.

115 *Ibidem*.

116 Konstantin TURNAEV, *Political conflicts in the transforming Russian society*, Kemerovo, KGU, 2003.

1.3.4. Russian autostereotypes and self-identification

A collective image of the Russian nation can not be easily created. Autostereotypes are reflection of myths of people about themselves and on a basis of these notions there is a historically formed perception of the Russian nation.

The global process of interaction of different cultures, civilizations, which can be observed at present, leads to the dialogue between them and to their unification. The study of ethnic autostereotypes gives an estimate of how a nation is seen from inside and which facets of a proper culture it projects to the outer world, contributing to the formation of its own image by other nations.

The data acquired by the Institute of sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences is of interest with relation to the previous paragraph ("East-West" dichotomy in the formation of Russian self-identification). The report of the Institute replies to a question "How modern Russian population defines itself? To which countries of the world (representing the "East" and the "West") Russia is closer in the fields of culture, economics and national character?"¹¹⁷

In 1990s the majority of Russians (50%-51%) identified themselves with the "West" only in the field of culture. Economics of "wild" capitalism of that period seemed to be absolutely "Asian" or in the best of the hypotheses it was a kind of "mixture", "Eurasian" phenomenon. As for the national character, in this field the Russians did not name themselves neither Europeans (only 30% of respondents gave this answer), nor Asians (less than 12% replied that Russians were similar to the Chinese, Japanese or Indians). In Russian understanding of that period the Russians were "Eurasians", the mixture of national traits of both parts of the continent. In spite of some fluctuations of values of corresponding indexes, overall, the picture remained the same till 2007.

However, in 2007 the situation started to change in quite a paradoxical way. The indexes that characterized the Russian identity with relation to its attitude towards the "West" or the "East" moved in the opposite direction.

Data that concerns the national Russian character are represented in the following way: while from 1998 to 2004 more than a half of respondents did not ascribe Russians as Europeans or Asians, in 2007 the situation changed dramatically: most part of replies (around 42%) was concentrated around "European nature" of Russia. Probably, it can be explained by the fact that, differently from the period of research of the proper self-identity and self-assertion, which characteristic trait is denial, in 2007 it became easier to admit some "Western" traits without any fear to lose the proper identity¹¹⁸.

Citizens of modern Russia encounter difficulties not only with the collective identity, but also with the awareness of their own country. A political scientist S. Markedonov has pointed out that

117 Data of Institute of sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences, *Russian identity in sociological aspects. Analytic report*, Moscow, 2007 (<http://www.isras.ru/>)

118 *Ibidem*.

“there is no definite system in the image of Russia as a government. Rather, there are several mythical images. Among them there is no image of Russia as a young democratic state that was born as a result of August bourgeois revolution”¹¹⁹. At the same time, differently from the period of 1990s, when many people thought that the idea of “the great power” died definitely not only politically (this death found its realization in the collapse of the USSR), but also in people's minds and souls, when most of them were busy rather with their “own affairs” than with the greatness and ambitions of their government, at present time the situation has changed: in the last decade the idea of “great power” apparently has gained the second wind. According to S. Markedonov, there are three mythical images of the “great Russian power”:

The first and still the most important is the image of Russia as Soviet Union, “with which its creators of the image connect existence of the Golden Age in Russia. What is modern Russia for them? A stump of the USSR, a bastard state, which does not even deserve to be protected” (ibidem). Indeed, in 2007 only 43% of male respondents were ready to go at war for the sake of Russia. Even today Russians find symbols of Russian greatness in the Soviet past of the country. First of all, it is the victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War (1941-1945) (67% of respondents gave this answer). 61% of respondents replied that reconstruction of the country after the war makes them feel proud. Among top 5 achievements of Russia were enumerated the success of the Russian space exploration (54%), the first space travel of Yuri Gagarin (42%). To a great extent the success of the Soviet period can explain the fact that 26% of respondents admitted that they were proud of achievements of Russian sportsmen. The characteristic traits of modern Russian era are perceived by Russians without much enthusiasm. For instance, only 16% of respondents considered the authority of Russia in the world as something to be proud of. Only 16% of people believed that Russian educational system is worthy of pride¹²⁰.

The second myth, according to S. Markedonov, is the Russian empire and the process to its return. People who have created this myth “advocate “the reestablishment of the Empire and historical succession”¹²¹.

The third myth is Russia of “renascence” or “finding of roots”, “going back to the starting point”. Its authors are “active members of ethnic nationalist movements in republics and various regions that form modern Russia, and which population mostly differs from the Russian ethnic group (Cossacks, the Chechen, for instance). People who advocate “Russian renascence” talk about particular uniqueness of their nations, their “ancient history”. But, while Russian renascence is a mere myth, they assert their rights on “their territory” in reality, and in this way Russia can witness the revival of North Caucasian policy of kinship and nepotism, restrictions and constraints

119 Sergey MARKEDONOV, “National identification of Russia: awareness of common citizenship or the call of blood”, *Klub mirovoj politicheskoj ekonomiki*, 2007

120 Data *Russian identity in sociological aspects*, 2007

121 MARKEDONOV, “National identification of Russia: awareness of common citizenship or the call of blood”

on the national basis¹²².

The study of Russian autostereotypes is also complicated by the fact that it is often difficult to separate ideas seen by Russians as negative from those that are seen as positive traits of Russian national character. Moreover, they are represented in a covert or a mixed way. This feature can be illustrated by a statement of a famous Russian opera singer G. Vishnevskaya:

“What, from your point of view, is the specific trait of Russians?”

“It is that everything is mixed in them: both optimism and pessimism. Today he is terribly depressed, but tomorrow he is ready to perform a feat”¹²³.

The traditional perception of the national Russian character as something paradoxical and controversial follows from this mixture.

It is worthy of note that the researches on contradictions of the Russian soul became once the object of surveys of many Russian historians, philosophers, writers. V. Klyuchevsky, N. Lossky, N. Berdyaev, F. Dostoevsky considered Russian national character as something vague, ambiguous, consisting of opposite desires that were never thought through. F. Dostoevsky made a famous statement, according to which the Russian man is too wide and he'd better be restricted, as in him the most spiritual and the meanest desires live simultaneously and in harmony¹²⁴.

Nevertheless, the report of the Institute of sociology gives abundant data on the autostereotypes of the modern historical period. Within the framework of autostereotypes, Russians see themselves hospitable (83%), just (82%), courageous (76%), tolerant (76%), with good sense of humour (71%), spiritual (67), inquisitive (65%), and, at the same time, they consider themselves lazy (60%), unstable (60%), unreliable (53%) and passive (51.2%). Russians do not consider themselves neither law-abiding (only 15.5% respondents admitted this quality), nor punctual (7% of positive replies). On the other hand, egoism as a trait of Russian national character is denied as well (14.3%), and probably it is connected to the underdeveloped Russian individualism (less than 30% of respondents think that Russians are individualistic)¹²⁵.

The type of a given society is defined to a great extent by the system of values that were accepted in it and that underlies its national character. The following traits are considered to be the part and parcel of Russian identity:

1. Justice/verity.

One of few positive autostereotypes, fixed in Russian language of the modern period is the intension to be fair: justice, sensitiveness that can even transform into sacrifice: “Aspiration for justice, sacrifice – these are the main traits of the Russian character”¹²⁶.

122 *Ibidem*.

123 Evgenia TSINKLER, *Rossiyskaya gazeta*, 16 February 2012 (www.rg.ru).

124 Fedor DOSTOEVSKY, *The brothers Karamazov*, Moscow, Exmo, 2008.

125 *Data Russian identity in sociological aspects*, 2007.

126 *Difframb*, Ekho Moskvyy, 20 October 2013.

On the other hand, in an attempt to reach absolute justice, Russian people today (as probably always in the past) think that it is morally acceptable to use so called “white lie”¹²⁷, which is the evidence of how difficult it can be to separate negative and positive Russian autostereotypes: on one hand, it is justice (positive), on the other hand, it is a lie (negative), furthermore, the last one originates from the first one.

By means of experiments, a sociologist V. Znakov has revealed the phenomenon of a “moral lie” that consists in the fact that most respondents agreed to bear false witness in the court in order to save a falsely charged person. The respondents themselves explained it by the fact that the imperfection of the Russian law system tolerates the possibility of prosecution of a guiltless person. For this reason false testimony for the sake of salvation, in psychological and moral aspects stop being false. This kind of lie is interpreted as a part of honesty, necessary condition of fair attitude towards people in trouble. The beginnings of such attitude V. Znakov sees in different understanding of “truth” and “verity” in Russian cultural tradition. The “truth” in Russian consciousness is understood as a category that expresses an integral view of the world of a person, notion, based on beliefs, traditions, ideas about justice in the relationships between people, while verity is only common impersonal verification of correspondence of an utterance and the reality¹²⁸. More than once F. Dostoevsky noticed that, when a Russian person has to choose between verity and justice, he will rather choose a lie than injustice.

In this way, “verity” and “justice” into the consciousness of Russian people can represent notions of different order, and justice will always be more valuable than verity, even if in order to be just one has to resort to a lie. This is one of the most important moment of Russian ethic self-identification.

2. Wealth and business.

“All these deaths are the echo of 1990s. Reusable bullets that fired in that period still proceed to kill. The rules of the game, offered by the state, which was creating the class of property owners, the society sealed with blood, with memorial tablets bearing the names of the young people who rest now in the lanes of Glory of Russian grave-yards. Exactly at that time today's victims and clients signed these rules of the game. And today they respond: Russian business is still war”¹²⁹.

Why Russians see business in a negative way? One of the possible answers can be found in the following utterance: “A Russian man can not live just by running business. He needs idea, a kind of spirituality”¹³⁰.

127 In Russian this expression is translated as “ложь во спасение” (*lozh' vo spasenie*), that literally means “lie for the sake of salvation”.

128 Vladimir ZNAKOV, *Understanding of truth and lies in Russian historical cultural tradition*, Moscow, Flinta, 1997.

129 *Moskovskie novosti*, 5, 2004.

130 Andrey KONCHALOVSKY, *Andrey Konchalovsky on Russian mentality*, (<http://theoryandpractice.ru/>).

Negative attitude towards money, poverty are seen as positive qualities, because in Russian consciousness there is a deep-rooted notion of “rich men as thieves”. “Russian man finds it a bit shameful to be rich”¹³¹. In this context a word “a bit” smooths the rigidity of the word “shameful”, that is nowadays it is just a bit shameful to be wealthy. This shift can be understood as a result of changes in the Russian psychology, in system of values of the Russian society, caused by social changes after the USSR collapsed.

3. An active/passive approach to life.

Idleness and inability to work constantly in an organized manner were enumerated among the main disadvantages of the Russian character in XIX century. This inability was partly explained by the fear of the intellectual work: any difficulty on the way to the implementation of a plan leads to panic and the desire to leave it. It was also mentioned that because of their passivity, idleness, inability to bring things to an end Russians submit to their drawbacks, consciously abandon themselves into sufferances, enjoy them and use them as an excuse for every failure.

In this context it should be mentioned that according to another Russian autostereotype if a Russian becomes active, in this activity he goes to the end¹³².

4. Finally, maximalism, the inability to stop lead to another famous notion of Russians about themselves: heavy drinking.

1.3.5. Russia's image and heterostereotypes about Russia

In view of the tasks of the present research which deal with the construction of Russia's conceptual “portrait” in the framework of cognitive linguistics it is worthy to study the existing literature on Russia's image and stereotypes about it.

Russia is a country that incurs ambiguous attitude towards itself. Average perception of Russia in the world is quite complicated: according to the National Brands Index 2013 of Simon Anholt, the country ranks in the top 10 in such areas as sport, culture, historical heritage, science and technology, but takes much lower places in the areas connected to the public administration and population, to contribution of its government towards the international security and the peacekeeping, to the environmental protection and the expectations from hypothetical visit to Russia. People in whole world admire some things associated with Russia and, at the same time, they overtly dislike others¹³³.

There are various approaches in studies of an image of a country abroad. Interesting sources of information can be public opinion polls, researches of political scientists, studies of guidebooks (that represent culture and stereotypes about a country in a compressed way),

131 *Ibidem*.

132 A Russian proverb says: “Make a man pray to the God and he will hurt his forehead”.

133 Simon ANHOLT, “International image. Why is it important?”, *Ria Novosti* 15 September 2013.

analysis of philological works, experiments, etc.

For instance, T. Alekseeva approaches the problem of Russia's image in the view of widespread stereotypes of foreign Russian philology¹³⁴. The researcher has scrutinized books about Russia, which were published abroad in 1990s. She has arrived at a conclusion that Russia in general exists for modern foreign readers in three core realizations:

1. Russia as an anomaly. It is Russia of "political imprisonment and mass terror, insane ideas and mad projects, "devils of revolution" and intestine strifes, of everything that goes beyond the frames of generally adopted norms. Paradoxically the perception of Russia as an anomaly is defined to a great extent by Russian propensity for genius as mental norm".
2. Russia as a "bride", "woman slave", that is the female incarnation of the country, the image of "mother Russia".
3. Russia as a norm. In this framework the search of national identity takes place¹³⁵.

Authors of a collective monograph on Russian and American communicative behaviour M. Sternin and I. Sternin have offered "the eye of Other" on Russian communicative norms in comparison to American ones. For instance, writing about Russian propensity for various discussions and controversies the authors have mentioned: "Issues of a discussion are formulated by Russians in a very explicit way. They usually ask to reply "yes" or "no". The possibility of a compromise settlement is practically absent"¹³⁶.

There are studies on inter-cultural communication, dedicated to the image of Russia abroad, carried out by Russian philologists. For instance, thorough researches were conducted in the field of national stereotypes, that is stereotypes about Russia and Russian population, existing in other countries. For instance, researchers T. Grushevitskaya, V. Popkov, A. Sadokhin have written that "among stereotypes that became widespread in Japan in recent years, the ones, that identify Russians with the organized crime must be singled out. Large numbers of the Japanese are prone to see Russian men as mafia, who come to Japan in order to establish there their criminal business. It causes fear and unwillingness to communicate with them"¹³⁷.

A separate field of research on the perception of Russia abroad in general is an attempt to single out and define the set of qualities, that characterize a "typical Russian". "Among positive features of Russians the following can usually be enumerated: warmth, cordiality, openness in communications between people, cheerfulness and thirst for various holidays. The quality of Russian hospitality is also one of the most widespread"¹³⁸. The authors have accentuated, that the Russians who belong to a "feminine" culture are characterized by "passivity, readiness to endure injustice toward themselves for a long time, pessimism and humbleness, the absence of self-

134 Tatiana ALEXEEVA, "Russia in global perception", *Mezhdunarodnie protsessy*, 2005.

135 *Ibidem*.

136 Maria STERNINA, Igor STERNIN, *Russian and American communicative behavior*, Voronezh, Istoki Publishing, 2003.

137 GRUSHEVITSKAYA, POPKOV, SADOKHIN. *Introduction to intercultural communication*.

138 *Ibidem*.

restraint, idleness and pride, almost bordering haughtiness. The tendency abuse alcohol is also often mentioned and given a negative assessment”¹³⁹.

One of the fundamental factors of perception of Russia in general is “mysterious Russian soul”. The notion of “Russian soul” comprises the explanation of many examples of typical behaviour of the Russians. In particular, the extreme bipolarity of Russia and the Russians, its originality, ambiguity, unexplainable actions of both individuals and the country as a whole, can be explained exactly by the “Russian soul” (ibidem).

In her PhD dissertation I. Strizhova has argued that the perception of Russia by the Japanese to a great extent remained unchanged in comparison to the XVIII-XIX centuries. While Russians have formed and have conserved the stereotypes of perception that concern personal qualities of the Japanese (industry, diligence, intellectual curiosity, pedantry, respectful attitude towards proper traditions and traditions of others), the stereotypical perception of Russia in Japan was mostly contaminated by images of Russia as a contender for other countries' territories (Kuril Islands), a dangerous neighbour – enemy¹⁴⁰.

In the similar vein his thought has formulated a political scientist A. Kulanov: “The image of Russia has 250 years of history in Japan. In the course of Japan – Russia relations history it has not changed significantly. For this reason it can be considered stable, based on a particular geopolitical code. The basis of this code is the understanding of Russia as a huge and incomprehensible country in the North, that harbours a hidden threat. One of the most widespread designations of Russia in Japan is “the menace from the North”. This notion takes Russia out of the context of standard modern geopolitical definitions: for the Japanese we do not belong neither to the West, nor to the East, and, certainly, we are not the South. Russia is situated in the North, which concept is unclear and, in fact, of little interest. On the geographical level, we find ourself excluded from the world system of foreign policy orientation”¹⁴¹.

A. Bukh has studied the perception of Russia as Japan's “Other” in the sociocultural identity of Japan. According to his research a certain understanding of Russian national character exists within the discourse of *Nihonjinron* and is characterized by the following features:

- Russia is the opposition of the Japanese “Self” in terms of civilization and culture: it is wild, chauvinistic and barbarian;
- Russian mentality is characterized by respect towards a strong leader and xenophobia; Russians lack individualism and rationalism;
- Russian character does not change, no matter who rules Russia, for Japan it is always an unchangeable “Other”¹⁴².

139 *Ibidem*.

140 Inna STRIZHOVA, *Genesis of Russian policy toward Japan in the XVIII - early XIX century*, Saransk, 2003

141 Anton KULANOV, “Image of Russia and Japan: three sacramental questions”, *Korporativnaya imidzhelogia*, 3, 2008.

142 Alexander BUKH, *Japan's National Identity and Foreign Policy Russia as Japan's 'Other'*, Routledge, 2011.

Many researchers of the Russian image in the world have claimed that big numbers of people in Japan lack knowledge about Russia and bear the sense of fear towards it. In one of his essays A. Kulanov has written: “If Russia suddenly disappears, Japan will probably not even notice it” is one of the most favourite phrases of Japanese political scientists”. The public opinion, according to his research, is also close to this conclusion: “The Japanese feel indifferent towards Russia”¹⁴³.

The Japanese public opinion toward Russia in itself seem not to keep pace with changes that took place in the country. Similarly to S. Anholt, who has claimed, that most people of the world still do not see the difference between Soviet Union and Russia¹⁴⁴, a Japanese journalist Tokunaga Yuki has maintained that “the Japanese do not understand that Russia has changed even 23 years after the collapse of the USSR. The overwhelming majority of the Japanese still think that there are long queues in front of shops in Moscow”¹⁴⁵. In his point of view, the stereotypical perception of Russia in Japan can be formulated in the following way: “it is dark, frightening and cold”¹⁴⁶.

The specialist in the Japanese philology M. Levchenko has hold that “the image of Russia formed in Japan can be formulated in an extremely capacious way in just four words: 遠い、寒い、暗い、危ない *tōi, samui, kurai, abunai* (remote, cold, dark, dangerous)”¹⁴⁷. “There are only Russians who live in Russia. The Russians are big, tall, strong and beautiful people, who talk in a loud voice. Russians drink vodka and dance “*Kozachok*” (コザクダンス *kazakudansu*). Favourite dishes of the Russians are *borscht* and *pirozhki*”¹⁴⁸.

In the similar vein, A. Zhdanov has written into his research that Russia for an average Japanese is “big, cold, incomprehensible and scary country”. Several respondents noticed that “it is a country that possesses energy supply and which women are very beautiful. Other respondents (few people) replied that Russia reminds them of a wide field, sad popular songs and kind women in villages”¹⁴⁹. The Japanese sport fans associate Russia with “famous Russian sportsmen. Elder generations and well-educated people know great Russian culture and literature. Precedent stereotypes in this case are: ballet, circus, Tchaikovsky, Bolshoi theatre, Dostoevsky, Tolstoy. Another widespread stereotype of the perception of Russia is that it is not just dangerous and aggressive, but also lacks freedom and democracy. Russia is famous with its mafia and rich people”¹⁵⁰.

143 KULANOV, “Image of Russia and Japan: three sacramental questions”.

144 Natalia GARBBER, “Simon Anholt: the problem of Russia is that it is seen as a burden”, *Snob*, 29 December 2012 (www.snob.ru)

145 TOKUNAGA Yukio, “Stereotypes: to fight or to use?”, *Ibusiness*, 2 July 2012.

146 *Ibidem*.

147 Valeriy ZHDANOV, “Particularities of stereotypical perception of Russia in Japan and of Japan in Russia”, *Vestnik MGU*, 2, 2009

148 *Ibidem*.

149 *Ibidem*.

150 *Ibidem*.

Dark coloration of the Japanese stereotypes about Russia is, first of all, due to the negative social and historical experience of contacts between Japan and Russia¹⁵¹, that can not be forgotten as in case of the USA and still exists into the mass consciousness.

Secondly, modern Japanese mass media play the leading role in the creation of this kind of stereotypes and the successful realization of their manipulative functions. According to Tokunaga A., “the creation of dark image of Russia is the problem of journalists which a priori have already moulded stereotype about Russia as an unstable country where “everything” can happen, including demonstrations and rebellions. This kind of the information transmission create the idea about “dangerous” Russia”¹⁵².

Thirdly, the lack of knowledge contributes to the creation of Russia's dark image. “If an average Japanese thinks about a different country, it will probably be the USA, France or the UK. [...] On the other hand, Russia, due to the lack of knowledge, remains a remote, alien and scary country for many Japanese. Elder generations perceive Russia in a more concrete way: they remember about the USSR during the Second World War”¹⁵³.

While on the subject of the researches on Russia's image in other countries it is clear that as any attempt of examination of abstract and vague conceptions (which is in fact Russian image) they have certain limitations. First of all, many researches are limited by the result of public opinion polls which involve only small groups of respondents (for instance, a university students). Others consist in an analysis of Japanese political scientists works of a certain period, which gives interesting, but generalized and restricted material. Many texts are limited by empiric analysis and do not give any explanation of the differences between Russia and Japan. And indeed, most researches are concentrated on differences between the two countries, and not their similarities. Finally, there has been no attempt to scrutinize the image of Russia in Japan in the framework of cognitive linguistics and on the material of mass media.

Conclusions to the chapter I

The main tendency of Russia's perception in Japan is the statement of differences between the countries. Russia as “Other” is seen as an authoritarian, conflict and irrational country that lack individualism.

The main approaches to the study of texts of *Asahi Shinbun* are:

1. the study of texts that takes into consideration such particularities of mass media texts as publicity, general availability and orientation on propaganda and agitation. These particularities define some style and linguistic features of printed media. For instance,

151 600 thousand prisoners of war in Siberian camps, the territorial dispute, firing of Japanese fishing-boats by Russian frontier guards, etc.

152 TOKUNAGA, “Stereotypes: to fight or to use?”.

153 KAVATO Akio, “Russia: East or West? Is the question relevant?”, *Vzglyad iz Yaponii*, 7 April 2005.

- general availability define the tendency to use cliché, idioms, symbols and stereotypes, which include evaluative component. Frequent use of metaphors and actualization of the “friend or foe” opposition are connected with the function of propaganda of mass media;
2. discursive approach that take into consideration the existence in consciousness of authors and recipients of components, which influence perception of texts (sociocultural, pragmatic, psychological).

The study of the concept 'roshia" is conducted in the framework of conceptual language modeling. It is considered that every language as a result and means of cultural activities of different nations represents the world in its own way and defines particularities of its perception and conceptualization.

CHAPTER II

MEANS OF ACTUALIZATION OF THE CONCEPT 'ROSHIA' IN THE DISCOURSE OF *ASAHI SHINBUN*

2.1. Means of actualization of the concept 'roshia' in the discourse of *Asahi Shinbun*

V. Morkovkin has noticed that a language, at least as it has come to us now, “can be considered as a peculiar key to the world, an interpreter of the world, a classifier of the world”¹⁵⁴.

Consequently, in order to abstract the structure of a concept, as the first stage, the ways and means of actualization of the concept must be ascertained. T. Chromova has defined actualization as “the transition from the abstract dictionary entry, that belongs to the list of definitions of a language (that is virtual entity) to the specific notion of a speaking subject, materializing into a system of signs (relevant signs)”¹⁵⁵. In this case the dichotomy “language and speech (text)” is considered into the framework of cognitive aspect: “the knowledge exists into semantics of words and accumulates into lexicon”¹⁵⁶. Furthermore, in a single act of speech, understood in the discursive way, can be realized only one facet of a linguistic unit.

The actualization of the concept 'roshia' within the discourse of the Japanese newspaper *Asahi Shinbun* is realized:

1. by means of denomination of a concrete object, that is Russia as a country, government: “ロシア” *roshia*, “ロシア連邦” *roshia renpō*, “ロシア側” *roshiagawa*, “ロシア帝国” *roshiateikoku*;
2. by means denomination of Russian realities (people, events, etc.): in this case the concept is realized by lexical elements “ロシア人” *roshiajin* / “ロシアの” *roshiano* / “ロシア” *roshia* + noun («Russia» + genitive case particle + noun);
3. by means of different words and word-combinations, for instance: “ソ連” *soren*, “ソビエト国家” *sobietokokka*, “巨大国家” *kyodaikokka*, “おとぎの国” *otoginokuni*, “東欧” *tōō*. This category includes all denomination of Russia and Russian realities, which does not include the root “ロ” *ro*.

Following the thought of B. Russel and taking into consideration, that a word is a name of a concept, it is understood as a unit that has “more or less undefined meanings, which can only be defined by way of observation of its usage... all meanings can be extracted from it”. Consequently, the starting point for the further formation of frames and metaphoric models, and statistical analysis of the most important parts of Russian life within the discourse of *Asahi Shinbun* is the analysis of syntactic positions of classifiers (verbal: subjective and objective; adjective, substantive and combinations with postpositions). At the same time the word 'roshia' is the classified element.

Each of the above-enumerated group will be divided into blocks according to the type of syntactic functioning of the lexeme. The distributional analysis will be conducted in the view of “possibility of a linguistic unit to perform a function of categorization and classification of another

154 Victor MORKOVKIN, *The experience of ideographic description of lexicon*, Moscow, Nauka, 1977.

155 Tatiana CHROMOVA, *Actualization of the concept “Truth” in modern English language*, PhD dissertation abstract, Irkutsk, 2002.

156 SANTSEVICH, *Modeling of world-views on the basis of bilingual corpus of journalistic texts*.

linguistic unit in respect to others”¹⁵⁷. In this way, verbal, adjective and substantive classifiers of the concept play a part into formation of the whole structure of knowledge about Russia, represented by the newspaper *Asahi Shinbun*.

In the first group (denomination of the country ロシア *roshia*) the following subgroups will be singled out according to the type of syntactic functioning of the lexeme:

1. ロシア *roshia* + verb/copula (as a subject of action), for instance: “ロシアが愛したフランス絵画” (French paintings loved by Russia); “ロシアも批判する” (Criticizes either Russia);
2. ロシア *roshia* + verb (as an object of action), for instance: “米国とロシアをてんびんにかける時代がきた” (it is time to put the US and Russia on scales);
3. noun modifier + ロシア *roshia* (“Russia” in the definable position), for instance: “巨大なロシア” *kyodaina roshia* (huge Russia), “まったく別のロシア” *mattaku betsuno roshia* (absolutely different Russia), “エネルギー資源輸出国であるロシア” (the exporter of energy resources Russia);
4. ロシア *roshia* + postposition, for instance: “ロシアへの中古車輸出” (imports in Russia of second hand cars); “ロシアから2.5億ユーロの支援を受ける” (to receive the support of 2.5 billion euro from Russia);
5. ロシア *roshia* /ロシアの *roshiano* in a predicate position, for instance: “飛行艇の製造企業がある国は日本とロシア、カナダの3カ国とされる。” (The three countries that produce flying boats are Japan, Russia and Canada)¹⁵⁸.

In the second group (The way of realization of the concept are lexemes “ロシアの”、 “ロシア人”, word combination with the root ロ) the following subgroups were singled out:

1. ロシア *roshia* + noun modifier の *no* + noun, for instance: “韓国はロシアの協力を得た。” (South Korea collaborated with Russia);
2. words with the root “ロ” *ro*: “ロシア人” *roshiajin*, “ロ関係” *chūrokankei*.

In the third group examples with the following lexemes were included:

1. ソ連 *soren* (“旧ソ連” *kyūsoren*, “旧ソ連諸国” *kyūsoren shokoku*, “ソビエト国家” *sobietokokka*), for instance: “ソ連が79年にアフガンに軍事介入した”。 (In 1979 the USSR intruded in Afghanistan)¹⁵⁹;
2. Denominations referring to Russia's geographical position: “東欧” *tōō*, “北アジア” *kitaajia*, “海の向こう” *uminomukō*, for instance: “海の向こうではとっくに高い評価を受け” (a long time ago it received positive evaluation overseas);

157 Olga BORISKINA, Alexander KRETOV, *Theory of linguistic categorization. National linguistic consciousness through the prism of cryptoclass*, Voronezh, VGU, 2003.

158 *Asahi Shinbun*, 18 September 2013.

159 *Asahi Shinbun*, 15 February 2013.

3. other contextual denominations, for instance: “でも、周囲の大人たちのイメージは「怖い国」(USSR)» (However, the image of people around was that of “the scary country” (USSR)).

Every classifier is interesting because it has a definite value. Their value can be realized into syntactic properties of linguistic units and it is influenced by features of meanings. A. Wierzbicka has defined meaning as “only constant, not variable conditions of word usages”, that is a meaning is what we “bear in mind” or “have in view”. Meanings are subjects to interpretation, whereas an interpretation is connected with word senses, which the author tries to structure by means of semantic primitives¹⁶⁰.

On the other hand, the integral approach to the study is based on the acceptance of the fact that the content plane is connected with the idea of implication, based on the existence of associative chains of lexical meanings of words.

2.1. Denomination of the country ロシア *roshia* as the means of actualization of the concept 'roshia'

2.1.1. The means of actualization of the concept: ”ロシア *roshia* + verb” (as the subject of action)

In the first category (the means of actualization of the concept: lexeme ロシア *roshia*) the block “ロシア *roshia* + verb” (as a subject of action) is divided into ten groups, and some of the are also divided into subgroups, united according to the meaning of verbs:

Group 1. “ロシア *roshia* + verb/copula” (meaning: state or change of state)

Subgroup 1. “ロシア *roshia* + verb/copula” (meaning: state),

Subgroup 2. “ロシア *roshia* + verb” (meaning: change of state);

Group 2. “ロシア *roshia* + verb” (meaning: possession);

Group 3. “ロシア *roshia* + verb” (meaning: social actions)

Subgroup 1. “ロシア *roshia* + verb” (meaning: social actions of the sphere “war”),

Subgroup 2. “ロシア *roshia* + verb” (meaning: social actions of the sphere “collaboration”),

Subgroup 3. “ロシア *roshia* + verb” (meaning: other social actions);

Group 4. “ロシア *roshia* + verb” (meaning: intention);

Group 5. “ロシア *roshia* + verb” (meaning: perception);

Group 6. “ロシア *roshia* + verb” (meaning: speech);

Group 7. “ロシア *roshia* + verb” (meaning: movement);

Group 8. “ロシア *roshia* + verb” (meaning: physical actions);

¹⁶⁰ WIERZBICKA, Comparison of cultures through language and pragmatics.

Group 9. “ロシア *roshia* + verb” (meaning: location);

Group 10: “ロシア *roshia* + verb” (meaning: internal state of a human being).

In the first group the concept is actualized by means of verbs/copula that reflect a state or a change of state (the group includes two subgroups). These verb and copula (ある *aru* - 1. there is, there are, exist; 2. be situated, be located; 3. consist in, lie in; 4. express a statement, judgment in the form である *de aru*)¹⁶¹ ascribe to Russia the following features: 1) existence; 2) subject of action; 3) possession of a definite quality; 4) state: “まったく別のロシアが、そこにあった。” (There was an absolutely different Russia)¹⁶²; ロシアは脅威だ。(Russia is a threat)¹⁶³.

By means of verbs with the meaning “change of state”, like “なる”、“変わる”, verb-verb compounds with “はじまる/はじめる” (なる - 1. become, get, grow, be; 2. turn (red); get (better); go (blind); 3. begin to do, come to do, get to do; change, undergo a change, be altered, turn into) (研究社 新和英中辞典) Russia is described as an independently changing society, being, country, for instance: “ロシアと中国も深い関係で結ばれるようになっている。” (Russia and China are becoming closer to each other.)¹⁶⁴; “ロシアは変わったという印象を抱きました。” (There was an impression that Russia changed.)¹⁶⁵.

In the second group of the block “ロシア *roshia* + verb” the concept is actualized by means of verbs with the meaning of possession: “ある” (have, own, possess; be equipped with something)¹⁶⁶; “所有する” (have, own, possess, be the owner of, be the owner of, be in possession of)¹⁶⁷. These verbs actualize the concept's feature “possession, property”, by their means the ability to own something is ascribed to Russia: “ロシアが保有する美術品” (the art works that owns Russia), “ロシアには犯罪や汚職など大きな問題がある。” (Crimes and corruptions are big issues of Russia.)¹⁶⁸, “ロシアは欧州とアジアの一部であるという気持ちがあるなら、東アジアの不安定な情勢を改めるために責任を共有して欲しいと。” (As Russia is located in both Europe and Asia, it should share the responsibility to the improvement of the unstable situation in Asia.)¹⁶⁹.

Group 3. “ロシア *roshia* + verb” (with the meaning of social actions: sphere “war”, sphere “collaboration” and other types of social activities).

161 *Kenkyūsha shinwaeichūjiten*, (<http://ejje.weblio.jp/>)

162 *Asahi Shinbun*, 28 December 2013.

163 *Asahi Shinbun*, 5 January 2013

164 *Asahi Shinbun*, 7 January 2013.

165 *Asahi Shinbun*, 12 October 2013.

166 *Kenkyūsha shinwaeichūjiten*, (<http://ejje.weblio.jp/>)

167 *Ibidem*.

168 *Asahi Shinbun*, 4 January 2013

169 *Asahi Shinbun*, 20 February 2013

The predicates of the first subgroup (sphere “war”) describe the ability of Russia to participate in a war, win, lose, revolt, express hostility, fight and to arm itself: “ロシアが優勝した。” (Russia won.)¹⁷⁰; “ロシアは29日にフランスと対戦する。” (Russia will compete with France on August, 29.)¹⁷¹; “2008年にロシアとグルジアが衝突した。” (Russia and Georgia collided in 2008.)¹⁷²; “ロシアや中国は、引き渡しを求める米国に激しく反発している。” (Russia and China have been vigorously repelling the demand of the USA of hanging over.)¹⁷³; “米欧は化学兵器を使ったとしてアサド政権の退陣を求め、ロシアは抵抗した。” (While the US and Europe are determined to step down the regime of Assad as using chemical weapons, Russia resists.)¹⁷⁴.

In the second subgroup there are predicates that describe Russia as tolerant, collaborative accepting and rendering assistance: “ロシアは11年末に金融支援をした。” (In the end on 2011 Russia rendered financial assistance.)¹⁷⁵; “沿岸の日本・ロシア・中国・韓国の4カ国が共同で取り組んでいる。” (The four countries – coastal Japan, Russia, China and Korea are working together.)¹⁷⁶. This subgroup is the smallest in number, which reflects the accentuation on stereotypical perception of Russia as a “cold, hostile, threatening” country.

The predicates that can not be ascribed to any of the first two subgroups are combined in the third one. They describe actions of Russia in the social sphere: Russia seeks political solutions, abstains from voting, proves and asserts something and dispatches its bureaucrats to solve existing problems: “ロシアはこの2地域の独立を承認した。” (Russia acknowledged the independence of two regions.)¹⁷⁷; “ロシアは海外へ使節を派遣した。” (Russia dispatched envoys to foreign countries.)¹⁷⁸, etc. This subgroup is the most numerous, as it reflects the variety of actions took by Russia. The verbs of this subgroup actualize anthropomorphous features of Russia, for instance, mental: “この問題は日ロ間で政治的解決を見た。” (The problem found a political solution between Japan and Russia.)¹⁷⁹, social: “ロシアは2年前、「シリアに化学兵器は存在しない」として一蹴していた。” (There is no chemical weapons in Syria”, refused Russia 2 years ago.)¹⁸⁰; “ロシア、引き渡し拒否” (Russia rejects hanging over.)¹⁸¹, etc.

Group 4 “ロシア *roshia* + verb” (of intention) includes word-combinations with predicates

¹⁷⁰ *Asahi Shinbun*, 27 July 2013.

¹⁷¹ *Asahi Shinbun*, 27 August 2013.

¹⁷² *Asahi Shinbun*, 8 August 2013.

¹⁷³ *Asahi Shinbun*, 14 June 2013.

¹⁷⁴ *Asahi Shinbun*, 20 June 2013.

¹⁷⁵ *Asahi Shinbun*, 20 March 2013.

¹⁷⁶ *Asahi Shinbun*, 12 April 2013.

¹⁷⁷ *Asahi Shinbun*, 6 December 2013.

¹⁷⁸ *Asahi Shinbun*, 3 July 2013.

¹⁷⁹ *Asahi Shinbun*, 7 May 2013.

¹⁸⁰ *Asahi Shinbun*, 12 June 2013.

¹⁸¹ *Asahi Shinbun*, 28 June 2013.

that express intention. For instance, verb stems with the suffix “たい” *tai*, “目指す” *mezasu*, “決める” *kimeru*, “主張する” *shuchōsuru* endow Russia with intensional features, peculiar to a human being. The actions, usually took by the man, turn out to be intrinsic to the whole country. Obviously, the metonymy is possible, because a country is usually represented by one-two persons, its leaders on the international scene. These people act on behalf of the whole country. The examples of this groups are: “ロシアは目を向けるようになった。” (Russia shifted its focus to the *(Japanese market)*)¹⁸²; “ロシアはアジア向けの輸出を増やしたい。” (Russia want to increase its exports to Asia.)¹⁸³.

The fifth and the sixth groups consist of the verbs of perception and speech consequently. These word combinations constitute anthropomorphous metaphors, based on the personification of Russia. They ascribe to the country anthropomorphous features and qualities, forming a conceptual structure “Russia as a human being”, as only a human being is able to speak. For instance: “中国、ロシア、韓国、北朝鮮、モンゴル、日本は経済交流の現状と展望を2日間の日程で話し合う。” (During two days China, Russia, South Korea, North Korea, Mongolia and Japan will discuss the state of affairs and prospects of economic exchange.)¹⁸⁴; “ロシアが今回、安倍首相の参拝を「遺憾だ」と批判した。” (“It is regrettable”, criticized Russia this visit to the shrine of the Prime Minister Abe.)¹⁸⁵.

By means of the verb “感じる” *kanjiru* and words with the morpheme “感” *kan* Russia is described as a being with anthropomorphous features, able to feel, perceive a situation, an environment by means of feelings: “しかし、そのころ中国と国境確定の交渉をし、後に解決したロシアは感じていた。” (However, that time Russia was negotiating with China over the border, and after that it had the feeling of resolution.)¹⁸⁶; “ロシアは自分たちの核ミサイルも役に立たなくなってしまうのも感じている。” (Russia is worried that its own nuclear missiles will become useless.)¹⁸⁷

Group 7 “ロシア + verb” (meaning: movement) is formed by the verbs of movement (“動く” *ugoku*, “流れる” *nagareru*, “進む/進める” *susumu/susumeru*). These verbs describe Russia as: 1. moving towards something (ahead, back, upward); 2. moving without a precise goal; 3. the source of movement: “ロシアは民主主義に向かって動いた。” (Russia was moving towards democratization.)¹⁸⁸; “ロシアや日本、韓国との関係強化を進める。” (Japan and Russia advance

182 *Asahi Shinbun*, 21 June 2013.

183 *Asahi Shinbun*, 20 January 2013.

184 *Asahi Shinbun*, 3 March 2013.

185 *Asahi Shinbun*, 31 December 2013.

186 *Asahi Shinbun*, 30 July 2013.

187 *Asahi Shinbun*, 2 August 2013.

188 *Asahi Shinbun*, 1 August 2013.

the reinforcement of their relations with Korea.)¹⁸⁹. The metaphor “ロシアが動かすウクライナ件。” (Russia sets in motion the case of Ukraine.)¹⁹⁰ describes Russia as a puppeteer, able to influence movements of another country.

Group 8. “ロシア *roshia* + verb” (of physical actions) includes predicates that represent vital metaphors, based on the image that the whole country moves as a live creature, implementing various actions, for instance, grows, catches something, scatter something, draws something: “ロシアは経済的独立という幻想をふりまく。” (Russia sprinkles the idea of the independent economy.)¹⁹¹; “ロシアは勝手に境界線を引いている。” (Russia draws borders on a whim.)¹⁹²; “ロシアは急成長している。” (Russia grows quickly.)¹⁹³.

Group 9. “ロシア *roshia* + verb” (meaning: location) includes the verbs or copula with the meaning of location. These predicates represent not only the geographical position of Russia: “日本に陸の国境はないが、海ではロシア、北朝鮮、韓国、中国、台湾、フィリピン、米国とEEZが接している。” (Although Japan has no land borders, it has maritime borders with Russia, North Korea, South Korea, China, Taiwan, the Philippines, the USA and the EEZ.)¹⁹⁴, but also economic, social indexes of the country: “茶の輸入量はロシアがトップ。” (Russia is the top importer of tea)¹⁹⁵; “新興国のブラジル、ロシア、インド、中国は欧米先進国に続く。” (The emerging countries Brazil, Russia, India and China follow developed countries of Europe and the US.)¹⁹⁶; “ロシア63位だった。” (Russia was rank 63.)¹⁹⁷, and its mental standpoint which is actualized by the phrase “ロシアの立場” *roshiano tachiba* (Russian position). The representation of Russia as an object locating somewhere, is connected to the difficulties of understanding of such abstract notions as economic situation of a country, often represented by vegetative metaphors like “経済成長” *keizai seichō*, “経済繁栄” *keizai han'ei* (economic growth, economic prosperity). The above-mentioned examples communicate “non-spatial ideas by means of spatial terms”¹⁹⁸. “Spatial perception is the sphere of light, colour, sight and sense of touch; it conveys notions of a form and a dimension. Our metaphoric system, giving non-spatial impressions spatial names, ascribes [...] feelings and thoughts such qualities like colour, light, form, outline, structure and movement,

189 *Asahi Shinbun*, 11 October 2013.

190 *Asahi Shinbun*, 23 December 2013.

191 *Asahi Shinbun*, 2 November 2013.

192 *Asahi Shinbun*, 25 October 2013.

193 *Asahi Shinbun*, 16 January 2013.

194 *Asahi Shinbun*, 24 June 2013.

195 *Asahi Shinbun*, 7 January 2013.

196 *Asahi Shinbun*, 15 September 2013.

197 *Asahi Shinbun*, 17 July 2013.

198 Boris UORE, Relations of norms of behaviour and thinking with language, Saint Petersburg, SPBGU Press, 2001.

inherent in the spatial perception”¹⁹⁹. For instance, ranking Russia as “a top importer of tea” characterizes the structure of its economy; “coming after developed countries” conveys the meaning of the Russia's “economic growth”.

Group 10. “ロシア *roshia* + verb” (internal state of a human being) unites word combinations with verbs that represent the internal state of the man, and, accordingly, constituting anthropomorphous metaphors. Russia is represented as a person, able to feel various emotions (worry, joy) or cause emotions (love, astonishment): “ロシアがその気になる。” (Russia is concerned about it.)²⁰⁰; “なぜロシアはいつも片思いなのか。” (Why Russia's love is always one-sided?)²⁰¹

Table 1.

“ロシア *roshia* + verb” (as a subject of action).

No	Groups of predicates (according to verbs' meaning)	Quantity (%)
1	With verbs, meaning social actions	38
2	With verbs, meaning state of a change of state	26.5
3	With verbs, meaning physical actions	8
4	With verbs, meaning an intention	7.5
5	With verbs, meaning location	6
6	With verbs, meaning movements	4
7	With verbs, meaning internal states of a human being	4
8	With verbs, meaning possession	3.5
9	With verbs, meaning perception	1.5
10	With verbs, meaning speech	1

2.1.2. The means of actualization of the concept “verb + ロシア *roshia*” (as an object of action)

Block the means of actualization “ロシア *roshia* + verb” (as an object of action) actualize mainly the concept's feature “an object of action”. This block includes word-combinations with transitive verbs and verbs used in passive voice combined with the lexeme “ロシア” *roshia* as a controlled object.

The semantics of verbs helps single out groups of word-combinations, which actualize the following features of the country:

1. The first group is represented by predicates describing Russia as a terminal point, place to be visited: “豊かな資源を持つロシアを訪れ” (to visit Russia that hold rich resources);
2. In various examples the country is represented as a mental object, as something that can

¹⁹⁹ *Ibidem*.

²⁰⁰ *Asahi Shinbun*, 12 April 2013.

²⁰¹ *Asahi Shinbun*, 11 January 2013.

(or cannot) be perceived, understood or judged: “日本人は過去のロシアを知っている” (the Japanese know Russia of the past); “欧州はロシアを分かっている” (Europe doesn't understand Russia), etc.

3. In several cases Russia is included in a range of countries, or linked with another region on the grounds of political or economic issues: “滞在中のロシアを含む計21カ国に政治亡命を申請した” ((Snowden) has applied for political asylum in 21 countries, including Russia during his stay there); “ロシアと新潟を結ぶ天然ガス” (Russia and Niigata, connected by natural gas), etc.
4. Cultural institutions, writers appear as subjects, which represent, reflect Russia: “ロシアを代表する詩人” (the poet that represents Russia); “ボリショイは今のロシア自身を映す鏡のようだ” (the Bolshoi theatre now is like a mirror reflecting Russia itself), etc.
5. In some occasions Russia is represented as a victim: “FSBがロシアを破壊する” (FSB that ruins Russia); “ロシアを破壊する汚職” (corruption that ruins Russia); “ロシアを襲った隕石” (Meteorite that attacked Russia), etc.
6. There are also anthropomorphous features being actualized in this block: “ロシアを反面教師とする” (a bad example from which to learn); “日本はロシアを許せても、韓国や中国は日本を許せるだろうか。” (Even if Japan forgives Russia, will Korea and China forgive Japan?)²⁰²; “ロシアをWTOに招いた” (Invited Russia in WTO).

A metaphor “てんびんにかける” represents one of the examples of the USA-Russia opposition in the texts of *Asahi Shinbun*: “米国とロシアをてんびんにかける時代がきた。” (it is time to put the US and Russia on scales).

In total, the block is represented by 76 text elements.

2.1.3. Lexeme “ロシア” *roshia*, “ロシアの” *roshia no*, “ロシア人” *roshiajin* in the syntactic position of a predicate as the way of actualization of the concept 'roshia'

In some text elements the lexeme representing the concept 'roshia' is placed in the position of a predicate.

These text elements describes mostly the economic situation in Russia: the text fragment “経済成長が著しいアゼルバイジャンとロシア” (Azerbaijan and Russia, which are characterized by remarkable economic growth) points to its economic development; the text fragment; while the following example ranges Russia among other countries: “飛行艇の製造企業がある国は、日本とロ

²⁰² *Asahi Shinbun*, 14 September 2013.

two figures is united into the concept “former Russia”, while attributives “今日の” *kyōno*, “現在の” *genzaino*, “今の” *imano*, etc. describe Russia after the collapse of the USSR. On the other hand, the interconnection of the Russian past and the present is represented, for instance, by the word combination “ソ連の後継国家ロシア”, which describes Russia as a country-successor of the USSR.

Group 2. “attributive + ロシア *roshia*”(dimensional features). The attributives of this group characterize Russia in terms of its dimensional features and its location: “広大なロシア” *kōdaina roshia* (vast Russia), “世界一広大なロシア” *sekaiichi kōdaina roshia* (the biggest country in the world Russia). The metaphor “えんえんと流れているロシア” *enento nagareteiru roshia* (endlessly flowing Russia) describes the country as something long and narrow (a river, a snake or a road). The metaphor “北東アジアの中心に突き刺さるロシア” (Russia piercing the the centre of northeast Asia) not only defines the location of Russia, but also classifies it as an Asian country. The word combination “近くて遠かったロシア” (near far Russia) refers rather to the psychological perception of Russia than to its geographical characteristics. The word combination “政治亡命先のロシア” (the place of political exile Russia) locates Russia as a terminal point of political emigration.

Group 3. “attributive + ロシア *roshia*” (social features).

The attributives of this group describe mostly:

1. Russian economy and society: “エネルギー資源輸出国であるロシア” (Russia which is an exporter of energy resources); “LNG輸出国のロシア” (the exporter of LNG Russia). The natural metaphor “石油価格の高騰で潤ったロシア” (Russia, moist with soaring oil prices), represents the country as soil. The metaphor “旧ソ連経済圏の再構築に動くロシア” (Russia is moving towards the reconstruction of the Soviet economic zone) refers to Russia as something moving towards the reconstruction of the Soviet economic block.
2. Military potential of Russia: “通常戦力で劣るロシア” (Russia is inferior in conventional forces); “米国と並ぶ核大国のロシア” (Russia equal to the US in its nuclear potential), “世界の核の9割が集中する米国とロシア” (90% of the world nuclear potential are concentrated in the US and Russia), etc. In this subgroup the attributives tend to locate Russia in a range of countries: as inferior in the non-nuclear war potential, as a equal to the USA in the nuclear potential, etc.
3. Society: the attributive “貧富の格差が拡大していたロシア” (Russia where the gap between the poor and the rich has expanded) refers to the stratification of the Russian society; the word combination “日本食ブームのロシア” (Russia, where Japanese cuisine

is very popular) describes its passion of the Japanese cuisine.

4. Victim: the attributives “悲惨なテロに苦しめられてきたロシア” (Russia, which has been suffering from disastrous terrorism), “1200人の負傷者が出たロシア” (1200 people were injured in Russia) exemplify that Russia suffers both social disasters and natural calamities.

Group 4. “attributive + ロシア *roshia*” (socio psychological features).

The attributives of this group refer to the perception of Russia, express the attitude towards it. The most salient and frequent features within this group are Russian aggression, severity, cruelty, fright and coldness: “こわもてロシア” *kowamote roshia* (frightening Russia), 過酷なロシア *kakokuna roshia* (cruel Russia), “怖くて、寒いロシア” *kowakute, samui roshia* (scary cold Russia). The anthropomorphous metaphor “日ソ中立条約を破って全千島を奪ったロシア。” (Russia violated Soviet-Japanese Neutrality pact and stole all Kuril islands.)²⁰⁴ describes Russia as a treacherous country, which violated Soviet-Japanese Neutrality Pact and stole like a criminal Kuril Islands. The exponents of opinion of this kind are the journalists of *Asahi Shinbun* themselves or elderly interviewees, carrying the notions about Russia formed in the Soviet period.

Young Japanese interviewees, who have the experience of the residence in Russia and Russian interviewees describe it in a different way, for instance: “まったく別のロシア” *mattaku betsu no roshia* (Russia differing from the common negative opinion), “伝えるべきは等身大の「祖国」のロシア” (Russia which should be conveyed is life-size “homeland” Russia), etc.

Table 2.

Block “attributive + ロシア *roshia*”

n.	Groups of attributives	Quantity (%)
1.	social features	37.5
2.	temporal features	26.5
3.	socio psychological features	20.5
4.	dimensional features	15.5

2.1.5. The way of actualization of the concept “ロシア *roshia* + postposition”

This group unites all word combination of the type “ロシア *roshia* + postposition”, they are distributed according to the features of the concept 'roshia', which are partly recorded in dictionary entries and partly derived from a contextual meaning of a lexeme (often metaphoric) (state, country/people, country/territory, soil, definite persons). In this case the meaning of a postposition/suffix itself becomes metaphoric. As may be seen from the Table 3, the most frequent

²⁰⁴ *Asahi Shinbun*, 25 September 2013.

use is that of the postposition で *de* (26.5%), while 間 *kan*, まで *made*, 以外 *igai* (0.73%) are the less frequent.

The meaning of the postpositions and suffixes themselves let us divide them into two big groups:

1. spatial/locative: で *de*, に *ni*, から *kara*, へ *he*, 以外 *igai*, まで *made*;
2. expressing relation: と *to*, にとって *nitotte*, に対して *nitaishite*, について *nitsuite*, 間 *kan*, 向け *muke*.

Locative postpositions describe Russia as a certain locus, which have boundaries and inside which something can be located: “ロシアにあるプーシキン美術館のコレクション” (the collection of Pushkin museum located in Russia); something can be located outside these boundaries: “ロシア以外の都市” (cities outside Russia). Something can happen throughout Russia within the boundaries: “モスクワなどロシア各地で開かれた” (was opened in Moscow and throughout Russia); or outside them, excluding Russia from the range of actors: “欧州はロシア以外からの調達を増やしている。” (Europe aim at the increase in supply from outside of Russia.)²⁰⁵; “米国は天然ガスの生産で09年にロシアを抜いて世界一になった。” (With the exception of Russia the US has become the biggest producer of the natural gas in the world.)²⁰⁶

Russia can be perceived as a terminal point of a certain journey: “ロシアに戻る計画” (plan to come back to Russia); “ロシアに来て、皆さんに会うのが夢でした。” (My dream is to come to Russia and meet everyone.)²⁰⁷ or the point of departure: “ロシアから資金も人も流れこんだ。” (Both people and fund flew from Russia.)²⁰⁸

Locative postpositions/suffixes may set spatial connections between objects, actions with Russia as a certain locus, which in this case is understood as “a space or an object in regard to which the location of an object (action, feature) and a kind of their interrelations (static, dynamic) are defined”²⁰⁹. For instance, in the text fragment “ロシアからの安全な距離” (safe distance from Russia) the relations between an object and the country consists in a certain “safe distance”; in “ロシアなどユーロ圏外から大量の資金が流れ込んでいるキプロスの救済。” (the salvation of Cyprus that consists in big sums of money flowing from Russia and other countries outside the euro-zone.)²¹⁰ the postposition から *kara* shows the direction of the money flow from Russia to Cyprus. Postpositions から *kara* and へ *he* in “日本からロシアへの中古車輸出はピークの2008

205 *Asahi Shinbun*, 23 July 2013.

206 *Aera*, 18 November 2013.

207 *Asahi Shinbun*, 12 December 2013.

208 *Asahi Shinbun*, 21 February 2013.

209 Maria VSEVOLODOVA, Evgeny VLADIMIRSKY, *Means of expression of spatial relations in modern Russian*, Moscow, Russkiy yazik, 1992.

210 *Aera*, 15 April 2013.

年に50万台を記録。(The peak of exports of second hand cars from Japan to Russia was recorded in 2008 and came to 50,000 cars.)²¹¹ define the direction the car export from Japan to Russia, etc.

Postpositions と *to*, 間 *kan*, に対して *nitaishite* express the relation of opposition between two objects: “ロシアなどとの軍事バランスを維持する” (to maintain military balance with Russia, etc.), “経済的にはギリシャやロシアと関係” (the Greece-Russia relations from the economic point of view). The postposition に *ni* in word compositions like “ロシアに取り組みを求める” (to ask efforts of Russia) or “幼い頃からロシアに触れてきた。” (from my childhood I came into contact with Russia); is like postpositions と *to*, に対して *nitaishite*, 間 *kan* realize the “friend of foe” opposition. The component that can be defined as “the existence of two subjects of a communication act” is included in the meaning of these postpositions themselves: by means of these postpositions an author of an utterance expresses their attitude (as to a partner or a rival, enemy) towards an explicit participant of a communication act (Russia). In case of the sentence “米英仏と、アサド政権を支えるロシアとの溝は深い。” (There is a big gap between Russia supporting the regime of Assad, and the US, England and France.)²¹² all the participants are explicit, but the “friend or foe” opposition remains.

As the above-mentioned postpositions/suffixes the postposition にとって *nitotte*, realizes the “friend of foe” category, but unlike them the vector of an attitude is directed from Russia to objects, actions, features: “ロシアにとっては競争相手になる” (It (*the US*) will become a competitor of Russia); “ロシアにとっても中国の巨大市場は魅力” (Russia is attracted by huge Chinese market).

The suffix 向け *muke* adopts the sole meaning “intended for...”, “aimed at” in the context of economic relationships between Russia and Japan: “ロシア向け中古乗用車の輸出” (the exports towards Russia of second hand passenger vehicles); “ロシア向けが高関税で一気に9割減” (high tariffs for Russia were reduced at once by 90%).

Table 3.

Group “ロシア + postposition/suffix”

n.	postposition/suffix	Quantity of text elements (%)
1.	で <i>de</i>	26.5%
2.	に <i>ni</i>	24%
3.	と <i>to</i>	20.5%
4.	から <i>kara</i>	11%

211 *Asahi Shinbun*, 25 December, 2013.

212 *Asahi Shinbun*, 24 June 2013.

5.	へ <i>he</i>	4.5%
6.	にとって <i>nitotte</i>	2%
7.	に対して <i>nitaishite</i>	2%
8.	以外/外 <i>igai/gai</i>	2%
9.	向け <i>muke</i>	1.5%
10.	について <i>nitsuite</i>	1.5%
11.	間 <i>kan</i>	0.73%
12.	まで <i>made</i>	0.73%
13.	を抜いて <i>o nuite</i>	0.73%

2.2. “ロシア *roshia*/ロシアの *roshia no + noun*” and words with the root □*ro* as means of actualization of the concept “Russia”

In the second big group features of the concept are actualized:

1. according to meanings of words fixed in dictionaries;
2. according to meanings formed as a result of the real usage of lexemes in texts of the analyzed newspaper.

2.2.1. Word-combinations “ロシア *roshia*/ロシアの *roshia no + noun*” as the means of actualization of the concept

The word-combinations of the “ロシア *roshia*/ロシアの *roshia no + noun*” type are united the Table 4 and are distributed into blocks (or into groups and subgroups) in compliance with the lexical meaning of nouns:

1. The designations of people:
 - one person: business/finance (number of units); defense; politics; plain man; others (persons not included in any of above groups);
 - people of Russia (implying plural): government authorities; various professional groups; business/finance; defence; politics; Russian population;
 - single persons: president of Russia; government authorities; finance; defense; politics; plain men; professional groups;
2. Action designation: motion designation; constructive actions designation; destructive actions designation; interaction designation.
3. Designation of the social realities sphere:

- culture: common; mentality; history; education; arts; every day life; mass media;
 - government: common; foreign policy; governing bodies; laws, rules, regulations; other;
 - industry: common; designation of specific objects;
 - sphere of national security and military forces: common; dislocation; armament; subdivision; activities; headquarters; fleet;
 - territory: administrative division terms; geography; landscape; natural phenomena, other;
 - economy: common, institutions; finance; infrastructure;
 - technologies: military technology and peace technologies.
4. Designation of anthropomorphous features: corporal; mental.
 5. Time designation.

Table 4.

Word-combinations “ロシア *roshia*/ロシアの *roshia no* + noun” as the means of actualization of the concept.

n.	Word-combinations “ロシア <i>roshia</i> /ロシアの <i>roshia no</i> + noun”	Quantity
1.	Word-combinations “ロシア <i>roshia</i> /ロシアの <i>roshia no</i> + noun” (designation of the social realities sphere)	56.5%
2.	Word-combinations “ロシア <i>roshia</i> /ロシアの <i>roshia no</i> + noun” (designation of people)	35.5%
3.	Word-combinations “ロシア <i>roshia</i> /ロシアの <i>roshia no</i> + noun” (designation of anthropomorphous features)	6.5%
4.	Word-combinations “ロシア <i>roshia</i> /ロシアの <i>roshia no</i> + noun” (designation of actions)	1%
5.	Word-combinations “ロシア <i>roshia</i> /ロシアの <i>roshia no</i> + noun” (time designation)	0.5%

The large number of definite groups in comparison with the lack of representation of others indicates the importance of various facets of Russian realities for the Japanese newspaper, which is expressed by heightened interest to definite persons or social spheres, geographical regions, etc. and the lack of interest towards other spheres. For example, in the area of culture the sphere of Russian cinema, Russian fine arts and design are almost absent and among “persons” Russian film actors, directors, artists, designers, architects and others are almost not represented. The Japanese newspaper rarely mentions such spheres as “Russian mass media”, “transport and infrastructure”. On the other hand, such spheres like “national security and military forces”, “president of Russia” representatives of “politics”, “government authorities”, “defense”, “business and finance” are mentioned often and in a variety of aspects.

In the block “ロシア *roshia*/ロシアの *roshia no* + noun” “designation of people” the prevailing groups are:

- politics;
- business and finance;
- professional groups;
- defense;
- government authorities.

In the sub-block “ロシア *roshia*/ロシアの *roshia no* + noun” “designation of national security and military forces” the biggest group represents “common terms” (that is words signifying common terms and names of this social sphere's realities – total, 30) and “activities” (directed towards Japan or, in some cases, other countries). The smallest groups in this category are “subdivisions” and “headquarters”.

In the block “ロシア *roshia*/ロシアの *roshia no* + noun” concerning “culture” prevailing in a quantitative sense groups are:

- “mentality”;
- “Russian daily life”;
- “Russian history”;

Russian theatre, ballet in particular, is mentioned quite often. The least number of examples contains the group “education”.

The block “ロシア *roshia*/ロシアの *roshia no* + noun” concerning “government” unites common terms and designations of Russian realities, such as “governing bodies” and “foreign policy”.

In a quantitative sense, the dominant group of the block “ロシア *roshia*/ロシアの *roshia no* + noun” “action designation” is “motion”.

In the block “ロシア *roshia*/ロシアの *roshia no* + noun” concerning “territory” the biggest group is “geography”, which includes designations of geographical objects, located on the territory of Russian Federation.

In the block “ロシア *roshia*/ロシアの *roshia no* + noun” concerning “economy” the most numerous group are “common” and “finance”.

In the block “ロシア *roshia*/ロシアの *roshia no* + noun” “designation of people: single persons: politics” the biggest number of examples represent the designation of the president of Russia. The feature of the concept “president of Russia” reflects the dynamics of real events. The past of Russia is expressed by the names Boris Yeltsin and Dmitry Medvedev: “2010～11年にメドベージェフ大統領” (Medvedev who was the President in 2010-11), “メドベージェフ・前

ロシア大統領” (Medvedev, ex-President of Russia), the present and the future of Russia are personified by the name of the working President Vladimir Putin: “極東開発を重視するプーチン大統領” (President Putin, paying a lot of attention to the development of the Far East); who in his turn, metamorphoses from the KGB officer (this period of time is described as defining the personality of the president): “旧ソ連国家保安委員会 (KGB) 出身のプーチン氏は国を裏切った情報部員に対して冷徹だ。” (Being an ex-officer of the former Soviet Committee for State Security (KGB) Putin shows cool-headedness towards the agent betrayed his country.)²¹³; to Prime-Minister: “2000年以降、大統領、首相、再び大統領と立ち位置を変えながら権力を維持するプーチン氏” (Since 2000 V. Putin preserves his power while changing his status from president to prime-minister, and again to president)²¹⁴; and from the prime-minister to the president: “プーチン氏は昨年大統領に復帰する際に、極東重視の方針を掲げた。” (When Putin came to the presidency last year, he adopted Far East-oriented policy.)²¹⁵

A lot of attention in texts concerning Vladimir Putin is given to the attempts to understand the reasons of his decision, to the description of his intentions: “日本との関係強化を目指すプーチン大統領” (President Putin who aim at the strengthening of the relations with Japan.)²¹⁶. It is plausible to assume that the big number of examples of the features “Putin's decisions” and “Putin's intentions” can be explained by the essential interest of the neighbour country Japan whose relationships with Russia are mostly dependent on these two things. On the other hand, such feature of the concept “president of Russia” as “mental state” are less represented in texts of *Asahi Shinbun*: “プーチン大統領は「国の威信をかけて成功させる」と意気込んでいる。” (President Putin is excited about “the increasing of the country's prestige and making it successful”).²¹⁷

Further, in the description of Vladimir Putin and his actions the metaphor was used, based on the transfer of measurement of a natural object (water) on the sphere of political strategies: “プーチン氏は慎重な瀬踏みに入っている。” (Putin has started careful measurement of depths.)²¹⁸.

The big group of word-combinations describing Russian president implies the existence of the wide movement against him, opposition, political enemies: “反プーチンバンドに恩赦” (the amnesty of anti-Putin band); “プーチン大統領への反対運動” (the movement against President Putin); “ロシアのプーチン大統領の政敵” (enemies of Russian President Putin). “ロシアでは、

213 *Asahi Shinbun*, 13 December 2013.

214 *Asahi Shinbun*, 12 July 2013.

215 *Asahi Shinbun*, 13 December 2013.

216 *Asahi Shinbun*, 20 January 2013.

217 *Asahi Shinbun*, 6 January 2013.

218 *Asahi Shinbun*, 20 June 2013.

プーチン大統領の政策を批判した女性ジャーナリストの殺害事件など、迷宮入りする事件が少なくない。” (In Russia there are many unsolved cases, such as the case of a female journalist murder, who was criticizing policies of Putin.)²¹⁹. Often the surname Putin is becoming a component of the word-combination “プーチン政権” *pūchin seiken* (the regime of Putin): “プーチン政権に打撃を与えようとする強い意志が伝わってくる。” (The strong will to give a blow to Putin's regime has been conveyed.)²²⁰. Unlike the political power of Ukraine or France described by the compositions “ウクライナ政権” *ukuraina seiken* (administration of Ukraine) and “フランス政権” *furansu seiken* (administration of France), the lexeme 政権 *seiken* in the analyzed texts was combined only with word “プーチン” *pūchin*, and never with “ロシア” *roshia*. Accordingly, it might be supposed that current Russian political power is personified by a sole figure of the Russian president in the world view of *Asahi Shinbun*.

In addition authors of the Japanese newspaper often use various metaphors in order to describe Russian realities, recourse to comparisons or contrapositions of the Russian and the Japanese lifestyle, social problems in order to level or to stress out the “friend or foe” dichotomy: “ロシアのソチは街並みは伊豆や箱根を連想させる。” (The cityscape of Russian Sochi reminds of Izu and Hakone.)²²¹

The metaphor “ロシアの遺伝コード” *roshia no iden kōdo* (Russian genetic code) is a complex formation, which includes several meanings, such as “Russian character”, “Russian mentality”, “Russian inheritance”, something in the destiny, history of the Russian nation, peculiar only to it and what is passed from generation to generation and constitutes the unique “Russia's genetic code”.

“ロシア人の魂” *roshiajin no tamashi* (Russian soul) is a metonymy, which describes Russia as a live creature or a person, that has a soul and character (characteristics of a soul of specific representatives of the Russian nation are unified and are risen to the category “Russian soul” of the nation as a whole).

Describing Russia as a country Japanese authors sometimes refer to its unpredictability: “予測不可能性。19世紀のロシア詩人チュッチェフの詩「ロシアは頭では理解できない」。” (The unpredictability (of Russia). The poem “You can't understand Russia with your mind” of a Russian poet of 19th century Tyutchev.)²²², what in general reflects one of the most popular Russian auto-stereotype and one of the Japanese stereotypes about an unknown, scary and vague country.

Throughout the history of the USSR and post-soviet Russia it has always been important for it to win in sports competitions in particular, herewith a kind of identification of sports

219 *Asahi Shinbun*, 22 February 2013.

220 *Asahi Shinbun*, 29 December 2013.

221 *Asahi Shinbun*, 6 January 2013.

222 *Asahi Shinbun*, 24 February 2013.

achievements and victories with military, economic and political advantages was taking place. The sport has always been important in the USSR and even after its collapse Russia is still seen in Japan as a country of sport, wherein athletes are its representatives: “開催国のロシアは旧ソ連時代から計50個のメダルを獲得している大国だ。フィギュア大国ロシアの顔とも言えるのが、男子のエフゲニー・プルシェンコだ。” (Starting from the Soviet period the host country Russia won in total 50 medals. Evgeni Plushenko can be called the face of the figure skating “superpower” Russia.)²²³.

The metaphor “ロシアの妖精” *roshia no yōsei* describes a Russian female tennis player comparing it with a fairy: “ロシアの妖精。モデル顔負けの容姿も人気を集める。” (Russian elf. She has a model look and also gained popularity.)²²⁴, and reflects the stereotype about beautiful Russian women. Apart from Russian beauties Japanese newspapers' readers are also interested in the private life of renowned Russian athletes: “NHLのオベチキンとテニスのキリレンコが婚約。” (Ovechkin from NHL and a tennis player Kirilenko are engaged.)²²⁵

The metaphor “経済成長の柱” in “資源の輸出はロシアの経済成長の柱。” (The exports of resources are pillars of Russia's economic growth.)²²⁶ describes Russian economic growth as leaning against the “pillar of resources export” and representing Russian economy as a kind of architectural construction. In fact, the energy industry as well as oil extraction and weapons production are listed as three most important components of the Russian economy structure: “ロシアにとって、兵器はガスや石油などのエネルギーに次ぐ第2の主力輸出品だ。” (For Russia weaponry is the second major export product after energy resources, such as gas and oil.)²²⁷

In the financial sphere the condition of Russian shares “intruding top ranking” share markets, implying the drastic changes within the financial process in Russia, aggressiveness and undesirability of such “behaviour” of shares: “ブラジル、ロシア、インド、中国のいわゆる「BRICS」の新興4カ国の株式を投資対象としたタイプも、ランキング上位に食い込んできました。” (Shares of 4 emerging nations of “BRICs” also have become the object of investments, encroaching upon the top ranks.)²²⁸

The metonymy “資源開発に沸く” *shigen kaihatsu ni waku* in “資源開発に沸くロシアのサハリンや北方領土も対象だ。” (The (*investment*) object are among others Russia's Sakhalin, boiling with the resources development and Northern Territories.)²²⁹ describes the energy sector or the Russian industry. It is a complex expression, united according to the principle part is equal to

223 *Asahi Shinbun*, 15 December 2013.

224 *Asahi Shinbun*, 18 February 2013.

225 *Asahi Shinbun*, 3 January 2013.

226 *Asahi Shinbun*, 30 June 2013.

227 *Asahi Shinbun*, 7 May 2013.

228 *Asahi Shinbun*, 18 November 2013.

229 *Asahi Shinbun*, 8 January 2013.

the whole, wherein rapid “boiling” growth of energy industry is shifted to the whole region of Sakhalin.

The business in Russia is described as being blocked for Japanese partners by the barrier of language and the absence of trade traditions: “言葉や商習慣の壁が立ちはだかるロシアビジネス。” (Language barriers and business practices standing on the way of Russian business.)²³⁰ The lexeme “壁” *kabe* describes the state of impenetrability of Russian markets as they are seen by the authors of *Asahi Shinbun*.

The political power of new Russia is described by the metaphor “誕生” *tanjō* and, accordingly, is likened to a new-born baby: “新政権の誕生にあたり、タブーを破り、大胆な譲歩も伴う方策を提案する。” (On the birth of the new political power (in Russia) the bold strategy of concession is proposed.)²³¹

2.2.2. Lexemes “ロシア人” *roshiajin*/ “ロシアの人” *roshia no hito*/ “ロシア系” *roshiakei*, etc.” as means of actualization of the concept 'roshia'

The table 5 unites all detected cases of the word usage of the lexemes of “ロシア人” *roshiajin* type in the texts of *Asahi Shinbun*. In this case the meanings of words are defined by a dictionary entries, and depend on the context only in the frame of them: (1. Broadly speaking, Russians are the people who used to be the citizens of Russian empire, or Eastern Slavs (geographical, ethnic references); 2. Russians are the people whose mother tongue is Russian. 3. Russians constituted the biggest nation of the USSR²³².

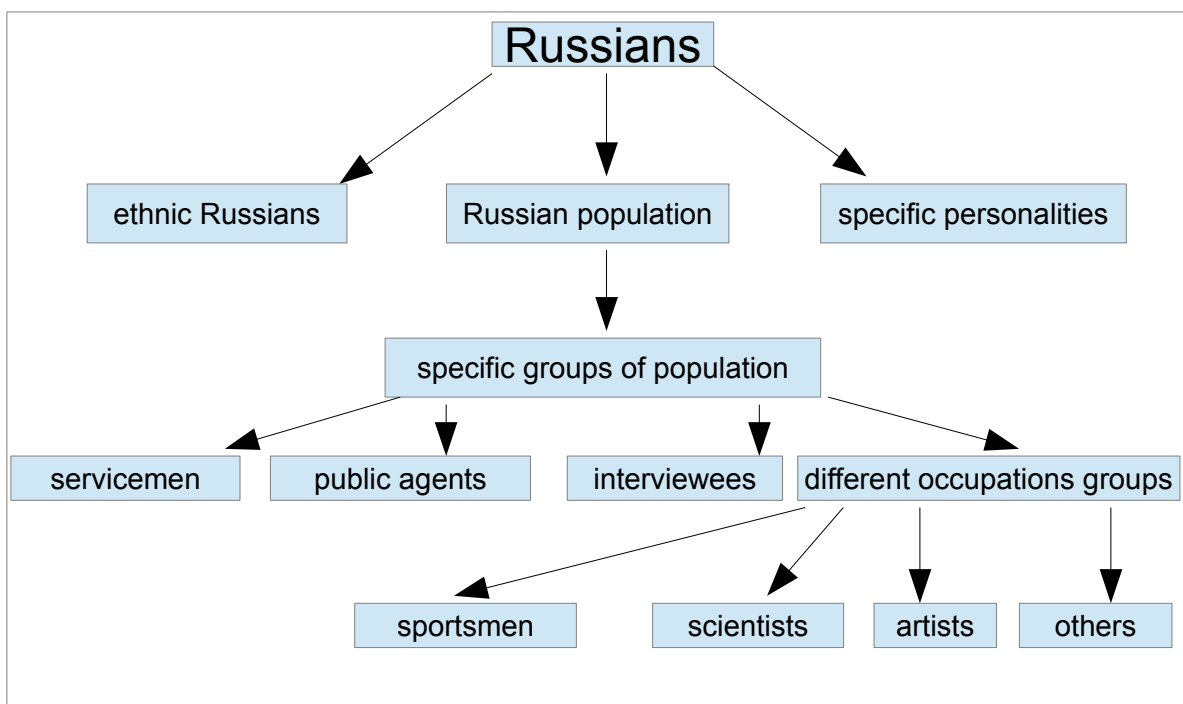
In the table 5 all the word-combination with “ロシア人” *roshiajin* are distributed into groups according to the contextual meaning of the word. The scheme 2 illustrates the structure of relations of all the meanings of this word:

Scheme 2.

230 *Asahi Shinbun*, 4 May 2013.

231 *Asahi Shinbun*, 18 January 2013.

232 *Sekaidaihyakkajiten dainiban no kaisetsu*, (www.kotobank.jp)



In the first line of the block prevails numerically the group “Russian population” (47); in the second line “public agents” and “interviewees” are represented by 30 and 25 text fragments accordingly. The results illustrate, first of all, the sphere of interests of the Japanese newspaper concerning the topic of Russia. The focus on the Russian authorities topic is connected with the particularities of Japan-Russia relationships and Kuril islands dispute, which is mostly associated with Russia within the world view of *Asahi Shinbun*. The focus on military problematics is connected with the Russian realities (acts of terrorism, wars in the Chechen republic). A Russian is mostly represented or as a public person, or as an interviewee.

Table 5.

Lexemes of “ロシア人” *roshiajin* type as the means of actualization of the concept 'roshia'.

№	Meanings of “ロシア人 <i>roshiajin</i> ”	Number (%)
1.	Population of Russia	35
2.	Public agents	18.5
3.	Interviewees	17
4.	Servicemen	12.5
5.	Specific persons	6
6.	Ethnic Russians	5.5
7.	Sportsmen	3.5
8.	Scientists	1
9.	Artists	0.5
10.	Others	0.5

2.2.3. Other words with the root “ロ” *ro* as means of actualization of the concept 'roshia'

The second group of word with the root “ロ *ro*” illustrates the use of the word “ロシア語 *roshiago*”. The on-line dictionaries of modern Japanese language offer the following definitions of this word: (1. The official language of Russia and of former Soviet Union. Nowadays it is spoken by about 200 million people. 2. The Eastern Slav language belonging to the Indo-European language family. During the Soviet period was spread among all nations as the common language. 3. The language, used officially not only in Russian Federation, but also in Belarus, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan along with their national languages.²³³

The meaning “language of the Soviet Union” is absent within the discourse of the Japanese newspaper, as the country USSR does not exist anymore. Moreover, the Russian language is opposed to other Slav and, in particular, Baltic languages as the former official language of ex-Soviet republics. As *Asahi Shinbun* notices, after the collapse of the USSR the aspiration for the independence of the former Soviet republics reflected the unwillingness to talk and speak in Russian: “ラトビアでは昨年、ロシア語を第2の国語にするかどうかの国民投票があった。[...] 否決されたが、ポリナさんは国民投票そのものが違憲だったと訴える。彼女は「ロシアは脅威だ」とみる。国民はラトビア人約59%に、ロシア系が約28%だという。「こんな小国に二つ国語があれば、国は分裂してしまう」。” (The last year the national referendum, concerning the status of Russian language as the second national language, was held in Latvia. [...] It was rejected, but Polina (*ethnic Latvian*) claimed that the referendum itself was unconstitutional. She sees Russia as a “threat”. Latvians constitute around 59% of the population, while ethnic Russians constitute around 28% of it. “In such a small country the existence of 2 official language would only lead to the split of the country”.)²³⁴

Other examples of the use of the lexeme “ロシア語 *roshiago*” include the following:

1. “ロシア語学校” *roshiago gakkō*, “ロシア語スクール” *roshiago sukūru*;
2. “「テレビでロシア語」” *terebi de roshiago* (the name of a Japanese TV programme);
3. “英語やロシア語、フランス語も堪能だった” ((he) was good at English and Russian, and either in French);
4. “ソ連全土から原子力の技術者を集めてつくった町で、いまでも共通語はロシア語だ。” (Russian language is still common in the town where nuclear engineers gathered from all the territory of the USSR.)²³⁵ The definition of Russian as a common language in former Soviet republics expanded to Bulgaria.
5. “ダスヴィダーニヤは「さよなら」のロシア語” (“Da svidaniya” means “Good bye” in

233 Sekai no shuyō gengo ga wakaru jiten, (www.kotobank.jp)

234 *Asahi Shinbun*, 8 January 2013.

235 *Asahi Shinbun*, 30 July 2013.

Russian), where “Do svidaniya” is a name of a Japanese documentary.

Overall, this group includes 17 text fragments.

Another group illustrates the use of the word “ロシア化 *roshiaka*”, formed by affixation, which within the discourse of *Asahi Shinbun* is referred to the russification of the Kuril islands and have negative connotations:

1. “第一に北方領土だ。確かに不法な占拠だが、4島のロシア化が進む今、一括返還に実現性はない。” (First of all, Northern territories. Though, certainly, they were occupied lawlessly, as nowadays four islands are becoming more and more Russian, it's impossible to get them all back.)²³⁶ At the same time, the sentence illustrates the hard-edged position of the Japanese newspaper concerning the islands: a territory can be russified only if it did not belong to Russia and was occupied by it.
2. “遠のく北方領土 ロシア化。インフラ整備で「ロシア化」は進み、住民はロシア政府の後ろ盾を強調する。” (The Northern territories becoming distant. Russification. Russification in infrastructure development proceeds, and residents emphasize the backing of Russian government.)²³⁷

The text fragments with this word are met in *Asahi Shinbun* 7 times.

It is necessary to separate out into a single group word-combinations, which contain the word “ロシア *roshia*” and which are the realities of Russian political sphere. In this case, names of parties include the name of the country, wherein they operate. The inclusion of the name of Russia into names of parties can be considered a sort of political manifestation, which emphasizes the belonging to Russia, fidelity to the national interests, etc. The name “「統一ロシア」” *tōitsuroshia* (for instance, “与党「統一ロシア」” *yotō tōitsuroshia* - ruling party “United Russia”) was found in the texts of *Asahi Shinbun* 4 times. The name “「公正ロシア」” *kōsei roshia* (for instance, “野党「公正ロシア」” *yatō kōsei roshia* - opposition party “A Just Russia”) is represented by 2 text fragments.

A particular case of using the name of Russia consists in the adjective “ロシアン *roshian*”, which is the transliteration of the corresponding English word. Of all the word-combinations with this adjective, found in dictionaries (for instance, “ロシアンルーレット” *roshianrūretto*, “ロシアンティー” *roshiantī*, “ロシアンサーブル” *roshiansāburu*, “ロシアンブルー” *roshianburū*) only the combination “ロシアンティー” *roshiantī* (Russian tea) is represented by *Asahi Shinbun*. Words of foreign origin, in this case, stress out the particularities of Russian culture, differences between Russian and Japanese teas, and, by doing so, express the “friend or foe” category. This word-

²³⁶ *Asahi Shinbun*, 3 September 2013.

²³⁷ *Asahi Shinbun*, 9 July 2013.

combination was found in 2 text fragments. Another example of the use of the adjective “ロシアン *roshian*” is its inclusion in the name of a pub: “「ロシアンパブ クレムリン」” *roshian pabu kuremurin* (Russian pub “Kremlin”). In a similar way, the use of the foreign adjective can be explained by the intention to emphasize exoticism, otherness of the pub.

The last group in this block is the use of the root “ロ *ro*” that stands for Russia in the combinations like: “米ロリセット *beiro risetto*” (the US-Russia reset), “日ロ次官級協議 *nichiro jikankyū kyōgi*” (Japan-Russia vice-ministers' discussion), “日ロ関係 *nichiro kankei*” (Japan-Russia relations), “中ロの国境交渉 *chūro no kokkyō kōshō*” (negotiations over the China-Russian border), etc. These word-combinations, used mostly in reports about coming summits, negotiations and other events, can help understand which relationships of Russia are more important for Japan, according to *Asahi Shinbun*. As is seen from the table 6, the most importance is given to Japan-Russia relations, followed by its relations with China and the United States, Japan's rival and strategic partner.

Table 6.

Word-combinations with the root “ロ” as the means of actualization of the concept “Russia”.

No	Word-combinations	Number (%)
1.	日ロ <i>nichiro</i>	54.5
2.	中ロ <i>chūro</i>	21
3.	米ロ <i>beiro</i>	21
4.	英ロ <i>eiro</i>	3.5

An interesting feature of these compounds is that the component “ロ” *ro* takes always the second place. While is the compounds like “日ロ” *nichiro* or “米ロ” *beiro* the position of Russia is a predictable and can be explained by the “Japan-centric” position of Japan (in the first case) or its closeness to the US, the compound “中ロ” *chūro* (China and Russia) implies that geopolitically China is near to Japan than Russia, despite the controversies of China-Japan relations.

2.3. Other word-combinations as means of actualization of the concept 'roshia'

In order to designate Russia the Japanese newspaper use not only word “Russia”, but also other word-combinations, for instance:

1. “日本でほとんど知られていなかったソ連の児童文学” (Soviet literature for children, almost unknown in Japan);

2. “ペレストロイカ（改革）を進めたゴルバチョフ大統領が辞任し、ソ連は69年の歴史に幕を閉じた。” (When Gorbachev who advanced *perestroika* resigned, 69 years old history of the USSR closed its curtain.)²³⁸

In the example 1 and 2 “ソ連 *soren*” country that doesn't exist anymore, the period in the past of Russian history. In the second example the metaphor “幕を閉じた *maku o tojita*”(came to an end, closed the curtain) was used to describe the state of Soviet Union as an ended theatre play.

3. “旧ソ連国家保安委員会”（KGB）(Former Soviet KGB);
4. “旧ソ連が30年以上前に侵攻したアフガニスタンで、行方不明になっていたソ連軍兵士の一人がアフガニスタンで生存しているのが確認された。” (It was confirmed that one of the missing soldiers lives in Afghanistan, which former Soviet Union invaded more than 30 years ago.)²³⁹

The examples 3 and 4 illustrate the use of the lexeme “ソ連 *soren*” with the prefix “旧” (post). Post-Soviet in this context is used for designation of Russian realities: KGB still exists in Russia (though with a different name), and Soviet war in Afghanistan is not only the history of Russia, but also the part of its culture (literature on Afghanistan, veteran movements).

5. “旧ソ連諸国” *kyūsoren shokoku*;
6. “ソ連全土から原子力の技術者を集めてつくった町で、いまでも共通語はロシア語だ。” (Russian language is still common in the town where nuclear engineers gathered from all the territory of the USSR.)²⁴⁰

In the examples 5 and 6 the word “ソ連 *soren*” (used with or without prefix “旧 *kyū*”) refers to all countries of the former Soviet Union (including Russia), the language of the former Soviet Union (Russian), its realities.

7. “ソ連崩壊の混乱を経て経済が急成長する2006年に誕生した。” ((*The TV show*) was born in 2006 when Russian economy rapidly grew after overcoming the disorder brought about by the collapse of the USSR.)²⁴¹
8. “ソ連崩壊後、ウクライナは常にロシアと欧州の間で揺れ動いてきた。” (After the collapse of the USSR Ukraine has always been wavering between Russia and Europe.)²⁴²
9. “ロシアがかたくなに「アサド退陣」に応じなかったのは、旧ソ連時代からのシリアとの戦略的關係があるからだ。” (Because of its strategic relations with Syria established

238 *Asahi Shinbun*, 25 November 2013.

239 *Asahi Shinbun*, 8 March 2013.

240 *Asahi Shinbun*, 30 July 2013.

241 *Asahi Shinbun*, 6 January 2013.

242 *Asahi Shinbun*, 13 December 2013.

in the Soviet period, Russia stubbornly did not react to the “Assad resignation”).²⁴³

10. “親日国なのに日本でのイメージは劣悪。ソ連崩壊から21年たっても欧州に入れない。” (Though Russia is a pro-Japanese country, its image in Japan is bad. 21 year has passed since the collapse of the USSR, but it is still not in Europe.)²⁴⁴

In the examples 7, 8 and 10 the compound “ソ連崩壊 *sorenhōkai*” was formed to designate the moment in which Soviet Union came to an end. In the example 9 the compound “旧ソ連時代 *kyūsoren jidai*” refers to the Soviet period of Russian history, while prefix “旧” implies that described events (strategic relations with Syria) still take place in modern Russia. These examples illustrate Russian realities after the collapse of the USSR: economic disorder and growth, politics, international relationships, Russian image in Japan.

11. “第2次大戦をめぐり、ロシアは前身のソ連の役割をファシスト国家のナチス・ドイツと日本から、欧州とアジアを解放した立役者と位置づける。こうした立場は対外的なものだけでなく、戦後のソ連・ロシアの国民の価値観や愛国心の基礎にもなっている。” ((In the context of the Second World War, Russia positions the role of its ancestor USSR as one of the country liberated Europe and Asia from fascist governments of Nazi Germany and Japan. Not only this position is reviled in foreign affairs, but also became the base for the world view and patriotism of Soviet/Russian people.)²⁴⁵

In the example 11 the Soviet Union is called the ancestor of Russia “前身のソ連 *zenshin no soren*”, implying the interconnectedness and continuity between the USSR and Russia: indeed, Russia takes up the role of its ancestor and Russian people values and patriotism were formed under the influence of Soviet history.

12. “でも、周囲の大人たちのイメージは「怖い国」(USSR)。” (However, the image of people around was that of “the scary country” (USSR).)²⁴⁶

In the example 12 the English abbreviation USSR and the expression 「怖い国」 *kowai kuni* are used for referring to the Soviet Union. While 「怖い国」 *kowai kuni* reflects to one of the most wide-spread stereotype about Russia²⁴⁷, and the use of a foreign word is the way of expression of the “friend or foe” category, way of straying from the “scary” country.

13. “巨大な国” *kyodaina kuni* (huge country), “巨大国家” *kyodai kokka* (huge state), “世界を揺るがした超大国” *sekai o yurugashita chōtaikoku* (superpower that shook the world), etc.

The examples of the group 13 refer to Russia, describing it in terms of its physical size: the

243 *Asahi Shinbun*, 19 June 2013.

244 *Asahi Shinbun*, 5 January 2013.

245 *Asahi Shinbun*, 28 December 2013.

246 *Asahi Shinbun*, 5 March 2013.

247 「寒い、危ない、怖い」 *samui, abunai, kowai* – cold, dangerous, scary

biggest country in the world, huge country that shocked the world.

14. “東欧の忍耐強い人々の国で若い僕の音楽は培われていった。” (In my youth my music expertise was cultivated in the East European country of patient people.)²⁴⁸

The example 14 illustrates the use of the word “東欧” for the designation of the USSR as the part of East-European world, and at the same time, describes it as the country of preserving people (tolerating totalitarian regime and hostile conditions of life).

15. “五輪開催国” *gorin kaisaikoku* (Olympics host country), “核保有国” *kakuhoyū koku* (nuclear power), “消費大国” *shōhi taikoku* (major country-consumer);

Another way of referring to Russia is describing it in terms of what it has (nuclear power), what it consumes and what kind of events it is going to hold (the Olympics).

2.4. Set and frequency phrases as means of actualization of the concept 'roshia'

Many dictionaries of English language give the definition of the adjective “Russian”, for instance, Russian – adj. a) relating to Russia, its people or its language: Russian grammar/the Russian church b) the USSR: Russian defense policy/the Russian ambassador²⁴⁹. Unlike in English dictionaries, the definition of the attributive ロシア(の) *roshia (no)* can not be found in Japanese dictionaries for lexicographical reasons, e.g. the attributive forms of a noun are in many cases added as a sub-entry of a main dictionary item (*lemma*) (either in the form N+*no*+N, or in the form N+N), but it can be said that in corresponding word-combinations the texts of *Asahi Shinbun* actualize to the full extent the first meaning of Longman Dictionary, while the second meaning – due to the disappearance of the USSR itself – lost its relevance and is not actualized by *Asahi Shinbun* in 2013. With the view of denoting “Soviet” lexeme “ソ連の *soren no*” is used, as opposed to “ロシアの *roshia no*”.

On the other hand, Japanese dictionaries define various set phrases, containing “ロシア *roshia*” as an attributive.

These set phrases can be characterized by semantic interrelation; they play a role of terms, denotations of specific realities (not always Russian) and reflect such areas like:

- culture: ロシア美術館 *roshia bijutsukan*, ロシア正教会 *roshia seikyōkai*, ロシア国民楽派 *roshia kokumingakuha*, ロシアフォルマリズム *roshiaforumarizumu*, ロシア演劇 *roshia engeki*, ロシア美術 *roshia bijutsu*, ロシア映画 *roshia eiga*, ロシア音楽 *roshia ongaku*, ロシア文字 *roshia moji*, ロシア建築 *roshia kenchiku*;
- history: ロシア革命 *roshia kakumei*, ロシアトルコ戦争 *roshia toruko sensō*, ロシア歴

248 *Asahi Shinbun*, 5 March 2013.

249 *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*, 1992

roshia reki, ロシア史 *roshia shi*, ロシア帝国 *roshia teikoku*, ロシアメシアニズム *roshia meshianizumu*;

- politics: ロシア共産党 *roshia kyōsantō*, ロシア化政策 *roshiakaseisaku*, ロシアの選択 *roshia no sentaku*;
- daily life: ロシア料理 *roshia ryōri*, ロシア紅茶 *roshia kōcha*;
- artifacts and industries: ロシア衛星 *roshia eisei*, ロシアの天然ガス *roshia no tennen gasu*;
- natural world and animals: ロシアヒマワリ *roshiahimawari*, ロシアン・オットルカ *roshian ottaruka*, ロシアデスマン *roshiadestuman*, ロシアンブラック・テリア *roshianburakku teria*, ロシアンサーブル *roshiansāburu*, etc.

Some notions about Russia, acquired in the result of “clash” with Russian culture, realities and in the process of communications with Russian citizens were fixed in other languages (for instance, Japanese) as set phrases or idioms (“ロシアンルーレット” *roshianrūretto*) and their further usage led to the necessity to “legalize” them, that is to fix them into dictionaries. In this way, experience leads to a word, and a word makes native speakers of various languages think in certain ways, gives notions of various objects of reality, which become stereotypes.

The groups of most frequent free word-combinations of type “ロシア(の) *roshia (no)* + noun” were determined in the analysis of the block “ロシア(の) *roshia (no)* + noun” as means of actualization of the concept “Russia” within the discourse of *Asahi Shinbun*. These word-combinations were united into semantic groups according to the area of reality they reflect.

The most frequent group is “authorities” and word-combinations like ロシア政府 *roshiaseifu*, ロシアのプーチン大統領 *roshia no pūchin daitōryō*, ロシアのウシャコフ大統領補佐官 *roshia no ushakofu daitōryō hosakan*, ロシアの外務次官 *roshia no gaimu jikan*, ロシアの外相 *roshia no gaishō*, ロシア上院 *roshia jōin*.

The second and the third most frequent groups are “politics” with word-combinations ロシア化 *roshiaka*, ロシアの国家予算 *roshia no kokkayosan*, 中ロ関係 *chūro kankei*, ロシア国籍 *roshia kokuseiki*, 日ロ関係 *nichiro kankei*, etc., and “territory”, which includes word-combination like ロシアの領土 *roshia no ryōdo*, ロシア沖 *roshia oki*, ロシア北部 *roshia hokubu*, ロシア極東 *roshia kyokutō*, ロシア国境 *roshia kokkyō*.

Less frequent phrases are united into groups the following groups:

- “economics and industries”: ロシアの経済 *roshia no keizai*, ロシアの豊富な天然ガス

roshia no hōfuna tennen gasu, ロシアのガス大手(ガスパロム) *roshia no gasu ōte*
(*gasupurumu*);

- “defence”: ロシアの軍艦 *roshia no gunkan*, ロシア軍事 *roshia gunji*, ロシア海軍 *roshia kaigun*, ロシアのTU95爆撃機 *roshia no TU95 bakugekiki*, ロシアの戦闘機 *roshia no sentōki* ;
- “media, culture and daily life”: ロシアのテレビ *roshia no terebi*, ロシアメディア(によると) *roshia no media(ni yoru to)*, ロシア・ボリショイ劇場 *roshia borishoi gekijō*, ロシア正教 *roshia seikyō*, ロシア民謡 *roshia minwa*, ロシア構成主義 *roshia kōsei shugi*, ロシアの作家 *roshia no sakka*, ロシアの家庭 *roshia no katei*, ロシアンティー *roshiantī*;
- “professions”: ロシアの選手 *roshia no senshu*, ロシアの科学者 *roshia no kagakusha*, ロシア人の学生 *roshia no gakusei*;
- “Russian mentality and image”: ロシアのナショナリズム *roshia no nashonarizumu*, ロシアのイメージ *roshia no imēji*, ロシアのおかしさ *roshia no okashisa*;
- “education and science”: ロシアのモスクワ大学 *roshia no mosukuwa daigaku*, ロシア科学アカデミー *roshia kagaku akademī*;
- “Russian time”: ロシアの世相 *roshia no sesō*, ロシアの将来 *roshia no shōrai*, ロシアの今日, *roshia no kyō*, etc.

One of the characteristics of *Asahi Shinbun*'s discourse is that the Japanese newspaper is oriented towards social and political value of its publications' topics. This is one of the factors defining the reasons of frequency of above-mentioned text unites: almost all groups of frequency phrases belong to social or political lexicon, which is one of the characteristics of the journalistic style in general.

On the other hand, the arrangement of these groups on the vertical axis, reflecting its frequency in descending powers (Table 7.), is a part of linguistic world-view of the Japanese. The highlighting of the authorities and political spheres of the Russian life helps make conclusions about kernel and peripheral areas of the concept 'roshia' in the Japanese linguistic world-view. Russia is perceived, first of all, through its authorities and its politics, which can be explained by the existence of unsettled territorial issues between Japan and Russia. “What we notice, remember and reestablish in our memory [...] and our selectivity of perception is motivated, among other reasons, by our needs, which excite interest towards timely issues and their contextual topics”²⁵⁰.

250 Garin A. «The Cultural Roots of the Western Democracy in Comparison with the Russian Development», *Rossia I*

Due to its proximity, history and economic and cultural exchange territorially, Russia is represented primarily by the frequency phrase “ロシア極東” *roshia kyokutō* (Russian Far East) that prevails considerably over the frequency phrase “ロシアのモスクワ” *roshia no mosukuwa* (3). “北方領土” *hoppō ryōdo*²⁵¹ are mentioned in *Asahi Shinbun's* texts 37 times, but are not mentioned into Table 7, as, though belonging to the territory of Russia, in the Japanese world-view constitute a part of Japan, lawlessly occupied by Russia: “第一に北方領土だ。確かに不法な占拠だが、4島のロシア化が進む今、一括返還に実現性はない。” (First of all, Northern territories. Though, certainly, they were occupied lawlessly, as nowadays four islands are becoming more and more Russian, it's impossible to get them all back.)²⁵²

The Russian economy is represented, in terms of frequency phrases, by the phrase “ロシアの天然ガス” *roshia no tennen gasu* (Russian natural gas). On one hand, being a kind of mineral resources, it represents, along with Russian oil, the economy of the country throughout the world: in the commodity structure of exports from Russia to Japan in 2013 the share of mineral resources constituted 86%²⁵³. On the other hand, despite a growing share of Russian oil²⁵⁴ in the total volume of imports in Japan and its interest towards Russian natural gas, the phrase “ロシアの石油” *roshia no sekiyu* is almost not represented by *Asahi Shinbun* in 2013. Presumably, it can be explained by the shell gas revolution in the USA and reorientation of Russian exports: “米国のシェールガス革命のあおりでロシアの天然ガスは欧州市場で供給が減り、日本はじめアジア市場への売り込みも必要になっている。” (As under the influence of the shell gas revolution in the United States, the supply of Russian natural gas in European markets has reduced, the hard selling in Asian markets, first of all Japanese one, has become necessary for Russia.)²⁵⁵

It should also be stated that in the Japanese linguistic world-view Russia is perceived (though not in the kernel) as a military state, holding an army and representing a potential threat. Interestingly, texts of “*Asahi Shinbun*” pay more attention to the naval aviation of Russia (“ロシアのTU95爆撃機” *roshia no TU95 bakugekiki*, “ロシアの戦闘機” *roshia no sentōki*) than to the civil one (no frequency phrases were found).

The groups “media, culture and daily life”, “professions”, “mentality and image”, “education and science”, “Russian time” and “Russian history” are noticeably less reflected in texts of *Asahi Shinbun* and therefore constitute periphery of the concept “ロシア *roshia*”. It is worth noting that in

Zapad: dialog kultur, 8, 2000.

251 “the Northern Territories” in English translation or “Южные Курилы” (the South Kuril Islands) in Russian

252 *Asahi Shinbun*, 3 September 2013.

253 data the report “Trade and economic cooperation between Russian Federation and Japan”, by the Ministry of Economic Development (<http://www.ved.gov.ru/>)

254 7%, according to *Vedomosti*, 23 April 2014 (<http://www.vedomosti.ru/>)

255 *Asahi Shinbun*, 23 February 2013.

the group “professions” the biggest share is held by the phrase “ロシアの選手” *roshia no senshu*. *Asahi Shinbun* indeed pays a lot of attention to the sports life in Russia which, on one hand, anticipates the Olympic Games 2014²⁵⁶ and, on the other hand, reflects the stereotype of Russia as a country of big sports victories.

Table 7.

Set phrases (according to dictionaries) and frequency phrases as means of actualization of the concept 'roshia'.

Set phrases “ロシア <i>roshia</i> + noun” (according to dictionaries)	Frequency phrases “ロシア (の) <i>roshia (no)</i> + noun” (according to “Asahi Shinbun”)
Politics	Russian authorities
ロシアの選択 (choice)	ロシアのプーチン大統領 (42) (Russian President Putin)
ロシア化政策 (politics of Russification)	ロシア政府 (36) (government)
ロシア共産党(Communist party of Russia)	ロシアの外相 (12) (Foreign Minister)
ロシアと中国 (Russia and China)	ロシアの外務次官 (5) (Undersecretary in the section for the International Relations)
ロシア極東と中国の貿易 (Far East Russia – China trade)	ロシア上院 (3) (Upper House)
ロシアの宇宙政策 (Space programme)	ロシアのウシャコフ大統領補佐官 (2) Presidential aide
ロシア大統領選 (President election)	ロシアの宇宙庁 (2) (Russian Federal Space Agency)
ロシアの宇宙庁 (Russian Federal Space Agency)	Politics
Economy, industries, artifacts	日ロ関係 (21) (Japan – Russia relations)
ロシアの天然ガス (natural gas)	ロシア化 (7) (Russification)
ロシア金融危機 (financial crisis)	中ロ関係 (5) (China – Russia relations)
ロシア危機 (crisis)	ロシア国籍 (3) (citizenship)
ロシア経済動向 (tendencies of economy)	ロシアの国家予算 (2) (national budget)
ロシア中央銀行 (Central Bank of Russia)	米ロリセット (2) (US – Russia reset)
ロシア衛星 (Russian satellite)	Territory
人口減少(ロシアの) (falling population)	ロシア極東 (19) (Russian Far East)
Culture	ロシアの領土 (5) (Russian Territory)
ロシアンルーレット(Russian roulette)	ロシア北部 (3) (the north of Russia)
	ロシアのモスクワ (3) (Moscow, Russia)

256 held in Sochi, Russia

ロシア・バレエ団 (Russian ballet troupe)	ロシア沖 (2) (open sea)
ロシア美術館 (Russian art museum)	ロシア国境 (2) (national border)
ロシアフォルマリズム (Russian formalism)	Economics
ロシア演劇 (Russian drama)	ロシアの経済 (12) (Russian economy)
ロシア美術 (Russian arts)	ロシアの天然ガス (7) (natural gas)
ロシア映画 (Russian cinema)	ロシア企業 (5) (Russian companies)
ロシア正教会 (Russian orthodox church)	ロシアのガス大手(ガスパロム) (3) (Russian big company)
ロシア建築 (Russian architecture)	ロシアビジネス (2) (Russian business)
ロシア音楽 (Russian music)	ロシア中央銀行 (2) (Central Bank of Russia)
ロシア文字 (Russian literature)	Defence
ロシア東欧学会 (The Japan Association for Russian and East European Studies)	ロシア軍 (6) (Russian troops)
ロシア史研究会 (Japanese Society for the Study of Russian History)	ロシア海軍 (4) (Russian navy)
ロシア国立交響楽団 (Russian state symphony orchestra)	ロシア軍事 (3) (military affairs)
ロシア戦勝記念日 (Russian Victory day)	ロシアの兵器 (2) (weapons)
Mentality	ロシアの兵隊 (2) (soldiers)
ロシアメシアニズム (missionism)	ロシアの軍艦 (2) (battleship)
ロシアナショナリズム (nationalism)	ロシアのTU95爆撃機 (2) (bomber TU95)
History	ロシアの戦闘機 (2) (fighter aircraft)
ロシア革命 (Russian revolution)	ロシアの情報機関(2) (intelligence agency)
ロシアトルコ戦争 (Russo – Turkish war)	Media, culture and daily life
ロシア歴/ ロシア史 (Russian history)	ロシアメディア(によると) (5) (Russian media)
ロシア帝国 (Russian empire)	ロシアのボリショイ劇場(5) (Russian “Bolshoi theatre”)
ロシアポーランド戦争 (Russo – Polish war)	ロシア民謡 (5) (folk songs)
Daily life	ロシア正教 (4) (Russian orthodox)
ロシア犁 (Russian plow)	ロシアの作家 (4) (Russian writer)
ロシア紅茶 (Russian tea)	ロシアのテレビ (3) (Russian television)
ロシア料理 (Russian cuisine)	ロシア構成主義 (2) (Russian constructivism)
Natural world and animals	ロシアの家庭 (2) (Russian house)
ロシアヒマワリ (Russian sunflower)	ロシアンティー (2) (Russian tea)
ロシアン・オットルカ (Russian terrier)	Professions
ロシアンブルー (Russian blue (cat))	ロシアの選手 (6) (Russian sportsmen)

ロシアン・ヨーロピアン・ライカ(Russian-European Laika)	ロシアの科学者 (3) (Russian scientists)
ロシアン・トイ・テリア(Russian toy terrier)	ロシア人の学生 (2) (Russian students)
ロシアンブラック・テリア (Russian black terrier)	Mentality and image
ロシアデスマン (Russian desman)	ロシアのイメージ (3) (Russian image)
ロシアンサーブル (Russian sable)	ロシアのナショナリズム (2) (Russian nationalism)
	ロシアのおかしさ(2) (ridiculousness of Russia)
	Education and science
	ロシア科学アカデミー (4) (Russian academy of sciences)
	ロシアのモスクワ大学 (2) (Moscow University)
	Russian time
	ロシアの将来 (3) (Russian future)
	ロシアの世相 (2) (phases of life of Russia)
	ロシアの今日 (2) (Russia's today)
	Russian history
	ロシア革命 (3) (Russian revolution)
	ロシアの歴史 (2) (Russian history)

2.5. Realization of stereotypes on Russia within the discourse of the newspaper *Asahi Shinbun*

The study of the concept 'roshia' in the discourse of *Asahi Shinbun* presumes that cultural stereotypes about Russia can be a part of a structural element of the concept. In this case stereotypical notions about Russia serve as a “threshold” of the concept. Concept is a wider construction as it also includes encyclopedic knowledge, it is realized into free associations (predictable or not). On the other hand, stereotype is “more limited, as it represents a mental image-notion and its verbal framework; a stereotype in the process of its “creation” undergoes certain minimization and is realized in predictable associations”²⁵⁷.

An image of any country exists in the consciousness of a native speaker of some language as a certain stereotypical notion, for instance, Russia is the Motherland, Russians, openness, generosity, unpredictability, snow, winter, matreshka, birch, vodka, caviar, ballet²⁵⁸. For instance, an author of the Japanese newspaper, describing his departure for Russia, points out that most

257 KRASNYH, *Ethnoc psycholinguistics and cultural linguistics: lectures*.

258 TER-MINASOVA, *Language and inter-cultural communication*.

questions he was asked by his compatriots concerned Russia's cold: “「どんな暖房を使ってるの?」「トイレはどうしてるの?」と、続々と質問が寄せられた。” (I was successively asked questions like “What kind of heating do they use?”, “How will you go to the toilette?”)²⁵⁹. “昨春、ウラジオストク支局を開設したばかりで、ロシア極東ならではの土地を紹介したいと考えた。ロシアと聞いて、まず思い浮かべるのは「寒さ」。” (The last spring, when they opened the branch office in Vladivostok, I was thinking of introducing the most distinctive places of the Russian Far East. When you hear of Russia, the first thing it reminds you of is “cold”)²⁶⁰.

Russia is described as a backward country, lacking medical facilities “like in Japan” and appreciating second hand Japanese cars more than proper ones. For instance: “日本のように設備が整った医療機関がないため、高度な治療を受けるには、日本や韓国に行く必要があります。健康診断も、きちんと受けるよう心がけています。” (As medical institutions (*in Russia*) lack medical equipment like in Japan, Russians go to Japan or Korea in order to get an advanced diagnosis, they also aim these countries in order to undergo precise physical examination)²⁶¹.

Daily life is another sphere often being stereotyped, as daily life in particular is exceptionally national sphere, characterizing a whole nation. For instance, though not so many modern Russians drink vodka, speaking of Russia vodka is still one of its symbols: “ロシアと言えば、ウオツカが有名です。” (Speaking of Russia, its vodka is famous)²⁶². Two other symbols of Russia are black tea and home-made jam, without fail presenting on a Russian table even in the time of economic disorder: “モスクワに留学していたとき、ロシア人家庭にホームステイしました。ソ連崩壊の翌年で食糧事情の悪いころです。それでも、毎日の紅茶には小皿に盛られた自家製ジャムがいつも添えられていました。” (When I studied in Moscow, I stayed in a Russian house. It was one year after the collapse of the USSR and the food situation was bad. And yet, every day black tea was always accompanied by a small dish with home-made jam)²⁶³.

The Russian table (with obligatory vodka, tea and rye bread), accompanied by music, is described as a centre of daily communications in Russia: “テーブルを囲んでお茶やウオツカを飲み、黒パンにチーズやハムをのせたオープンサンドを食べた。談笑の合間に必ず誰かが楽器を弾いた。楽器の音色が流れると、途端に空気がロマンチックになった。” (We used to sit around a table, drink vodka or tea and eat rye bread and cheese or ham open sandwiches. In the breaks in friendly conversations somebody would surely play a musical instrument. With the flow of sounds of music, the atmosphere would become romantic)²⁶⁴. The stereotype in this case reveals its

259 *Asahi Shinbun*, 5 December 2013.

260 *Ibidem*.

261 *Asahi Shinbun*, 13 December 2013.

262 *Asahi Shinbun*, 14 November 2013.

263 *Asahi Shinbun*, 15 February 2013.

264 *Asahi Shinbun*, 14 December 2013.

positive aspect: drinking vodka is associated not only this alcoholism, but also this romanticism and friendly communications.

Stereotypical notions about Russian soul and character features are realized in word-combinations like “ロシアの魂 *roshia no tamashī*”(Russian soul), “ロシア人の血 *roshia no chi*”(Russian blood), and in the following fragments of text:

- Concerning Russian mentality, A. Bukh in his “Japan's national identity and foreign policy: Russia as Japan's 'Other'” has argued that similar to the bipolarity of R. Benedict's representation of Japan, “Russia in the Japanese sociocultural discourse also has a split personality, in which “plainsman character” struggles with the “forest” one. The first one is characterized by such negative qualities as extremism, hedonism and the aspiration for freedom from any power by any cost. “Forest character” is characterized by taciturnity, moderation and tolerance”²⁶⁵. The following text fragment illustrate this notion on the example of the class struggle in Russia: “有力紙コメルサントは、背景には、「ムチで国民を統治し続けたい」今日の支配層と「自分の力で国の運命を担いたい」市民層との対立がある、とした。” (According to the influential newspaper “Kommersant” in the background (of the fight for Stalin's re-evaluation) there is a desire of the governors to rule the people by means of a whip and a desire of people to take responsibility for the proper country's destiny)²⁶⁶.
- The stereotype of coldness and darkness of Russia as a country is transferred to its people's character: “正直に言えば、寒くて暗くて怖い国。人は冷徹で本当に血が流れているのか。そんな印象です。” (To tell you the truth, it is a cold, dark and scary country. People are cool-headed and I ask myself whether their blood really flows. This is my impression of them)²⁶⁷. “27歳の時に一人旅行をした時のソビエト国家の個人への異常な締め付け、国境での人々の敵対心を含んだ顔の暗さ。” (When I was 27 I went alone (to Russia). At that time the Soviet state exerted inexorable pressure on its citizens and faces of people on the border were full of darkness and hostility)²⁶⁸.
- Coinciding with the auto-stereotype of Russia as a country of great culture, Russians are described as its product, absorbed fruits of its literature and schooling system: “ロシアでは国民的作家の作品が子どもの頃から広く教えられ、何世代にも共有されている。そうした共通認識があってこそ豊かな人間性は育まれる。” (In Russia they start reading works of national writers from the childhood, and so all generations share the same knowledge. It is

265 BUKH, *Japan's National Identity and Foreign Policy Russia as Japan's 'Other'*

266 *Asahi Shinbun*, 17 April 2013.

267 *Asahi Shinbun*, 12 May 2013.

268 *Asahi Shinbun*, 5 March 2013.

this common understanding which makes rich humanity raising possible)²⁶⁹. “ロシロシア人は基礎教育がしっかりして優秀な人材が多い。” (Among Russians many are capable people of good basic education)²⁷⁰.

- One of the Japanese stereotypes about Russia is that its features do not change with time. Indeed, modern Russia is the successor of the USSR and there is no difference between Soviet and Russian people's mentalities, “they are all represented as the same unchangeable “Other”²⁷¹. According to the following text passage Russians and the Soviet share the same world view based on the victory over Germany and Japan: “第2次大戦をめぐり、ロシアは前身のソ連の役割をファシスト国家のナチス・ドイツと日本から、欧州とアジアを解放した立役者と位置づける。こうした立場は対外的なものだけでなく、戦後のソ連・ロシアの国民の価値観や愛国心の基礎にもなっている。” (In the context of the Second World War, Russia positions the role of its ancestor USSR as one of the country liberated Europe and Asia from fascist governments of Nazi Germany and Japan. Not only this position is reviled in foreign affairs, but also became the base for the world view and patriotism of Soviet/Russian people)²⁷².
- Finally, in several cases Russians are described as members of criminal organizations (in this case in a book reviewed by *Asahi Shinbun*): “ロシアの犯罪組織の幹部でマネーロンダリングの専門家であるディマからメッセージを託されたペリーは、英国諜報（ちょうほう）部に接触する。” (Perry got a message from Dima, the leader of a criminal organization and money-launderer, and contacted English intelligence)²⁷³.

In her monograph “Language and inter-cultural communication” S. Ter-Minasova has written about the connection between language and ideology and has described how languages form ideologies of their native speakers. Since 1992 until 2000 the author had been conducting a research in the perception of Russia and Russians by Russian students. In the table 8 the features of national Russian character according to Russian students²⁷⁴ are confronted with ones, according to the texts of *Asahi Shinbun*.

Table 8.

National character: autostereotypes and heterostereotypes.

No	Features of national Russian character, according to Russian students	Features of national Russian character, according to <i>Asahi Shinbun</i>
1.	The national spirit, Russian soul	ロシアの魂 <i>roshia no tamashī</i> (Russian soul)

269 *Asahi Shinbun*, 16 October 2013.

270 *Asahi Shinbun*, 11 September 2013.

271 BUKH, *Japan's National Identity and Foreign Policy Russia as Japan's 'Other'*

272 *Asahi Shinbun*, 28 December 2013.

273 *Asahi Shinbun*, 6 January 2013.

274 TER-MINASOVA, *Language and inter-cultural communication*.

2.	Love for Motherland	愛国心 <i>aikokushin</i> (patriotism)
3.	Emotional, sentimental	ロマンチック <i>romanchikku</i> (romantic), センチメンタル <i>senchimantaru</i> (sentimental)
4.	Patient	忍耐強い <i>nintaidzuyoi</i> (patient)
5.	Generous, hospitable	優秀な人材 <i>yūshūna jinzai</i> (excellent person), 気前のいい <i>kimae no ii</i> (generous)
6.	Talkative, open, kind	愛想のいい <i>aisonoyoi</i> (sociable), 陽気 <i>yōki</i> (cheerful), 冷徹 <i>reitetsu</i> (cool-headed), 無愛想 <i>buaisō</i> (unsociable), 鬼のような形相 <i>oni yōna keisō</i> (devil-like face, angry)
7.	Puzzling, unpredictable	不可能性 <i>fukanōsei</i> (unpredictability), ワイルド <i>wairudo</i> (wild)
8.	Fools, wicked, narrow-minded	おかしい <i>okashii</i> (ridiculous), つまらん <i>tsumaran</i> (foolish)
9.	Gloomy, fussy, the mentality of a mob	暗い <i>kurai</i> (gloomy)
10.	Melancholy, inaccurate, light-minded	悲しい <i>kanashii</i> (sad)

In this way, national Russian autostereotype about the Russian as a carrier of the national spirit, mysterious soul and particular character is not dissimilar from the stereotypes of the Japanese print media authors about the Russian character. Hence, many Russian autostereotypes were projected in the outer world, including Japan. For instance, both the Japanese and Russians consider Russians sentimental and patient, both notice their love for Motherland, unpredictability and sadness. On the other hand, the group of stereotypes “talkative, open, kind” does not find its full equivalent in the Japanese texts, on the contrary, it bears features of bipolarity: affable and cheerful, but at the same time, unsociable, cool-headed and angry. Both Russian and the Japanese notice Russian foolishness and darkness, but, while for Russians these are innate traits independent from historical circumstances, for the Japanese Russian foolishness and anger have a strong connection with historical context: behaviour of Russian soldiers in internment camps, in Korea, etc.

S. Pavlovskaya has noticed that a common idea of exceptional Russian religiousness transformed over time, for instance, in 1860 - 70th it was evaluated as the proximity to God, in 1880th and later as extremism and conservatism.²⁷⁵ *Asahi Shinbun* does not have a definite

²⁷⁵ PAVLOVSKAYA, *Russia and the USA. Issues of intercultural communication*

standpoint on the Russian church, but stresses out its importance from different points of view:

- The church became necessary after 70 year of atheism, as means of salvation in the situation of extreme crisis: “1991年のソ連崩壊のあと、ロシア社会に空前の宗教ブームが起きる。政治への絶望と宗教への期待が表裏の関係だ。” (After the collapse of the USSR in 1991 Russia witnessed unprecedented boom of religion. Its reasons lie in connection between the distrust towards politics and hopes upon religion)²⁷⁶.
- The national identity and patriotism are presented in the connection of the Orthodoxy “ロシア正教やそれを取り巻く環境にも、「ろくでなしのロシア！」が浮かびあがるが、実はこの語には「強烈な愛国心」が宿っていると気づく。” (“Good-for-nothing Russia!” exists in the environment of the Russian church, but in fact this word reflects fiery patriotism of Russians)²⁷⁷.
- *Asahi Shinbun* notices the interconnectedness between the Russian church and the government: “プーチンという指導者がなぜ受けいれられているか、相互に利用し、利用されあう関係で肥大化していくロシア正教の存在を司祭から庶民までの証言を通して、読者に納得せしめる。” ((*The book*) will explain to readers why such leader as Putin is accepted and the state of the Russian Orthodox church swelling of the mutual use with Putin though the testimonies from ones of common people to ones of priests).²⁷⁸

Several conclusions can be made based on the analysis of the material.

The use of stereotypes for perceiving own/foreign country is common for both Russian and for Japanese linguistic consciousness.

It can be supposed that the mass media constitute one of core means of exerting influence on the public opinion of various social groups by means of a stereotype. Till recently collective consciousness was formed by spreading a stereotype and by means of a stereotype existing already among the people. The stereotype is based and is hold by prejudices, way of life, experience of social relations in a society, opinions of social groups. Habits, stereotypes, values are rooted into collective subconsciousness of the mankind. All these things are common or similar for most people in a society.

Stereotypes about Russia spread by the Japanese newspaper have many points in common with Russian autostereotypes. Apparently, there are stereotype carrying “above-cultural” character: they appear in a culture (in this case in the Russian culture) and then spread and “live” beyond national borders without undergoing significant changes. For instance, the myth of the mysterious Russian soul, unpredictable Russian character and the particular Russian history migrate from one culture to another, being a simple and convenient way of explanation

276 *Asahi Shinbun*, 28 April 2013.

277 *Asahi Shinbun*, 7May 2013.

278 *Asahi Shinbun*, 28 April 2013.

incomprehensible, from the viewpoint of another nation, phenomena of Russian realities.

2.6. Realization of the “friend of foe” category within the discourse of *Asahi Shinbun*

The study of how one country is perceived in the eyes of a different country inevitably leads to the necessity to examine the realization of the “friend or foe” category in the analyzed texts.

In order to contrast countries and divide them into “friends” and “foes” authors often use the principle of antithesis in the texts of *Asahi Shinbun*: Russia and Russians are contrasted with other nations. For instance, Russia is contrasted with Georgia by means of prefixes 親 *shin* (pro-) and 反 *han* (anti-): “親欧米・反ロシア路線を強権的に進めたサアカシュビリ大統領の政権下で拘束されたが、昨秋の国会総選挙で野党連合が大統領与党を破って政権を事実上奪取し、恩赦が実現した。” (During the rule of President (of Georgia) Saakashvili, who followed pro-American and European and anti-Russian policies on the state level, they (people who supported Russia) were restrained, but after the last autumn the opposition alliance smashed the ruling party and took back the power, they were pardoned)²⁷⁹; “南カフカスでは2008年の北京五輪直前に、親米・反ロシアのグルジアが南オセチアを攻撃し、ロシアは軍事介入に踏み切った経緯もある。” (In 2008, just before the Olympic games in Beijing, in South Caucasus pro-American and anti-Russian Georgia attacked South Ossetia and Russia also did a military intervention)²⁸⁰. According to the Japanese newspaper Russia and Georgia had been rivals during the rule of Saakashvili on political and military levels. It can be supposed, that *Asahi Shinbun* sees Georgia as a victim of expansionist policies of Russia and hence somewhat similar to Japan: “ロシアが独立を承認した南オセチアとアブハジアは、グルジアの面積の2割を占める。ロシア側がフェンスなどを設け、「国境」として固定化しようとする動きが進む。” (After Russia recognized the independence of South Ossetia and Abkhazia, the area of Georgia became twice as smaller. Creating the fence Russian side is trying to deepen the immobilization of the so-called national border)²⁸¹. In this case the lexeme 側 (side), which semantics contains the component of the two side opposition actualizes the “friend or foe” opposition, while the expression “so-called national border” shows negative attitude towards Russian policies.

Another example is the opposition of Russia and the USA: “政治では角突き合わせがちなロシアと米国” (Russia and the USA who tend to quarrel constantly in the political sphere)²⁸². “米国は日本へのシェールガスの輸出も検討しており、実現すれば、ロシアにとっては競争相手になる。” (The USA is examining the possibilities of exporting shell gas in Japan, and if this plan fulfills

279 *Asahi Shinbun*, 15 January 2013.

280 *Asahi Shinbun*, 21 January 2013.

281 *Asahi Shinbun*, 19 February 2013.

282 *Asahi Shinbun*, 15 February 2013.

it will become a competitor of Russia)²⁸³. Words “角突き合い *tsunotsukiai*” (constant quarreling) and “競争相手 *kyōsō aite*” (competitor) indicate constant opposition of two countries on political and economic levels.

The postpositions like から *kara* (from), に対して *nitaishite* (towards), 間 *kan* (between) and prefixes like 反 *han* (against), 対 *tai* (towards) are often used as lexical markers of an opposition. Their semantics presumes that they are used to indicate opposition, comparison, demonstration of confrontation of two objects, wherein “the degree of confrontation may vary depending on the use of these postpositions”²⁸⁴.

For instance, the prefix 反 *han* represents the highest degree of the “friend or foe” opposition, as in above-mentioned examples (“親米・反ロシアのグルジア” *shinbei, hanroshia no gurujia*), “friends” in texts of *Asahi Shinbun* are Europe, the USA and others who are not Russia and its people.

The postposition 間 *kan* (between, for instance, relationships between two countries) is also used in order to indicate opposition, confrontation, but the intensity of “friend or foe” opposition is than in case of 反 *han*: “日ロ間では首脳公式訪問が絶えて久しい。これを機に首脳対話を活性化させ、北方領土問題の解決と両国関係の進展へとつなげたい。” (Since long there has been no official visit between Japan and Russia. It would be preferable to link the official visit and the activation of countries' leaders' dialogue in order to settle the territorial issue and deepen the relationships between two countries)²⁸⁵. “米ロ間に協定がない” (There is no agreement between Russia and the USA)

The division into “friends” and “foes” is inherited in the postposition/prefix 対 (towards) and is intensified by words “外交” *gaikō* (diplomacy), “政策” *seisaku* (strategy): the existence of a certain strategy towards another state implies the oppositional status of that state: “ロシアに対し、中国への武器輸出を抑制するよう働きかけた。” ((The USA) has started working on the prevention of the export of Russian weapons in China)²⁸⁶; “首相は対ロ外交を重視するが、領土問題の扱いに悩みそうだ。” (The Prime Minister pays serious attention to the diplomatic strategy towards Russia, but the settlement of the territorial issue remains troublesome)²⁸⁷.

Russia also has an internal enemy: “ロシア連邦に属する北カフカスは、1990年代に独立を求めて戦ったチェチェン共和国を抱え、イスラム系武装勢力のテロが絶えないダゲスタン共和国もある。” (In the North Caucasus belonging to Russia there are Chechnya, demanding its

283 *Asahi Shinbun*, 22 March 2013.

284 SANTSEVICH, *Modeling of world-views on the basis of bilingual corpus of journalistic texts*.

285 *Asahi Shinbun*, 23 February 2013.

286 *Asahi Shinbun*, 5 May 2013.

287 *Asahi Shinbun*, 11 September 2013.

independence and fighting for it (with Russia) and the republic Dagestan with its never-ceasing terror of Islamic armed groups)²⁸⁸. The opposition of Russia and two republics as the opposition of “friends” and “foes” is expressed by the word “戦った” *tatakatta*.

The postposition から *kara* (from) also expresses the relation of opposition between two sides, when in a text there is another lexical marker with the semantics of alienation, for instance: “ロシアからも人が逃げた” (People escaped from Russia too); “ロシアからの安全な距離” (safe distance from Russia).

The introduction of foreign words actualizes the “friend or foe” opposition, because a foreign text is a linguistic code of a different, “Other” culture. According to N. Santsevich, the introduction of foreign words is caused by the following reasons:

1. “foreign words give a particular flavour to events, make recipient remember where an action takes place”;
2. in order to veil literal sense;
3. in order to attract attention to a thing expressed in a foreign language;
4. in order to explain realities which cannot be translated into own language: “グラスノスチ” *gurasunosuchi*, “ペレストロイカ” *peresutoroika*²⁸⁹.

In this way, Japanese language speaker is considered a “friend” and a foreign (Russian) language speaker is a “foe”.

In the texts of *Asahi Shinbun* Russian words are written in *katakana* and are followed by a translation or an explanation of the core meaning:

1. “ヤポンスキー (日本人) テンノウヘイカ バーンジャーイ」と、戦死のまねをした。” (He (a Russian soldier) shouted “*Yaponskiy* (the Japanese), *tennouheika*” and behaved as if he was dying in action²⁹⁰). In this case not only the word “Japanese” was written in Russian, but also the Japanese word “天皇陛下 *tennouheika*”(His Majesty the Emperor) was “translated” and written in *katakana*, when used by a “foe” - Russian soldier in an internment camp. Having negative connotations, these words perform a frightening, terrifying function;
2. “ペレストロイカ (改革) を進めたゴルバチョフ大統領が辞任し、ソ連は69年の歴史に幕を閉じた。” (When the President Gorbachev, who promoted *Perestroika* (reforms) resigned, the 69 years history of the Soviet Union came to its end)²⁹¹. The word *Perestroika* was not translated into Japanese as a specific Russian historical reality, which has no parallel in history of Japan.

288 *Asahi Shinbun*, 16 December 2013.

289 SANTSEVICH, *Modeling of world-views on the basis of bilingual corpus of journalistic texts*.

290 *Asahi Shinbun*, 18 December 2013.

291 *Asahi Shinbun*, 25 January 2013.

3. “カスチョールはロシア語でたき火の意。たき火に人が集まり温められるように豊かな共感の輪が広がればとの思いを込めた。” (*Kastyor* means in Russian bonfire. I was thinking how good it would be to gather into a ring of deep sympathy around the bonfire²⁹²). The word *kastyor* is not translated into Japanese as expressing a notion of a specific Russian cultural reality: walking-tours and songs around the fire, popular in Russia. The word performs the function of giving somewhat “Russian” flavour to the situation.

S. Sakhno has noticed that “in the world of a speaker, the world of “*Self*” objects must have firmly fixed names. For this reason the fact of denotation is usually not underlined. On the other hand, in the world of “*Other*”, where everything is nondiscrete and uncertain, the attribution of names to objects is relative. For this reason it is necessary to specify the relation between an object and its denotation”²⁹³.

Conclusions to the chapter II

1. According to the distributional analysis of the lexeme “ロシア *roshia*” with verbs, nouns, adjectives and postpositions conclusions can be made concerning the core semantic categories (classifiers), which categorizes the concept 'roshia' in one way or another. Categorization of Russia takes place by means of the following categories and features:

- existential: features of existing; having a quality; having a form/structure; dimensional features;
- of a creature: features of movement;
- anthropomorphous: social features; mental features; features of speech; intentional features; features of perception; bodily features; emotional features; features of character;
- of an inanimate object: features of movement; features of manipulation;
- spatial: internal and external space.

The following categories and features will be the base for the frame and metaphoric models' formation, which constitute the structure of the concept.

2. Based upon the analysis of distributional relations of the lexeme “ロシア *roshia*” with verbs, nouns and adjectives conclusions can be made concerning the core type of syntactic constructions, in which the concept 'roshia' is actualized. The concept is actualized in the following syntactic constructions:

- verbal subjective (SV) (position of the subject with a verb);
- verbal objective (OV) (position of the object with a verb);
- predicative (position of the predicate);

292 *Asahi Shinbun*, 1 March 2013.

293 Sergey SAKHNO, “*Friend or foe*” in *conceptual structures*, Mocsow, Nauka, 1991.

- adjectival (position of a defined object);
- substantival postpositional;
- substantival (NN) (position of an attributive).

In predicate (“モスクワはロシアだ。” - Moscow is Russia.) and substantival (“ロシアの天然ガス” *roshia no tennen gasu*) syntactic constructions the concept is actualized by attributing the feature “Russian” to persons, objects, realities. Verbal constructions constitute dynamic aspect of the frame structure, which forms the concept 'roshia' (its scenario compound), while adjectival and substantival constructions constitute its static aspect (slots).

3. In adjectival syntactic construction with the lexemes “ロシアの *roshia no*” or “ロシア人 *roshiajin*” the concept is actualized by means of attributing the feature “Russian” to the following persons, realities, events:

- persons: politicians, representatives of authorities, representatives of professions (journalists), common people, etc.;
- social realities: state structure, culture, national security system, etc.;
- actions (in their static aspect formed by means of deverbal nouns).

It should be stated that in adjectival syntactic constructions with the lexeme “ロシアの *roshia no*” the feature belonging to Russia can also be actualized. It is defined by ways of translation of Japanese expressions into English language. For instance, in case of “ロシアの大統領 *roshia no daitōryō*” two ways of translation are possible: “Russian president” or “a president of Russia”. On the other hand, in case of “ロシアの将来 *roshia no shōrai*” only one way of translation is possible: “future of Russia” (while the translation “Russian future” is impossible or the expression has a different meaning).

4. The examples of other denotations of Russian (excluded words with the root “ロ *ro*”) as means of actualization of the concept are few. The concept is realized by words “ソ連 *soren*”, “「怖い国」 (USSR) *kowai kuni*”, “祖国 *sokoku*”, “東欧 *tōō*”, “巨大な国 *kyodaina kuni*”, etc. The percentage ratio of the number of examples of the actualization ways is represented in the table 9. Based upon the comparison of the quantitative ratio of various ways of representation of the concept “ロシア *roshia*” it can be concluded that the most frequent way of the concept representation is the use of the adjectival syntactic construction “ロシア *roshia* + noun” (42%).

Table 9.

Ways of actualization of the concept “ロシア *roshia*”

N	Ways of actualization of the concept “ロシア <i>roshia</i> ”	Quantity (%)
1.	ロシアの <i>roshia no</i> /ロシア <i>roshia</i> /ロシア人の <i>roshiajin no</i> + noun	42

2.	ロシア <i>roshia</i> + postposition	21.5
3.	ロシア <i>roshia</i> + verb (as a subject of action)	15
4.	ロシア <i>roshia</i> + verb (as an object of action)	9
5.	Attributive + ロシア <i>roshia</i>	7
6.	Other denominations of the concept	3.5
7.	ロシア <i>roshia</i> in the syntactic position of predicate	2

5. For the description of Russian realities authors of the Japanese newspaper often use metaphor. Most frequent metaphors are the following:

- anthropomorphous;
- military;
- technical;
- of an artifact;
- zoomorphic;
- vegetative.

6. It is typical of the political discourse and texts with pronounced political and ideological oppositions to represent knowledge about a different country in the frame of “friend or foe” category²⁹⁴. In the discourse of *Asahi Shinbun* the following markers of the “friend or foe” opposition were found:

- lexemes with the semantics of confrontation, alienation;
- introduction of foreign (Russian) text.

Stereotypical notions about Russia are also realized in the discourse of “Asahi Shinbun”.

For instance, the following stereotypes were found in the texts:

- Russia is a cold country, its winter is unbearable;
- Russia is a backward country, it lacks necessary facilities and its economy is underdeveloped;
- Russian character is unpredictable;
- Russians are gloomy and sad, and at the same time open, romantic and generous people;
- Russians are religious;
- Russians love their country;
- Russian women are beautiful, Russian men can be criminals.

²⁹⁴ SAKHNO, “*Friend or foe*” in *conceptual structures*

CHAPTER III

STRUCTURE OF THE CONCEPT 'RUSSIA'

Structure of the concept 'roshia'

The basic methods of modeling and description of the structure of the concept 'roshia' is frame modeling, that is selection frames (as a typified structure of knowledge about objects of reality) and slots (as aspects of frames); method of statistical analysis of concept's features, which allows to point out most important facets of Russian realities (data will be reflected in tables). Simultaneously the ways of frame actualization will be described. The attention will be given in particular to lexemes, functioning as indirect nomination. These are assessment and expressive vocabularies, metaphors and other ways of “reconsideration of direct meanings”²⁹⁵.

3.1. Frame “Russia is a country/territory”

The identification of the frame “Russia is a country/territory” is based on the fact that Russia first of all is a country and is perceived in this way.

3.1.1. Subframe “country”

The subframe is actualized by mean of the lexeme “国” *kuni* and the morpheme “国” *koku* forming compounds like “両国” *ryōkoku*, “核保有国” *kakuho-yūkoku*, “大国” *taikoku*, “核大国” *kakutaikoku* and in the constructions like “ロシアで” *roshia de*, for instance: “ロシアで、65万人いる孤児の支援策が社会問題となっている。” (In Russia with its 650 thousand orphans their support measures have become a social problem)²⁹⁶; “ロシアでは「女性の日」として祝日だという。花を贈る習慣もあるが、日本ではあまり認知されていない。” (In Russia they celebrate Women's day, but in Japan it is practically not acknowledged)²⁹⁷; “プーチン氏は「両国間に平和条約がないことは異常な事態だ」と語り、北方領土問題の解決にも意欲を示した。” (Putin says that the absence of the peace treaty between two countries is an abnormal situation and shows his willingness to settle the territorial issue)²⁹⁸.

The the frame “country” actualizes such qualities of a country as its power and potential. According to the texts of *Asahi Shinbun*, Russia in terms of its might goes through different phases of its development.

Imperial Russia is described as a country running a race for overcoming developed

295 ARUTYUNOVA, *Introduction to logical analysis of the language*

296 *Asahi Shinbun*, 16 July 2013.

297 *Asahi Shinbun*, 7 March 2013.

298 *Asahi Shinbun*, 17 December 2013.

countries of Europe. Not mighty, but trying to give the impression of being mighty: “なぜロシアにフランス本国もうらやむほどの名画があるのか。当時の先進国フランスに強く憧れ、自国文化の発展を願った収集家たちがいた。” (Why even France feels envious of the art collection of Russia? At that time Russia was a country that admired developed France and there were collectors who wanted to push forward the proper culture)²⁹⁹.

On the contrary, Russia under the rule of Stalin became a great country, though lacking political freedoms. Indeed, one of the notable ways of seeing Soviet Russia of that period in Japan was its admiration and even desire to repeat its experience³⁰⁰: “工業化を進めてロシアを大国とし、ヒトラーのドイツ打倒に大きな役割を果たした。” ((*Stalin*) made Russia a great country and played an important role in defeating Hitler's Germany)³⁰¹.

Modern Russia is described as a country of social disparity, economic growth but not as a great country: “格差拡大の傾向は、すでに多くの国で見られる。中国やロシア、インドなど新興国でも富が富裕層に集まる傾向がみられ、実際、こうした国の経済成長も鈍くなっている。” (The tendency of the disparity gap expansion can be observed in many countries. In emerging nations like China, Russia or India the wealth is concentrated in the hands of the rich, while the economic growth of these countries has in fact slowed down)³⁰².

However, Russia is still one of the key figures on the international scene, as a part of BRICs, the organization of countries which are seen as future economic leaders of the world: “12年前、ブラジル (B r a z i l)、ロシア (R u s s i a)、インド (I n d i a)、中国 (C h i n a) の4カ国が急成長して世界経済を先導すると考え、「BRICs (ブリックス)」と名付けました。今のところ予測通りですね”³⁰³. But the real power and might is acknowledged only when it comes to the nuclear potential of Russia: “オバマ米大統領が、歴代の米大統領が歴史的な演説をしたベルリンで、「核なき世界」に向けた決意を語った。実現には、核大国ロシアの協力がカギを握る。” (In the city of Berlin, where several generations of American presidents made their historical speeches, President Obama showed his determination towards the “world without nuclear power”. But in fact it is Russia, the great nuclear power, who holds the key of the success of this plan)³⁰⁴.

An intellectual assessment is given in the text where Russia is evaluated as a destination for investments: “5年ほど前までは、新興国といえばBRICsが中心でした。ブラジル、ロシア、インド、中国の動向は、今も世界中が注目していますが、投資対象としてはやや魅力が薄れてき

299 *Asahi Shinbun*, 5 January 2013.

300 BUKH, *Japan's National Identity and Foreign Policy Russia as Japan's 'Other'*

301 *Asahi Shinbun*, 9 March 2013.

302 *Asahi Shinbun*, 3 August 2013.

303 *Asahi Shinbun*, 7 January 2013.

304 *Asahi Shinbun*, 20 June 2013.

た印象があります” (Approximately 5 years ago emerging nations were associated first of all with BRICs. Even today the development of Brasil, Russia, India and China attracts attention in the world, but their attractiveness as of investment objects somewhat faded)³⁰⁵.

Normative assessment is used when Russia is as a separate, different country: ロシアは別の国です。(Russia is a different country)³⁰⁶.

3.1.2. Subframe “soil”

The identification of the subframe “soil” is based on the metaphor “ロシアに根付く”, ie the country, the territory of Russia are represented as soil where something can potentially grow, take root: “西側先進国的な自由や民主主義が根付く土壌がロシアにはない。” (It is not the Russian soil where the freedom and democracy of Western developed countries takes root. 15.11.2013)

The feature of soil is also actualized by the lexemes “土壌” (like in the example above), “土地” : メドベージェフ首相 (2012年7月、国後島への2度目の訪問) 「ここは古来のロシアの土地だ。一寸たりとも渡さない。私はまた訪問するし、諸閣僚も続く」 (The Prime-minister Medvedev (July, 2012), the second visit to Kunashiri: “It is our soil from the ancient time. We will not hand in even one meter of it. I will again visit it, and other ministers will follow my example.”)³⁰⁷

3.1.3. Subframe “space”

The subframe “space” can be separated within the frame “country/territory”. The spatial features of Russia are divided into external and internal. From the point of view of spatial characteristics they attribute Russia features of centre:

- it can be seen as a one of the centres from the economic viewpoint: “5年ほど前までは、新興国といえばBRICSが中心でした。”³⁰⁸
- geographically, as the centre of Northern Asia: “北東アジアの中心に突き刺さるロシア” (Russia piercing the the centre of northeast Asia);
- as the centre of some activities: “ロシアを中心に活動するピアニスト宮崎朋菜さんが、演奏する。” (Miyadzaki Tomona performs, concentrating her activities on Russia.)³⁰⁹;

305 *Asahi Shinbun*, 27 April 2013.

306 *Asahi Shinbun*, 4 July 2013.

307 *Asahi Shinbun*, 23 April 2013.

308 *Asahi Shinbun*, 27 April 2013.

309 *Asahi Shinbun*, 11 September 2013.

- as the centre of scientific research: “地球で最も過酷と言われるこの場所で、米・英・ロシアを中心に「生命探し」の競争が激しさを帯びている。” (Those places (the Antarctic) are considered to be the most severe in the world. Now the competition of the USA, the UK and Russia for “finding the life” is tinged with violence)³¹⁰.

From the point of view of the internal space, Russia seem to have two centres. First of all, it is rapidly developing Far East: “日本海を隔ててすぐ隣に、掛け値無しで親日的な地域が存在することはあまり知られていない。朝日新聞が昨年、支局を開設したウラジオストクとその背後に広がるロシア極東地域だ。プーチン政権が極東開発を強力に進める中、日本の企業や自治体も熱い視線を送り始めている。” (Right beyond the sea of Japan there is a pro-Japanese region without inflated prices, which is not so well known (in Japan). It is Russian Far East stretching behind Vladivostok, where the branch (of *Asahi Shinbun*) was opened. Now the region supported by the government of Putin has become the object of interested looks of Japanese firms)³¹¹. The central position of the Far East - traditionally considered in Russia its outskirts – in the discourse of *Asahi Shinbun* can be explained by the proximity of the region, historical, economic and cultural connections, and, recently, by its attractiveness as an object of investments.

Due to objective reasons (official status, concentration of power and industry, inability of regions to run business without interacting with the capital) Moscow is considered to be the most important city of the country: “政治も経済もモスクワへの一極集中は激しい。” (The political life and economy are intensively concentrated in Moscow)³¹². For this reason other regions are presented in the dependent from Moscow position: “ダイヤモンドで有名な極東の地方自治体・サハ共和国などは、モスクワとの時差をさらに縮める変更をなお求めているという。” (Famous for its diamonds republic Sakha, an autonomous entity situated in the Far East of Russia, still demands to reduce the time difference with Moscow (*in order to be able to interact with it more effectively*)³¹³. “サハリンで売られている食料品や雑貨のほとんどは、約1万キロ離れたモスクワから運ばれており、物価が高いのが難点です。” (Most of goods sold in Sakhalin are delivered from Moscow, situated in 10000 kilometers of it. It makes the cost-of-living there very high)³¹⁴.

Russia is endowed with its internal spatial characteristics when it is called by Japanese journalists “ところ *tokoro*”, “場所 *basho*” (place), for instance: “ロシアは私の研究テーマにとって興味深い場所である。” (Russia is very interesting place for my research)³¹⁵. “多様な民族や人種の集まる場所は、研究にとっても大事です。” (The place where many nations and races are

310 *Asahi Shinbun*, 30 September 2013.

311 *Asahi Shinbun*, 31 January 2013.

312 *Asahi Shinbun*, 6 January 2013.

313 *Ibidem*.

314 *Asahi Shinbun*, 16 December 2013.

315 *Asahi Shinbun*, 9 October 2013.

gathered together is important for a research)³¹⁶. “アジアに情報発信するには重要なところだ。” ((Russia) is an important place from the point of view of the information transmission to Asia)³¹⁷.

As a certain place Russia is evaluated as an interesting and important place in respect of being interesting/uninteresting and important/unimportant.

The spatial component is intrinsic of the words “ところ *tokoro*”, “場所 *basho*”, it is a place (locus), which is characterized from the point of view of the space: its location, its area, its borders, etc. Russia as a certain locus is characterized by its dimensional features: “巨大なロシア *kyodaina roshia*”: “この巨大な国、大変だ”³¹⁸ From the point of view of its borders, something can be located within the territory: “ロシア国内” (inside Russia), “ロシアにおける” (in Russia): “ロシア国内の聖火リレーが始まるのは今年の10月8日。”³¹⁹ Something can be located inside and outside Russia: ロシア内外情勢 (Russia situation at home and abroad), “ロシア内外で多くのマスタークラスを開催。” (Many master classes are organized both in Russia and outside it)³²⁰. The borders can intersect: “ロシア全体で” *roshia zentai de* (across Russia), “ロシア各地で” *roshia kakuchi de* (throughout Russia).

3.1.4. Subframe “geography”

The subframe “geography” is also identified within the frame “country/territory”. The names of Russia's time zones, cities, villages, regions pertain to general terms and geographical names, for instance: “ロシアの工業地帯 *roshia no kōgyō chitai*”, “ロシアの村 *roshia no mura*”, “ロシアの田舎 *roshia no inaka*”, “ロシアの九つ時間帯 *roshia no kokonotsu jikantai*”, “ロシアの地方 *roshia no chihō*”, “ロシアの極東 *roshia no kyokutō*”, for instance: “ロシア極東部の沿海地方は、運転免許の技能試験も右ハンドル車で受験できる珍しい地域という。” (Primorsky kray, situated in the Eastern part of Russia, is an unusual place where you can even pass your driving license on a right-hand car)³²¹. Primorsky kray, one of the most frequently mentioned region in texts of *Asahi Shinbun* is referred as a curious region, full of incomprehensible for the Japanese particularities, though the closest to Japan geographically and historically.

The mentions of South and East of Russia also pertain to the geographical knowledge of the Japanese about Russia. The East of Russia is huge, but sparsely populated area, which is of

316 *Ibidem*.

317 *Asahi Shinbun*, 1 August 2013.

318 *Asahi Shinbun*, 21 May 2013.

319 *Asahi Shinbun*, 6 January 2013.

320 *Asahi Shinbun*, 23 October 2013.

321 *Asahi Shinbun*, 31 January 2013.

interest for the authors of *Asahi Shinbun*: “日本の面積の16倍に相当する極東連邦管区の人口は約630万人で、20年間で2割も減少した。” (Far East Federal District is 16 times as bigger as Japan, but its population is around 6 million 300 thousand people and over the last 20 years it reduced twice)³²².

The South of Russia is represented by Sochi and republic of Caucasus, from which Sochi should be protected: “ソチは、独立を主張するチェチェン共和国や、軍事衝突のあった南オセチア自治州から近く、治安上の不安もある。” (Sochi's security can be unstable because of its proximity to the Chechen republic, claiming its independence, and South Ossetia, where the military conflict took place)³²³.

The North of Russia is poorly presented by *Asahi Shinbun*. It can be supposed that the reason behind it is that Russia as a whole is perceived as a country in the north, occupying the northern part of Asia. The North is the region of Taiga, uninhabited or uncivilized region: “車で何時間走っても人影が見えないタイガ、狩猟民族が暮らす北極圏もある。” (You can go in a car through Taiga for many hours without seeing a shade of a human being. There is also Arctic region, where tribes of hunters live)³²⁴.

The subframe “space” is also actualized by the word “国土 *kokudo*”, referring to its dimensions: “ロシアの国土は東西約1万キロに広がる。いくつもの時間帯を横切る長距離列車は、もっと極端だ。” (Russia's territory stretches from the east to the west about 10,000 kilometers. The long-distance trains going from one extremity to another cross several time zones)³²⁵.

3.1.5. Subframe “geographical objects”

Designations of concrete geographical objects is united into a separate subframe. The texts elements included in it are names of regions, cities, villages, districts.

- Moscow

Moscow as the capital of Russia is one of the most frequently mentioned geographical object in texts of *Asahi Shinbun*. The particularity of those texts is that their authors do not mention the status of Russia's capital (unlike, for instance the capital of Ukraine Kiev: “ウクライナの首都キエフ” *ukuraina no shuto kiefu*). Evidently, the degree of fixedness between the nomination and the object is quite high, and for this reason mentioning the status of Moscow is not necessary. According to S. Sakhno, a status is not highlighted when objects have firmly fixed names behind

322 *Asahi Shinbun*, 15 January 2013.

323 *Asahi Shinbun*, 1 December 2013.

324 *Asahi Shinbun*, 16 February 2013.

325 *Asahi Shinbun*, 6 January 2013.

themselves: it is the characteristic of the “Self” world³²⁶.

Indeed, the Japanese journalists know many objects (フジキン美術館 *pushikin bijutsukan*, モスクワ大学 *mosukuwa daigaku*, モスクワのルジニキ競技場 *mosukuwa no rujiniki kyōgijō*, モスクワのシェレメチェボ空港 *mosukuwa no sheremechebo kūkō*, マネージュ広場 *manēju hiroba*) in Moscow, they refer to its various districts and its suburbs: “モスクワ南西にある大統領公邸からクレムリンまでの約30キロの道。” (There are approximately 30 kilometers between The President residence in the southwest of Moscow and Kremlin)³²⁷; “宇宙飛行士の若田光一さん (50) らがモスクワ郊外「星の町」での訓練を12日、報道陣に公開した。” (According to the press, the astronaut Wakata Koichi (50) and his team started their training on August, 12 in the “star town” in suburbs of Moscow)³²⁸. “モスクワ中心部から車で約1時間。緑豊かなノボゴルスクには、ロシアの新体操のトップ選手や若手有望株が集まる国立の巨大な体育館がある。” (In about one hour of drive from the centre of Moscow there is green Novogorsk with its huge state stadium for Russian rhythmic gymnastics top athletes and young promising newcomers)³²⁹.

Moscow is not only Russia's capital, its political and economic centre, but also the place of concentration of the art: “モスクワに点在するアートスペース” (Moscow dotted with art spaces); “モスクワには、大商人らが収集した印象派以降の類いまれなコレクションが存在した。” (In Moscow there is a rare collection of impressionist art, gathered by its wealthy merchants)³³⁰.

- Saint Petersburg

Saint Petersburg seem to be of no interest for the Japanese journalists. Mentioned primarily in connection with the events taking place in this city, within the discourse of *Asahi Shinbun* it loses its status of “the second capital” or “cultural capital” of Russia: “国際オリンピック委員会 (IOC) 理事会は31日、ロシア・サンクトペテルブルクで3日間の日程を終えた。”³³¹

Unlike Moscow, Saint Petersburg is not the part of the “Self” world. For this reason the name of the city is often combined with words “ロシアの *roshia no*” or “西部 *seibu*”, explaining its location: “西部のサンクトペテルブルク市の工場; 5日には主要20カ国・地域 (G20) 首脳会議が開かれるロシアのサンクトペテルブルクに入る。”³³²

- Vladivostok

Vladivostok is the most frequently mentioned geographical object in texts of *Asahi Shinbun*. Rather than Moscow, which central status is based on its status of Russia's capital, Vladivostok for

326 SAKHNO, “*Friend or foe*” in conceptual structures

327 *Asahi Shibun*, 18 May 2013.

328 *Asahi Shibun*, 13 August 2013.

329 *Asahi Shibun*, 28 August 2013.

330 *Asahi Shibun*, 26 May 2013.

331 *Asahi Shibun*, 1 June 2013.

332 *Asahi Shibun*, 1 September 2013.

authors of *Asahi Shinbun* is the true centre of the country, the city connecting Japan with Russia. Like in the texts mentioning Moscow, authors usually do not mention the location of Vladivostok and its name is often reduced to “ウラジオ *urajio*”, which used to be written with characters “浦塩 *urajio*”: “ウラジオの街は、世界屈指の大要塞に囲まれている。” (The center of Vladivostok is surrounded by an outstanding big fortification)³³³.

Like in case of Moscow, journalists show knowledge about the city's districts and suburbs: “診断センターはウラジオ郊外の保養施設内にあり、広さ約640平方メートル。”³³⁴

The city plays an important role from the point of view of unofficial contacts, studies exchange, cultural exchange: “鳥取市が10年にウラジオストク市と友好交流の覚書をかわしたことから決めたという。” (It was decided when in 2010 the Memorandum of friendly exchanges was signed)³³⁵.

The metaphor “「アジアへの窓」” *ajia he no mado* (window to Asia) is used for the description of Vladivostok: “「アジアへの窓」と位置づける極東ウラジオストクで昨秋、アジア太平洋経済協力会議 (A P E C) を開催。” (Far Eastern city Vladivostok, which is also called “the window to Asia” became the last autumn the venue of APEC conference)³³⁶. Indeed, geographically and historically Vladivostok is the “window” to the Asian part of Russia.

- Far East

Like Vladivostok Far East as a whole attracts attention of the authors of “*Asahi Shinbun*”. The regions frequently mentioned are “サハリン” *saharini* “樺太” *karafuto* (Sakhalin), “沿海地方” *enkai chihō* (Primorsky kray); cities “ハバロフスク” *habarofusuku* (Habarovsk), “ユジノサハリンスク” *yujinosaharinsuku* (Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk).

Described usually as a rapidly developing region, it attracts attention not only of the officials, but also of common people. For instance, due to the deepening relationships between Japan and this region of Russia, business and diplomatic exchange, Japanese students express their willingness to study Russian language and culture: “エネルギー開発が進められるロシア極東地域に、新潟の学生たちの関心が高まっている。将来の外交の懸け橋になりたい、ロシアの文化を知りたい——と。” (There has been a growing interest of Japanese students from Niigata towards the Russian Far East, where the energy industry is being developed. “In future would like to become the bridge in the Japan-Russia diplomacy, I would like to know Russian culture”)³³⁷.

- Siberia

Siberian region is less represented by *Asahi Shinbun*. It is often associated with the Far

333 *Asahi Shibun*, 2 May 2013.

334 *Asahi Shibun*, 29 May 2013.

335 *Asahi Shibun*, 29 July 2013.

336 *Asahi Shibun*, 14 March 2013.

337 *Asahi Shibun*, 5 August 2013.

East: “極東やシベリアの開発で、日本の資金や技術の引き入れは欠かせない。”³³⁸. In the Japanese world-view Siberia is mostly associated with “シベリアの収容所 *shiberia no shūyōsho*/抑留所 *yokuryūsho*” (Siberian internment camps), “シベリア出兵 *shiberia shupei*” (Siberian intervention) and “シベリア鉄道” *shiberia tetsudō* (Trans-Siberian Railway). The latter is seen as an important means of connection between Japan and Russia: “また、日ロ間の貿易が増大し、日本からロシアへの投資や企業進出が活発になっているとして、シベリア鉄道の競争力強化などによって日本海物流が盛んになることへの期待も表明された。” (The hope has also been expressed that if the trade between Japan and Russia, Japanese investment and corporate expansion would increase, and the Japan Sea logistics would prosper in Russia due to the strengthening of the Trans-Siberian Railway competitiveness)³³⁹.

- Sochi

Sochi is mentioned in texts of *Asahi Shinbun* mostly in connection with the Olympic Games 2014 held in this city, and the attitude towards this city changes according to international policies of Russia: “同性愛規制、ソチに影” (Homosexuality regulation casts a shadow on Sochi)³⁴⁰. The metaphor “南の玄関 *minami no genkan*” is used in order to describe it: “ソチは、いわばロシアの南の玄関だ。” (Sochi is, so to speak, the entrance to the South of Russia)³⁴¹. This metaphor together with the metaphor “アジアへの窓 *ajia he no mado*” represent Russia within the frame of the metaphoric model “Russia is a house”.

- Caucasus

The region, almost unmentioned in *Asahi Shinbun* and unknown in Japan before 15.04.2013, attracted a lot of attention of journalists after Boston Marathon bombings. Russian Caucasus is, first of all, Chechnya and Dagestan: “日本でも「チェチェンとはどこだろう？」と思った人が大勢いるはずです。[...] アメリカに住むイスラム教徒の若者に、チェチェン人意識が生まれ、次第に過激思想を持つようになり、テロに走る。” (In Japan there are many people who could ask “Chechnya? Where is it?” [...] Young Muslims living in the USA grow Chechen consciousness, consequently develop extremist world-view and become terrorists)³⁴². While Chechen consciousness is associated with extremism and terrorism, Chechnya is the Motherland for many many terrorists: “チェチェン共和国は、多くのイスラム過激派やテロリストを生んだ土地だ。” (Chechen republic is the land that gave birth to many Islamic extremists and terrorists)³⁴³.

Scheme 3.

338 *Asahi Shibun*, 23 August 2013.

339 *Asahi Shinbun*, 4 October 2013.

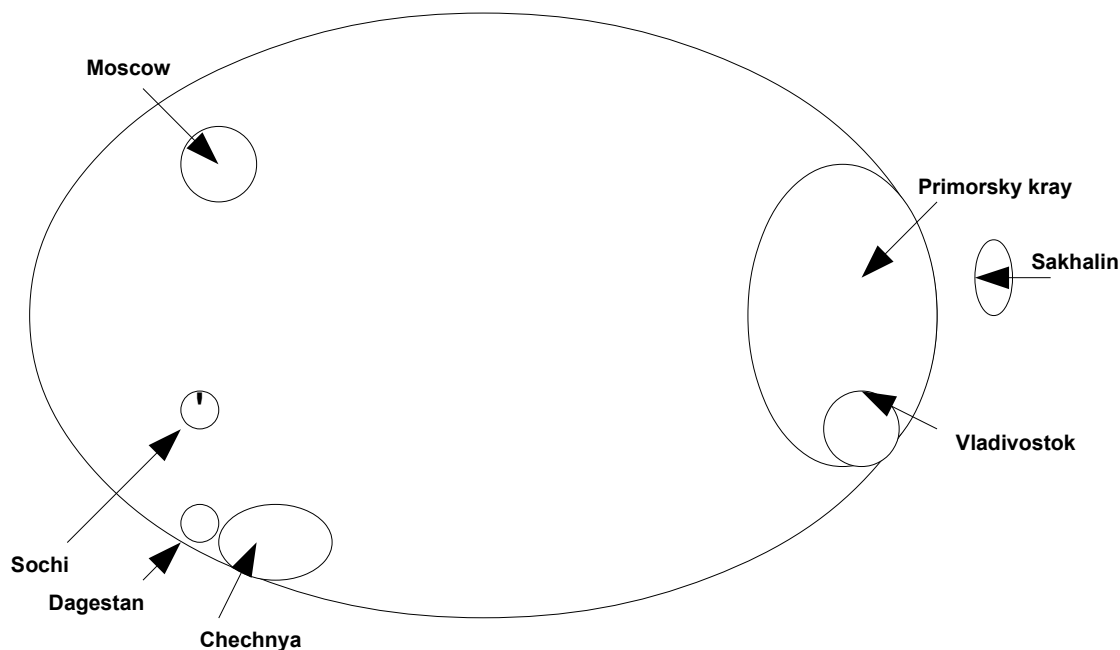
340 *Asahi Shinbun*, 19 August 2013.

341 *Asahi Shinbun*, 8 February 2013.

342 *Asahi Shinbun*, 26 April 2013.

343 *Asahi Shinbun*, 19 April 2013.

The “map” of Russia.



The scheme 3 shows approximate location of geographical objects of Russia, attracting interest of *Asahi Shinbun's* journalists by various parameters (economics, politics, history, sport, etc.). In this way, common notions of the Japanese about Russia's geography are within the frame the capital of Russia – official center of the country – Moscow, the window to Asia and to Russia – Vladivostok, rapidly developing region – object of investments – the Far East, the motherland of terrorists – Chechen republic and Dagestan and several other cities (Sochi, Izhevsk, Chelyabinsk, Saint Petersburg, etc.), villages, regions. Moscow and Vladivostok are subjects to fractional spacial division: in these cities the journalists know city centres, suburbs, several districts and objects.

The fragment of the world-view, represented in the discourse of the Japanese newspaper and corresponding to the subframes “geographical objects” and “space of Russia” presumably have archaic features of the mythopoetic conception of the space. Its main idea is the allocation of the world's centre, periphery and “bad” places. In the center (in the discourse of *Asahi Shinbun* there are 2 centers: Moscow, the key spatial point for Russia, and Vladivostok, the key point for Japan) as a rule there is an altar, church, cross, world axis, stone, mountain (in Moscow there is Kremlin, in Vladivostok there is the fort)³⁴⁴. But Moscow is not Russia's heart, it is the official centre, while the heart is in the regions of Russia depending on Moscow.

«Bad» place in the archaic world model (Chechnya) is usually wood, gorge, marsh, ravine. Periphery in the discourse of *Asahi Shinbun* is not designated with a specific denomination, it rather lies within generalized names of regions, borders. Empty, blank (schematic) map shows that the Japanese in general refer to Russia as a strange, unknown, foreign country; Russia for them is

344 Victor TOPOROV, *Space. Myths of the world*, Moscow, Sovetskaya encyclopedia, 1994

the undeveloped “Other”, inhabited by unknown people, it is mysterious space, which is fraught with danger; this view of Russia corresponds to the stereotype “Russia and Japan are opponents” and realizes the “friend or foe” category.

Table 9.

Frame “Russia is the country/territory”

Frame	Subframe	%
«Russia is the country/territory»	«geographical objects»	57,5
	«country»	21
	«geography»	15
	«space»	6
	«soil»	0.5

3.2. Frame “Russia is a state”

The frame is a structural component of the concept “Russia” and at the same time it is a complex structure formed on the basis of generic characteristics of features of Russia as a state. The segment structure of the frame is based on its subframes and slots.

The analysis of characteristics of the different aspects of life in the country as a state (ie, the structural elements of the concept “Russia”) helps create a detailed portrait of Russia, as it is represented in the Japanese newspaper. Generalizations of this kind allow a nation to see themselves from the outside. For example, according to the analysis of Japanese textbooks of Russian language, Russia appears as a “huge, technically backward country, where it is cold and people do not live long. Russia is a retrograde country, where there are still remains of paganism, there is no official religion. Russians are cruel: their most famous novel is about murder for money, the first dog in the space was doomed to a painful death. Russia is characterized as a country-conqueror; its participation in the space exploration is coloured with dark tones: space garbage (Sputnik) can kill an astronaut. In addition, Russians misuse alcohol, they lead an unhealthy way of life, they are aggressive”³⁴⁵.

In this way, typical aspects of the state life, such as political structure, religion, culture, manufacturing, etc. become the basis for the identification within the frame “Russia is a state” of subframes and slots, while text elements, which describe them, help create a sociocultural portrait of Russia.

3.2.1. Subframe “characteristics of the state”

Slot “freedom”

345 Anna BOYCHENKO, *Area studies: Japan*, Karasnoyarsk, SFU Press, 2010

The freedom in Russia, according to the texts of *Asahi Shinbun*, is an ambivalent conception: on one hand its an innate right given to all people, which Russia as a state lacks, on the other hand, it is an instrument that must be used judiciously: its misuse may lead to undesirable consequences, its deprivation may lead to protests. Personal freedom and the law in Russia are often opposed to each other: “ロシアで同性愛者への差別や圧力につながりかねない法律が成立し、波紋を呼んでいる。” (The law that can lead to discrimination and pressure of homosexuals creates a stir in Russia)³⁴⁶; “個人情報の保護と安全保障の要請との間のバランスをどのように取ればよいのかという問題は残る。国家による情報収集と機密保護は、常に国民の私的自由、国家の干渉から私生活を守る権利との緊張関係に立つからだ。” (The question of balance between protection of personal information and security guarantee remain unsolved (*in Russia*). Information collection and secrecy protection by the state is always in tense relations with the protection of private freedoms and rights from the interference of the state)³⁴⁷. “ロシアは経済的独立という幻想をふりまくが、その裏では圧力をかけている。” (Russia sprinkles the idea of the independent economy, but behind it there is only pressure)³⁴⁸.

The opposition of the freedom and the law is not contradictory to the concept of freedom in Russian linguistic consciousness. For instance, A. Wierzbicka after conducting a research into the concept “freedom” in Russian language has concluded that the freedom is defined as the absence of pressure, different obstacles that hamper the action: “Semantic profile of the word “freedom” can be associated with the political history of Russia: the despotism of kings, the lack of democratic structures and the absence of effective legal system equal to all, the meaning of arbitrary exercised power and the desire to escape from this power”³⁴⁹. It is typical of Russian linguistic consciousness to perceive freedom as a feature of the urban life: strictly regulated way of life of rural communities is opposed to a much freer life in cities.

Personal freedom can be dangerous when people are not ready to be granted with it: “歴史的な視野に立つなら、この小説が書かれた十九世紀後半のロシアとは、数世紀におよぶ農奴制が廃止され、自ら自由をあがなった名もなき人々が、金という新しい神に翻弄（ほんろう）されて生きた時代である。” (From the historical point of view, the book was written in the second half of the 19th century, when after several years of slavery people who did not even have names got their personal freedom, and fell into a trap of the new God of gold)³⁵⁰,

The freedom can also be dangerous and lead to unpredictable results, when it comes to the freedom of religion: “ロシアのイスラム過激派は、ソ連崩壊後のロシア南部で急速に広がった。こ

346 *Asahi Shinbun*, 19 August 2013.

347 *Asahi Shinbun*, 18 November 2013.

348 *Asahi Shinbun*, 30 December 2013.

349 WIERZBICKA, *Comparison of cultures through language and pragmatics, Moscow, languages of Slavic culture*

350 *Asahi Shinbun*, 4 March 2013.

の地域の伝統的なイスラム教は比較的穏健だったが、宗教の自由が認められたことを受け、過激な思想を持つ宗教指導者らが外部から流入。” (Islamic extremists in southern Russia spread rapidly after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Although traditional Islam in the region was relatively moderate, after getting the freedom of religion, Islam experienced the inflow of religious leaders with radical ideas from the outside)³⁵¹. In a sense, Russia needs more law and order, even if freedoms will be sacrificed.

Freedom can be a feature of social life of a country, which is actualized by attributives “自由 *jiyū*” or “独立 *dokuritsu*” (free, independent). For instance, this characteristic, included into names, can be given to the mass media “「自由サハリン」という新聞” (newspaper “Free Sakhalin”), trade “自由貿易” *jiyū bōeki* (free trade), religion “宗教の自由” *shūkyō no jiyū* (freedom of religion), speech and political activities: “プライバシーの権利がなければ真の言論の自由はありえず、民主主義もない」と痛烈に批判。” (The policy of the state) was bitterly criticized: “If there is no privacy, neither the freedom of speech, nor democracy are possible”)³⁵². “貧富の差が大きいうえ、政治活動や言論の自由に乏しいロシア” (Russia is the country with a big gap between the poor and the rich and therefore it is poor in political freedoms and the freedom of speech)³⁵³.

Orientation of the Japanese linguistic consciousness to the freedom of public life as a constant is described by means of the metaphor “自由剥奪 *jiyū hakudatsu*” (freedom deprivation) (compare: “権利を剥奪する” to deprive of rights): “ロシアメディアによると、八百長試合の首謀者や関与者は最長7年の自由剥奪（はくだつ）刑を科す。” (According to the Russian press, masterminds and participants of match-fixing are deprived of the freedom up to 7 years)³⁵⁴. According to V. Telia, such assessment is carried out “in accordance with “standard” of existence or a state of affairs in a certain world-view, underlying the assessment standards”³⁵⁵. Thus, as Japan since the World War II has been catching up with the USA in terms of freedoms and rights, freedom in the Japanese world-view is seen as a norm, even though under certain conditions.

Slot “democracy”

As an indication of the political structure of the state, the lexeme “民主主義 *minshushugi*” or is not represented in texts of *Asahi Shinbun*, or it is represented as an element absent in the political structure of Russia: “プライバシーの権利がなければ真の言論の自由はありえず、民主主義もない」と痛烈に批判。” (The policy of the state) was bitterly criticized: “If there is no privacy, neither the real freedom of speech, nor democracy are possible”)³⁵⁶. The word combination

351 *Asahi Shinbun*, 31 January 2013.

352 *Asahi Shinbun*, 14 June 2013.

353 *Asahi Shinbun*, 17 September 2013.

354 *Asahi Shinbun*, 6 February 2013.

355 Quoted from ARUTYUNOVA, *Introduction to logical analysis of the language*.

356 *Asahi Shinbun*, 14 June 2013.

“Russian democracy”³⁵⁷ was not found, while political system of Russia is characterized by the word “民主化 *minsuka*” (democratization). The legitimacy of the existence of Russian democracy is a fact of reality and as a phenomenon is denied by the Japanese newspaper: it is unclear how far Russia advanced on its way towards democracy, but it is clear that Russia's government is neither communist nor undemocratic: “ロシアは共産主義ではなくなったが、まだ強権的な体質が残っている。もっと民主的な国にならないと、多くの国民が領土問題を理解するのは難しい。” (Russia is not a communist country anymore, but it still has propensity to authoritarianism. If it does not become democratic, it will be difficult to understand the South Kuril issue)³⁵⁸. Democracy of Russia is seen as a prerequisite in the formation of Japan-Russia relations, which equals in turn Japan to a democratic state.

According to authors of *Asahi Shinbun*, democracy in general can have some kind of national characteristics (to be European, American: “西欧民主主義” *seiō minshushugi*, “米民主主義” *bei minshushugi*), be healthy or unhealthy: “民主主義として健康とはいえない” (it is not healthy for democracy), that is there is a certain standard of democracy, in comparison to which the degree of state's democracy is determined. Russia does not have these characteristics, which is proved by the use of the word “民主化 *minshuka*”, that is a process of movement towards democracy: “ロシアの民主化の動き” (the movement of democratization in Russia).

Democracy in the Japanese linguistic world-view as a complex and abstract socio-political concept becomes the object of metaphoric rethinking. By means of the anthropomorphous metaphors democracy/democratization are equaled to a human being: “民主主義として健康とはいえない” (it is not healthy for democracy); “ロシアの民主化の試金石といわれ、昨年復活したばかりの「知事公選制」が後退する可能性が出てきた。” (“The system of public gubernatorial election”, the touchstone of Russia's democratization, which was just revived the last year, seems to be abolished soon)³⁵⁹.

Democratization has the ability to move, it can literally go backward becoming a backslider: “欧米からは民主化の後退と批判されてきた。” (The retreat of democratization (of Russia) was criticized in Europe and the USA)³⁶⁰. Backward movement of Russian democratization, ie its return to the opposite state, despotism, is associated with V. Putin's regime. Thus, in connection with negative estimation of coordinates “behind”, Putin and his government are negatively connoted. In many languages cognitive models are classified on the scale of values: “a positive assessment is related with spatial coordinates “up-front-right”, and negative one is related with “bottom-left-

357 for instance, like 西欧の民主主義 *seiō no minshushugi* - West European democracy

358 *Asahi Shinbun*, 18 August 2013.

359 *Asahi Shinbun*, 4 April 2013.

360 *Ibidem*.

behind”³⁶¹.

Whole countries and regions can be characterized as democratic or undemocratic. For instance, Europe is acknowledged as democratic: “民主主義を基本的価値観とする欧州” (basic value of Europe is democracy); while Syria is seen as a country wallowing in civil war for democracy: “2011年3月から民主化要求デモが激化し、アサド政権が武力弾圧した。[...] ロシアや中国はアサド政権、欧米は反体制派を支持しており。” (The demonstrations requesting democratization intensified starting from March 2011, and the regime of Bashar al-Assad was suppressed by arms. [...] Russia and China support Assad regime, while Europe and the US support rebels)³⁶². Norm or ideal – democracy – is the aim of Syrian rebels, for this reason they are supported by democratic Europe and the US. Russia and China, as the opposition to the democratic world support the power of Assad. This fragment implements the metaphorical model “villain – victim – savior” by J. Lakoff. The villains here are Assad, Russia and China, the victim is Syrian democracy and the saviors are Europe, the USA and Syrian rebels.

In this way, democracy in the Japanese world-view is a norm at which countries must aim. The retreat from democracy is evaluated negatively.

Slot “power of the state”

As a state Russia is characterized with the ability to exercise power, to rule, but the Japanese newspaper is interested in the static, and not dynamic aspect of the power, which is a result of Russia's ruling activity. It is described by means of word-combinations with the corresponding semantics and “ロシア *roshia*” as an attributive, for example: “ロシアの影響 *roshia no eikyō*” (Russia influence), “ロシアの威信 *roshia no ishin*” (Russia's prestige), “ロシアの圧力 *roshia no atsuryoku*” (pressure of Russia), etc.

Russia is represented as a country asserting its authority and influence in its own former republics: “政府がロシアの圧力でEUとの経済連携を強化する協定締結を断念したことに、野党勢力は抗議を続けている。” (The opposition forces (of Ukraine) are continuing to protest after the government abandoned the agreement over the economic partnership with the EU under the pressure of Russia)³⁶³; “旧ソ連諸国のEU接近を望まないロシアが圧力をかけた。” (Russia puts pressure on the former Soviet republics, because it want to prevent them from approaching the European Union³⁶⁴). Despite of the attempts to expand its influence outside the country, Russia seem not to be able to control its own territory: “五輪本番を前に、今後もテロが続発するようだと、政権の威信が大きく揺らぐ可能性もある。” (Successive terroristic acts may occur just before the start of the Olympic games. In this case the prestige of Russia's power will be hampered to a great

361 PIMENOVA, *Methods of conceptual researches*

362 *Asahi Shinbun*, 28 August 2013.

363 *Asahi Shinbun*, 2 December 2013.

364 *Asahi Shinbun*, 23 November 2013.

extent)³⁶⁵.

Overall, the strengthening of Russia's political influence is seen as the rebirth of the police state, its international authority is evaluated negatively, as Russia restricts the freedom of other states.

Not only Russia's political influence is evaluated negatively but also the economic partnership with Russia is seen as potentially dangerous, unstable. The dependence of Europe on Russia is described by the metaphor “ロシア依存 *roshia izon*” (Russia dependence), comparing it with drug dependence in terms of its danger and potential negative consequences: “欧州は天然ガスの4分の1をロシアに頼り、ロシアから欧州に送られる量の8割はウクライナ経由だった。影響は各国に広がり、「ロシア依存」の危うさが浮き彫りになった。” (One quarter of natural gas in Europe is supplied by Russia, and 80% of it were sent from Russia to Europe via Ukraine. As the influence (of the crisis) is spreading in every country, the danger of “Russia dependence” has become highlighted.)³⁶⁶

The text fragment “リトアニア政府はロシアの影響下から抜けるためにEU加盟を最優先の課題と位置づけており、原発を閉鎖することに同意した。[...] 「影響力を保ちたいロシアが邪魔をしている」と勘ぐる市民もいる。” (In order to go out from the influence of Russia, the government of Lithuania has positioned the membership in the EU as its top priority, and agreed to close the nuclear power plant. [...] “Russia interferes, because it wants to keep its influence”, suspect Lithuanians)³⁶⁷. comment that Russia's control over the region is shaky: Russia needs to interfere in internal policies of another state in order to keep the control over it. The postposition 下 (under) means the location of one object under another, and in a figurative sense indicates a position under the authority, control, command, “subordinate to somebody”. The analysis of these meanings refers to the orientational metaphor of J. Lakoff and M. Johnson, who wrote that “in terms of the vertical line possession of power, the power is the top, while the object of power is the bottom. Physical position correlates with physical strength, and the winner in the battle is typologically “located” on the top”³⁶⁸.

Vertical orientational metaphor of the power possession “影響下 *eikyōka*” (under the influence) is supplemented by the expression “圧力がかかる *atsuryoku o kakaru*” (to put pressure), wherein is the verb “かかる *kakaru*” (to hang, to overlap, to be covered) has inherent semantics of doing something from top to down: “米国に圧力がかかる。” (The pressure will be exerted on the USA (by Russia)³⁶⁹.

365 *Asahi Shinbun*, 30 December 2013.

366 *Asahi Shinbun*, 17 November 2013.

367 *Asahi Shinbun*, 21 July 2013.

368 LAKOFF, JOHNSON, *Metaphors We Live By*.

369 *Asahi Shinbun*, 11 November 2013.

In this way, the concepts “power”, “influence” are realized in the Japanese linguistic world-view in terms of the vertical orientational metaphor. Russia, in its turn, is represented as a police state interfering in other countries internal policies and at the same time not being able to control the situation on its own territory. The economic dependence on Russia is dangerous.

Slot “fasces”

The slot is realized by indicating Russian flag and Russian anthem as main symbols of the state, performing a function of unification of the nation; and the Constitution of Russia, as the main document regulating the social life within the country:

1. “「ロシア——偉大な国」と大きく書かれた国旗や、国歌の歌詞、プーチン大統領とメドベージェフ首相の写真。” (Photo where there are the President Putin, the Prime Minister Medvedev and the national flag with with largely written on it “Russia – a great country” and the words of the national anthem)³⁷⁰.
2. “1時間目の授業が始まる直前の午前8時50分ごろ、校内放送でロシアの国歌が流れ始めた。” (At around 8.50 in the morning, just before the first lesson started, the Russian anthem began flowing on the school radio)³⁷¹.
3. “恩赦はロシア憲法制定20周年を記念してこのほど決定され、2万人以上の受刑者が対象となった。” (More than 20,000 prisoners were granted amnesty dated for the 20th anniversary of the Russian Constitution)³⁷².

Slot “elections”

As the symbol of democracy and free state elections are an important institution for political systems of democratic countries, to which Japan is ascribed. In Russia elections exist since the beginning of democratization and are connected with the formation of presidency and parliament institutions.

The presidential election institution is reflected in the discourse of *Asahi Shinbun* by means of the lexeme “大統領選”. In the scenario of a presidential election the political protagonist, ie a candidate for the presidency is a variable component. So, *Asahi Shinbun*, for instance, mentions the elections of B. Yeltsin and V. Putin: “政治腐敗は継承 ベレゾフスキー氏が政界でフィクサーとして頭角を現したのは1996年の大統領選。配下のメディアを総動員して、人気がどん底だったエリツィン氏を力づくで再選させた。さらに99年にはエリツィン大統領の最側近として、まったく無名のプーチン氏を大統領の後継者に仕立てた。いずれも、自身の利権や身の安全を守るためだったと受け止められている。” (Inherited political corruption. Berezovsky emerged in the political world as a fixer in 1996, the year of presidential election. He mobilized his subordinate media and, as a result, Yeltsin whose popularity was very low, was re-elected by force. Again, in

³⁷⁰*Asahi Shinbun*, 26 April 2013.

³⁷¹*Asahi Shinbun*, 19 March 2013.

³⁷²*Asahi Shinbun*, 24 December 2013.

1999 the closest aide of Yeltsin Putin, unknown to anybody at that time, was prepared to become the successor of the President. Both things are perceived as the protection of their own interests and their own safety)³⁷³. The election in Russia in fact are not seen as a democratic institution (which is corresponding to the notion that there is no democracy in Russia), rather they are described as a kind of conspiracy between Russia's political elites, oligarchy and its subordinate media. This image of Russia's election corresponds either to Russian negative evaluation of elections: for instance, according to the public opinion poll, conducted by the radio "Echo Moskv", 42% of respondents were not going to participate in presidential elections 2012³⁷⁴.

Elections of governors are reflected in the discourse of "Asahi Shinbun" by means of lexemes "知事公選 *chiji kōsen*" (public gubernatorial election), its abolishment in Russia is evaluated negatively, seen as a possibility to appoint only candidates from ruling parties, and hence the possibility to cut down the democratization process: "改正法によると、各地方自治体は知事公選制を廃止することができ、その場合、主要政党が推薦する人たちを大統領が3人に絞り込み、地方議会に知事候補として提示。議員票の過半数を獲得した候補者が知事になる。大統領が候補者をすべて与党から推薦を受けた人にすることも可能だ。" (According to the revised law, each local government can abolish public gubernatorial election. In this case, the list of candidates shortlisted by the main parties will be narrowed down to 3 by the President and will be presented as a gubernatorial candidates list in the local council. A candidate receiving the majority of lawmakers votes will become a governor. It is also probably that the President will shortlist only candidates recommended by the ruling party)³⁷⁵.

Slot "law"

The slot is realized by lexemes "法律 *hōritsu*", "改正法 *kaiseihō*" (revised law), and word-combinations with the suffix "法 *hō*". The rule of the law is one of the main features of a democratic state, but Japanese journalists seem to be skeptic about the law in Russia, proving once again that Russia is not a democratic state. Russia's law and lawmaking are described to be:

1. weak and having loopholes: "厳しい法律がないため、捜査当局も追及の手立てがない。" (Since there are no strict laws (in Russia), there is no means to question investigation authorities)³⁷⁶. "不誠実なビジネスマンや法の抜け穴があるのも事実。" (The fact is that there are dishonest businessman and loopholes in laws)³⁷⁷;
2. scandalous, leading to protests, calling for critiques: "ロシアの子どもたちを米国に養子に出すことを禁じる法律に抗議する集会が13日、モスクワなどロシア各地で開かれ

373 *Asahi Shinbun*, 1 April 2013.

374 *Echo Moskv*, 17 February 2012 (<http://echo.msk.ru/>)

375 *Asahi Shinbun*, 4 April 2013.

376 *Asahi Shinbun*, 5 February 2013.

377 *Asahi Shinbun*, 10 September 2013.

た。” (On January, 13 rallies were held in Moscow and other parts of Russia against the law, prohibiting the adoption of Russian children in the United States)³⁷⁸. “モスクワで18日まで開かれた陸上の世界選手権で、この法律をめぐって騒動が起きた。” (The law caused the uproar in Moscow during the World Track-and-field championship)³⁷⁹;

3. unclear and unstable: “法律が頻繁に変更される、通関や検疫のシステムがわかりにくい、といったロシア特有の事情に加え、中小企業を支援する仕組みがない、という問題があった。” (The problem is that in Russia the laws are frequently revised, customs and quarantine systems are incomprehensible. In addition to these features of Russia's circumstances, the mechanism supporting small and medium-size enterprises is absent)³⁸⁰;
4. discriminatory and undemocratic: “ロシアの同性愛者への差別につながりかねない法律 (Russian law, which can potentially lead to discrimination against homosexuals); ロシア、知事公選制後退 改正法で廃止可能に。ロシアの民主化の試金石といわた「知事公選制」” (Russia, the system of public gubernatorial election, possibly abolished according to the revised law. “The system of public gubernatorial election”, called the touchstone of Russia's democratization)³⁸¹.

Russian laws are described as prohibitive and unpredictable, the systems of economic support are absent, Russian citizens seem to be helpless in front of the law. All these may be one of the reasons behind the lack of partnership between Russia and Japan in all levels.

Slot “politics”

All designations of political sphere can roughly be divided into two groups: internal and foreign policies.

The main feature of Russia's social and political trends is their authoritarianism. Though Russia is not a communist country anymore: “ロシアは共産主義ではなくなったが、まだ強権的な体質が残っている。”³⁸², it still preserves the features of authoritarianism. Another its prove is Russia's wide support of authoritarian regimes: “拒否権を行使し、シリアの独裁者を守る国である。” (Russia is the country exercised the right of veto protecting the dictator of Syria)³⁸³; “中国、ロシア、キューバという北朝鮮の後ろ盾となる国々” (countries like China, Cuba and Russia, supporting the North Korea). Even though the communism came to an end, the world in the discourse of *Asahi Shinbun* is still divided into two parts on the basis of (un)democracy: “ロシアや中国はアサド政権、欧米は反体制派を支持しており、国連などによる政治的な解決が困難な状

378 *Asahi Shinbun*, 14 January 2013.

379 *Asahi Shinbun*, 28 August 2013.

380 *Asahi Shinbun*, 28 March 2013.

381 *Asahi Shinbun*, 5 April 2013.

382 *Asahi Shinbun*, 28 August 2013.

383 *Asahi Shinbun*, 14 September 2013.

況。” (Russia and China support the regime of Assad, the US and Europe support rebels. In this situation the UN struggles to find a political solution)³⁸⁴.

As division and rivalry are another feature of Russia's foreign and internal policies, laws are accepted and actions are taken in order to assert itself on the international scene, and the modern situation inside the country cannot be called stable: “外交上の意地の張り合いからつくられたこの法律は、ロシアで孤児の保護に取り組んできた市民団体や野党の反発を招いた。” (The law, born due to the diplomatic rivalry, created a backlash of the opposition and citizen groups taking care of orphans)³⁸⁵. The situation in the Russia-US relations is comparable with the Cold War era, which proves the thesis of the world divided into two in the discourse of the Japanese newspaper: “米ロ両国が人権問題を契機に、お互いに自国への入国を禁じる相手国人物の「ブラックリスト」を発表した。冷戦時代の外交官追放合戦をほうふつとさせる騒動は、人権問題が依然米ロ関係の火種としてくすぶる実態を浮き彫りにした。” (Triggered by the human rights issue, the USA and Russia announced a “black list” persons prohibited the entry to Russia or to the USA. The uproar reminiscent of the Cold War era diplomat expulsion battle reviled that the human rights issue still smolders the live coals of Russia-US relations)³⁸⁶.

The foreign policy is determined by the struggle for the influence in East Asia, wherein Russia is one of the key political players. “米国やロシア、中国、インドはいずれも大国で、それぞれ正統な国益をこの地域に持っている。我々の成長や安定、安全保障に関心を持つ以上、こうした国々を締め出すことはできない。” (Being superpower, the USA, Russia, China and India all have the legitimate national interests in the region (East Asia). Taking into consideration our growth, stability and interest towards security, it is not possible to exclude these countries)³⁸⁷.

Foreign policies are defined by the protection of national interests, even by cost of censorship or worsening of the Japan-Russia relations: “ロシア・サハリン州ユジノサハリンスクの空港で、税関職員が日本人旅行者から北方領土に関する小冊子2冊を押収した。北方領土を日本領とした地図が掲載されていることなどから「国益と安全保障を害し、持ち込みは違法」としている。” (At the airport of Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk, Sakhalin, Russia, customs officials confiscated 2 booklets about the Northern Territories, brought by Japanese travelers. Since they contain maps, identifying Northern Territories as the Japanese territory, “they harm national interests and security, and hence bringing them is illegal”)³⁸⁸.

As many other facets of Russia's social life, its policies are described as incomprehensible and unpredictable. Even such natural phenomenon as time in Russia can be changed at politics

384 *Ibidem*.

385 *Asahi Shinbun*, 12 July 2013.

386 *Asahi Shinbun*, 17 April 2013.

387 *Asahi Shinbun*, 23 April 2013.

388 *Asahi Shinbun*, 15 May 2013.

whim: “ロシアの時間は、国際関係や、政治・経済的な要因で、いつでも変わりうる。[...]たびたび針を動かすロシアには、私たちに分かりづらい国家運営の難しさがある。” (The time in Russia may vary any moment depending on international relations, politics and economic factors. [...] We can hardly understand such feature of national administration as the fact that Russia often moves the clock hands)³⁸⁹.

Slot “human rights”

The slot is actualized by the lexeme “人権 *jinken*” and in the discourse of *Asahi Shinbun* is usually mentioned in the word-combination “人権問題 *jinkenmondai*”.

The human right issues are described as being one of the core features of Russia as a state: “広大な国土に長い国境。そこに暮らす多民族、そして多宗教。根深い官僚主義に、「西」が許さない人権問題。いくつもの課題をロシアが抱えるのは事実だ。” (Vast land and its long border. Multi-ethnic and multi-religious. The deep-rooted bureaucracy and human rights issues, which cannot be forgiven by the “West”. The reality is that there are several issues which Russia challenges)³⁹⁰; they are one of the reason behind “anti-Russian” acts and still existing visa system in the EU: “米国は昨年未、冷戦の遺物だった対ロシア通商制限条項を撤廃した。一方で対ロシア人権制裁法を設けた。” (The last year the USA abolished trade limitations against Russia, which were the relics of the Cold War. On the other hand, it established the Sanctions Act against the human rights violation in Russia)³⁹¹; the human right violation penetrate all society, from homosexuals to prisoners, and a momentary indulgence is seen solely as an act of PR: “この日釈放されたのはマリヤ・アリョヒナさん（25）とナジェージュダ・トロコンニコワさん（24）。アリョヒナさんは地元メディアに「恩赦は人道的な措置ではなく、（政権の）PRだ。」と語り、トロコンニコワさんは「今後は受刑者の人権保護のために活動したい」と明かした。” (Today Maria Alyohina (25) and Nadejda Tolokonnikova (24) (*the members of “Pussy Riot” band*) were released from the prison. As Alyohina told the local press “the amnesty was not for the sake of humanity, it was PR of the government”. Tolokonnikova revealed that in future she “would like to work for the human rights protection of prisoners”)³⁹².

Table 10.

Subframe “characteristics of the state”.

Subframe	Slot	%
Characteristics of the state	Politics	27.5
	Freedom	19
	Power of the state	12.5

389 *Asahi Shinbun*, 3 January 2013.

390 *Asahi Shinbun*, 11 September 2013.

391 *Asahi Shinbun*, 17 April 2013.

392 *Asahi Shinbun*, 24 December 2013.

	Democracy	10.5
	Law	10
	Elections	9
	Human rights	7.5
	Fascies	4

3.2.2. Subframe “structure of public authorities”

The structure of Russia's public authorities is represented in the discourse of *Asahi Shinbun* in a non-discrete way: the State Duma, the Federal Assembly of Russia and their committees are almost not mentioned, and often substituted by the generic lexeme “政府 *seifu*”(government, administration). On the other hand, attention is paid to actions of local administrations and their policies. The geography remains in the frame of interests of Japan: “サハリン州政府” *saharinshū seifu* (administration of Sakhalin), “アムール州政府” *amūrushū seifu* (administration of Amur Oblast), “ロシア南クリル地区行政府” *roshia minami kuriru chiku gyōseifu* (Russia South Kuril district administration), “ロシア沿海地方政府” *roshia en kai chihō seifu* (administration of Russia's Primorsky Kray).

Slot “government”

Slot “government” is realized by lexemes “(ロシア *roshia*) 政府 *seifu*” and names of its ministries: “ロシア文化省” *roshia bunkashō* (the Ministry of Culture of Russia), “ロシア緊急事態省” *roshia kinkyūjitaishō* (Ministry of Emergency Situations), “ロシア国防省” (Ministry of Defense), “ロシア外務省” *roshia kokubōshō* (Ministry of Foreign Affairs); “経済が停滞する欧州から成長著しいアジアへ経済の軸足をシフトさせようと、プーチン氏は昨年5月に極東開発事業を統括する極東発展省を創設。” (In order to shift the pivot of economy from economically stagnant Europe to rapidly growing Asia, the last May Putin founded the Ministry of Far East Development which aim is to control the development of the region)³⁹³.

Russian government is described as a human being playing various roles:

1. an owner: “政府系「ロシア新聞」 *seifukei roshia shinbun* (governmental newspaper “*Rossiyskaya gazeta*”), “政府系メディア” *seifukei media* (governmental media), “政府系天然ガス企業「ガズプロム」” *seifukei tennen gasu kigyō gasupuromu* (governmental natural gas company “Gazprom”);
2. a businessman: “ロシア極東アムール州で北朝鮮と同州政府系企業で設立した合弁企業が約1千ヘクタールの土地を確保し” (About 1 thousand hectares of land was reserved for

³⁹³ *Asahi Shinbun*, 1 September 2013.

a joint company of North Korea and Administration of Amur Oblast in Russia's Far East Amur Oblast)³⁹⁴. “論争の背景にはロシアの関与をめぐる駆け引きも取りざたされている。ベレネ原発の建設は、前政権時代にロシア政府系の原発建設会社が受注。” (The construction of Belene nuclear power plant was commissioned to the power plant constitution company of the Russian government of the former regime)³⁹⁵;

3. a supporter of proper citizens and travelers from abroad: “インフラ整備で「ロシア化」は進み、住民はロシア政府の後ろ盾を強調する。” (As “russification” of the region proceeds along with infrastructure development, the residents emphasize the support of Russian government)³⁹⁶; “国籍、人種、性的指向に関係なく、すべての人が大会を楽しめるよう、政府はあらゆることをする。” (The government does everything, so that everyone, regardless of their nationality, race, sexual orientation could enjoy the Olympic games)³⁹⁷;
4. mental state of the government is actualized by means of the metaphor “政府の立場” : “政府の立場を十分わきまえた上で、いろいろなメッセージを発信していると思う。” (In order to discern fully the position of the government, a variety of messages should be disseminated)³⁹⁸.

The lexeme “幹部 *kanbu*” (executives) is a frozen vegetative metaphor, describing functionaries as a trunk (base, backbone) of Russian government, included in semantics of the morpheme “幹 *kan*”: “ロシア政府高官や幹部の別荘も立ち並ぶ。” (Villas of Russian government officials and executives either stand (*in Sochi*) in a row)³⁹⁹.

The morpheme “下 *ka*” in the text fragment “ロシア政府がシリアに対し、化学兵器を国際管理下に置くよう提案したことについて、オバマ米大統領は9日、「実現するなら（攻撃回避は）可能だ。” (Russian government proposed to put under international control the situation with chemical weapons in Syria. Concerning it President Obama claimed that “if it is achieved it may be possible to avoid the attack”)⁴⁰⁰ indicates a subordinate position of Russia's government to the international community.

Slot “Kremlin”

The slot is realized by the designation of Kremlin “クレムリン *kuremurin*”. Unlike in Russian linguistic world-view, where Kremlin is often the symbol of Russia's state power, in the discourse of *Asahi Shinbun* Kremlin is represented in its literal meaning – a historic complex in the centre of Moscow, a venue of meetings at the official levels: “1月31日のクレムリン（大統領

394 *Asahi Shinbun*, 14 February 2013.

395 *Asahi Shinbun*, 28 January 2013.

396 *Asahi Shinbun*, 23 February 2013.

397 *Asahi Shinbun*, 30 October 2013.

398 *Asahi Shinbun*, 17 January 2013.

399 *Asahi Shinbun*, 6 January 2013.

400 *Asahi Shinbun*, 10 September 2013.

府)での会議でメドベージェフ首相は、プーチン氏に今後5年間の10の課題を報告した。” (At the session which took place in Kremlin (Presidential Office) on January, 31, Prime-Minister D. Medvedev reported to V. Putin 10 challenges of the future 5 years)⁴⁰¹. “モスクワのクレムリン。プーチン氏は小さな丸テーブルに着いた森氏に、にこやかに語りかけた。” (Moscow Kremlin. Putin had a friendly talk with Mori around a small round table). The necessity to explain the meaning the word (Presidential Office) or its geographical location (Moscow Kremlin) indicates that the word Kremlin belongs to the “Other” world in the Japanese world-view.

Slot “Federal Assembly”

The slot is represented by the designations of Russia's Duma “下院 *kain*” and of the Federal Council “ロシア議会 *roshia gikai*”, “連邦議会 *renpō gikai*”.

In the discourse of *Asahi Shinbun* Russia's Duma as a branch of authorities is apparently of no interest. In the texts of the Japanese newspaper it is mentioned only in the combination with names of Russian politicians: “連邦議会でナルイシキン下院議長と会談。” (A talk with the House Speaker Narishkin in the Congress)⁴⁰². “英国の決定を受けて、ロシア下院のプシュコフ国際問題委員長 (与党・統一ロシア) はツイッターに「米国は国際社会どころかNATOを代表して発言する権利もなくなった」と書き込んだ。” (In response to the decision of the United Kingdom, Pushkov (ruling party “United Russia”), the chairman of the International Affairs Commission of Russia's Duma, wrote in Twitter: “the USA has no more right to speak on behalf of not only the international community, but also of NATO”)⁴⁰³.

By means of the postposition から *kara* (from) the Federal Council is described as a starting point, from where certain ideas, messages are disseminated in the outer world: “ロシア議会からは「キャンセルで傷つくのは米国の方だ」といった強気な声も出るが、実際にはロシアにとって米側と話し合うべきテーマには事欠かない。” (“The cancellation will hurt the US”, though confident voice is heard from Russia's Congress, in fact there are many themes which Russia should discuss with the US)⁴⁰⁴.

Slot “embassy”

The slot is represented by designations of Russians Embassies in Japan, Syria, Libya, North Korea, etc. For instance: “この女性は「今シリアに残っているロシア人は、私のようにナイトクラブで働いているか、大使館の職員か、シリア人と結婚してここが生活の場になっている人ぐらい」と話した。” (That woman said: “Nowadays Russians who remain in Syria or work in

401 *Asahi Shinbun*, 8 February 2013.

402 *Asahi Shinbun*, 1 May 2013.

403 *Asahi Shinbun*, 31 August 2013.

404 *Asahi Shinbun*, 9 August 2013.

night clubs like me, or work in the Embassy, or married to Syrian citizens”)⁴⁰⁵. “リビアの首都トリポリで2日夜、武装集団がロシア大使館を襲撃し” (Russian Embassy was attacked by an armed group in Libyan capital Tripoli in the evening, on October, 2)⁴⁰⁶.

Slot “political parties”

Multi-party political system of Russia in the studied discourse is roughly divided into two groups: the ruling party “United Russia” (“与党・統一ロシア” *yotō tōitsuroshia*) and all other existing in Russia parties, opposed to the ruling party: “外交上の意地の張り合いからつくられたこの法律は、ロシアで孤児の保護に取り組んできた市民団体や野党の反発を招いた。” (The law, born due to the diplomatic rivalry, created a backlash of the opposition and citizen groups taking care of orphans)⁴⁰⁷; “野党「公正ロシア」” *yatō kōsei roshia* (opposition party “A Just Russia”). Other parties mentioned in *Asahi Shinbun* are “ロシア連保共産党” *roshia renpo Kyōsantō* (Communist party of Russia) and “ロシア自由民主党” *roshia jiyūminshutō* (Liberal democratic party of Russia).

Slot “security agencies”

The slot is represented:

- by groups of security services: “旧ソ連国家保安委員会（K G B）の後継機関である連邦保安局（F S B）” (Federal Security Service (FSB), the successor of the Committee for State Security (KGB)⁴⁰⁸; the officers of these services are described as having strong values of patriotism and loyalty to the country: “旧ソ連国家保安委員会（K G B）出身のプーチン氏は国を裏切った情報部員に対して冷徹だ。” (Being an ex-officer of the former Soviet Committee for State Security (KBG) Putin shows cool-headedness towards the agent betrayed his country)⁴⁰⁹; “旧ソ連国家保安委員会（K G B）のOBで、国家への忠誠心を何よりも重視するプーチン氏” (ex-officer of KGB V. Putin more than anything else appreciates the loyalty to the country)⁴¹⁰.
- by names of people who worked for those agencies: “ロシアのスパイアンナ・チャップマン (Russian spy Anna Chapman); 06年にロシアの元情報将校リトビネンコ氏が、亡命先のロンドンで変死した事件があったでしょ。” (In 2006 there was a case of unnatural death of Russia's former intelligence officer Litvinenko in his exile in London)⁴¹¹.

Table 11.

405 *Asahi Shinbun*, 9 February 2013.

406 *Asahi Shinbun*, 4 October 2013.

407 *Asahi Shinbun*, 12 July 2013.

408 *Asahi Shinbun*, 24 May 2013.

409 *Asahi Shinbun*, 3 May 2013.

410 *Asahi Shinbun*, 3 July 2013.

411 *Asahi Shinbun*, 9 January 2013.

Subframe “structures of public authorities”.

Subframe	Slot	%
Structures of public authorities	Government	67
	Federal Assembly	17
	Embassies	7.5
	Political parties	5
	Kremlin	2
	Security agencies	1.5

3.2.3 Subframe “relations of Russia with other countries”

The subframe is represented by several slots divided according to groups of countries with which Russia collaborates or competes.

The slot “Japan-Russia relations” unites designations of Japan-Russia relations, which are actualized by means of lexemes “日ロ(間)” *nitiro (kan)* ((between) Japan and Russia), “日ロ関係” *nichiro kankei* (Japan-Russia relations), “日本との関係” *nihon to no kankei* (relations with Japan), “両国間” *ryōkokukan* (between two countries), “日ロ双方” *nichiro sōhō* (both countries), etc. Collaboration/rivalry of Russia with foreign countries develops according to several scenarios, classified on basis of relations which they describe.

Slot “Japan-Russia relations”

Most scenarios of Japan-Russia relations derive from attempts to solve the Kuril Islands dispute or on the impossibility to do it because of opposite standpoints of two countries: “四島は日本領と主張しつつ、それをロシアが認めれば返還は必ずしも即時・一括でなくてもいいという立場だ。” (Japan still claims that four islands belong to Japanese territory, but if Russia acknowledges it, it will not be necessary to return them immediately and all at a time)⁴¹²; “ロシアは相変わらず「第2次大戦の結果、北方領土はロシア領になった」と主張し、島のインフラ整備や開発を積極的に進めている。” (In the same way Russia claims that “Northern Territories became Russian territory as a result of the Second World War, and is actively developing the islands and their infrastructure”)⁴¹³.

Scenario of development is represented, for instance, in the following text fragments: “首脳

412 *Asahi Shinbun*, 11 September 2013.

413 *Asahi Shinbun*, 11 January 2013.

対話を活性化させ、北方領土問題の解決と両国関係の進展へとつなげたい。” (It would be favorable to connect the Northern Territories issue settlement and the development of relations between two countries with the activation of the dialogue between two leaders.) “領土問題は「相互に受け入れ可能な解決を模索する」としながら前進はなかった。” (It is impossible to make progress in the relations (*between two countries*) if we do not find a mutually acceptable solution of the territorial issue)⁴¹⁴; “北方領土をめぐり、かつてない打開の機会があると見られたロシアからも批判の声があがり、日本との関係を進めようという力を大きく減らしてしまいました。” (Given that it was seen in Russia as a possibility of unprecedented breakthrough in the South Kuril dispute, voices of criticism rise from there and the force of advancement of Japan-Russia relations has significantly reduced)⁴¹⁵. The identification of this scenario is based on lexemes “進展 *shinten*” (progress, development), “前進 *zenshin*” (advance, drive, progress), “進める *susumeru*” (advance, promote, encourage). The development of relations between two countries are represented as being dependent directly on the South Kuril dispute settlement.

Scenario of path is represented in the text fragment “日ロ、仕切り直しの一步。 領土交渉「真ん中に戻さない」と。” (Japan and Russia, one step towards a fresh start. Territorial negotiations “with no return to the mid-way”)⁴¹⁶, by means of metaphors that have semantics of movement: “仕切り直しの一步” (一步: one movement of a leg; one step; a journey of thousand miles begins with a single step) and “真ん中に戻さない” (戻す: to move toward a place where one used to be, to return)⁴¹⁷, which describe Japan-Russia relations as a way which both countries must go towards each other.

Scenario of partnership is represented by the following text fragments: “協議会は、日ロ双方の経済団体、研究機関、金融機関がコアメンバーとなって情報交換し、ロシア極東と主に日本の地方にある中小企業の間でのビジネス機会の創出をめざす。” (The convention aims at the creation of Japan-Russia co-membership in economic organizations, research institutions, financial institutions and the information exchange; it aims at the creation of business opportunities between small and medium-size enterprises in the Russian Far East and in Japanese regions)⁴¹⁸; “軍事面で強大化する中国や、核開発を続ける北朝鮮は、日本と同様、ロシアの脅威になりつつある。それへの牽制 (けんせい) という意味でも、協力の拡大は両国の利害が一致する。” (As well as for Japan, military powerful China and continuing the nuclear development North Korea are becoming threats for Russia. The expansion of Japan-Russia cooperation as a restraint coincides

414 *Asahi Shinbun*, 23 February 2013.

415 *Asahi Shinbun*, 29 January 2013.

416 *Asahi Shinbun*, 15 April 2013.

417 *Daijirin daisanpan*, (www.kotobank.jp)

418 *Asahi Shinbun*, 30 September 2013.

with the interests of two countries)⁴¹⁹; “記憶の継承で日ロが協力できれば、新しい貴重な交流となる。” (If Russia and Japan inherit the memory and manage to cooperate it would become a new valuable exchange)⁴²⁰.

Relations on equal terms are actualized by means of lexemes “日ロ双方” *nichiro sōhō* (双方: having mutual relations, both), “交換” *kōkan* (to exchange things, to exchange)⁴²¹, “協力” *kyōryoku*, presuming process of mutual actions: exchange, collaboration and existence of partners. The exchange with Russia is positively assessed as “valuable” (貴重 *kichō*).

Scenario of abnormal situation is realized by means of the lexeme “異常な事態 *ijōna jitai*” (abnormal situation) in the following text fragments: “プーチン氏は「両国間に平和条約がないことは異常な事態だ」と語り、北方領土問題の解決にも意欲を示した。” (Putin said that “The absence of peace treaty between two countries is an abnormal situation” and showed his willingness to resolve the Northern Territories issue)⁴²²; “プーチン氏のいう両国間の「異常な事態」は解消されず、幅広い協力は立ちゆかない。そのことを、プーチン氏は理解すべきだ。” (Without resolving Japan-Russia “abnormal situation” as Putin says, the collaboration on a large scale will not last)⁴²³. The quote of Russian president becomes in texts of the Japanese newspaper a negative assessment of the state of affairs in the relations between two countries. Anthropomorphic metaphor “協力は立ちゆかない” is used in order to describe collaboration between Japan and Russia.

Scenario of economic dependence of Russia from Japan is represented by such variants of dependence as necessity of Japan's funds, technologies and markets: “極東やシベリアの開発で、日本の資金や技術の引き入れは欠かせない。米国のシェールガス革命のあおりでロシアの天然ガスは欧州市場で供給が減り、日本はじめアジア市場への売り込みも必要になっている。” (Japanese funds and technologies are indispensable in the development of the Far East and Siberia. Under the influence of the United States shale gas revolution the supply of Russia's natural gas in Europe has reduced, and hard selling in Asian markets – Japanese first of all – has become necessary)⁴²⁴. “ロシアはいま、台頭する中国への対応や、エネルギー資源の売り込み、極東・シベリア開発などで日本との関係強化が必要になりつつある。” (In response to the growth of China nowadays Russia feels the necessity of strengthening the relations with Japan in order to

419 *Asahi Shinbun*, 25 January 2013.

420 *Asahi Shinbun*, 9 January 2013.

421 *Daijirin daisanpan*, (www.kotobank.jp)

422 *Asahi Shinbun*, 23 February 2013.

423 *Asahi Shinbun*, 24 February 2013.

424 *Asahi Shinbun*, 1 June 2013.

advance with the development of the Far East and Siberia and to sell energy resources)⁴²⁵.

Scenario of opposition is represented by the lexeme “改善 *kaizen*” (improvement), which presumes that now relations are not good and need to be changed: “いまプーチン氏があらためて日本との関係改善を望む背景には、現在のロシアの抱える経済や安全保障上の事情がある” (In the background of Putin's willingness to improve the relations with Japan there are economic and security issues which today's Russia must face)⁴²⁶. “これで日ロ関係が抜本的に改善されれば日本の安全保障やエネルギー問題にもプラスだし、日本の対中国ポジションの強化にもつながる。” (If relations between Japan and Russia could be fundamentally improved, it would influence positively not only Japan's energy and security issues, but would also strengthen Japan's position towards China)⁴²⁷.

Overall, Russia is represented as a country having several military and economic threats (China, North Korea, the USA), needing Japan's help, but not ready to change its position concerning the fundamental Northern Territories issue. On the other hand, the possibility of improvement and cooperation with Russia as considered by *Asahi Shinbun* as valuable and useful.

Slot “relations of Russia with Europe/the West” unites designations of Russia's relations with European countries or Europe and America, actualized by means of lexemes “欧州 *Ōshū*”(Europe), “欧米 *Ōbei*”(the West) and names of countries.

Scenario of emotional relations:

“ソ連崩壊から21年たっても欧州に入れない。なぜロシアはいつも片思いなのか。” (21 years after the collapse of the USSR, Russia is still not in Europe. Why Russia's love is always one-sided?)⁴²⁸; “欧州はロシアを分かっていない。” (Europe does not understand Russia)⁴²⁹; “なぜロシアにフランス本国もうらやむほどの名画があるのか” (Why does Russia have such famous art works that even France envies it?)⁴³⁰. Scenario represents emotions which one country or region feels towards another. Russia is described as incomprehensible and enviable country. On the other hand, its love towards Europe has always been unrequited. The text fragment shows for Japan Russia and Europe are opposed to each other, Russia is not Europe.

Scenario of tolerant and close relations is based on the identification of similarity between countries, reconciliation of differences between them: “ロシアとキプロスは同じ東方正教の文化圏で、互いに親近感がある。” (As Russia and Cyprus both belong to the cultural sphere of Eastern

425 *Asahi Shinbun*, 20 June 2013.

426 *Asahi Shinbun*, 19 July 2013.

427 *Asahi Shinbun*, 2 August 2013.

428 *Asahi Shinbun*, 5 January 2013.

429 *Asahi Shinbun*, 10 September 2013.

430 *Asahi Shinbun*, 5 January 2013.

Orthodoxy, there is a sense of intimacy between them)⁴³¹.

Scenario of business relations describes relations based on common business interests between two countries: “欧州は天然ガスの4分の1をロシアに頼り、ロシアから欧州に送られる量の8割はウクライナ経由だった。” (One quarter of natural gas in Europe is supplied by Russia, and 80% of it were sent from Russia to Europe via Ukraine)⁴³².

Scenario of aid is realized in text fragments that describe such relations between two countries where one country render aid to another, for instance: “第2次大戦をめぐり、ロシアは前身のソ連の役割をファシスト国家のナチス・ドイツと日本から、欧州とアジアを解放した立役者と位置づける。” (In the context of the Second World War, Russia positions the role of its ancestor USSR as one of the country that liberated Europe and Asia from fascist governments of Nazi Germany and Japan)⁴³³.

Scenario of opposition: “ソ連崩壊後、ウクライナは常にロシアと欧州の間に揺れ動いてきた。” (After the collapse of the USSR Ukraine has always been wavering between Russia and Europe)⁴³⁴. “シリアの反体制派を支援する欧米は、ロシアがアサド政権に攻撃用兵器を供給しているとの疑念を抱いている。” (While the West supports Syrian rebels, Russia is being doubtful and supplies regime of Assad with weapons)⁴³⁵. The scenario verifies that Russia does not belong neither to Europe not to the “Western world”.

Slot “relations of Russia with Asia” is represented by designations of relations with China, North Korea and Asia in general.

Scenario of tolerant relations represents a notion of equality of Russia and countries of Asia, which is actualized by means of a list of names, separated by comma as homogeneous parts of a sentence: “中国、ロシア、韓国、北朝鮮、モンゴル、日本は経済交流の現状と展望を2日間の日程で話し合う。” (During two days China, Russia, South Korea, North Korea, Mongolia and Japan will discuss the state of affairs and prospects of economic exchange)⁴³⁶. The text fragment “中国、ロシア、キューバという北朝鮮の後ろ盾となる国々” (countries like China, Cuba and Russia, supporting the North Korea) describes collaboration between Russia, China and Cuba and implies their opposition to the US and Europe.

Scenario of economic dependence describes relations of dependence of Russia on another country, or vice versa: “ロシアはアジア向けの輸出を増やしたい。” (Russia wants to increase the exports to Asia)⁴³⁷; “ロシアは北朝鮮への債務帳消しやパイプライン敷設などの経済支援をてこに、

431 *Asahi Shinbun*, 21 March 2013.

432 *Asahi Shinbun*, 17 November 2013.

433 *Asahi Shinbun*, 28 December 2013.

434 *Asahi Shinbun*, 13 December 2013.

435 *Asahi Shinbun*, 16 December 2013.

436 *Asahi Shinbun*, 3 March 2013.

437 *Asahi Shinbun*, 20 January 2013.

朝鮮半島を巡る北東アジアの安保問題に関与し、存在感を示そうとしてきた。” (On the plea of debt cancellation, pipeline installation and other types of economic assistance towards North Korea, Russia got involved into security issues in the Korean Peninsula and has been trying to show its presence there)⁴³⁸.

Scenario of opposition is represented, for instance, as a seamy side of partnership: “しかし、表向きの「蜜月ぶり」とは裏腹に、ロシアには警戒感も見え隠れする。軍事費の増加や海洋進出の動きなど、東アジアでの中国の「膨張」に神経をとがらせているからだ。” (However, contrary to the outward appearance of the “honeymoon”, the sense of caution awakes in Russia. The reason underlying the increase in military expenditure and steps forward of the navy is China's “swelling” in eastern Asia, getting on Russia's nerves)⁴³⁹. Anthropomorphous metaphors describe Russia-Chinese relations as marriage (honeymoon), and Russia as a human proving various emotions: anxiety, irritation. The text fragment illustrates either the scenario of emotional relations.

Scenario of diplomatic value: “中国にとって、[...] ロシアとの関係は、経済成長を支えるエネルギー供給国としてだけでなく、外交的にも重要度を増している。” (For China [...] Russia is not just the source of energy supporting its economic growth, but it also becomes important diplomatically)⁴⁴⁰.

Scenario of business relationships: “ロシア極東アムール州で北朝鮮と同州政府系企業で設立した合弁企業が約1千ヘクタールの土地を確保し” (About 1 thousand hectares of land was reserved for a joint company of North Korea and Administration of Amur Oblast in Russia's Far East Amur Oblast)⁴⁴¹.

Slot “relations of Russia with the USA” is represented by means of the lexeme “米ロ *beiro*”. In the discourse of *Asahi Shinbun* Russia-US relations are characterized, first of all, by their constant rivalry and opposition, despite of attempts to improve them. Texts fragments mentioning Russia-US relations are full of metaphors and emotionally marked vocabulary.

Scenario of opposition: “ロシアでは、第1期のオバマ政権がメドベージェフ前大統領との間で関係を修復した「米ロ関係のリセット」の行方に関心が集まっている。” (During the first period of President Obama, his administration and ex-President Medvedev concentrated their attention on the advancement of “US-Russia relations reset” which was supposed to repair the relations between two countries)⁴⁴². The relations are described as something that need “reset”, technical metaphor “関係を修復した” (repaired relations) represents the US-Russia relations as a mechanism that was broken and need repair.

438 *Asahi Shinbun*, 13 February 2013.

439 *Asahi Shinbun*, 23 March 2013.

440 *Asahi Shinbun*, 22 March 2013.

441 *Asahi Shinbun*, 14 February 2013.

442 *Asahi Shinbun*, 23 January 2013.

“こじれる米ロ。米ロ間の緊張が高まっている。” (The US and Russia turned soar. The tension between the US and Russia has been growing)⁴⁴³. The alimentary metaphor “こじれる米ロ” describes the US and Russia as a product which can turn soar. “オバマ米大統領が欠席したことで米ロ関係は傷ついた。” (The US-Russia relations have been hurt by the absence of the President Obama)⁴⁴⁴. A criminal metaphor is used in the following text fragment in order to describe the actions of the US towards Russia: “ロシアから (亡命容認以外の) 選択肢を奪ったのは米国だ。” (The US deprived Russia of choice (other than exile acceptance)⁴⁴⁵.

Scenario of emotional relations: “そもそも原因をつくったうえ、9月の米ロ首脳会談見送りも唆する米国の強硬な姿勢に、ロシア側はいら立ちを隠さない。” (Russia does not hide its irritation towards vigorous approach of the US, which first has invented reasons and now hints that the US-Russia summit scheduled in September may be postponed)⁴⁴⁶.

Slot “relations of Russia with countries of the Near and the Middle East” is represented by designation of relations with Syria and Afghanistan. The relations with both countries are represented widely, but similarly. In connection with the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan the relations with this country develop in the frame of “opposition” scenario in its extreme manifestation – war, threat: “来年に米軍が撤退する予定のアフガニスタン情勢。テロや麻薬の拡散はロシアにとって直接の脅威だ。” (The next year the US plans to withdraw its army from Afghanistan. For Russia its a direct threat, promising drugs and terrorism dissemination)⁴⁴⁷; “旧ソ連が30年以上前に侵攻したアフガニスタンで、行方不明になっていたソ連軍兵士の一人がアフガニスタンで生存しているのが確認された。” (It was confirmed that one of the missing soldiers lives in Afghanistan, which former Soviet Union invaded more than 30 years ago)⁴⁴⁸.

Russia-Syria relations are described as evolving in the frame of “collaboration” scenario: “ロシアがかたくなに「アサド退陣」に応じなかったのは、旧ソ連時代からのシリアとの戦略的關係があるからだ。” (Because of its strategic relations with Syria established in the Soviet period, Russia stubbornly did not react to the “Assad resignation”)⁴⁴⁹.

Slot “relations of Russia with former Soviet republics” is represented by designation of relations with Ukraine and Georgia.

Scenario of economic dependence: “一方ウクライナでは、経済面でロシアに過度に依存することへの懸念が出ている。” (On one hand, the anxiety concerns the fact that Ukraine is

443 *Asahi Shinbun*, 3 August 2013.

444 *Asahi Shinbun*, 6 August 2013.

445 *Asahi Shinbun*, 20 August 2013.

446 *Asahi Shinbun*, 3 August 2013.

447 *Asahi Shinbun*, 5 September 2013.

448 *Asahi Shinbun*, 8 March 2013.

449 *Asahi Shinbun*, 19 June 2013.

overly dependent on Russia economically)⁴⁵⁰.

Scenario of tolerance and opposition: “地理的にロシアに近い東部は親ロシア、欧州に近い西部は親欧州の人が多いとみられてきた。” (Geographically close to Russia, eastern part of Ukraine is seen as pro-Russian, while western part, close to Europe, is considered pro-European)⁴⁵¹. “ロシアもグルジアも元々近い関係なのに、一部のおかしな指導者が台無しにする。” (Close by nature Russia-Giorgia relations were ruined by some of odd leaders)⁴⁵². A negative assessment of two countries leaders is actualized by the lexeme “おかし *okashi*” (odd).

Scenario of opposition: “2008年にロシアとグルジアが衝突した「グルジア紛争」から5年あまり。” (5 years have passed since Russia and Giorgia collided in the “Giorgia conflict”)⁴⁵³.

Table 12.

Scenarios of Russia's relations with other countries.

	Japan	Europe and “the West”	Asia	USA	Middle and Near East	Former Soviet republics
opposition	+	+	+	+	+	+
collaboration	+	-	-	-	+	-
abnormal situation	+	-	-	-	-	-
path	+		-	-	-	-
business	-	+	+	-	-	-
aid	-	+		-	-	-
tolerance	-	+	+	-	-	+
emotions	-	+	+	+	-	-
development	+	-	-	-	-	-
partnership	+	-	-	-	-	-
economic dependence	+	-	+	-	-	+
diplomatic value	-	-	+	-	-	-

Table 13.

Subframe “relations of Russia with other countries”.

Subframe	Slot	%
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450 *Asahi Shinbun*, 19 December 2013.

451 *Asahi Shinbun*, 13 August 2013.

452 *Asahi Shinbun*, 8 August 2013.

453 *Ibidem*.

Relations of Russia with other countries	Japan-Russia relations	37.5
	Relations with Asia	21
	Relations with Europe	17
	US-Russia relations	10.5
	Relations with Middle/Near East	9
	Relations with former Soviet republics	5

The relations with Japan are represented in a more detailed way than relations with other countries. As it is seen from the table 12 most frequent scenario is “opposition”, which is developed in every category. Even seemingly friendly relations with Asian countries, in actual facts turn out to have elements of opposition, doubt, lack of trust. Emotional relations are typical of Russia's relations with Europe and the USA, and the emotions are primarily negative. Economic relations of Russia are expressed by its dependence from Japan and interdependence with Asia. Diplomatically it is valuable only for China.

3.2.4. Subframe “defense”

The subframe has a complex and detailed structure, it consists of a system of slots, each of which includes a group of designations of realities of this sphere of the country's social life. The image of Russia as a militarized society, a country in a state of a permanent war, opposed to different countries and to the proper regions (Chechnya, Dagestan), occupies an important place in the representation of modern Russia.

Slot “Army”

The denominations included in this slot are “ロシア軍 *roshiagun*” (Russian army), “軍 *gun*/軍隊 *guntai*”(Russian army, forces), “旧ソ連軍 *kyūsoirengun*” (former Soviet army), often followed by the assessment vocabulary:

1. “極東地域のロシア軍は通常の警戒レベルを維持しているという。” (Russian troops in the Far East maintain normal alert level)⁴⁵⁴.
2. The description of actions of the Soviet army in the Korean Peninsula and in Soviet internment camps abounds in emotionally marked vocabulary. Indeed, the experience of internment of 600,000 Japanese in Soviet camps remains one of the main reasons underlying negative attitude of the Japanese towards Russia⁴⁵⁵: “朝鮮半島北部にも旧ソ連軍が進駐。日本人は収容所に連行された。銃を突きつけて略奪と暴行をする軍、寒さと飢え、同胞の盗みや密告……。収容所の生活は、出口のない暗闇だった。”(The former Soviet Union troops also occupied the

⁴⁵⁴ *Asahi Shinbun*, 11 April 2013.

⁴⁵⁵ BOYCHENKO, *Area studies: Japan*.

north of the Korean Peninsula. The Japanese were taken to internment camps. These were troops resorting to arms in order to loot and use violence. Cold and hunger, stealing and betrayal of compatriots. Life of camps was the dark with no exit)⁴⁵⁶. The text fragment illustrates the notion of the USSR/Russia as a country-invader.

3. The anthropomorphous metaphor “手も足も出ない *te mo ashi mo denai*” (to be at one's wit's end) is used in order to describe Russian troops in the state of confusion and inability to act: “南オセチアの防衛を事実上担うロシア軍が手も足も出ない。” (Virtually responsible for the defense of South Ossetia Russian army is at its wit's end)⁴⁵⁷.

4. Russia is described as being in the opposition with Japan and the US (which, on the other hand, play a role of partners). The verb “確認する” *kakuninsuru* (check, validate) implies the superiority of the Russian army (in terms of equipment, proficiency) over the Chinese one: “ロシア軍にとって今回の演習は、日米両国にロシアの存在感を見せつけると同時に、中国軍の装備や練度を間近で確認するという意味合いもありそうだ。” (Probably, for Russia this military exercise is not only the way to show its presence to Japan and the US, but also to check at a short distance equipment and proficiency of China's troops)⁴⁵⁸.

Slot “navy”

The navy is designated with the lexeme “ロシア海軍 *roshia kaigun*”. Given the fact that there is a maritime boundary between Russia and Japan, Russian navy and its actions attract attention of the Japanese newspaper, for instance: “ロシア海軍の太平洋艦隊が、ウラジオストク沖の日本海やサハリン島と大陸間のタタール海峡、カムチャツカ半島周辺の北太平洋で海上軍事演習を続けている。[...] 極東海域でのロシア海軍の存在感を示す狙いがありそうだ。” (Pacific Fleet of the Russian Navy continued military exercise in the Sea of Japan off the coast of Vladivostok, in the Tatar Strait between the continent and Sakhalin, and in the north Pacific Ocean around Kamchatka Peninsula. [...] It is likely to be aimed at indicating the presence of the Russian Navy in the Far East waters)⁴⁵⁹.

Slot “military equipment”

The slot is represented by common designations of military equipments and weaponry, for instance: “戦闘機” *sentōki* (fighter aircraft), “攻撃用兵器” *kōgekiryō heiki* (attack weapon), “艦船” *kansen* (warship), “対空防衛システム” *taikū bōei shisutemu* (anti aircraft defense system), etc.:

1. “今回の演習は9日から15日間の日程で、艦船約40隻、軍用機約20機、兵員約3千人が参加している。” (In this military exercise, which is going to last from 9 to 15 days, will

456 *Asahi Shinbun*, 17 December 2013.

457 *Asahi Shinbun*, 2 April 2013.

458 *Asahi Shinbun*, 9 July 2013.

459 *Asahi Shinbun*, 16 August 2013.

participate about 40 warships, 20 aircrafts and about 3 thousand soldiers and officers)⁴⁶⁰.

2. “シリアへの供与の有無をめぐって情報が交錯しているロシア製高性能地对空ミサイルシステム「S300」について、ロシア紙ベドモスチは5月31日、軍事産業筋の話として、2010年に4組の同システムの供与契約が結ばれたが、今秋までは納品はないと伝えた。” (The information concerning the existence of supply in Syria of Russian high-performance surface-to-air missile systems “S300” was confused. Talking about the military industry muscle, the Russian newspaper “Vedomosti” reports on May, 31 that although the contract on the supply of 4 systems was signed in 2010, they were not delivered till this fall)⁴⁶¹. The metaphor “軍事産業筋” *gunji sangyōkin* (military industry muscle) implies the importance of this sphere for the Russian defense and for Russian economy in general. In numerous text fragments of *Asahi Shinbun* Russia is represented as a country-supplier of weaponry (to Syria, China, North Korea), making it one of the pivots of Russia's economy.

Slot “personnel”

The slot is represented by lexemes “ロシア兵 *roshiahei*” (Russian soldiers), “ソ連兵 *sorenhei*” (Soviet soldiers). Russian soldiers in the discourse of *Asahi Shinbun* are deprived of humanity: they are brutal, cruel and look like evils.

1. “ロシア兵の蛮行、朝鮮人からのいじめなど、この間の体験は今もトラウマとなっている。” (Even today the experience of brutality of Russian soldiers and bullying of Koreans are still traumatic)⁴⁶².

2. “軍国少年だった僕は、「ロシア人はつまらん。日本人が一番だ」と片言のロシア語で言い、親指を立てた。ソ連兵は鬼のような形相で僕を殴る。” (Being a boy from the militarist country I prattled in Russian “Russians are fools. The Japanese are the best”, and rose my thumb. A soviet soldier beat me with a devil-like face)⁴⁶³.

Slot “military activities”

The slot consists of Russia's military activities designations. It includes military operations of Russia, for instance “衝突” *shōtotsu* (conflict), “軍事介入” *gunji kainyū* (military intervention), “進駐” *shinchū* (occupation), etc. and economic activities of Russia in the military sphere: “軍事費の増加” (increase in military expenditure). The examples of this slot illustrate the notion of Russia as an invader, both in its Soviet past: “旧ソ連が30年以上前に侵攻したアフガニスタン” (Afghanistan, invaded by the USSR 30 years ago), and today:

1. “2008年にロシアと軍事衝突したグルジアでは昨年の総選挙で野党が勝利。” (The

460 *Ibidem*.

461 *Asahi Shinbun*, 6 January 2013.

462 *Asahi Shinbun*, 4 September 2013.

463 *Asahi Shinbun*, 18 December 2013.

opposition won in the general election in Georgia, which in 2008 had a military conflict with Russia)⁴⁶⁴.

2. “ロシア軍は装備を近代化する一方、大幅な兵力削減と機構の簡素化を進めた。” (While modernizing its military equipment, Russia proceeds significant troops reduction and system simplification)⁴⁶⁵.

3. “ソチは、独立を主張するチェチェン共和国や、軍事衝突のあった南オセチア自治州から近く、治安上の不安もある。” (The security of Sochi is doubtful because claiming its independence Chechen republic and South Ossetia, where a military conflict took place, are just around the corner)⁴⁶⁶.

Table 14.

Subframe “defence”.

Subframe	Slot	%
Defense	Military activities	41
	Military equipment	23.5
	Army	18
	Navy	12
	Personnel	5,5

3.2.5. Subframe “economy of Russia”

Subframe represents a reductive structure of the concept “Russia”. Being a part of the frame “Russia is a state”, at the same time the subframe shows features of an independent concept: in a concise form it represents various features of the concept “state's economy”. For instance, it represents a feature of economy's compounds (composed of regional economies, sectors of economy): “政治も経済もモスクワへの一極集中は激しい。” (The political life and economy are intensively concentrated in Moscow)⁴⁶⁷. “地域経済の活性化に貢献したい。” (I would like to contribute to the development of regional economy)⁴⁶⁸.

Ascription of features of a car, ship, aircraft to the economy is actualized by the metaphoric model “economy is a vehicle”: “投資が逃げれば、経済成長のエンジンをなくしてしまう。” (If investments run away, the economic growth (*of the Far East*) will be deprived of its engine)⁴⁶⁹.

Depending on the focus of interests of the newspaper's journalists Russian economy, can be, for instance petrol economy: “ガソリン経済”, “ロシアの「カジノ経済」” (Russia's “casino

464 *Asahi Shinbun*, 23 May 2013.

465 *Asahi Shinbun*, 18 July 2013.

466 *Asahi Shinbun*, 6 January 2013.

467 *Asahi Shinbun*, 6 January 2013.

468 *Asahi Shinbun*, 31 July 2013.

469 *Asahi Shinbun*, 20 October 2013.

economy”).

On the basis of features ascribed to economy several slot of the subframe “economy of Russia” were identified.

Slot “economy” unites into a single group common designations of the economic sphere based on inconcrete, general knowledge, for instance: “「安全保障、極東シベリア地域を含む互恵的経済協力などあらゆる分野で協力したい」と伝え、領土問題以外の分野を進展させ、関係を強化することに意欲を示した。” (“I would like to develop economic cooperation in various fields, such as security and mutually beneficial economic cooperation that would concerning the Far East and Siberia”, (*prime-minister Abe*) conveyed his willingness to strengthen the relationships by progressing in fields other than territorial issue)⁴⁷⁰.

Slot “economy is a plant” is a vegetative metaphoric model, based on a metaphoric transfer of features of a plant (growth) to the sphere of economy. It should be stated that in mythical world-view of many nations economic prosperity is described in terms of natural fertility, prosperity, new life by means of vegetative code, ie vegetative metaphors:

1. “12年前、ブラジル (B r a z i l)、ロシア (R u s s i a)、インド (I n d i a)、中国 (C h i n a) の4カ国が急成長して世界経済を先導すると考え、「BRICS (ブリックス)」と名付けました。” (12 years ago 4 countries (Brazil, Russia, India and China) having an intention to grow rapidly and come to the leadership in the global economy called themselves “BRICS”)⁴⁷¹.
2. “BRICS (新興5カ国=ブラジル、ロシア、インド、中国、南アフリカ) の成長は世界経済にとって重要な意味を持つ。” (The growth of 5 countries of BRICS (5 emerging nations are Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa) is meaningful for the economy of the whole world)⁴⁷².

Slot “time of economy” is realized by means of the lexeme “将来の経済協力” (future economic cooperation): “プーチン氏は「我々は将来の経済や貿易の協力発展のあらゆる可能性を推進していく」と、経済を中心とした両国関係の強化の必要を強調。” (“We will continue to promote all the possibilities of future economic and trade cooperation development”, emphasized V. Putin the need for strengthening of bilateral relations with the focus of economy. 23.03.2013).

Slot “economy is a market”

The slot is realized by the lexeme “市場経済化 *shijōkeizaika*”, which means the process of economic transformation from planned to market economy. Despite generally negative evaluation of the communist regime in Russia, this transformation is seen as a painful process, accompanied by emergence of many social problems:

1. “激増の背景には、急速な市場経済化がある。” (In the background of the drastic increase (of

470 *Asahi Shinbun*, 5 June 2013.

471 *Asahi Shinbun*, 7 January 2013.

472 *Asahi Shinbun*, 8 January 2013.

the number of orphans in Russia) there is a rapid transformation of the economy into market economy)⁴⁷³.

2. “世界屈指のバレエの技で観衆を魅了し続ける一方、ソ連崩壊後の市場経済化でビジネス重視の土壤に変わった今、スポンサーの新興財閥が配役に口を出すとのうわさも絶えない。” (While it continues to attract audience with its performance of the world leading ballet, now, that it is a business-oriented soil, changed due to the transformation into market economy in the post-Soviet period, the rumors about emerging conglomerates of sponsors interfering in the process of casting, do not stop)⁴⁷⁴. The expression “ビジネス重視の土壤 *bijinesu jūshi no dojō*” metaphorically represents Russia as a soil which can absorb certain idea, and by doing so change its nature.

Slot “economy is a changing formation”

According to notions actualized by the Japanese newspaper economy can be in two states: dynamism and stability, wherein the stability is opposed to disorder, turmoil, and dynamism is connected with growth. In a sense, economic stability is based on the stability of dynamism, growth.

In the process of growth Russia enters into relations of equal partnership with countries like Brazil and India, and, at the same time, all BRICS becomes a rival of G7. Thus, in the discourse of “Asahi Shinbun” one of the ways of the world division is its division on economic basis: developed countries of G7 versus emerging nations of BRICS: “ブラジル、ロシア、インド、中国、南アフリカの5カ国。経済規模は、世界全体の約2割を占め、2050年までには米国や日本、ドイツなど先進7カ国（G7）をしのぐとの見方もある。” (5 countries: Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa. The economic scale, accounting for about 20% of the entire world economy, by 2050 may surpass 7 developed countries (G7), including the US, Japan and Germany)⁴⁷⁵.

Russian economy, still strongly dependent on Russian politics in order to be boosted needs measures taken by V. Putin: “国際イベントを起爆剤とし、経済の底上げを図るのは、プーチン大統領の開発手法でもある。” (One of development approaches of President Putin is the attempt of using international events as a detonator for raising the level of economy)⁴⁷⁶.

“2000年以降、大統領、首相、再び大統領と立ち位置を変えながら権力を維持するプーチン氏は、エネルギー産業を重視することでロシア経済を押し上げることに成功する一方、孤児や年金、住宅などの問題は後回しにしていた。貧富の差の拡大や汚職の増加に対し、庶民の不満が高まっているためだ。” (Since 2000 V. Putin preserves his power while changing his status from president to prime-minister, and again to president. Throughout this period V. Putin, on one hand, managed to boost Russian economy by focusing on the energy industry, but, on the other hand,

473 *Asahi Shinbun*, 19 August 2013.

474 *Asahi Shinbun*, 22 March 2013.

475 *Asahi Shinbun*, 23 March 2013.

476 *Asahi Shinbun*, 24 July 2013.

the settlement of problems like orphans, pensions and housing was postponed. As the corruption and the gap between the rich and the poor increased, the discontent of common people has grown)⁴⁷⁷. Lexemes “押し上げる” *oshiageru* (to boost, to push up), “底上げ” *sokoage* (raising of the standard) actualize the process of economic grows in terms of the orientational metaphor: making something raise, pushing something up means improving the economy of the country.

Slot “economy is an order/disorder”

Economic stability is connected with the state of order, and a notion of order may in this case be realized by the lexeme “構造 *kōzō*” (system): “ロシアがこうした態度をとる理由は、この国の経済構造にある。” (The reason why Russia took this position lies in the structure of economy, which this country has)⁴⁷⁸.

Disorder, chaos, turmoil are contrary to the state of order, and they are conceptualized as something which must be overcome: “ソ連崩壊後の経済混乱期に日本車ビジネスで救われた記憶が残る。” (They remember how in the period of post-Soviet economic disorder they were rescued by Japanese cars business)⁴⁷⁹. “ソ連崩壊の混乱を経て経済が急成長する2006年に誕生した。” ((*The TV show*) was born in 2006 when Russian economy rapidly grew after overcoming the disorder brought about by the collapse of the USSR)⁴⁸⁰. Though the post-Soviet period finished many years ago, Russia still has to handle its consequences, Russian economy is still characterized rather by disorder than by order: “広大な土地を持つロシアは1991年のソ連崩壊による経済的混乱で大量の不耕作地が生まれた。” (A large amount of non-cultivated land was born in the vast territory of Russia as a result of the economic turmoil caused by the of the USSR collapse in 1991)⁴⁸¹.

Table 15.

Subframe “economy of Russia”.

Subframe	Slot	%
Economy of Russia	Economy	56.5
	Economy is a plant	26
	Economy is something changing	7
	Economy is a market	5.5
	Economy is an order	3.5
	Time of economy	1.5

477 *Asahi Shinbun*, 12 July 2013.

478 *Asahi Shinbun*, 19 October 2013.

479 *Asahi Shinbun*, 6 January 2013.

480 *Asahi Shinbun*, 8 March 2013.

481 *Asahi Shinbun*, 29 April 2013.

3.2.6. Subframe “finance”

Slot “financial institutions”

The slot includes designations of Russian banks and financial institutions, such as “ロシア中銀” *roshia chūgin* / “ロシア中央銀行” *roshia chūō ginkō* (Central Bank of Russia), “ロシアのアルファ銀行” *roshia no arufa ginkō* (Russian Alfa Bank). Russian bank culture is described as inconvenient, employees are unprofessional: “例えば銀行。最近、子どもの学費を送金したところ、小学校から「お金が入っていません」。銀行で確かめると、「先方の間違いでは？」と担当行員。「念のため確認して下さい」と伝えると、私の口座番号を2カ所も間違えていた。相手は謝りもせず、「なぜ確認しなかったのですか？」と逆に私が詰問された。” (For example, a bank. Recently, a school informed me that the money transfer I had made to pay the tuition fee did not come. When I asked in the bank, an employee told me that it must be a mistake of the beneficiary. I asked him to check just in case, and it turned out that he made two mistakes in my bank account number. Without even apologizing, he asked from his side: “Why didn't you check?”)⁴⁸².

Slot “money”

The slot is actualized by lexemes, denoting money, wealth. Money can be characterized by their nationality: “ロシアンマネー *roshian manē*” (Russian money), by material it is made of: “ロシアオイルマネー *roshia oiru manē*”(Russian oil money), by its legality or illegality: “ロシアからアングラマネー *roshia kara angura manē*” (underground money from Russia), “不透明な資金 *futōmeina shikin*” (opaque funds). Money can be undesirable and create problems. For instance: “さらに問題を複雑にしたのはロシアからアングラマネーを含む多額の預金が流入していて、ユーロ圏とロシアとの利害対立を招いたことだ。” (The problem was even more complicated by the inflow (to Cyprus) of big sums of money, including underground money from Russia, which led to the conflict of interests between eurozone and Russia)⁴⁸³. “キプロスは、租税回避地としてロシアなどからの不透明な資金が流れ込み、資金洗浄の舞台とみなされてきた。” (Tax haven Cyprus, flooded with opaque funds from Russia and other countries, has been regarded as a stage for money laundering)⁴⁸⁴.

In order to denote countries' incomings the newspaper uses economic terms: “BRICsの国内総生産（GDP）は2050年には世界の4割を占めると予測したが、もっと早いスピードで成長している。” (It has been estimated that in 2050 gross domestic product of BRICs will account for 40% of the world, but it is growing even at a higher speed)⁴⁸⁵.

482 *Asahi Shinbun*, 29 April 2013.

483 *Asahi Shinbun*, 26 March 2013.

484 *Ibidem*.

485 *Asahi Shinbun*, 7 January 2013.

“Asahi Shinbun” describes Russia as a source: “ロシアからの投資” *roshia kara no tōshi* (investments from Russia) of investments and financial aid and, at the same time, as its object: “ブラジル、ロシア、インド、中国の動向は、今も世界中が注目していますが、投資対象としてはやや魅力が薄れてきた印象があります。” (Even today the development of Brazil, Russia, India and China attracts attention in the world, but their attractiveness as of investment objects somewhat faded)⁴⁸⁶.

Slot “securities”

The slot consists of designation of financial investments into Russian economy by means of securities purchase, for instance: “ブリヤート共和国の製材会社「BLK」社の株式” (the shares of Buryat republic company “BLK”), “資源・エネルギー価格の上昇が追い風となったロシア株” (the rise of resources and energy prices, which has become favourable for Russia's shares).

Shares of BRICs are actualized as encroaching in the top of a shares ranking, changing the existing state of the global share market and the share market itself as a competitive environment, where aggressive behaviour is needed: “ブラジル、ロシア、インド、中国のいわゆる「BRICs」の新興4カ国の株式を投資対象としたタイプも、ランキング上位に食い込んできました。” (Shares of 4 emerging nations of “BRICs” also have become the object of investments, encroaching upon the top ranks)⁴⁸⁷.

Table 16.

Subframe “finance”.

Subframe	Slot	%
Finance	Money	74
	Financial institutions	16.5
	Securities	9.5

3.2.7. Subframe “industry”

Overall, the subframe is represented by various word-combinations with the lexeme “産業 *sangyō*”(industry) and is divided into thematic slots.

Slot “power and gas industry”

The slot is represented by lexemes “エネルギー産業 *enerugi sangyō*”(power industry), “エネルギー資源輸出国 *enerugi yushutsukoku*”(energy exporter), “ロシア天然ガス *roshia tennengasu*”(Russia's natural gas), etc.

Power industry is represented as the main industry sector of Russia, the source of its

⁴⁸⁶ *Asahi Shinbun*, 27 April 2013.

⁴⁸⁷ *Asahi Shinbun*, 18 November 2013.

economic growth: “プーチン氏は、エネルギー産業を重視することでロシア経済を押し上げる [...]。” (V. Putin managed to boost Russian economy by focusing on the energy industry [...])⁴⁸⁸.

Another important function of this sector is being a base for international relationship establishment. Though dependence of Russia is described as being dangerous, Russia's ability to supply gas and oil often becomes the base of collaboration with other countries:

1. “習氏が最初の訪問先にロシアを選んだ背景にも、世界最大のエネルギー消費国である中国と、エネルギー資源輸出国であるロシアの深い結びつきがある。” (In the background of Xi Jinping's choice of Russia as his first official visit destination, there is a deep connection between China, world's biggest energy consumer and Russia, energy resource exporter)⁴⁸⁹.
2. “2011年には、ロシアとノルウェーが、石油やガスの共同開発に弾みをつけようと、40年間に及ぶ北極圏での海の境界をめぐる争いを解決した。” (In 2011 Russia and Norway solved the dispute over their maritime border in the Arctic, which had lasted for 40 years, in order to give an impulse to the cooperative development of oil and gas industries)⁴⁹⁰.
3. “LNG需要が急増する日本の市場に、ロシアは目を向けるようになった。” (Russia shifted its focus to the Japanese market, where LNG demand is surging)⁴⁹¹.

Due to the shale gas revolution Russia was forced to seek for new markets and shifted its focus from Europe to Asia: “ロシア側がエネルギー協力に前のめりになる背景には、最近の世界的なエネルギー事情の変化がある。” (The reason why Russia plunged into energy cooperation (with Japan) is recent changes in global energy system)⁴⁹².

Slot “oil industry”

The slot represented by the lexeme “石油 *sekiyu*”(oil) metaphorically describes Russia as being “moist” by elevated prices on oil, which is one of the main export products of the country. Like in case of the power industry oil export is also the reason to deepen relations with other countries:

1. “石油価格の高騰で潤ったロシアから資金も人も流れこんだ。” (Both people and money streamed from Russia (to Cyprus) profited by the steep price rise of oil)⁴⁹³.
2. “フィンランドはロシアからのエネルギー輸入に依存している。石炭や石油の9割を輸入している。” (Finland depends on energy export from Russia. It imports 90% of coal and oil)⁴⁹⁴.
3. “ロシアから中国への年間の石油供給量を倍増するなど、多くの経済協力案件も合意された。”

488 *Asahi Shinbun*, 12 July 2013.

489 *Asahi Shinbun*, 23 March 2013.

490 *Asahi Shinbun*, 16 June 2013.

491 *Asahi Shinbun*, 26 February 2013.

492 *Asahi Shinbun*, 22 February 2013.

493 *Asahi Shinbun*, 21 March 2013.

494 *Asahi Shinbun*, 24 January 2013.

(Russia and China agreed upon many economic cooperation projects, like, for instance to double the oil supply from Russia to China)⁴⁹⁵.

Slot “weapons industry”

The slot is widely and uniformly exemplified by text fragments concerning Russia's weapons supply to Syria: “ロシア国営の兵器輸出企業「ロスオボロンエクスポート」は、内戦状態にあるシリアのアサド政権に対し、対空防衛システムなど防御用兵器に限って供給を続けていると明らかにした。” (Russian state weaponry export company “Rosoboronexport” claimed that it continues to supply only defense weapons, such as anti-aircraft defense system to the regime of Assad in Syria, merged in the civil war)⁴⁹⁶.

Unlike manufacturing industry sector (the slot is absent) military production plays an important role within Russian economy: “ロシアにとって、兵器はガスや石油などのエネルギーに次ぐ第2の主力輸出品だ。製造業が低迷する中、軍事部門は世界市場でも通用する競争力がある。” (For Russia weaponry is the second major export product after energy resources, such as gas and oil. While there is downturn in manufacturing industry sector, the military sector is competitive in the world market)⁴⁹⁷.

Slot “nuclear industry”

The slot is mostly represented by the lexeme “原子力発電 *genshiryoku hatsuden*” (nuclear power). Russia is described as a country with big nuclear potential: “2030年までに中国、インド、ロシアが世界の原子力発電の4割を占めると予測する。” (It has been estimated that by 2030 China, India and Russia will account for 40% of world's nuclear power)⁴⁹⁸ and wide extensive nuclear infrastructure: “チェリャビンスク州一帯はロシアの主要工業地帯の一つで、原子力発電所や使用済み核燃料の関連施設などもある。” (Whole Chelyabinsk Oblast is one of Russia's major industrial areas, and among other there are also nuclear plants and spent nuclear fuel related facilities)⁴⁹⁹.

Russia's predecessor Soviet Union was famous for its power plants construction in friendly states (in India, African countries, East Europe). Though Soviet Union does not exist anymore, Russian language is still common in a Bulgarian town where a nuclear plant was built: “ソ連全土から原子力の技術者を集めてつくった町で、いまでも共通語はロシア語だ。” (Russian language is still common in the town where nuclear engineers gathered from all the territory of the USSR)⁵⁰⁰.

Slot “automobile industry”

495 *Asahi Shinbun*, 24 March 2013.

496 *Asahi Shinbun*, 16 February 2013.

497 *Asahi Shinbun*, 14 September 2013.

498 *Asahi Shinbun*, 17 November 2013.

499 *Asahi Shinbun*, 16 February 2013.

500 *Asahi Shinbun*, 30 November 2013.

The automobile industry does not attract attention of *Asahi Shinbun*. Journalists notice that second-hand Japanese cars are more appreciated in Russia than new Russian cars and interpret events connected with the construction of Toyota plants in Russia: “走行距離が10万キロを超えても新品のロシア車より高性能で安い日本車は引く手あまただった。” (Even with mileage exceeding 10,000 kilometers a cheap and reliable Japanese cars were appreciated more than a brand-new Russian car)⁵⁰¹. “ロシアの自動車会社ソラーズと三井物産の合弁会社がウラジオストクに建てたトヨタ車の組み立て工場から25日、完成車16台がシベリア鉄道の貨物車両に積まれて初出荷された。” (On February, 25 16 first cars were finished and shipped in Trans-Siberian Railway freight vehicles from Toyota construction plant, built in Vladivostok by a joint venture of Russian automobile company Sollers JSC and Mitsui & Co. Ltd)⁵⁰².

Slot “space exploration industry”

Though Russia still participates in international space exploration programs, produces spacesuits and spacecrafts and prepares new space exploration projects its fame is connected primarily with achievements of the Soviet Union:

1. “宇宙服は今、アメリカ製とロシア製、中国製しかない。” (Nowadays spacesuits are produced only in America, Russia and China)⁵⁰³
2. “ロシア連邦宇宙庁のポポフキン長官は15日、ロシア極東アムール州に建設中のボストーチヌイ宇宙基地から2015年に月探査機「ルナ・グローブ」を打ち上げる計画を明らかにした。” (On January, 15 the Secretary of Russian Federal Space Agency Popovkin revealed plans of launching in 2015 a lunar probe “Luna Globe” from Vostochny Space Station, which is now under construction in the Russian Far East Amur Oblast)⁵⁰⁴.
3. “宇宙関連企業「エネルギー」のロポタ社長は、核弾頭を搭載した大型ミサイルで危険な小惑星を破壊する構想を提案した。” (The director of Rocket and Space Corporation Energia Lopota proposed a plan of destroying of dangerous asteroids by a large missile equipped with a nuclear warhead)⁵⁰⁵.
4. “これまでに火星の地表や軌道に探査機を送り込んだのは米国、ロシア（旧ソ連）、欧州宇宙機関。” (So far only the USA, Russia (former Soviet Union) and European Space Agency sent spacecrafts to the surface of Mars and its orbit)⁵⁰⁶.

Table 17.

Subframe “industry”.

501 *Asahi Shinbun*, 6 January 2013.

502 *Asahi Shinbun*, 26 February 2013.

503 *Asahi Shinbun*, 28 March 2013.

504 *Asahi Shinbun*, 17 January 2013.

505 *Asahi Shinbun*, 14 March 2013.

506 *Asahi Shinbun*, 6 November 2013.

Subframe	Slot	%
Industry	Power and gas industries	57.5
	Weaponry industry	21
	Nuclear industry	10
	Oil industry	7.5
	Space exploration	2.5
	Automobile industry	1.5

3.2.8. Subframe “culture”

The aspects of Russian culture, conceived in the discourse of *Asahi Shinbun* are united into slots on basis of their themes.

Slot “culture” is actualized by the lexeme “文化 *bunka*” and unites text fragments describing Russian culture in general.

The notions about this aspect of Russia's life in Japan are not abundant: though the Japanese know that in Russia there are museums with great collections of French fine art, many Russians are well-educated people and Russian ballet school is still leading in the world, they admit to lack knowledge about Russian culture: “日本でほとんど知られていなかったロシアの文化” (Russian culture, almost unknown in Japan)⁵⁰⁷; “ロシアには行ったことがないし、知り合いもないし、ロシア文学は1冊しか読んだことがない。” (I have never been in Russia, don't know any Russian and I have never read any Russian book)⁵⁰⁸.

The development of Russian culture is considered to be connected with Russian climate. “Indoor” arts, such as literature, music and ballet developed due to severe Russian winter and impossibility to be outside: “ロシアの冬は厳しい。外は危険なほど寒い。ゆえに、室内で過ごす時間が長くなる。文学や音楽、バレエなどが発達したのは、ロシアが寒い国だったからかもしれない。” (Russian winter is severe. It is dangerously cold. For this reason people spend a lot of time inside houses. Probably, it is because Russia is a cold country, that literature, music and ballet developed here)⁵⁰⁹. Another theory of Russian culture presumes that inconvenience of Russia's life led to the development of a rich and spiritual culture: “ロシアも不便だからこそ、精神性の豊かな文化が育ったのではないか。” (It is exactly because Russia is inconvenient that spiritually rich culture came into being)⁵¹⁰. The notion of spirituality of Russian culture corresponds to the stereotype of a mysterious and spiritual Russian soul.

What the Japanese newspaper stresses is the difference between cultures of two countries:

⁵⁰⁷ *Asahi Shinbun*, 12 June 2013.

⁵⁰⁸ *Asahi Shinbun*, 28 January 2013.

⁵⁰⁹ *Asahi Shinbun*, 6 July 2013.

⁵¹⁰ *Asahi Shinbun*, 11 April 2013.

“文化や社会の仕組みが日本と大きく違い、「ありえへん」と叫びたくなることが多い。” (There is a world of difference between Japanese (*and Russian*) systems of culture and society. Sometimes you will just want to shout: “Impossible!”)⁵¹¹.

The greatness of Russian culture is opposed to the tragedies happened in the course of Japan-Russia relations: “世界最高峰の音楽やバレエ、演劇、文学を育む一方、シベリア抑留や北方領土問題など暗い話題。” (On one hand, (*it is the country*) of world's best music and ballet, theatre and literature. On the other hand, there were such dark pages of history like Siberian internment and Northern Territories issue)⁵¹². Even though the newspaper admits the greatness of Russian culture, its impressions are saddened by the events in the Soviet past.

Slot “art” is actualized by a lexeme “美術館 *bijutsukan*”(art museum): “フランス絵画300年の歴史を彩る名品66点がモスクワのプーシキン美術館から来日する。” (66 art works, which illuminate 300 years of French fine arts history, arrived in Japan from Pushkin Museum in Moscow)⁵¹³; and by word combinations with the lexeme “アート *āto*”, for instance: “現代アートを支援する現代のコレクターを訪ねた。モスクワに点在するアートスペースで、「世界のアートをロシアへ、ロシアのアートを世界へ」と活躍しているのは女性たちだった。” (I met a collector who supports modern art (*in Russia*). It was a woman who works in numerous art spaces of Moscow, in order to bring “world's art to Russia, and Russian art to the world”)⁵¹⁴.

Slot “music” is realized by lexemes “ロシアのバレエ音楽 *roshia no barē ongaku*” (Russian ballet music), “ロシアの民謡音楽 *roshia no min'yō ongaku*” (Russian folk music), etc. Russian classical music is appreciated in Japan, the level of Russian musicians is considered to be high, while Russian pop music is unknown to the Japanese: “ウラジオの音楽家のレベルは高く、今後とも交流を続けたい。” (The level of musicians from Vladivostok is high, and I would like to continue the exchange in future)⁵¹⁵. “「白鳥の湖」の悲しげな音楽とともに、美しく舞うバレリーナ——。「バレエ」は多くの女性たちの憧れだ。” (A ballerina is marvelously dancing together with sad music of the “Swan Lake”. “Ballet” is a dream of many women⁵¹⁶).

Slot “education” is represented by names of Russian universities (“ロシアのモスクワ大学” *roshia no mosukuwadaigaku*, 極東連邦大学 *kyokutō renpōdaigaku*).

A Russian university can become a link connecting Russia and Asian countries: “FEFUはロシア極東地域最大の総合大学で、中国や韓国、ベトナムなどから約1千人の留学生を受け入

511 *Asahi Shinbun*, 4 November 2013.

512 *Asahi Shinbun*, 28 December 2013.

513 *Asahi Shinbun*, 5 January 2013.

514 *Asahi Shinbun*, 6 August 2013.

515 *Asahi Shinbun*, 24 August 2013.

516 *Asahi Shinbun*, 2 August 2013.

れている。学生たちは1カ月間、ロシア語のほか、ロシアの文化や外交政策などを学ぶ。” (FEFU is the largest university in the Russian Far East, which accepts around 1000 students from China and Korea, Vietnam and other countries. During one month students study not only Russian language, but also Russian culture and diplomatic policy)⁵¹⁷.

Russian education is considered to be good, many Russians are well-educated and worth being employed: “ロシア人は基礎教育がしっかりして優秀な人材が多い。積極的に採用したい。” (Among Russians many are capable people with good basic education. I surely want to employ them)⁵¹⁸.

Slot “Russian language” is actualized by the lexeme “ロシア語 *roshiago*”. Generally, it is mentioned in text fragments, which include Russian words (ペレストロイカ, グラスノスチ, カスチョール, etc.). For instance, “ダスヴィダーニヤは「さよなら」のロシア語” (“Do svidaniya” means “Good bye” in Russian).

The Japanese can contact Russian language through a TV program 「テレビでロシア語」 (“Russian language on TV”) on a Japanese channel or by listening to Russian radio on the Internet and by participating in Russian language speech contests held in Japan: “帰国後、インターネットでロシアのラジオ番組を聴き、ロシア語のスピーチコンテストにも出場した。” (After coming back home, (she) was listening to Russian radio programs on the Internet and participated in a Russian language speech contest)⁵¹⁹.

Slot “religion” is represented by designations of Russian Orthodox Church, which is described as suffering from hypertrophy: “肥大化していくロシア正教”, and greedy: “ロシア正教は教会ビジネスを際限なく拡大していく。教会に足をはこぶ人がふえるという構図、原油ビジネス、商業銀行の開設、国民の目には「欲深い教会」と映るのも当然だ。” (Russian Orthodox Church endlessly expands the church business. Plans of expanding flocks, crude oil business, establishment of commercial banks – no wonder that it seen as “greedy church” in the public eye)⁵²⁰.

Slot “history” is realized by the word-combination “ロシアの歴史 *roshia no rekishi*”, which is described as turbulent and tragic, for instance: “ロシアの激動の歴史がくしくも一つにまとめ上げたきら星のごときフランス絵画の傑作群。” (Strangely, during its turbulent history Russia managed to gather a brilliant collection of French masterpieces)⁵²¹.

Slot “everyday life” reflects some notions of the Japanese about Russian routine.

According to Japanese journalists “inconvenient” is one of the most commonly used words

517 *Asahi Shinbun*, 5 August 2013.

518 *Asahi Shinbun*, 2 September 2013.

519 *Asahi Shinbun*, 5 January 2013.

520 *Asahi Shinbun*, 28 April 2013.

521 *Asahi Shinbun*, 8 February 2013.

in Russia, and it describes everyday life in Russia: “「不便だ」を意味するロシア語「ニウドーブナ」は最もよく使う言葉だ。” (“Neudobno”, which mean “inconvenient” in Russian is the most frequently used word)⁵²². Inconvenient things are: bad bank system, unreliable services providers and even the fact that in Russia there are 9 time zones leads to inconvenience: “いまのロシアには時間が九つ。暮らしは時に複雑だ。” (Now in Russia there are 9 time zones. Sometimes life is complicated)⁵²³. Another reason of inconvenience are traffic jams and surprisingly dirty cars in Russian cities. Moscow, for instance, is compared with deluge: “街に出て驚いたのは汚れた車の洪水であった。” (When we went out to the city, surprisingly it looked like deluge of dirty cars)⁵²⁴, while Sochi is suffocating with traffic jams: “渋滞が激しい道を車で1時間進むとリゾート地が見えてくる。” (After one hour of an intensively congested road, the resort comes into view)⁵²⁵.

In other respects, Russians are described as lovers of vodka and black tea, music, songs around bonfire, friendly talks and sushi: “テーブルを囲んでお茶やウオツカを飲み、黒パンにチーズやハムをのせたオープンサンドを食べた。談笑の合間に必ず誰かが楽器を弾いた。楽器の音色が流れると、途端に空気がロマンチックになった。” (We used to sit around a table, drink vodka or tea and eat rye bread and cheese or ham open sandwiches. In the breaks in friendly conversations somebody would surely play a musical instrument. With the flow of sounds of music, the atmosphere would become romantic)⁵²⁶. “ロシアでは、すしは多くのレストランで普及し、総菜売り場でも人気を集める。” (In Russia sushi is common in many restaurants, and it has become popular even in departments of side dishes)⁵²⁷.

Table 18.

Subframe “culture”.

Subframe	Slot	%
Culture	Culture	27.5
	Music	22
	Everyday life	16.5
	Russian language	12
	Education	10
	History	8
	Religion	2.5
	Art	1.5

⁵²² *Asahi Shinbun*, 11 April 2013.

⁵²³ *Asahi Shinbun*, 5 January 2013.

⁵²⁴ *Asahi Shinbun*, 9 November 2013.

⁵²⁵ *Asahi Shinbun*, 6 January 2013.

⁵²⁶ *Asahi Shinbun*, 14 December 2013.

⁵²⁷ *Asahi Shinbun*, 15 February 2013.

3.2.9. Subframe “sport”

Apart from description of international events in which Russian athletes participated, in 2013, on the threshold of Sochi 2014, the attention of the Japanese newspaper was concentrated on Olympic games held in Russia.

The Olympic games are seen by *Asahi Shinbun* in several different aspects:

1. as a political event which can change the image of Russia in the world: “五輪の成否は、ロシアのイメージを大きく左右しかねない。” (The success of Olympics can greatly affect the image of Russia);
2. as one of many international events used by V. Putin as the way of boosting economy: “国際イベントを起爆剤とし、経済の底上げを図るのは、プーチン大統領流の開発手法でもある。「アジアへの窓」と位置づける極東ウラジオストクで昨秋、アジア太平洋経済協力会議 (A P E C) を開催、この夏には I T 都市をめざすカザニ (タタールスタン共和国) でユニバーシアード大会が予定されており、ソチ五輪は国際イベントの第 3 弾とも言える。” (One of development approaches of President Putin is the attempt of using international events as a detonator for raising the level of economy. Far Eastern city Vladivostok, which is also called “the window to Asia” became the last autumn the venue of APEC conference, this summer the Universiade is scheduled in Kazan, which aim at the status of an IT city (Tatarstan), and the Olympics in Sochi is called the third part of this story)⁵²⁸. The counter “弾 *dan*” whose primary meaning is “bullet” metaphorically describes the Olympics as a certain missile, aimed at development of international relations in order to boost Russian economy;
3. as a burden for the environment: “15年前の長野五輪でも問題になったが、やはり冬の大会は自然にかかる負担が大きい。” (15 years ago Nagano faced similar problems (*like Sochi*). Indeed, winter Olympic games are a heavy burden for the nature)⁵²⁹.
4. as a sporting event, as a long-awaited holiday: “ロシア南部ソチで開かれる冬季五輪 (来年 2 月 7 日開幕) まであと 1 0 0 日と迫った 3 0 日、ロシア各地では 2 9 日に続いてカウントダウンイベントが行われた。” (In the wake of October, 29 everywhere in Russia they started the countdown of Sochi (Southern Russia) Winter Olympics)⁵³⁰, as 100 days remained before the opening on October, 30)⁵³¹.

528 *Asahi Shinbun*, 24 July 2013.

529 *Asahi Shinbun*, 6 January 2013.

530 *Asahi Shinbun*, 7 February 2013.

531 *Asahi Shinbun*, 31 October 2013.

3.2.10. Subframe “time of Russia”

Slot “past of Russia” is realized by means of indicating events and states which characterized Russia in the past. The past of Russia is tragic and threatening: “祖父がこの道で強制労働させられたというゾーリナ館長は「囚人は木綿の薄い上着だけで、食事も粗末。警備隊は気晴らしに囚人を銃殺するような人々。恐ろしい時代でした。」(The director of the museum, whose grandfather was forced to work on that way told me that prisoners wore only thin cotton coats, and meals were poor. Guards were such people who could shoot prisoners just for distraction. It was a terrifying era)⁵³²; “囚人は劣悪な環境で毎日10～12時間も働かされた。飢えや寒さで毎日20～25人ずつ死んだという。” (Prisoners had to work in terrible conditions for 10-12 hours a day. Every day 20-25 people died of hunger or cold)⁵³³. Such perception of Russian history is achieved due to the presence in the text emotionally marked expressive vocabulary (terrifying era, terrible conditions) and vocabulary which designates negative phenomena of social life (prisoners killed for distraction, died of hunger and cold).

If not killed, whole diasporas or villages were often forced to migrate from fertile land of Caucasus to Kazakhstan, Siberia or the Far East: “両親も旧ソ連時代にカザフスタンに強制移住させられたチェチェン人のディアスポラ。” (Parent were also in a Chechen diaspora which was forced to migrate to Kazakhstan in former Soviet Union era)⁵³⁴.

The collapse of the USSR brought about nothing but economic turmoil, when even food was scarce: “モスクワに留学していたとき、ロシア人家庭にホームステイしました。ソ連崩壊の翌年で食糧事情の悪いころです。” (When I studied in Moscow, I stayed in a Russian house. It was one year after the collapse of the USSR and the food situation was bad)⁵³⁵.

Texts of *Asahi Shinbun* are focused on Russia's past of the Soviet period, which was the time that define scenarios of Russia's new history development. It is in the Soviet period that events (internment, South Kuril issue) defined basically negative character of Japan-Russia relations. Moreover, the Soviet Union plays a role of a certain base with which to compare its ancestor modern Russia and where to search for the explanation of its actions.

Slot “modern Russia”

Today's Russia is described by means of lexemes “今のロシア *ima no roshia*”, “現代ロシア *genzai roshia*” (modern Russia) and other combinations indicating events and state of Russia's present.

Russia inherited many negative phenomena of the USSR or developed them in the post-

532 *Asahi Shinbun*, 11 March 2013.

533 *Ibidem*.

534 *Asahi Shinbun*, 19 April 2013.

535 *Asahi Shinbun*, 15 February 2013.

Soviet period. Journalists search for reason of today's Russia phenomena in its past: “ロシア社会の同性愛への偏見は根強く、旧ソ連時代は犯罪行為とされていた。現在も同性婚は公認されていない。” (Prejudice against homosexuality is deeply rooted in Russian society: in the former Soviet Union it was a criminal offense. Same-sex marriages are still not recognized)⁵³⁶. Natural metaphor “偏見は根強く” described Russian society as soil, where certain ideas take root, are deep-rooted. “「ベレゾフスキーは死んだ。しかし彼のプーチンは生きている」。評論家のイーゴリ・エイドマン氏はこうブログに書いた。ソ連時代の有名なスローガン「レーニンは死んだ。しかし彼の事業は生きている」をもじったもので、腐敗と不正義が支配する政治文化がベレゾフスキー氏からプーチン政権に引き継がれたという痛烈な皮肉だ。” (“Berezovsky died. But his Putin is alive”, wrote in his blog commentator Igor Eidman. He parodied a famous Soviet slogan “Lenin died. But his deed is alive”. The poignant irony is that political culture based on corruption and injustice was taken over by Putin's regime from Berezovsky)⁵³⁷. The political system of modern Russia got a negative evaluation by being called corrupted and unjust, and the foundation of this system was laid in 1990s, in the time of B. Yeltsin and B. Berezovsky.

Nonetheless, Russia is described in the state of change, for instance, the change of its infrastructure: “シェレメチェボ国際空港の様相はすっかり変わっていた。客に対して無愛想なあしらいをする職員、蛇のようなパイプの天井はなくなり、愛想のよい職員と明るいモダンな建物になっていた。” (The appearance of Sheremetyevo International Airport has been completely changed. There are no more unfriendly staff and a long snake-like pipe on the ceiling. Instead, there are affable staff and a bright modern building)⁵³⁸. Superficial level of positive changes and deep level of inherited negative phenomena let conclude that for *Asahi Shinbun* deep inside Russia is the same undemocratic country, that cannot hide its authoritarian nature behind new facades.

Slot “future of Russia”

Future of Russia is vague and the journalists do not try to interpret it. In few text fragments the future is mentioned in the contexts of various plans of Russia's authorities, concerning Japan-Russia relations: “将来の日口関係を見すえ、交渉を着実に進めなければならない。” (Looking into the future of Japan-Russia relations it is clear that the negotiation (*over the South Kuril islands*) must steadily proceed)⁵³⁹, or the future of the South Kuril islands: “ソプロスクリン氏は「新たに幼稚園や学校が建設され、子育て環境が整ってきた。開発が進み、島民は将来の生活に自信を持ち始めている」と指摘する。” (Soproskurin pointed out that “new preschools and schools were constructed, and child-rearing environment is now well-equipped. The development is advancing,

536 *Asahi Shinbun*, 18 August 2013.

537 *Asahi Shinbun*, 1 April 2013.

538 *Asahi Shinbun*, 17 February 2013.

539 *Asahi Shinbun*, 1 May 2013.

and island residents (*Shikotan*) are beginning to have confidence in their future life”⁵⁴⁰.

Typical triad “the time is past→present→future” is represented as a linear transition from one state into another: the past of Russia is clearly reflected in its present, and moving forward leads from the present to the future. The past of Russia is perceived negatively, while its future is unclear.

Table 19.

Subframe “time of Russia”.

Subframe	Slot	%
Time of Russia	Past of Russia	75.5
	Modern Russia	20.5
	Future of Russia	4

3.2.11. Subframe “events”

Various events of Russia's past, present and future were mentioned in the discourse of “Asahi Shinbun”: the Chernobyl accident, perestroika and glasnost, the collapse of the USSR, presidential elections of 1996 and 2000, the crisis of 1998, acts of terrorism, military conflict with Georgia, international summits and other international events hold in Russia, Olympic games 2014.

For instance, Russia of 1990s is represented as a martyr suffering from frequent terroristic attacks: “90年代以降、たびたび悲惨なテロに苦しめられてきたロシアでは、空港や主要な鉄道駅に金属探知機が設置されている。” (Metal detectors have been installed in airports and major train stations in Russia, which has often been suffering from terrorism starting from 1990s)⁵⁴¹.

Though attitude towards Olympic games in Sochi changes over a year, its unchangeable characteristics is its connection with Russia's political life and comparisons with Olympic game 1980, held in Moscow. Likewise, the probability of Olympics boycott was high: “ロシアでは今年、未成年者への同性愛宣伝を禁じる「反同性愛法」が成立。欧米の文化人らがソチ五輪のボイコットを呼びかける事態を招いた。” (This year Russia accepted an “anti-homosexual law”, forbidding homosexual propaganda to minors. People of Western culture call for the boycott of Olympic games in Sochi)⁵⁴².

The most frequently mentioned event is the collapse of the USSR, defined new internal and foreign policies of Russia, oriented now towards the democratization of society and shift towards market economy. The collapse of the USSR led to the economic disorder and psychological disruptions: “1991年のソ連崩壊のあと、ロシア社会に空前の宗教ブームが起きる。政治への絶

540 *Asahi Shinbun*, 26 April 2013.

541 *Asahi Shinbun*, 11 April 2013.

542 *Asahi Shinbun*, 4 December 2013.

望と宗教への期待が表裏の関係だ。” (After the collapse of the USSR in 1991 Russia witnessed unprecedented boom of religion. Its reasons lie in connection between the distrust towards politics and hopes upon religion)⁵⁴³.

3.2.12. Subframe “society”

The subframe actualizes notions about Russia as a society, nation and it is actualized by the lexeme “社会 *shakai*”.

Russian society is seen by authors of *Asahi Shinbun* as a highly problematic society, it is negatively assessed by means of vocabulary that denotes negative social phenomena, seen by journalists of the newspaper in various aspects:

1. Russia is a criminalized society where offenses are committed under the influence of liquor and many people lost their parental authorities because of drugs, alcohol or imprisonment:

“激増の背景には、急速な市場経済化がある。失業者が増えて貧困層が拡大。アルコールや麻薬に手を出す人が増加した。ロシアでは、親がアルコールや麻薬の依存症だったり、服役中だったりする場合、裁判所が親権を剥奪（はくだつ）することがある。孤児の約8割は、こうして親が親権を失った「社会的孤児」と呼ばれる。” (In the background of the drastic increase (*of the number of orphans in Russia*) there is a rapid transformation of the economy into market economy. Due to the unemployment the number of the poor increased. Many people turned to alcohol and drugs. In Russia the court sometimes removes parental authority, if parents are drug or alcohol addicted, or they are in prison. About 80% of orphans are so called “social orphans”, that is they parents lost parental authority)⁵⁴⁴; “ロシア極東ハバロフスクで2月28日夜、ロケ中の日本の映画撮影チームに向けて、酒に酔った20代の男が空気銃を発砲し、警察に逮捕された。” (On February, 28 a drunk man of around 20 years old fired an air gun toward a Japanese movie team which was on a film location in Khabarovsk, Far East Russia. He was arrested by the police)⁵⁴⁵;

2. Russia is a stratified society, and the disparity between the rich and the poor not only leads to many social problems, but also characterizes Russia as an “emerging”, that is in fact a developing country: “ロシアでは今、富裕層と低所得者の格差が、さらに拡大しているように見える。” (Now in Russia the disparity between wealthy and low-income people seems to be further expanded)⁵⁴⁶. “格差拡大の傾向は、すでに多くの国でみられる。中国やロシア、インドなど新興国でも富が富裕層に集まる傾向がみられ、実際、こうした国の経済成長も鈍くなっている。” (The tendency of the disparity gap expansion can be observed in many countries. In emerging nations

543 *Asahi Shinbun*, 28 April 2013.

544 *Asahi Shinbun*, 19 August 2013.

545 *Asahi Shinbun*, 2 March 2013.

546 *Asahi Shinbun*, 20 May 2013.

like China, Russia or India the wealth is concentrated in the hands of the rich, while the economic growth of these countries has in fact slowed down)⁵⁴⁷;

3. Despite all changes that took place after the collapse of the USSR, Russia is still the same: it is a nation, ruled by the tsar who tries to suppress social discontent, while the society itself is in the state of war of groups pursuing different aims: “異なる宗教・民族間のあつれきによるロシアの弱体化を憂慮するプーチン大統領は、社会不安の抑え込みに懸命だ。” (President Putin is concerned about Russia's weakening due to the conflicts between different religious and ethnic groups, and he tries hard to control social unrest)⁵⁴⁸. “有力紙コメルサントは、背景には、「ムチで国民を統治し続けたい」今日の支配層と「自分の力で国の運命を担いたい」市民層との対立がある、とした。せめぎ合いの帰趨（きすう）は、ロシア社会の将来とともに、北方領土問題にも関わる。” (According to the influential newspaper “Kommersant” in the background (of the fight for Stalin's re-evaluation) there is a desire of the governors to rule the people by means of a whip and a desire of people to take responsibility for the proper country's destiny. Conflict tendencies will be connected with the future of Russian society and either with Northern Territories issue)⁵⁴⁹;

4. But what unites Russian society is a sense of disappointment, anger, discontent both towards the society itself and towards policies of Russian government: “ロシア人がつくる社会システムの非効率、独善性など、当のロシア人自身があきれ怒りだ。” (Inefficiency of the social system which Russians build, its self-righteousness are the reasons of unstoppable anger felt by Russians themselves)⁵⁵⁰; “現代ロシア社会への風刺が痛烈だ。今年6月にロシアで成立し物議をかもした同性愛宣伝禁止法にふれ、「最近、同性愛への嫌悪が国中に偏執狂的にはびこっている。[...]ロシア国民としては心底がっかりしている」と語った。” (The satire towards modern Russian society is poignant. Concerning the law against homosexual propaganda, which was accepted in June and gave rise to public criticism: “Recently, the aversion to homosexuality is spreading in a paranoid way. [...] As a Russian I am genuinely disappointed”, (the writer Sorokin) said)⁵⁵¹.

Overall, Russian society is seen by the Japanese newspaper as a highly unstable formation with no order, needing strong measures of its tsar. Even the sense of discontent unifying the society can only lead to new problems.

547 *Asahi Shinbun*, 3 August 2013.

548 *Asahi Shinbun*, 24 October 2013.

549 *Asahi Shinbun*, 17 April 2013.

550 *Asahi Shinbun*, 28 April 2013.

551 *Asahi Shinbun*, 19 October 2013.

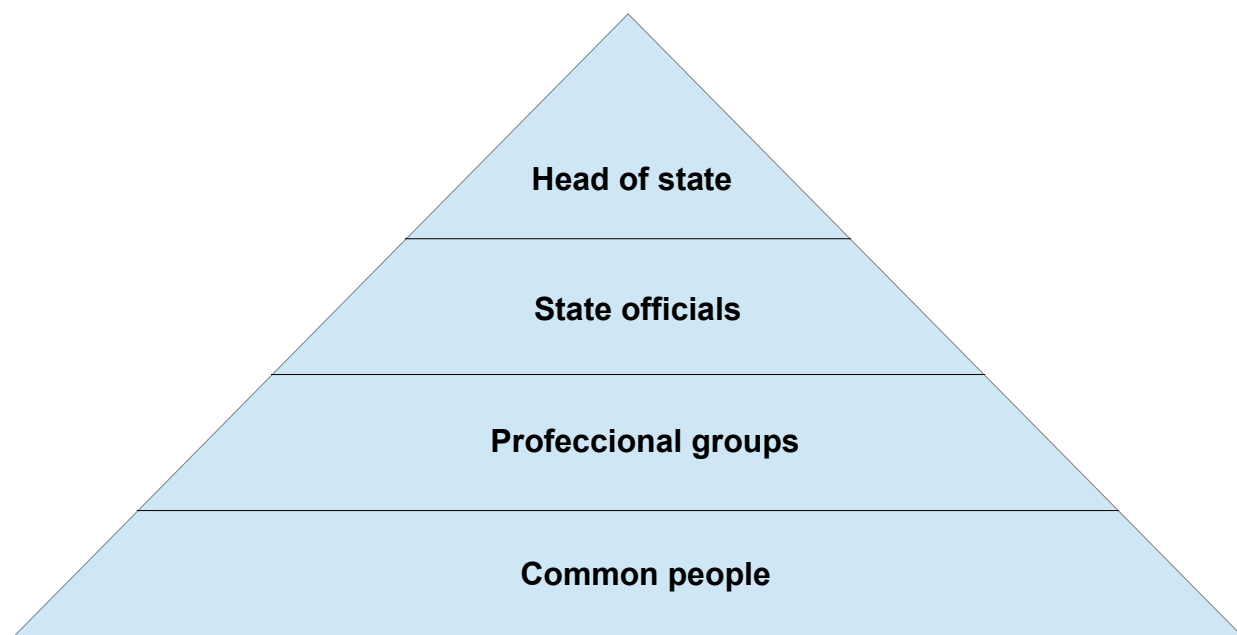
3.2.13. Subframe “people of Russia”

The subframe is identified as a separate structure that reflects an integral part of a world-view of any nation, connected with realization of human presence in the world as a concrete individual or a group of individuals. “Indeed, the concept of “people” is the cornerstone in discourses of every culture. All languages have words standing for “people”, and this concept cannot be reduced to simple plurality of human individuals. The concept “people” as a social category has established as an indispensable component of the world's conceptualization”⁵⁵².

As an element of the conceptual structure “Russia is a state” the subframe is represented graphically by a diagram that demonstrates fundamental relations of social groups of the society. Apparently, the Japanese world-view within the discourse of *Asahi Shinbun* tends to see human relations within a social system as a vertical axis, wherein groups are “placed” from top to down, from a head of a state to its population on basis of subordination.

Scheme 4.

Structure of Russian society.



Slot “head of state and state officials”

The slot is represented by groups of designations of Russian presidents and power representatives. Presidents of Russia are designated by the following lexemes: ロシア大統領 *roshia daitōryō*, プーチン氏 *pūchinshi*, プーチン大統領 *pūchin daitōryō*, ロシアのプーチン大統領 *roshia no pūchin daitōryō*, 当時のエリツィン大統領 *tōji no eritsuin daitōryō*, etc.

552 KETESOVA, MAKHANOVA, *Conceptual foundations of culture psychology*.

In this case “president” is not a working president of Russian Federation V. Putin, but a separate frame, wherein there are certain gaps (“persons”, “presidents of Russia/another country”; “ex/working/future president”, etc.), which are filled with concrete language realizations. For instance, “ジェラルド・ドパルデュエ氏（64）に対し、ロシアのプーチン大統領がロシア国籍を与える大統領令に署名した。” (Russian President V. Putin signed a presidential decree that gives the Russian citizenship to Gerard Depardieu)⁵⁵³ (filled gaps are: “persons”, “presidents of Russia/other country”); “ヤヌコビッチ氏は17日、モスクワを訪れ、プーチン大統領と会談する。” (On December, 17 V. Yanukovich will visit Moscow and meet with President Putin)⁵⁵⁴ (filled gaps are: “persons”).

J. Lakoff and M. Johnson described the concept of power in terms of the vertical axis “up/down”: in terms of the vertical possession of power it is the top, and the object of power is its bottom⁵⁵⁵. Russian president has the power and he is perceived as being at the top, while everything subjected to him is in the bottom. According to T.A. Van Dijk, “the concept of power is based on social inequality. [...] Such structure of social organization is known to all members of a society, and therefore is represented in the social representations”⁵⁵⁶.

In the discourse of *Asahi Shinbun* the top position of a Russian president is realized by means of verbs that have semantics of raising or suppressing something, that is of doing something “from top to down”, for instance: “プーチン大統領は「国の威信をかけて成功させる」と意気込んでいる；経済の底上げを図るのは、プーチン大統領流の開発手法；海軍力増強に向けて4兆ルーブル以上を投じる計画；プーチン大統領は、社会不安の抑え込みに懸命；世界をリードする政治家やビジネスマンら72人を対象に順位がつけられた。プーチン氏は昨年1位だったオバマ米大統領（今年2位）を抑えた。” ((*Forbes*) creates its ranking on basis of 72 most powerful politicians and businessmen of the world. President Putin suppressed President Obama who was the first last year (now he is the second)⁵⁵⁷. In the example the power of V. Putin goes beyond national borders: the influential American magazine acknowledges the superiority of his power even over the American President. On the other hand, the loss of power is connected with the “bottom” of the vertical. In the following example the meaning “to fall” is inherent in the semantics of the compound “失墜” (to lose): “8月のクーデター未遂事件でゴルバチョフ大統領の権威は失墜し、ロシア共和国のエリツィン大統領が実権を握っていった。” (As a result of August coup attempt President Gorbachev loses his power, and the President of Soviet Russia B. Yeltsin seizes it)⁵⁵⁸.

553 *Asahi Shinbun*, 4 January 2013.

554 *Asahi Shinbun*, 4 December 2013.

555 LAKOFF, JOHNSON, *Metaphors We Live By*.

556 Teun Adrianus van DIJK, *News as discourse*, Moscow, Nauka, 1988.

557 *Asahi Shinbun*, 1 November 2013.

558 *Asahi Shinbun*, 23 April 2013.

The group “state officials” is represented by designations of executive positions: “ロシア地域開発省次官” *roshia chiiki kaihatsushō jikan* (regional development minister's assistant), “外相” *gaishō*, “知事” *chiji*) by common terms denoting the upper crust of the state (“首脳” *shunō*, “高官” *kōkan*, “幹部” *kanbu*, “取締役” *torishimari*) or by metonymies (“プーチン政権” *pūchin seiken*, “ロシア外務省” *roshia gaimushō*) that denote not a regime or a ministry but people behind them and their actions. For instance: “ロシア外務省は発言の背景に「戦後の現実を拒否し、第2次大戦について偏見に満ちた評価を押しつけようとする政治家たちの試み」があると指摘した。” (It was pointed out that in the reason underlaid the statement of Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs is an attempt of (Japanese) politicians to deny the post-war reality and to impose the evaluation filled with prejudice towards the Second World War)⁵⁵⁹.

Slot “tycoons”

The slot is actualized by designations of Russian oligarchy and by name of its representatives, for instance: “ロシアの政商ボリス・ベレゾフスキー氏” *roshia no seishō borisu berezofusukīshi*, “「オリガルヒ」” *origaruhi*, “富豪アブラモビッチ氏” *fugō aburamobitchishi*. It is a particular group that does not belong to any of Russian society's strata because of its migrant position: due to the dangerous proximity to the power Russian oligarchs can enter the group “state officials”, can be “demoted” to “professional groups” or vice versa become power brokers virtually joining the group “head of state”:

1. Tycoons as creators of regimes: “ベレゾフスキー氏はプーチン大統領を誕生させた。” (B. Berezovsky gave birth to President Putin)⁵⁶⁰; “さらに99年にはエリツィン大統領の最側近として、まったく無名のプーチン氏を大統領の後継者に仕立てた。” (Again, in 1999 the closest aide of Yeltsin Putin, unknown to anybody at that time, was prepared (by Berezovsky) to become the successor of the President)⁵⁶¹.
2. Tycoons as “state officials”: “ベレゾフスキー氏の右腕として頭角を現したが決別し、プーチン政権と良好な関係を維持している。” ((Abramovich) emerged as the right hand of Berezovsky, and after the separation with him he has maintained good relationships with the regime of Putin)⁵⁶².
3. Tycoons in disgrace: “プーチン氏は実業家が政治に口を挟むことを嫌い、エリツィン政権で力をふるったオリガルヒの多くが10年余のうちに放逐されるか政権に屈服した。” (Putin hates businessmen who meddle with politics. Many of those oligarchs who exercised power under

559 *Asahi Shinbun*, 24 May 2013.

560 *Asahi Shinbun*, 3 April 2013.

561 *Asahi Shinbun*, 1 April 2013.

562 *Asahi Shinbun*, 1 April 2013.

the regime of Yeltsin had to succumb to Putin's regime or were expelled within 10 years)⁵⁶³.

They can never be regime-neutral, establishing relations of opposition or friendship, for instance: “親プーチン政権の富豪アブラモビッチ氏” (the supporter of Putin's regime oligarch Abramovich), “ベレゾフスキー氏は、ロシアのプーチン大統領と激しく対立。何度も暗殺の標的になったとされてきた。” (Berezovsky was in relations of violent conflict with Putin. Many times he became the target of murderous assaults)⁵⁶⁴. *Asahi Shinbun* associated the fact that somebody tried to attempt Berezovsky's life with the power of Putin, practically representing it as a bloody regime.

Slot “professional groups”

The slot consists of designations of professions and activities (journalists, military professions, occupations related to finance, sports, business, art).

Russia is still associated in Japan with victories in sport. Moreover, the Olympics 2014 was held in Russia. For these reasons, predictably, the most numerous group in 2013 was the group of Russian athletes. For instance: “ロシア元選手” *roshia moto senshu* (ex-athlete from Russia), “フィギュア大国ロシアの顔” (the face of the great figure skating country Russia), “ロシアのガリ・カスパロフ氏” (Russian Gary Kasparov), “北米アイスホッケーリーグ (NHL) キャピタルズのスター選手でロシア出身のアレックス・オベチキン” (Alexander Ovechkin from Russia, the star ice hockey player of Capitals of the North American NHL)⁵⁶⁵.

In order to designate Russian scientists, researchers and various experts *Asahi Shinbun* uses both names of their profession and common terms: “ロシアの科学者や研究者ら” (Russian scientists and researchers), “ロシア科学アカデミー会員の隕石の専門家” (an expert in meteorites of Russian Academy of Sciences), “ロシア国立気象大学の研究員” (researcher of Russian National Weather University), “ロシアの物理学者” (Russian physicist), “ロシアの大学や研究所からの教授ら” (professors from Russian universities and research institutes), “ロシアの化学者” (Russian chemist). For instance: “元素周期表は1860年代末にロシアの化学者メンデレーエフによって考案された。” (The periodic table was invented by the Russian chemist D. Mendeleev in the late 1860s)⁵⁶⁶.

Russian businessmen are usually designated by the lexemes “実業家” or “ビジネスマン”, for instance: “プーチン大統領が最重要政策の一つとする極東開発に実業家のノウハウを生かす狙

563 *Asahi Shinbun*, 25 March 2013.

564 *Asahi Shinbun*, 27 March 2013.

565 *Asahi Shinbun*, 3 January 2013.

566 *Asahi Shinbun*, 15 March 2013.

いだ。” (One of the most important policies of Putin aims at utilization of business men's know-hows in the Far East development)⁵⁶⁷.

Art workers are denoted by their professions and their proper names: “国民詩人プーシキン” (national poet Pushkin), “アレクセイ・ゲルマンさん (ロシアの映画監督)” (Alexei German (Russian film director)), “ロシアの文豪トルストイ” (Russian great writer Tolstoy).

Among other professions there are: “通訳士” (interpreter), “漁業関係のロシア” (Russian fishermen), “ロシア人の警官” (Russian police officers), “ロシアの弁護士” (Russian lawyers), “ロシアのすし職人” (Russian sushi chef).

Slot “common people, population”

The population of Russia is represented by 5 groups:

1. A part of the population is separated into a group: “ロシア人が2000万人も死んだ。” (20 millions Russians died)⁵⁶⁸, “ロシア人の7割” (70% of Russians); “過去20年間で死亡したロシア人の養子の数は米国よりロシアの方が60倍も多い。” (In the past 20 years 60 times as much Russian orphans died in Russia compared to the USA)⁵⁶⁹;

2. Designations of the whole population: “ロシア人 *roshiajin*”, “庶民 *shomin*”, “ロシアの人口 *roshia no jinkō*”. The main characteristics of Russian population is its decline, underpopulation of many regions and its outflow. In order to help realize the state of affairs Russian regions are often compared with Japan: “日本の面積の16倍に相当する極東連邦管区の人口は約630万人で、20年間で2割も減少した。” (Far East Federal District is 16 times as bigger as Japan, but its population is around 6 million 300 thousand people and over the last 20 years it reduced twice)⁵⁷⁰. “同州は日本とほぼ同じ面積で、人口は約82万人。ソ連崩壊後の経済的な混乱やその後の人口流出で広大な未耕作地がある。” (Its (*Amur Oblast*) area is approximately equal to Japan, its population is around 82,000 people. There is a vast uncultivated land appeared due to the post-Soviet economic turmoil and subsequent population outflow)⁵⁷¹.

3. Russian population is divided according to sex and age on men, women and children: “翻訳を整理したスタッフのロシア人女性” (the translation was done by a Russian female member of the staff), “黒パンを売るロシア人のおじさん” (a Russian old man selling rye bread), 障害や病気のある子 (children with diseases and disabilities).

4. Russians are ascribed a certain ethnicity: ユダヤ系ロシア人 “*yudaikeiroshiajin*” (Jewish

⁵⁶⁷ *Asahi Shinbun*, 13 September 2013.

⁵⁶⁸ *Asahi Shinbun*, 9 May 2013.

⁵⁶⁹ *Asahi Shinbun*, 27 July 2013.

⁵⁷⁰ *Asahi Shinbun*, 15 January 2013.

⁵⁷¹ *Asahi Shinbun*, 28 April 2013.

Russian), 母は白系ロシア人 *haha ha hakkeiroshiajin* (Mother is a Caucasian Russian).

5. Russians are also classified according to where they live: a) in Russian regions: “遊牧生活などを営むトゥバ人の暮らし” (life of Tuvans leading nomadic life); “地元住民の証言も不可思議だ。” (Testimonies of local residents are also mysterious)⁵⁷²; b) outside Russia: “内戦が続くシリアから、ロシア人の出国が相次いでいる” (Russians one after another leave Syria where the civil war is going on); “海外に住むロシア人” (Russians living abroad); c) on the batable ground of South Kuril islands: “北方領土に住んでいた人のお話も聞きました。家にロシア人が土足で入って来て、めずらしいものをもって行って、とてもこわかったそうです。” (I heard the talks of people who lived in Northern Territories. Russians used to come in houses in their shoes and take unusual things. They said it had been very scary)⁵⁷³.

The quantitative ratio of subframe slots illustrates higher relevance of one group of people in comparison to others. For instance, the relevance of modern Russian politicians for the Japanese newspaper discourse is significantly higher than that of historical personalities or art workers. *Asahi Shinbun* almost never mentions neither Russian artists nor their activities on the stage. On the contrary, Russian journalism tends to mention more frequently Japanese persons of the groups “actors”, “musicians”, that is people who are popular in the world of cinema and music⁵⁷⁴. Both in the Japanese newspaper and in Russian mass media the most frequently mentioned person is the working Russian president. But while Russian journalists are interested among other in details of his private life, the Japanese are concentrated on his social and political activities, relations with leaders of other countries.

Table 20.

Subframe “people of Russia”.

Slot	Groups of slot	%
Head of state and state officials	President	32.5
	State officials	20
Professional groups	Sport	9.5
	Business	7
	Scientists	3.5
	Art	2.5
	Military professions	1.5
Population	Whole population	6.5
	Place of residence	6.5
	Separated groups	5.5

⁵⁷² *Asahi Shinbun*, 2 March 2013.

⁵⁷³ *Asahi Shinbun*, 18 December 2013.

⁵⁷⁴ BOYCHENKO, *Area studies: Japan*

	Men/women/children	3
	Ethnic Russians	1.5
Tycoons	-	0.5

Table 21.

Frame “Russia is a state”.

№	Subframe	Slot	%
1.	Characteristics of the state	Politics	6
		Freedom	
		Power of the state	
		Democracy	
		Law	
		Human rights	
		Elections	
		Fascism	
2.	Structures of public authorities	Government	7.5
		Federal Assembly	
		Ambassies	
		Political parties	
		Kremlin	
		Security agencies	
3.	Relations of Russia with other countries	Japan-Russia relations	15.5
		Relations with Asia	
		Relations with Europe	
		US-Russia relations	
		Relations with Middle/Near East	
		Relations with former Soviet republics	
4.	Defense	Military activities	6.5
		Military equipment	
		Army	
		Navy	
		Personnel	
5.	Economy of Russia	Economy	4.5
		Economy is a plant	
		Economy is a changing formation	
		Economy is a market	
		Economy is an order	
		Time of economy	

6.	Finance	Money	4
		Financial institutions	
		Securities	
7.	Industry	Power and gas industries	6
		Weaponry industry	
		Nuclear industry	
		Oil industry	
		Space exploration	
		Automobile industry	
8.	Culture	Culture	4.5
		Music	
		Everyday life	
		Russian language	
		Education	
		History	
		Religion	
		Art	
9.	Sport	-	2.5
10.	Time of Russia	Past of Russia	1.5
		Modern Russia	
11.	Events	Future of Russia	4
		-	
12.	Society	-	3.5
13.	People of Russia	Head of state and state officials	34
		Tycoons	
		Professional groups	
		Population	

3.3. Frame “Russia is a terminal point”

The frame is represented by text fragments in which Russia is described as a terminal point of a certain travel, and it is adjacent to the frame “Russia is a starting point”.

Russia can serve as an entry point for:

territories: “ロシア政府の「第2次世界大戦の結果、四島の領有権はロシアに移った」との主張とは矛盾している。” (“The sovereignty of the four islands shifted to Russia as a result of the Second World War”, the claims of Russian government are contradictory)⁵⁷⁵; “中国は、清時代の

⁵⁷⁵ *Asahi Shinbun*, 24 April 2013.

19世紀にアムール川以北とウスリー川以東の100万平方キロを含む広大な領土を帝政ロシアに割譲。” (In the 19th century China of the Qing period ceded a vast territory of around one million square kilometers to the north of the Amur river and to the east of the Ussuri river to imperial Russia)⁵⁷⁶;

money, business: “金融分野では、政府系金融機関の国際協力銀行（JBIC）がロシアに進出する日本企業を支援するため、ロシア政府系ファンドなどと投資プラットフォームをもうけることで合意した。” (In the financial sector, government-affiliated financial institutions, Japan Bank for International Cooperation (JBIC) and Russian government-affiliated funds have agreed to establish investment platforms in order to promote the expansion of Japanese companies in Russia)⁵⁷⁷;

high-tech products: “住友重機械工業は28日、最先端のがん治療装置をロシアに輸出する方針を明らかにした。” (On April, 28 Sumimoto Heavy Industries has announced its intention to export high-end cancer treatment equipment to Russia)⁵⁷⁸.

people: “スノーデン元職員は1日午後3時半ごろ（日本時間同日午後8時半ごろ）、ロシアに入国後、姿をくらませた。” (The former CIA officer Snowden arrived in Russia on August, 1, at 3 pm (8 pm of the same day, Japanese time) and disappeared)⁵⁷⁹.

Metaphorically it can represent a place of permanent residence for art works “born” in another state: “パリで誕生した傑作はなぜ、ロシアに渡ったのか。” (Why masterpieces born in Paris shifted to Russia?)⁵⁸⁰.

3.4. Frame “Russia is a starting point”

Russia is represented as a starting point (of movement, departure) in those text fragments, where the lexeme “ロシア *roshia*” is used with the postposition “から *kara*”, which indicates a starting point of movement or a distance counting. Russia is:

the starting point of a travel of people: “当時、文化の中心はフランス。世界情勢を知るため、ロシアからも多くの使節が派遣されました。” (At that time France was the centre of culture. In order to study the situation in the world many envoys were sent there from Russia)⁵⁸¹; and animals: “約1万本のロウソクで火の鳥を描いて、ロシアから間もなく飛来するオオヒシクイを歓迎。” (About 10,000 candles were used for drawing a fire bird in order to welcome bean geese

576 *Asahi Shinbun*, 29 August 2013.

577 *Asahi Shinbun*, 30 April 2013.

578 *Asahi Shinbun*, 29 April 2013.

579 *Asahi Shinbun*, 2 August 2013.

580 *Asahi Shinbun*, 7 September 2013.

581 *Asahi Shinbun*, 24 May 2013.

soon coming back from Russia)⁵⁸²;

the source of money: “さらに問題を複雑にしたのはロシアからアングラマネーを含む多額の預金が流入していて、ユーロ圏とロシアとの利害対立を招いたことだ。” (The problem was even more complicated by the inflow (to Cyprus) of big sums of money, including underground money from Russia, which led to the conflict of interests between eurozone and Russia)⁵⁸³;

the source of resources: “鉄鉱石はオーストラリアからの輸入が前年より13%減少した一方、比較的安価なロシアからが3倍に増えた。” (While the iron ore imports from Australia decreased by 13% compared to the previous year, the relatively inexpensive imports from Russia increased thrice)⁵⁸⁴;

Russia is represented as a starting point not only in terms of space, but also temporally, being a historical starting point: “この戦艦は、ロシアからソ連への歴史20余年の間に数奇な運命を辿る。” (This battleship over 20 years followed the way of unhappy fate starting from Russia to the Soviet Union)⁵⁸⁵;

Russia is a point where certain actions, decisions start: “EUへの接近を嫌うロシアからウクライナ製品の禁輸措置などの圧力をかけられ、屈した形だ。” (Ukraine succumbed under the measures like economic embargo, taken by Russia that dislikes its approach to the EU)⁵⁸⁶;

Finally, Russia is represented as a point to separate with: “独自のデザインが発展したのは、ロシアから独立した1917年以降のことだ。” ((Finland) developed proper design after 1917 when it became independent from Russia)⁵⁸⁷; “ダゲスタンは、ソ連崩壊後にロシアからの分離独立を求めて悲慘な内戦の現場となったチェチェン共和国に隣接している。” (Dagestan is adjacent to the Chechen Republic, which was the site of tragic civil war in search for separation and independence from Russia after the collapse of the USSR)⁵⁸⁸.

The frame “Russia is a starting point” is wider represented than the frame “Russia is a terminal point”. The nature of text fragment exemplifying the frame (the biggest group within it is “a point to separate with”) help conclude that Russia within the discourse of *Asahi Shinbun* is not seen as an attractive destination. Indeed, despite economic growth and slow expansion of Japanese companies in Russia the country is considered an unattractive investment object and business market. On the other hand, as a starting point Russia is characterized by its expansionist policies towards neighbour countries and suppression towards proper regions. Decisions taken in Russia are evaluated negatively and its money is “complicated”.

582 *Asahi Shinbun*, 11 September 2013.

583 *Asahi Shinbun*, 26 March 2013.

584 *Asahi Shinbun*, 24 January 2013.

585 *Asahi Shinbun*, 18 August 2013.

586 *Asahi Shinbun*, 30 November 2013.

587 *Asahi Shinbun*, 14 June 2013.

588 *Asahi Shinbun*, 31 December 2013.

3.5. Metaphoric model “Russia is a human being”

Metaphoric model “Russia is a human being” is based on anthropomorphous features (social, mental, physiological, features of will, speech), ascribed to Russia. In the discourse of “Asahi Shinbun” Russia is represented as a person, that is it is personified. Metaphoric model “Russia is a human being” is mostly actualized by means of syntactic constructions wherein the lexeme “ロシア” is a subject of actions (Russia is understood as a certain subject, seen as a human being). The model projects features, ontologically inherent only in a person, to the whole country. These are features of emotional, speech, intellectual and other activities.

3.5.1. Subframe “social features”

Social features of Russia are realized in text fragments where Russia is represented as a person playing various social roles.

As a “military man” Russia fights for a territory: “「蛇島」は、オスマン・トルコ帝国とロシア帝国が領有を争った後、19世紀後半にルーマニア領になった。” (“Gajajima” became Romanian territory in the late 19th century after Ottoman and Russian Empires fought for it)⁵⁸⁹; has rivals: “米国は日本へのシェールガスの輸出も検討しており、実現すれば、ロシアにとっては競争相手になる。” (The USA is examining the possibilities of exporting shell gas in Japan, and if this plan fulfills it will become a rival of Russia)⁵⁹⁰. Participates in military operations: “ロシアは軍事介入に踏み切った経緯もある。” (Russia also embarked into a military intervention)⁵⁹¹.

As an “actor” Russia plays roles: “第2次大戦をめぐり、ロシアは前身のソ連の役割をファシスト国家のナチス・ドイツと日本から、欧州とアジアを解放した立役者と位置づける。” (In the context of the Second World War, Russia positions the role of its ancestor USSR as one of the country liberated Europe and Asia from fascist governments of Nazi Germany and Japan. Not only this position is reviled in foreign affairs, but also became the base for the world view and patriotism of Soviet/Russian people)⁵⁹².

As a “heir” Russia gets legacy: “ソ連は12月に崩壊、ロシア連邦が継承した。” (The USSR collapsed in December and Russian Federation became its heir)⁵⁹³.

As an “athlete” Russia participates in sportive events: “日本はロシアに10—14で逆転負けし、イングランドには0—39、フランスにも0—43で完敗。” (Japan was defeated in

589 *Asahi Shinbun*, 28 January 2013.

590 *Asahi Shinbun*, 22 March 2013.

591 *Asahi Shinbun*, 21 February 2013.

592 *Asahi Shinbun*, 28 December 2013.

593 *Asahi Shinbun*, 14 March 2013.

Russia with the score 10-14, in England (0-39) and was beaten in France (0-43))⁵⁹⁴.

As a “criminal” Russia steals territory: “日ソ中立条約を破って全千島を奪ったロシア” (Russia violated Soviet-Japanese Neutrality pact and stole all Kuril islands)⁵⁹⁵.

Russia is not a good “teacher” to learn from: “中国指導部はソ連を崩壊させたロシアを反面教師とする。” (Chinese leaders see Russia which ruined the USSR as a good example of what not to do).

As a “politician” Russia draws borders: “ロシアは勝手に境界線を引いている。” (Russia draws borders on a whim)⁵⁹⁶; recognizes other states: “ロシアが独立を承認した南オセチアとアブハジアは、グルジアの面積の2割を占める。” (After Russia recognized the independence of South Ossetia and Abkhazia, the area of Georgia became twice as smaller. Creating the fence Russian side is trying to deepen the immobilization of the so-called national border)⁵⁹⁷; adopts policies: “オバマ米大統領がソチ冬季五輪の開会式・閉会式に出席しないという。ロシアが、同性愛者への抑圧政策をとっていることが理由らしい。” (They say that President Obama is not going to attend the opening and closing ceremonies of the Sochi Winter Olympics. The reason is seen in suppressive policies against homosexuals adopted by Russia)⁵⁹⁸.

As a “puppeteer” Russia influences other countries: “ロシアが動かすウクライナ件。” (Russia sets in motion the case of Ukraine)⁵⁹⁹.

As a “builder” Russia builds borders: “そこに、ロシア側がフェンスなどを設け、「国境」として固定化しようとする動きが進む。” (Creating the fence Russian side is trying to deepen the immobilization of the so-called national border)⁶⁰⁰; and reconstructs the Soviet economic zone: “旧ソ連経済圏の再構築に動くロシア” (Russia is moving towards the reconstruction of the Soviet economic zone)⁶⁰¹.

As a “victim” Russia suffers from the actions of other countries: “ロシアを襲った隕石 ロシアから（亡命容認以外の）選択肢を奪ったのは米国だ。” (The US deprived Russia of choice (other than exile acceptance). 20.08.2014); and from the actions of its own nationals: “90年代以降、たびたび悲惨なテロに苦しめられてきたロシアでは、空港や主要な鉄道駅に金属探知機が設置されている。” (Metal detectors have been installed at airports and major train stations in Russia, which starting from 1990s has often been suffering from terrorism)⁶⁰².

594 *Asahi Shinbun*, 30 July 2013.

595 *Asahi Shinbun*, 29 September 2013.

596 *Asahi Shinbun*, 25 October 2013.

597 *Asahi Shinbun*, 19 February 2013.

598 *Asahi Shinbun*, 26 December 2013.

599 *Asahi Shinbun*, 23 December 2013.

600 *Asahi Shinbun*, 19 February 2013.

601 *Asahi Shinbun*, 1 March 2013.

602 *Asahi Shinbun*, 11 April 2013.

As a “financier and seller” Russia makes investments: “最近、ロシアは2007年に始まったクリル開発計画に基づいて四島に資本をつぎ込み、四島はどんどん豊かになっている。” (Recently, Russia lays out funds in the four islands according to the plan of Kuril islands development that began in 2007, and the islands are becoming richer and richer)⁶⁰³; supplies other countries with its products: “シリアの反体制派を支援する欧米は、ロシアがアサド政権に攻撃用兵器を供給しているとの疑念を抱いている。” (While the West supports Syrian rebels, Russia is being doubtful and supplies regime of Assad with weapons)⁶⁰⁴.

3.5.2. Subframe “bodily features”

In a range of examples Russia is represented as a human being which has a physical body. The subframe unites text fragments in which Russia is described as a person making certain physical actions or having organs.

For instance, Russia is described as a person who does some actions with its hands: “豊かな資源を持つロシア。” (Russia that hold rich resources); “たびたび針を動かすロシア。” (Russia that sometimes moves clock hands.); or moves towards something: “ロシアは民主主義に向かって動いた。” (Russia that moves towards democratization)⁶⁰⁵; “スターリンは北海道の北半分の占領を要求した。日本人は過去のロシアが拡大主義路線を歩んだことを知っている。” (Stalin demanded the half of Hokkaido. The Japanese know about the way of expansionism Russia of the past was keeping)⁶⁰⁶. These examples imply that the country has hands and legs, while the next one proves the ability of Russia to look at something, the presence of eyes: “LNG需要が急増する日本の市場に、ロシアは目を向けるようになった。” (Russia shifted its focus to the Japanese market, where LNG demand is surging)⁶⁰⁷.

Bodily metaphors compare a described object with a person because it is a person who can do physical actions, for instance, “握る” (“to grasp”) or “一蹴” (literally, “to kick”), etc.: “オバマ米大統領が、歴代の米大統領が歴史的な演説をしたベルリンで、「核なき世界」に向けた決意を語った。実現には、核大国ロシアの協力がカギを握る。” (In the city of Berlin, where several generations of American presidents made they historical speeches, President Obama showed his determination towards the “world without nuclear power”. But in fact it is Russia, the great nuclear power, who hold the key of the success of this plan)⁶⁰⁸; “ロシアは2年前、「シリアに化学兵器は存

603 *Asahi Shinbun*, 23 April 2013.

604 *Asahi Shinbun*, 16 December 2013.

605 *Asahi Shinbun*, 1 August 2013.

606 *Asahi Shinbun*, 8 November 2013.

607 *Asahi Shinbun*, 26 February 2013.

608 *Asahi Shinbun*, 20 June 2013.

在しない」として一蹴していた。” (There is no chemical weapons in Syria”, refused Russia 2 years ago⁶⁰⁹).

3.5.3. Subframe “features of will”

Anthropomorphism is also inherent in characteristics that describe the country in the connection with its relations with other countries. For instance, verbs of will endow Russia with intensional qualities inherent in a human being. Russia acts as a man, a politician who defends his interests in various ways, showing his will. For instance, Russia:

- **wants:** “ロシアはもちろん他の核保有国も一気に減らして欲しい。” (Of course, Russia wants another nuclear country to reduce its potential at once)⁶¹⁰; “ロシアはアジアでの売り上げを増やしたいので、日本は新しい供給源を手に入れるチャンスだとは言える。” (The fact that Russia wants to increase its sales in Asia is a good chance of Japan to get a new supplier)⁶¹¹;
- **aims at and tries:** “日本に対しては輸出増を目指すと同時に、ジャパンマネーを取り込んで、巨大プロジェクトを動かそうともしている。” (At the same time with aiming at the increase of exports in Japan and taking in Japanese money, (Russia) is trying to set in motion a huge project)⁶¹²;
- **claims:** “エストニアが、ロシアの主張を丸のみしたのだ。》(Estonia swallowed all the claims of Russia)⁶¹³;
- **needs something:** “ロシアはいま、台頭する中国への対応や、エネルギー資源の売り込み、極東・シベリア開発などで日本との関係強化が必要になりつつある。” (In response to the growth of China nowadays Russia feels the necessity of strengthening the relations with Japan in order to advance with the development of the Far East and Siberia and to sell energy resources)⁶¹⁴;
- **opposes:** “ただ、私が1月に3島返還に言及した際、ロシアの反発はなかった。” (However, when I mentioned the return of the three islands in January, there was no revolt of Russia)⁶¹⁵.

609 *Asahi Shinbun*, 4 December 2013.

610 *Asahi Shinbun*, 22 March 2013.

611 *Asahi Shinbun*, 7 March 2013.

612 *Asahi Shinbun*, 11 March 2013.

613 *Asahi Shinbun*, 16 June 2013.

614 *Asahi Shinbun*, 20 June 2013.

615 *Asahi Shinbun*, 20 February 2013.

3.5.4. Subframe “features of speech”

Of all live creatures the speech is inherent only in the man. Therefore endowing Russia with anthropomorphous features based on its capacity to speak allows to distinguish “features of speech” as another subframe of the metaphoric model “Russia is a human being”.

Speech activities of Russia develop within several scenarios:

- “scenario of a talk, dialogue” is implemented when Russia communicates with somebody, when there are other participants in a conversation: “中国、ロシア、韓国、北朝鮮、モンゴル、日本は経済交流の現状と展望を2日間の日程で話し合う。” (During two days China, Russia, South Korea, North Korea, Mongolia and Japan will discuss the state of affairs and prospects of economic exchange)⁶¹⁶; or when it participates in a talk: “そのうえミサイルをさらに減らすような話には乗れないというのがロシアの立場だ。” (It is Russia's standpoint not to get involved in the talk about further missile reduction)⁶¹⁷;
- “scenario of criticism” is implemented by verbs “批判, 非難: ロシアが今回、安倍首相の参拝を「遺憾だ」と批判した。” (“It is regrettable”, criticized Russia this visit to the shrine of the Prime Minister Abe)⁶¹⁸;
- “scenario of reply” is typical of a situation in which Russia reacts to certain actions of its opponents, a dialogue in this case is implied, but not necessarily explicit: “しかし、ロシア側は11月、小渕恵三首相に拒否の回答をした。” (However, in November Russia gave the negative answer to Prime Minister Keizo Obuchi)⁶¹⁹;
- scenario “declaration of intent” is connected with the subframe “features of will” and includes situation in which Russia expresses its will, intentions, etc.: “ロシア産ガスの値下げと引き換えに、ロシアが主導する自由貿易圏「関税同盟」への加盟を表明するとの臆測も広がっている。” (It is supposed that in return of the price cut for the Russian gas, Russia will express its expectation to see (*Ukraine*) joining the free trade “customs union” lead by Russia)⁶²⁰.

3.5.5. Subframe “mental features”

The subframe is represented by examples in which Russia is described as a subject of mental activities acting on the political stage. The basic mental actions implemented by Russia are:

616 *Asahi Shinbun*, 3 March 2013.

617 *Asahi Shinbun*, 20 June 2013.

618 *Asahi Shinbun*, 31 December 2013.

619 *Asahi Shinbun*, 23 April 2013.

620 *Asahi Shinbun*, 2 February 2013.

1. capacity to think, consider something in a certain way: “欧州の例をそのまま北方領土問題に適用することは、ロシアは考えていないと思う。” (Probably it does not think that the European example can be applied in the Northern Territories issue.)⁶²¹; “帝政ロシアはフランス思想を危険視する。” (Imperial Russia regarded French ideas as dangerous)⁶²²;
2. capacity to understand or misunderstand something: “戦後、国際舞台に復帰し、経済力をつける中で「固有の領土」の返還を求める日本と、ソ連・ロシアはすれ違いを続けてきた。” (After the war Japan that returned to the international stage, was growing its economic power and seeking for the return of the “native territories” and the USSR/Russia have been at cross purposes)⁶²³;
3. capacity to solve political issues: “2011年には、ロシアとノルウェーが、石油やガスの共同開発に弾みをつけようと、40年間に及ぶ北極圏での海の境界をめぐる争いを解決した。” (In 2011 Russia and Norway solved the dispute over the maritime border in the Arctic, which had lasted for 40 years, in order to give an impulse to the cooperative development of oil and gas industries)⁶²⁴;
4. capacity to be obsessed with ideas: “ただ、北方四島の支配は第2次世界大戦の結果ということにロシアはこだわっている。” (However, Russia is obsessed with the idea that the control over the four islands is the result of the Second World War)⁶²⁵.

3.5.6. Subframe “emotional features”

The subframe is formed on the basis of the metaphoric model “Russia is an emotional subject”, that is Russia as a human being is ascribed with the capacity to feel various emotions.

First of all, by means of lexemes that include the morpheme “感” *kan* the Japanese newspaper admits the ability of Russia to feel: “しかし、そのころ中国と国境確定の交渉をし、後に解決したロシアは感じていた。” (However, that time Russia was negotiating with China over the border, and after that it had the feeling of resolution)⁶²⁶; “ロシアとキプロスは同じ東方正教の文化圏で、互いに親近感がある。” (As Russia and Cyprus both belong to the cultural sphere of Eastern Orthodoxy, there is a sense of intimacy between them)⁶²⁷.

The feelings of the country, as that of a human being can be true: “混乱の原因を作ったのは

621 *Asahi Shinbun*, 7 June 2013.

622 *Asahi Shinbun*, 11 June 2013.

623 *Asahi Shinbun*, 23 April 2013.

624 *Asahi Shinbun*, 16 June 2013.

625 *Asahi Shinbun*, 7 June 2013.

626 *Asahi Shinbun*, 30 July 2013.

627 *Asahi Shinbun*, 21 March 2013.

米国なのに、一方的に責められるのは理解できないというのがロシアの本音だ。” (The true feelings of Russia is that it cannot understand unilateral blames (*of the US*), even though it was the US which invented chaotic reasons)⁶²⁸; or ostensible: “しかし、表向きの「蜜月ぶり」とは裏腹に、ロシアには警戒感も見え隠れする。軍事費の増加や海洋進出の動きなど、東アジアでの中国の「膨張」に神経をとがらせているからだ。” (However, contrary to the outward appearance of the “honeymoon”, the sense of caution awakes in Russia. The reason underlying the increase in military expenditure and and steps forward of the navy is China's “swelling” in eastern Asia, getting on Russia's nerves)⁶²⁹.

Russia is described as a human being able to feel positive and negative emotions towards other countries: “ロシアが憧れたフランス。” (France admired by Russia)⁶³⁰.

Russia is able to experience negative feelings, for instance, worry or irritation: “ロシアは自分たちの核ミサイルも役に立たなくなってしまうと心配している。” (Russia is worried that its own nuclear missiles will become useless)⁶³¹; “米ロ間の緊張が高まっている。そもそも原因をつくったうえ、9月の米ロ首脳会談見送りも示唆する米国の強硬な姿勢に、ロシア側はいら立ちを隠さない。” (Russia does not hide its irritation towards vigorous approach of the US, which first has invented reasons and now hints that the US-Russia summit scheduled in September may be postponed)⁶³².

3.9.7. Subframe “features of character”

The subframe includes features of a human character which Russia is able to reveal in its relations with other countries or within internal policies. For instance, Russia is caring towards China: “ロシアにとって最大の貿易相手国である中国への配慮があるとみられる。” (It is seen as care from the side of Russia towards China, its biggest trade partner)⁶³³. And reveals stubbornness in its intent to protect the regime of Assad: “ロシアがかたくなに「アサド退陣」に応じなかったのは、旧ソ連時代からのシリアとの戦略的關係があるからだ。” (Because of its strategic relations with Syria established in the Soviet period, Russia stubbornly did not react to the “Assad resignation”)⁶³⁴. The lexeme “かたくな” *katakuna* (obstinate) implies negative attitude of *Asahi Shinbun* towards the actions of Russia and places Japan on the side of the US and Europe in Syrian issue.

628 *Asahi Shinbun*, 30 July 2013.

629 *Asahi Shinbun*, 23 March 2013.

630 *Asahi Shinbun*, 3 June 2013.

631 *Asahi Shinbun*, 20 June 2013.

632 *Asahi Shinbun*, 3 August 2013.

633 *Asahi Shinbun*, 16 February 2013.

634 *Asahi Shinbun*, 19 June 2013.

Though Russia is considered a skeptical and stubborn country: “米政府がアサド政権の化学兵器使用を断定したことをめぐっても、ロシアは懐疑的な姿勢を崩さなかったようだ。” (Russia did not change its skeptical attitude towards the conclusions of the US government that the regime of Assad uses chemical weapons)⁶³⁵, the newspaper admits also some positive tendencies in its character evolution: “ロシアはますます親しみやすい隣の国になってきました。” (Russia has gradually become a friendlier country)⁶³⁶.

Table 22.

Metaphoric model “Russia is a human being”.

n.	Subframe	%
1.	Social features	41.5
2.	Emotional features	17.5
3.	Features of character	10
4.	Mental features	10
5.	Bodily features	8.5
6.	Features of speech	7
7.	Features of will	5.5

3.6. Metaphoric model “Russia is an artifact”

The model includes two metaphoric models and one metaphor that actualize material features of Russia.

3.6.1. Metaphoric model “Russia is a mechanism”

As a mechanism can be ruined in the same way a country can be ruined by corruption or misrule: “FSB がロシアを破壊する” (FSB that ruins Russia); “ロシアを破壊する汚職” (corruption that ruins Russia). Presumably, metaphors describing Russia as a mechanism compare it with a train or another vehicle, for instance: “ロシアの将校たちがパリに行き、いかにロシアが遅れているかに気づき、帰ってから近代化に励もうとする。” (Russian officers who went to Paris, realized there how much the country is left behind, and after coming back they tried to modernize it)⁶³⁷. In this case semantic compatibility allows to deduct that the subject is characterized as means of transport, compare: “列車は遅れた。” (The train was delayed).

In the following text fragment Japan and Russia are compared with pipeline fixations, that is

635 *Asahi Shinbun*, 18 June 2013.
 636 *Asahi Shinbun*, 18 April 2013.
 637 *Asahi Shinbun*, 11 June 2013.

with elements of a complex mechanism, united by a pipeline: “「将来は日本とロシアをつなぐパイプラインになりたいです」” (In the future I would like to become a pipeline connecting Japan and Russia)⁶³⁸.

3.6.2. Metaphor “Russia is a commodity”

The metaphor is actualized in the text fragment “米国とロシアをてんびんにかける時代がきた” (it is time to put the US and Russia on scales), wherein Russia and the US are compared with a good which must be put on scales.

3.6.3. Metaphoric model “Russia is a house”

The metaphoric model is realized in those text fragments where Russia is described as a construction that has elements inherent to a house, building. For instance, as a house Russia has a window and an entrance, which are located in its geographical objects: “「アジアへの窓」と位置づける極東ウラジオストクで昨秋、アジア太平洋経済協力会議（A P E C）を開催。” (Far Eastern city Vladivostok, which is also called “the window to Asia” became the last autumn the venue of APEC conference)⁶³⁹; “ソチは、いわばロシアの南の玄関だ。” (Sochi is, so to speak, the entrance to the South of Russia)⁶⁴⁰.

As many other buildings, the country has a dump, located in what in Russia is considered to by its symbol, Red Square, mistakenly called Kremlin Square: “ロシアのクレムリンの広場は、まるでガラクタ捨て場みたいに雑多な物品が置かれていた。” (Russian Kremlin Square looked like a dump, where mixed goods were thrown)⁶⁴¹.

The building of Russia has also walls, based on language and customs difficulties of Russian business: “言葉や商習慣の壁が立ちはだかるロシアビジネス。” (Language barriers and business practices standing on the way of Russian business); and pillars, based on exports of resources: “資源の輸出はロシアの経済成長の柱。” (The exports of resources are pillars of Russia's economic growth)⁶⁴².

638 *Asahi Shinbun*, 24 August 2013.

639 *Asahi Shinbun*, 24 July 2013.

640 *Asahi Shinbun*, 8 February 2013.

641 *Asahi Shinbun*, 22 February 2013.

642 *Asahi Shinbun*, 30 June 2013.

3.7. Metaphoric model “Russia is a live creature”

The model is based on ascribing Russia features of a live creature, that is vital features. In the discourse of *Asahi Shinbun* Russia is endowed with the capacity to procreate: “アレクサンドル・カレリン氏を生んだロシア。” (Russia that gave birth to Alexander Karelin)⁶⁴³.

As a live creature Russia is characterized by its ability to grow: “ロシアは成長スピードが落ちず、みんなを驚かせている。” (Russia doesn't lose the speed of growth and surprises everyone)⁶⁴⁴; and to change: “近くて遠かったロシアが文字通り近い存在へと変わりつつあるのはうれしい。” (It is great that near far Russia is becoming literally nearer)⁶⁴⁵. Finally, as a live creature Russia can be attacked by an enemy: “ロシアを襲った隕石。” (Meteorite that attacked Russia)⁶⁴⁶.

Conclusions to the chapter III

According to the generic analysis of direct and metaphoric features of the concept 'roshia' the structure of the concept was revealed and presented in tabular form.

Table 23.

Structure of the concept 'roshia'

Frame/metaphoric model	Subframe	%	%
Russia is the country/territory	Geographical objects	57,5	12
	Country	21	
	Geography	15	
	Space	6	
	Soil	0.5	
Russia is a state	Characteristics of the state	6	82
	Structures of public authorities	7.5	
	Relations of Russia with other countries	15.5	
	Defense	6.5	
	Economy of Russia	4.5	
	Finance	4	
	Industry	6	
	Culture	4.5	

643 *Asahi Shinbun*, 10 February 2013.

644 *Asahi Shinbun*, 7 January 2013.

645 *Asahi Shinbun*, 24 February 2013.

646 *Asahi Shinbun*, 1 March 2013.

	Sport	2.5	
	Time of Russia	1.5	
	Events	4	
	Society	3.5	
	People of Russia	34	
Russia is a starting point			0.5
Russia is a terminal point			0.5
Russia is a human being	Social features	41.5	3.5
	Emotional features	17.5	
	Features of character	10	
	Mental features	10	
	Bodily features	8.5	
	Features of speech	7	
	Features of will	5.5	
Russia is an artifact	Mechanism	62	1
	Commodity	0.5	
	House	37.5	
Russia is a live creature			0.5

Given that the frame is a structure of knowledge that actualizes typical, stereotypical notions about objects of reality, and conclusions over typicality can be made on the basis of frequency, it can be said that the model of the concept 'roshia' was formed on the basis of statistic analysis. This model:

1. has segmental structure, that is consist of 7 segments (frames), reflecting “direct” features: “Russia is a country/territory”, “Russia is a state”, “Russia is a starting point”, “Russia is a terminal point”, (95%) and metaphoric models reflecting “indirect” features: “Russia is a human being”, “Russia is an artifact”, “Russia is a live creature” (5%);
2. reflects a fragment of the world-view within the discourse of *Asahi Shinbun*, denoted as the concept 'roshia' and actualized by means of reflecting its most relevant facets;
2. the most widely represented frame is “Russia is a state” (82%) and the subframe “people of Russia” (34%) within it. The latter fact allows to conclude that a society according to the discourse of *Asahi Shinbun* consists of concrete persons, and history is created by most talented, brightest or by most notorious of them. It is from this point of view that Russian nation is perceived and evaluated. The subframes “relations of Russia with other countries”, “the structures of public authorities” and “defense” are also widely represented as parts of the frame “Russia is a state”. It can be explained primarily by objective socio-political processes in the country and in the world and by the relevance of these processes for the studied discourse. The newspaper *Asahi Shinbun*

aims at systematizing news of a day from around the world, and therefore focuses on such topics as international relations, internal policies, economy. In addition Japan has a maritime border with Russia, for this reason its military activities in the Far East attract attention of the newspaper. For instance, journalists of *Asahi Shinbun* are well informed about the naval aviation of Russia, but are not interested in its civil aviation (the slot is not presented anywhere). The next most represented frame is “Russia is a country/territory” (12%) and the subframe “geographical objects” (57.5%) within it. Various social features (41.5%) are the most widely represented subframe within the metaphoric model “Russia is a human being” (3.5%): as a human being Russia is perceived first of all in its social image, that can be correlated with the highest representation of political personalities compared with other persons.

3. Notions about Russia are also formulated in terms of stereotypical knowledge. The use of stereotypes is caused by the orientation of journalistic texts towards description of recurring typical situations of the social life. For instance, the studied discourse realizes notions, based on knowledge about socio-political processes of current importance:

- after the collapse of the USSR Russia was in the state of chaos, turmoil, disorder. The process of recovery has not finished yet;
- the main socio-political tendencies are: centralization of power, return toward authoritarianism;
- Russia is a huge country stretched in the space, rich with natural resources;
- despite economic growth today the attractiveness of Russia as an investment market is controversial: its advantages are natural resources, development of the Far East, its disadvantages are the lack of business systems and civilized business practices, mistrust towards Russia and Russians.

5. According to Teun van Dijk, “journalistic models express the attitude towards social structures and are strategically organized in professional terms of “news values”. Relevance and importance of topics and personalities, in this way, seem to be “natural” characteristics of news, and not a consequence of social value of news objects, which is as a rule a “biased” opinion”⁶⁴⁷. Biased opinion about Russia is expressed in terms of stereotypical knowledge, which describes not only objective trends and phenomena of modern Russian social life, but also the attitude towards them, included in the structure of stereotypes:

- Russia is a country that cannot be rationally understood: emotional attitude towards mysteriousness, unpredictability of Russia is included in the stereotype;
- Russia is a despotic country that aims at authoritarian style of governance, tries to dominate neighbour countries, which is assessed negatively: within the country it is the return towards the past, on the international stage it is the suppression of freedom and independence of other countries as norms of social life.

647 DIJK, *News as discourse*.

- Russia tries to enter Europe and Asia, aims at European practices and norms of life, establishes relations with other countries, including Japan (which is assessed positively due to the tendency of the discourse towards tolerance and compromises), but, on the other hand, Russia is opposed to countries of all regions of the world (the US and Japan, first of all), it does not do real steps towards the settlement of the territorial issue and in this way hampers the development of its relations with Japan.
- Russian history is full of calamities, wars, conflicts; Russians do not live long and happily; Russian society is the society of politicians, tycoons and criminals (often they are the same people).
- Russian people are sociable, cheerful and talented, but at the same time gloomy, foolish and unpredictable.

6. Conclusions can also be made concerning some features of the Japanese linguistic world-view in the discourse of *Asahi Shinbun*:

a) for instance, the use of metaphors as ways of rethinking reality illustrates particularities of conceptualization by the Japanese linguistic consciousness of such social phenomena as economic growth or power of a country. Political power is described by means of orientational metaphors that point at internal spatial characteristics of an object (upward movement) and external characteristics (being at the top). Political backwardness is described as a backward movement or lateness, that is the absence of upward movements. For a country the power and force are determined by the degree of authority, influence, a strong country is placed at the top, above other states.

b) Based on assessments used in descriptions of Russia and on contextual analysis of text fragments, which include component “attitude towards Russia”, an “ideal” of a social structure in the discourse of *Asahi Shinbun* can be formed. For instance, the following conditions are postulated as “ideal”: democracy (the purpose of political progress), the rule of law, freedom (of faith, expression, elections, choice), stability (political and economic, wherein the latter is understood as a stable growth). All social phenomena and processes that contribute to the failure to achieve the “ideal” (authoritarian style of governance, military operations, suppressive laws, etc.) are estimated as deviant and immoral.

Conclusions

The concept 'roshia' in the discourse of *Asahi Shinbun* is a sociocultural concept that accumulates knowledge of the Japanese about Russia. On one hand, it is a complex mental formation that includes knowledge about real structure of the country as a state (its social “mechanism”) and territory (its space). On the other hand, any concept is a product of national culture and social concepts form a conceptual sphere of political communication which constitutes

one of the spheres of the culture.

The study of national notions about another nation is as a matter of fact interdisciplinary: the task of this study was to form the structure of the concept 'roshia' in the discourse of *Asahi Shinbun*, and it was solved by means of complex methods of conceptual analysis.

The concept 'roshia' has a complex structure of denominations, realized in the language by various linguistic means. The analysis of linguistic means of representation of the concept allowed to distinguish three groups of ways of its actualization:

1. by means of the lexeme “ロシア *roshia*”;
2. by means of lexemes “ロシア *roshia*” (の *no*) + N, “ロシア人 *roshiajin*”, that is by ascribing the feature “Russian” to people, objects, realities of modern Russian social life;
3. by means of other lexemes, such as “ソ連 *soren*”, “巨大な国 *kyodaina kuni*”, “祖国 *sokoku*”, etc.

The most frequent way of the concept actualization is ascribing the feature “Russian” to objects and realities, that is by means of lexemes “ロシア *roshia*”(の *no*) + N. The feature “Russian” actualizes in the discourse of *Asahi Shinbun* such elements of the linguistic world-view as Russian president, Russian government, Russian army, Russian language, Russian people, Russian money, natural gas, etc.

The concept 'roshia' consists of seven segments: 4 frames (“Russia is a country/territory”, “Russia is a state”, “Russia is a starting point”, “Russia is a terminal point”) and 3 metaphoric models (“Russia is a human being”, “Russia is an artifact”, “Russia is a live creature”). By means of statistic analysis of the concept's features the most relevant frames within the discourse of *Asahi Shinbun* were revealed: they are “Russia is a state”, “Russia is a country/territory” and metaphoric model “Russia is a human being”.

The first stage of the construction of the conceptual structure was the identification of a set of syntactic constructions in which the concept is actualized. They are:

- verbal subjective (SV) (position of the subject with a verb);
- verbal objective (OV) (position of the object with a verb);
- predicative (position of the predicate);
- adjectival (position of a defined object);
- substantival postpositional;
- substantival (NN) (position of an attributive).

Based upon the semantic relations of language units in the nearest syntactic surrounding of lexemes actualizing the concept, the conclusions can be made concerning semantic classifiers that categorize the concept. These semantic classifiers have become the base for the formation of segments of the concept, and defined relations within the concept.

For instance, on the basis of a dictionary definition of the lexeme “ロシア *roshia*” it was concluded that Russia first of all is categorized as a country/territory (space). The lexeme “ロシア *roshia*” in the meaning “country/territory” functions in word-combinations “ロシアに *roshia ni*”, “ロシアで *roshia de*”, “ロシアにおける *roshia ni okeru*”, where postpositions に *ni*, で *de*, における *niokeru* categorize Russia as a certain locus in which something goes on (spatial semantic classifier). It has become the base for the frame “Russia is a country/territory”.

The way of actualization “ロシア *roshia* + verb” (as a subject of action) includes word-combinations with intensional verbs and grammar forms (目指す *mezasu*, Vてほしい *Vtehosii*, Vたい *Vtai*). Such verbs endow Russia with intensional features, inherent in the human being. Actions, usually done by a man, turned out to be typical of the whole country. This premise allowed to conclude that Russia is characterized as a human being and to form the metaphoric model “Russia is a human being”.

Subframes and slots (scenarios) of frames were distinguished on the basis of “embeddedness” of a finer structure of knowledge into a larger one. For instance, the frame “Russia is a country/territory” contains subframes “country”, “soil”, “geography”, “geographical objects”, “space”. Metaphoric model “Russia is a human being” consists of subframes “social features”, “features of speech”, “mental features”, “emotional features”, “features of character”.

During the modeling of the structure of the concept 'roshia' it was revealed that “direct” features of the concept are represented wider than “indirect”. These are the features that form frames and slots as structures of knowledge about objective facets of Russian realities. The structure of the concept contains assessment, and the text fragments explicate stereotypes about Russia. The realization of stereotypes about Russia occurs in two main ways:

1. stereotype is explicated in a text fragment;
2. stereotype is included in the structure of a frame.

In the first case a stereotype as a generalized, schematic, frequent knowledge about object is realized by means of a verbal formula (sometimes taking a form of a precedent phenomenon, cliches, etc.). Markers are language schemes like “ロシアと言えば *roshia to ieba*”, for instance: “ロシアと言えば、ウオツカが有名です。” (Speaking of Russia, its vodka is famous)⁶⁴⁸,” 予測不可能性。19世紀のロシア詩人チュッチェフの詩「ロシアは頭では理解できない」。” (The unpredictability (of Russia). The poem “You can't understand Russia with your mind” of a Russian poet of 19th century Tyutchev)⁶⁴⁹.

In the second case a stereotype is a generalization, certain knowledge concluded from the structure of a frame. For instance, on the basis of the analysis of the frame “Russia is a state”,

648 *Asahi Shinbun*, 14 November 2013.

649 *Asahi Shinbun*, 24 February 2013.

subframe “characteristics of the state” and slot “democracy” it can be concluded that democracy is seen as an ideal, norm, to which Russia does not correspond. The deviation from democratic norms is evaluated negatively.

The analysis of proportions of the concept's features and linguistic means of their actualization (including evaluation, emotionally marked language units, metaphors, metonymies) allows to create a detailed portrait of Russia as it is represented in the discourse of the newspaper *Asahi Shinbun*.

As a result, the main characteristics of Russia can be formulated in the following way:

- Russia is a country in Northern Asia, geographically it also occupies a part of Eastern Europe, but it is not Europe;
- Russia is people living there;
- Political, economic and social life are concentrated in Moscow, but Moscow is not Russia;
- Russia is a country with cold climate;
- Russia is a huge country with great culture, which still retains much of the old way of life;
- Russian are people with unpredictable character, caused by a particular “soul”, which is characterized by their openness and love towards Motherland. But they can also be cool-headed and cruel.

Japanese language absorbed Russian words that actualize such facets of the world-view as:

- technical objects: “ソユーズ” *soyūzu*, “スプートニク” *supūtoniku*;
- Russian drinks: “ウオツカ” *uotsuka*;
- Greetings and thanks: “ダスヴィダーニヤ” *dasuvidāniya*, “スパシーバ” *supashība*;
- plant facilities: “ガस्पロム” *gasupuromu*;
- names of politicians and tycoons: “プーチン” *pūchin*, “ベレゾフスキー” *berezofusukī*

Based upon the statement that every feature of the concept can be expanded to an independent concept with its own structure the prospects of the research are seen in the study of concepts of the Japanese culture, such as “democracy”, “economy”, “law”, “freedom”, etc.

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