

Prognostic Potential of Political Metaphors

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Abstract The problem we dwell upon is the role of metaphors in political forecasting. Political forecasting is a powerful means of manipulating the audience. Any political forecast is aimed not only at representing the best-case scenario and the worst-case scenario of the political situation, but also at conveying the emotional content of the forecast, as well as at influencing the addressee by manipulating with images of the future to achieve the ultimate goal of the producer of the text. We stress the crucial role of the political metaphor in structuring the text. It is the metaphor that organizes the content of the forecast both formally and conceptually. The article presents a piece of our approach to studying retrospective models of Russia's future using the methods and tools of linguistic political prognostics. The material for the analysis is the 19th century American and British political discourses (1855–1881). The paper evaluates the prognostic potential of the dominant metaphorical models (PATH, DISEASE, CRIME and FAUNA), elicits the discursive factors that shape the usage and meanings of metaphors, demonstrates the interdependence between metaphors and the images they generate and emphasizes the role of the historical context in this process.

Keywords Metaphor, 19th century political discourse, British discourse, American discourse, Russia's future, prognostic potential, linguistic political prognostics

1 Introduction

Does it matter which metaphor is used to sense the future? It certainly does. Metaphor is a conceptual model that legislates and regulates our understanding of the future. Scholars invariably emphasize the crucial importance of metaphor in such a purposeful and typified activity as political discourse interaction (cf. Watzlawick 1984, Bourdieu 1997, Blumenberg 1998, Judge 2001, Dannenberg 2002, Lakoff/Johnson 2003, Gibbs/Cameron 2008). In political discourse the future is often integrated into metaphors: metaphors are powerful tools that organize our experience (the past and the present) and create new realities (the future). Images of the past, present and future realities largely depend on the usage of metaphors that have a creative role in their structuring.

The approach we put forward is linguistic political prognostics, i. e. a new synthesis of theories and conceptions of the future advanced in Futurology Studies, Political Sciences and Cognitive Linguistics. Using the tools of these branches of knowledge, linguistic political prognostics deals with models of the future based on exploratory forecasts made by the authors of political texts. The basic constituents of the methods are models and scenarios of the future. A model of the future serves as a basis for the scenario development in the form of its linguistic representation. The central tool in any scenario is a cognitive metaphor. Particular metaphors

Zitiervorschlag / Citation:

Solopova, Olga/Chudinov, Anatoly (2019): "Prognostic Potential of Political Metaphors." *Fachsprache. Journal of Professional and Scientific Communication* Special Issue 2019: 48–64.

that configure our understanding of the political future obtain a specific power. Depicting the future either in the most favorable light or portraying it in dark colors is a frequent and efficient means used by mass media and by politicians (cf. Chudinov/Solopova 2015). Best-case and worst-case scenarios constructed with the help of metaphors might have a strong effect on the attitudes towards the “political present” of the country and its probable political future. On the one hand, the reason for that is one of the main driving forces of all human actions – their hope that one day things will change for the better. On the other hand, metaphors are used as weapons to entrap and isolate – and even kill the whole country (cf. Lakoff/Johnson 2003).

To study the prognostic potential of political metaphors we use the data from American and British political discourses of different chronological periods, find out analogies and similarities in interpreting Russia’s future that can be reconstructed from the analysis of metaphors used in these discourses. The scope of the present research is the 19th century retrospective period.

2 Theoretical context

The study of metaphors in the political discourse is one of the dynamically developing tendencies of modern Linguistics. The analysis of the works addressing the research scope shows that the study of discourse metaphors as the main tool of conceptualization and categorization of the world is central in a range of disciplines. The fact is explained by the dynamic and temporal nature of conceptualization, cognitive processes development and real-time language functioning, as well as by a continuous nature of each change that never stops.

The most typical features of discourse metaphors include their change, development of contrary connotative meanings of the same metaphor at a particular time or over a long period of time, their reshaping, transforming and extending according to cultural and experiential knowledge of those who use them. A detailed analysis of discourse metaphors of a certain time period is considered to be the upper temporal limit, the starting point of their further development analysis, which reveals the reasons of their change, the impact various discourse factors have both on the stability of a particular metaphor and on the system of metaphors in general, as well as on their transformations in the course of time.

Metaphor cannot be usefully treated in isolation, within the framework of the cognitive, socio-cultural or any other approach (cf. Clark 1997). In this case scholars obtain reliable but scattered data: the analysis is partial, incomplete and inaccurate, as it is the interaction of cognitive features and discourse factors produced by the historical moment, social development and culture that gives a full metaphorical image. Studying metaphors one can see dominant social interests and values of the society, ideals that form its culture, thus, metaphor turns to be a mirror reflecting a particular society at a certain development stage (cf. Chudinov 2013). The study of the figurative language in use can help us to better understand the way in which nineteenth-century authors tried to constitute nations through their texts (cf. White 1973: 94), which is very relevant to examine analogies, specific images and patterns of representing Russia’s future in the two discourses.

In order to cover the main features of historical conceptualization, a minimum number of major parameters must be included in metaphor analysis. To study the historical evolution of the figurative language (emotions, color symbolism, political war metaphor) six major parameters are proposed for a global evolutionary model of conceptual mapping and historical conceptualization (Trim 2011: 13 f., 23). These parameters represent ‘constants’ which are of

primary significance throughout the language development. The historical evolution model includes: (1) thought processes that involve sensory perception and embodiment derived from our bodily experience; (2) the interface with linguistic form, which may also have an influence on modifying conceptual structures in the mind; (3) the hypothetical roles of universal trends or underlying mechanisms which promote these processes; (4) the dominant role of culture in the history of language; (5) different forms of diachronic salience present at varying times in history; and, finally, (6) the type of discourse or semantic field in which the mapping is created. These major parameters can be further subdivided into other categories or excluded from the list according to the particular objective of the study.

Within the framework of the dynamic cognition approach researchers lay emphasis on the situatedness of cognition, the embodiedness of metaphors into a certain social and cultural context (cf. Nerlich/Hellsten 2004, Chilton 2005, Musolff 2008, Zinken/Hellsten/Nerlich 2008). The focus of the metaphor here can be understood as a system of associations coded by the culture. It means that studying metaphors does not only require synchronous contexts but also involves general cultural contexts. Thus, it is impossible to understand metaphors discretely: only through their linguistic, cognitive or socio-cultural component. As language, cognition and culture are inextricably intertwined, discourse metaphors are socially and culturally situational, linguistic and extra-linguistic context-dependent, and ambiguous, i. e. they imply various conceptual meanings and tend to be differently interpreted. The metaphor's "discourse career" highly depends on two complementary factors: 1) the experience that enables the constancy of conceptual features, 2) the sufficient conceptual flexibility that enables the development of different and sometimes contrary conceptual meanings (cf. Musolff 2004).

Osborn, the founder of the archetypal metaphor theory, states that there exists a permanent demand for metaphors in any discourse, a certain "immunity" to changes (the same models are dominant both in the discourse of one country and in the discourses of different countries throughout a long period) (Osborn 1967). The scholar stresses their embeddedness in the human experience and, consequently, in the human consciousness, their dependence on the basic motives and driving forces of human beings (cf. Osborn 1967: 338 f.). Osborn's archetypal metaphor theory is supported by the findings of O'Bryan's (1986) and Harvey's (1999) works: in the former research a retrospective analysis of anti-immigration discourse (the beginning of the 20th century) shows the frequency of metaphors typical of the modern American political communication; in the latter work the author proves that the "STATE-AS-ORGANISM" metaphor is one of the archetypal source domains embedded in the human thought from ancient times. Thus, a discourse metaphor is a dynamic ensemble that exists as a unity of language, cognition, feelings, emotions and socio-cultural influences. It cannot be reduced to its linguistic, physical, cognitive, emotional, and socio-cultural components. To understand a metaphor one must explain how these components interact and overlap one another in real time.

The meanings a particular discourse metaphor has are culture-based, society-based and situation-based, i. e. they are linked to specific cultural and discourse traditions and depend on a number of situational features. Any archetypal metaphor, the one that operates in long-term paths in a given culture or cross-culturally, evolves together with the cultural component it is embedded in. Even becoming obsolete it remains latent in the conceptual system to be reactivated at a later stage as its inherent discourse stability is influenced by other factors. Single historical events may considerably increase or decrease frequency counts of a particular metaphor. Furthermore, the situational variation can over time create a semantic and pragmatic

drift that changes the dominant meaning of an archetypal metaphor. Being context-sensitive (both situational and discourse historical contexts are meant here), the archetypal metaphor can modify its culturally entrenched interpretations and evaluative connotations. Besides, the evolution of metaphors is not only determined by a stable presence of metaphors in the language and culture and their high frequency, but also by the tendency to generate “meanings that require less intellectual losses and ensure a higher cognitive effect” (Sperber 2000: 53).

The problems of metaphor variability and their dependence on the social and political situation are dwelt upon by Landtsheer (1991), who proved the interdependence between the frequency of metaphors and public crises in the Dutch political discourse (1831–1981), by Vertessen/Landtsheer (2006) who fixed the increase in the number of metaphorical models over the pre-election period as compared to the metaphor frequency over the periods between elections, by Heintze (2001) who found out some regularities of political metaphors evolution when regarding political and economic changes in Poland.

Within the framework of the dynamic research on metaphor, the scholars introduce the notions of “sleeping” and “waking” metaphors (cf. Forceville 2006, Cienki 2008, Mittelberg 2008, Müller 2008, Mittelberg/Waugh 2009). Drawing on the latest research in Linguistics, Semiotics, Philosophy, and Psychology, the scholars put forward a new approach that disputes the dead/alive dichotomy of metaphors, proposing a more dynamic model: sleeping and waking metaphors. The existence of “sleeping” and “waking” metaphors implies that the discourse metaphor is property activated in dynamics, its activation is a result of discourse interaction and, consequently, it depends on a particular context. This view implies that any “sleeping” metaphor has a potential for being activated, consequently, a potential for becoming a metaphor (cf. Barsalou 1999, Steen 2008). The analysis makes them conclude that metaphors may change their status and have various degrees of “sleeping” and “waking” components depending on a particular context they are used in (cf. Müller 2008).

Thus, when metaphors are used in any discourse their metaphorical potential is simultaneously actualized and processed. On the one hand, metaphors have certain immunity to changes, on the other hand, they are reformulated, reshaped and transformed, being influenced by extra-linguistic factors. Studying the use and the evolution of metaphors in discourse is a key element of understanding both metaphors and the society, its history and its evolution.

3 Metaphor and its prognostic function

The cognitive process of constructing a model of the future in political discourse often becomes possible due to the use of metaphor-based cognitive models.

According to Lakoff/Johnson (2003), our everyday thoughts and behavior are pierced with metaphors we normally do not realize. Linguistic studies of the last few decades have shown that metaphor is not so much a rhetorical technique but a special cognitive model used to describe, predict and create the world. In political discourse “the future” component is often integrated into a metaphor. Whereas the future is one of the abstract, less “feasible” categories (e. g. when compared with the past and the present), a constitutive property of anticipatory cognition is figurative language. The world cannot be unchangeable, its change gives rise to new knowledge based on the old patterns used in the new conditions. Modeling the future in political discourse is a complicated process; it requires certain conceptual operations that allow for linking the old and the new and for making metaphors emerge.

Politicians use metaphors to argue their ideas of the future. Bright, akin, “colorful” representations of future consequences cause a stronger reaction and more likely motivate the addressees’ behavior convincing them of a real opportunity to reform the country, to improve the present and to correct the mistakes of the past. The future is supposed to be revised, processed and corrected by the present.

The review of the works on the problem of metaphor and its ability to “predict” the future allows us to differentiate the following functions of metaphors involved in constructing the future:

- Metaphors are powerful tools that organize our experience (the past and the present) and create new realities (the future) (cf. Lakoff/Johnson 2003).
- Metaphor allows us to imagine something not yet realized (cf. Chudinov 2013: 49).
- Constructing the images of present and future realities depends to a great extent on the use of metaphors (cf. Watzlawick 1984: 53).
- Metaphors specify what to expect and how to behave (cf. Kelling 1991).
- Metaphor enables us to change the social world modifying the understanding of the world and creating a new reality (cf. Bourdieu 1997: 34).
- Metaphor opposes a paradoxical insight, utopia, project, and program to the ordinary vision (cf. Bourdieu 1997: 34).
- Metaphor performs a dual function: it defends the existing order and challenges it and it supports the existing order and rebuilds it (cf. Kennedy 2000).
- Metaphor intimidates and calms down the electorate, makes them support a politician or keep silent (cf. Edelman 1988: 103 f.).
- Metaphor has the courage of hypothesizing (cf. Blumenberg 1998: 13).
- Metaphors are framed with the social world they modify (cf. Dannenberg 2002: 292).
- Metaphor is a response to the need for innovations (cf. Herman 2000: 230).

That makes us believe that metaphorical images are obviously an active force able to awaken the imagination and cause an emotional outbreak. Metaphors do not only reflect modern reality but also influence our vision of future realities and structure our view of the world. As the man has neither sense nor opportunity to physically perceive “the hurrying river of time” (the time dimension), he uses metaphors to understand what the future holds for the country. Representations of present and future realities depend to a great extent on the use of metaphors that have a creative role in their structuring. Metaphors are not only framed with political, legal, social, economic and cultural systems, they can transform these systems by changing the concept and the idea of them. Metaphors may guide future actions, i. e. they can maintain and back up the existing system, or rebuild, or even undermine its stability. Metaphorical analogies for modeling the future are the most powerful tools we have to transform the reality into the world adapted to human goals and objectives.

4 Empirical basis and findings

This article is a piece of the study of dominant political metaphors modeling Russia’s future in American and British political discourses (cf. Solopova 2014, 2017). The work is performed within the framework of linguistic political prognostics. The material for the analysis is political texts of the 19th century. All the examples cited in the paper to illustrate and prove our theses have spelling, punctuation and font of the 19th-century original texts in American and British political discourses; contexts from American texts are marked in the article with the label (*US*), from British texts with the label (*GB*).

The parameters used to analyze systems of metaphors in the two discourses are the following:

- the general activity of metaphorical units (the correlation of metaphorical and non-metaphorical representation of Russia’s future),
- the correlation of “dead” metaphors (conventional expressions from everyday language) and “alive” metaphors (novel or poetic),
- the number of metaphorical models fixed in the discourses,
- the peculiarities of dominant metaphorical models,
- their most frequent frames,
- metaphors’ meanings and their prognostic potential.

The retrospective analysis of the systems of metaphorical models functioning in political discourses of the two countries allows us to fix a set of regularities in the metaphorical representation of Russia’s future.

It should be noted that in the analyzed corpora (comprising 3000 contexts in each of the discourses) the non-metaphorical representation of the future prevails over the figurative representation (cf. Figure 1). The percentage indices of metaphors (the USA: 40,1 %, Great Britain: 44,8 %) include all metaphorical units, both “alive” (the USA: 24,5 %, Great Britain: 20,1 %) and “dead” (the USA: 15,6 %, Great Britain: 24,7 %).

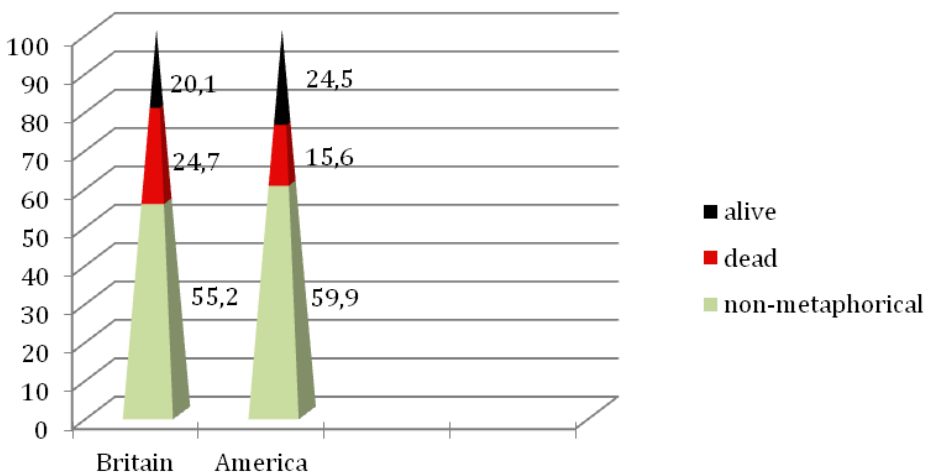


Figure 1: Comparative diagram of the representation of Russia’s future in the 19th century American and British political discourses

Despite the 19th century military campaigns and the rivalry in European affairs, the metaphor creativity parameter (the use of “alive” metaphors) is comparatively low. The frequency of metaphors does not ‘predict’ crises and great changes in the present and the future of the Russian Empire. It is quite representative that British political discourse of the retrospective period is more metaphorical if compared with American political discourse, which is primarily preconditioned by the historical reasons: the international political situation, the Russian-British rivalry in Central Asia, in the East and in the Pacific Ocean, the military campaigns where the two countries were either rivals or allies of opposing sides. It is interesting to note that the bulk of the alive, novel metaphors fixed in representing the Russian Empire’s future is typical of the

American political discourse, in spite of the fact that the general activity indices of metaphors in the American discourse are slightly lower. However, the British are more inclined to use “dead” metaphors, while the Americans tend to use “alive” ones. These findings show linguistic and cultural peculiarities of metaphorical models in political discourses of the two nations speaking one language.

The systems of metaphors modeling Russia’s future in the two discourses include 17 metaphorical models (realized in 1345 contexts) in British texts about Russia, and 16 metaphorical models (realized in 1203 contexts) in American texts (cf. Table 1; five dominant models used in modeling Russia’s future in each discourse are semi-bold, Roman numerals show their frequency in the discourse of each country).

Table 1: Systems of metaphorical models functioning in the 19th-century American and British political discourses

#	“RUSSIA’S FUTURE IS ...”	The USA (1203)	Great Britain (1345)
1	PATH	9,3 IV	16,6 I
2	ORGANISM	6,0	6,2
3	DISEASE	10,5 II	11,1 IV
4	FLORA	3,3	2,4
5	INANIMATE NATURE	9,6 III	5,4
6	CRIME	8,6 V	13,0 II
7	WAR	8,2	8,0
8	MECHANISM	3,6	4,9
9	RELATIONS	4,5	0,7
10	FAUNA	14,5 I	11,6 III
11	THEATER	7,1	3,0
12	CONSTRUCTION / BUILDING	2,8	–
13	LESSON	3,4	2,3
14	HOME	–	0,7
15	GAME	3,9	9,3 V
16	RELIGION	1,8	2,5
17	INSTRUMENT	–	1,3
18	SPORT	0,9	0,9
19	MONARCHY	0,9	–

The focus here is on the dominant metaphorical models common for both discourses. The corpora under analysis yields numerous examples portraying Russia’s future as PATH. Choosing a direction and a way is one of the most popular sources of metaphors in modeling the future, this metaphor being the most frequent in British discourse, and the fourth in terms of frequency – in American discourse, which primarily reflects the human’s linear perception of time: its

flow from the past through the present to the future (cf. Table 2). PATH metaphors become particularly important when modeling the future as they reflect social and cultural processes of understanding “the hurrying river of time” and lay the foundation for understanding the direction the country chooses and the expediency of its movement to the future.

In the British political discourse in constructing the Russian Empire’s future, the prognostic potential of the frames TRACK and OBSTACLES is most actively used:

(1) *Onward and onward, ever on – to the Far East*, until the conqueror signs a Treaty of Peace with the vanquished British – that is due of the fixed objects of the Slavonian mind. *Every step in advance* may be painful and perilous, but the great prize is not grasped at once; *it is approached by a systematic course of stealthy advances*. (Unknown publisher 1857: 4) (GB)

(2) We know that many countries will support us in restricting *Russia’s further and future encroachments* in Europe, because their interests are deeply concerned. (Unknown publisher 1878a: 5) (GB)

The use of these two frames is predominantly connected with the Russian policy of imperial expansion. The country’s orientation towards extending and broadening its territory makes its rivals wish to slow down the country. It is reflected in the use of metaphors with negative connotations that aim at modeling thousands of obstacles in the country’s way, numerous barriers that restrict its movements forward and become limitations for its future: *Russia’s historical path being still surrounded and obstructed by many obstacles and many trials, the difficulties cannot be suddenly overleaped, serious difficulties in its path, main obstacles, one key obstacle, a chief restriction, a significant hindrance, an obstruction, a mid impediment, a barrier, etc.*

Table 2: Frames of the metaphorical model RUSSIA’S FUTURE IS PATH

Frame Discourse	TRACK	MOVEMENTS	SPEED	OBSTACLES
Great Britain (223)	89	10	44	80
The USA (112)	63	–	31	18

In American political discourse PATH metaphors are active in representing the Russian territorial extension as well:

(3) *Russia*, like the United States, *is an improving and expanding Empire*. Its track is eastward, while that of the United States is westward. The two nations, therefore, never come into rivalry or conflict. *Each carries civilization to the new regions it enters, and each finds itself occasionally resisted by States jealous of its prosperity, or alarmed by its aggrandizement*. Russia and the United States may remain good friends until, *each having made a circuit of half the globe in opposite directions*, they shall meet and greet each other in the region where civilization first began, and where, after so many ages, it has become now lethargic and helpless. It will be your pleasing duty to confirm and strengthen these traditional relations of amity and friendship. (Seward 1861: 8) (US)

In the American political discourse among metaphors depicting Russia’s future as PATH the most frequent are those belonging to the frame TRACK (*to take decisive steps, to make ad-*

vances, a single step, to work by steps, the last step before the spring, a step forward, a stride forward, its quick and long strides, Russia's path, race, glorious route, wide road, etc.). A prominent peculiarity of American political discourse in representing the Russian Empire's future is invariably positive connotations of metaphors that produce the image of the active, dynamic progress of the Russian Empire, its continuous external and internal development. PATH metaphors do not merely model Russia's movement through time and space. Being symbols of change, they point to progressive changes: the Russian Empire is constantly moving forward, to the future.

The relevance of the PATH metaphor in conceptualizing the future lies in the fact that, on the one hand, it reflects the dynamics of social phenomena and processes, Russia's moving forward from the past through the present to the future, a progressive development of the country (the best-case scenario) and, on the other hand, it allows for modeling a regressive development (the worst-case scenario) that means returning to old political regimes, crafting policies that largely look to the past.

Another common domain providing metaphors in the two discourses is that of DISEASE (the second model in terms of frequency in American discourse, the fourth in the discourse of Great Britain) (cf. Table 3).

Table 3: Frames of the metaphorical model RUSSIA'S FUTURE IS DISEASE

Frame Discourse	DIAGNOSIS	CAUSES OF DISEASE	SYMPTOMS	TREATMENT	PATIENT'S CONDITION
The USA (126)	34	–	7	–	85
Great Britain (149)	58	16	12	–	63

Depending on the discourse a text belongs to (American or British) DISEASE metaphors can be realized through at least two scenarios which represent its extremes – the best-case and the worst-case scenarios. The content of the DISEASE metaphor varies greatly depending on the ideological position of the author, his intentions, on the fact whether he aims at emphasizing positive aspects of the future or, on the contrary, negative ones. In British discourse the Russian Empire is shown suffering from incurable diseases. The image of the 'dying empire' makes the addressee interpret the social and political situation in the country as being unambiguously negative in the country's present and inadmissible for its future development:

(4) We cannot here dwell upon the manifold symptoms of *Russia's unhealthiness*; but we may repeat that Alexander II owes these interior difficulties, as well as the exterior embarrassment. *The organism which has thus been thoroughly far from sound, and all the greater is now the difficulty of placing it in a condition of healthful development.* But, however arduous the task, Alexander II may hope to accomplish it. (Smith 1877: 2) (GB)

In American discourse the frame PATIENT'S CONDITION, as opposed to British political discourse, is mainly realized through RECOVERY metaphors. The attention is paid to positive reformations in the country:

(5) *The Russian race is slowly recovering from an oppression.* (Jones 1878: 4) (US)

Another frequent domain providing metaphors in American and British political discourses and having a high prognostic potential is the source domain DIAGNOSIS:

(6) We are, all of us, convinced that *Russia will eventually recover from the present afflictions and “come back”*. There is still a future for Russia. (Hall 1877: 6) (US)

(7) Russia has taken the malady from her weaker neighbour. And *the present Czar may be classed in the category of the “sick man”*. There is sickness nigh to destruction through the whole extent of that incongruous empire. (Pagan 1863: 5) (GB)

In British political discourse the frame comprises a list of numerous “diseases” of the Russian Empire in its present and future: *a perilous illness, abominable cancer, Russia being paralysed by a wicked enchanter, a painful malady, an untreatable illness, a generational disease, its own deadly domestic malady, etc.* The DIAGNOSIS metaphor shows the dysfunction of political, economic and social relations in the society, it explicitly expresses negative connotations symbolizing the impotence of the country’s policy, its deviations from the standards and rules, impossibility of its proper functioning in the future. Both frames (PATIENT’S CONDITION and DIAGNOSIS) allow the addressers to diagnose and outline the present trends and to predict their future alternative development. It should be emphasized that in British political discourse the DISEASE metaphor characterizes the future of the Russian Empire in a strongly negative key, being an intensifier of the worst-end scenario of the future.

Within metaphors used to conceptualize Russia’s future in American and British political discourses we find a large set specifically equating Russia’s future to CRIME, ranking fifth and second in the system of metaphorical models correspondingly (cf. Table 4).

Table 4: Frames of the metaphorical model RUSSIA’S FUTURE IS CRIME

Frame Discourse	CRIMINALS	CRIMINAL ACTIVITY	VICTIMS	TRIAL	DETENTION FACILITY
Great Britain (175)	23	84	20	18	30
The USA (104)	13	56	15	5	15

In the two discourses metaphors of the frame CRIMINAL ACTIVITY are frequently used: *to stand against right and justice, to make oneself an outlaw, to rob, waste other’s lands unchecked, perfidious, treacherous, cutting, carving, mangling, thieving, lying, cunning, bribery, intrigue, foul deeds, to take the law into one’s hands, to act unlawfully, to offend, to coerce, to cajole, to bribe, a species of coercion, to bully, infamy, wicked schemes, etc.* (GB); *acts of aggression, robbery, Russian machinations, crime, murder, offence, felony, schemes, villainous machinations, a deceptive half truth, a fraud, a cheat, cunning, etc.* (US). The CRIME metaphor actualizing concepts of swindle and robbery aims at modeling the Russian Empire’s predatory policy in the present and maintaining the current policy in the future, as well as at highlighting the need to suppress its unfair foreign policy maneuvers, baffle them, and bring Russia to justice:

(8) Russia is never at a loss for such excuses as will, in her own eyes, *justify her acts of aggression and robbery*. (Clifford/Leng 1878: 2) (GB)

(9) *We take all possible precautions against the success of Russian machinations in that direction!* (Raymond/Jones 1860: 5) (US)

CRIME metaphors are particularly active in modeling Russia's future in British political discourse, being a structured set the model ranks second in the system of metaphors modeling the future. They negate the Russian absolute monarchy as a form of government, which results in regarding the Russian Czar as the chief criminal in the present and in the future of his country:

(10) *The records of the Imperial House are deeply stained with vice and crime. Tyranny, licentiousness and murder invest the history of the Czars with the same kind of gloomy horror that we are accustomed to associate with the annals of the Caesars.* (Stoddart 1880: 5) (GB)

CRIME metaphors characterize the Russian present political system as a criminal network that poses a serious threat to the development, functioning and existence of the country and that threatens the international peace, the political stability, economic and social development of other states. A peculiar feature of the British CRIME metaphorical model is the use of the ARBITER metaphor:

(11) *The Czar is no longer the arbiter of Europe;* not even a German or Italian potentate dares to propose him openly for an example (Unknown publisher 1856: 3) (GB).

(12) *Russia has too much to risk, even though it is now in point of fact the arbiter of Europe.* (Mort/Mort 1870: 6) (GB)

The Russian Empire acts like a judge who shapes the future of other countries and peoples, resolving arguments, disputing resolutions, sentencing and pardoning. Depending on the extra-linguistic factors, British authors either raise Russia and its monarch to the chief and supreme judge in all disputes, High Justice who independently makes decisions on present and future foreign affairs, or lower the Russian Empire and its Czar to the level of a criminal.

In general, CRIME metaphors model an aggressive, dangerous and unpredictable situation in the present of the country that is likely to become the worst-case future. The majority of CRIME metaphors form a negative perception of the country's further development. Their connotative meanings are the following: the evil of crime is woven into Russian life; crime pervades its policies; the country has a lawless history; it has practically never been lawful, and it has the prospect of a dismal, lawless future. Conceptually metaphors of the source domain express the idea of criminality and anti-social behavior producing repulsive images of the future.

Another domain common for the two discourses is FAUNA metaphors (ranking first in American political discourse in modeling Russia's future and third in British political discourse) (cf. Table 5):

(13) In twice two hundred years *the Bear* and the Crescent shall assail, but if *the Cock and Bull* unite, *the Bear* shall not prevail. So far, so good. *The Bear* (Russia) did assail the Crescent (Turkey), but France and England (presented by the *Cock and Bull* respectively) united with Turkey, and *the Bear* was foiled. (Unknown publisher 1878b: 4) (US)

(14) Probably, if we could get to the bottom of Afghan thought, it would be that *the Russian bear* and *the British lion* were equally determined to have Afghanistan, and that *the only difference is that while the Russian comes with subtle swiftness directly to his victim, the British lion waits until he sees an opportunity to make a sudden spring.* (Reynolds/Dicks 1878: 1) (GB)

Table 5: Frames of the metaphorical model RUSSIA'S FUTURE IS FAUNA

Frame Discourse	SPECIES	BODY	BEHAVIOR	HANDLING ANIMALS	HABITAT
The USA (174)	56	45	49	11	13
Great Britain (156)	49	43	47	7	10

The Russian Empire’s active foreign policy involves different countries in the sphere of its international relations, each representing its own social model. Thus, one of the richest sets of metaphors draws upon the frame SPECIES: *the Russian Bear, the British Lion, the British Bull, the American Eagle, the French Cock, an ursine type, a tiger, a cat, a wolf, a sheep, a sheep-dog, a gobbler, an insect, a slug, an African locust*, etc.

In the majority of metaphorical contexts with the source domain FAUNA American and British authors use the BEAR metaphor identifying the animal with the whole empire. Metaphorical meanings the BEAR metaphor has in the discourses reflect Russia’s barbarism, aggression and unpredictable behavior: *to waddle up, to roar, to howl, to lash one’s tail, to gnash one’s teeth, to grit one’s teeth, to bare one’s teeth, to track one’s way, to mark for a prey, to prepare for a spring, to grasp, to scratch to bleeding*, etc.:

(15) As is well known, *the bear has a fondness for honey, and will track his way a great distance to where the wild bees have filled some hollow tree. Their sting cannot hurt him, and they and their stores are entirely at his mercy.* (Unknown publisher 1878c: 2) (US)

(16) This Russian circular to every foreign representative of Russia at foreign courts is faithfully characteristic of Russian impudence; and *impudence to Russia is to Russia what the bear’s skin is to the bear. To this may be added other faculties and properties of her ursine type. She can climb, and swim, and hug, and slaver.* (Jerrold 1856: 1) (GB)

The Russian Empire, bear-like, is an enduring symbol of power and true wilderness; it relies on its strength and size, and requires vast, roadless land. Despite its heavy build and awkward gait, it is an adept runner, climber, and swimmer and it is able to overcome different obstacles to get its dainty treat it loves with a guilty passion – new territories and colonies. It neither needs nor has allies as bears tend to be overwhelmingly solitary, they are used to spending time alone and considered the most asocial type of all the animals.

Metaphors that model the aggressive behavior of Russia the Bear, its power and cunning manners construct different unpredictable futures on the international political arena, which allows the USA and Great Britain to justify their own foreign policy intentions, visions, ambitions, and ideas.

BEAR metaphors in the two discourses are alive, brisk and rich in positive and negative connotations; they aim at modeling the pressure and activity of the Russian Empire’s foreign policy:

(17) *Just so soon as the great Northern Bear gets wind of this irritation on the part of his neighbor, he will simply turn over, give one considerable growl, make a sudden clutch and after that, all be at peace.* The fact of the matter is, if Alexander wants Romania and Serbia sliced from the breast of the Turkey, his carving knife is ready for the work, and no other in Europe can stop him. (Duck 1876: 2) (US)

(18) *Both Turkey and China will one day become the Bear's prey; and, far richer and of wider extent than the old Roman Empire, Russia will spread over the two hemispheres; from the Caucasus to the Rhine, from Finland to India.* (Earle 1856: 1) (US)

It should be particularly noted that, as opposed to modern American discourse, where the BEAR metaphor has an entirely negative connotative meaning (rough power, rough manners, barbarism, laziness, etc.) (cf. Solopova 2017), in the 19th century the American discourse positive connotations of the metaphor are in the focus of attention: mobility, vitality, suddenness, endurance, speed, ability to cover great distances. The shift of the emphasis can be explained by the nature of the Russian expansion, by friendly relations between the USA and the Russian Empire in the 19th century. American authors predict further territorial expansion of the Russian Empire emphasizing its positive result.

It is interesting to note that when conceptualizing Russia's future in British political discourse another metaphor of the frame SPECIES becomes dominant:

(19) *All the outlying possessions of the Chinese, Russia has already seized, or is about to seize. Ere long her wolfish clutch will be on China itself, Japan she would on the instant grasp, if she dared; but her most covetous and pertinacious glance is thrown towards British India. Now, Russia does not need or care for decent pretexts when she wishes to steal.* (Lee 1861: 4) (GB)

(20) Russians, Cossacks, Tartars, Circassians, Kirghese, Bashkirs, Calmucks, and a host of other hordes – all good fighting men of their kind. They have nothing to lose. *The clime they inhabit is one of the bleakest, coldest, most barren, most accursed climes in the universe – fit for wolves alone – made for them, in fact.* Who could stop them? How is it that the politicians seem to have forgotten that *the Russian wolves are howling at the frontiers?* (Clifford/Leng 1876: 2) (GB)

The WOLF metaphor has a distinct negative pragmatic potential. In British discourse Russia is presented as a predator, a she-wolf with a hungry and greedy look and a mortal grip. A well-developed intellect, force, agility and speed typical of this species allow it to actively search for a prey, to easily track and hunt it, the size of the prey doesn't matter much. A strong and exceptionally large pack of Russian wolves, the Russian army, is constantly searching for a prey. Wolves are highly territorial animals; they generally establish the pack's territory far larger than they need to survive, as suitable habitat must have sufficient access to prey. Russian wolves are brought up in the rigorous climate; they are unpretentious, sturdy and fierce, which increases their chances in the fight for new preys and territories. The state borders of the Russian Empire are coming nearer and nearer to the borders of Great Britain's spheres of influence, which explains the frequent use of metaphors with negative connotations in British political discourse.

Thus, the most frequently used metaphor in modeling Russia's future in political discourses of the two countries is the PATH metaphor, which reflects the human's linear perception of time: time movement from the past through the present to the future, where the state's present "knows" and "remembers" the past and is open to the future it approaches. The linear time model allows us to see the past behind the present and to predict the future.

Another frequent domain common for the two discourses in predicting future changes is the DISEASE metaphor. Its frequency is most likely preconditioned by the organic theory

of the state and is connected with the conceptualization of any country as a biological organism whose evolution is equal to the mechanisms of biological evolution. Projecting laws of nature onto the functioning of socio-political formations actualizes the DISEASE metaphor whose significance in modeling the future consists in the fact that diagnosing the present the metaphor offers two extreme alternatives of the country's future development (the best-case scenario and the worst-case scenario).

The use of CRIME metaphors is a specific feature of modeling Russia's future in the two discourses. The negation of the Russian form of government in the 19th century and the need to change the course of its national development are in the focus of the CRIME metaphor; it serves for demonizing the Russian Empire and discrediting its political and economic systems.

Among frequent metaphors used in describing Russia's future in British and American political discourses we also find those coming from the domain FAUNA, which is, firstly, connected with the tradition of using zoomorphous characteristics in metaphorical representation of countries, which originates from the Bible. Secondly, FAUNA metaphors with negative connotative meanings of "otherness", being different, unusual, alien, and, consequently, hostile aim at forming the negative image of political opponents and rivals and their probable future.

5 Conclusion

Particular metaphors that configure our understanding of the political future have specific power. Metaphors have a strong effect on attitudes towards the "political present" of the country (the present leader, the present government, etc.) and its probable political future. Thus, metaphors in political discourse are central cognitive instruments for understanding the future. They are fraught with hidden assumptions, helping to interpret the present, postulating possible, probable, and preferable futures, generating and dictating visions of the future, re-framing the worldviews.

The meanings metaphors realize driving the present either to the best-case or to the worst-case scenario are caused by the following factors:

- The model of Russia's future is discourse-dependent, embedded into a particular extra-linguistic context, dependent both on its internal policy and on the geopolitical distribution of power.
- The model of Russia's future in the discourses is to a great extent subjective, i. e. it is directly connected with the temporality of those who construct it and determined by the addresser's and the addressee's ideological and political environments, stereotypes, typical cultural and political prejudices.
- The model of Russia's future is subject-centered: it is always based upon and subject to the interests, priorities, objectives, intentions, prospects of the country whose discourse is analyzed.

Acknowledgements: The reported study was funded by RFBR, Research project № 19-012-00192.

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