

METAPHORS OF THE PAST USED TO SENSE THE FUTURE

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The present paper deals with cognitive-discursive analysis of the models of Russia's future in political discourses of the Russian Empire, the British Empire and the United States (middle of the XIXth century – beginning of the XXth century).

Keywords: political discourse, metaphor, domain, model, synchronous matrices.

The author's aim is to look through the text at the part of “the past reality” that lies behind this text and at the model of future constructed in it, studying “not only where History was, but also where History is going” [2] and could be going and even could have gone.

The historic era (middle of the XIXth century – beginning of the XXth century) has been chosen as one of chronological periods for analyzing models of Russia's future in political discourses of the three countries due to intertextual (intermodel) relations with other models. It has been stated in the previous research that cognitive-discursive matrices constructed for the modern chronological period in Russian, American and British political discourses are characterized by temporal sketchiness (schematism), with “retrospection” – frequent reference to realities of Russia's past in modeling its future [3] – being one of its prominent components.

Synchronous matrices constructed for the chronological period analyzed represent a system of conceptual assumptions concerning a hypothetic situation in Russia's future from the standpoint of the past. To interpret this or that political discourse is to know its background, to understand expectations of the author and the audience, their hidden motives, plot schemes and favorite logic transitions typical for a particular historic era [1].

Speaking about metaphors used to create the image of Russia's future in mass media of the Russian Empire, the United States and the British Empire (middle of the XIXth century – beginning of the XXth century) a system of metaphors – clusters of frequently used metaphorical units belonging to certain conceptual source domains that aim at modeling Russia's future in political discourses of the three countries – can be singled out.

The material for the analysis in the present paper comprises 1409 contexts invoking the use of 17 metaphorical models in British political texts; 1232 metaphorical contexts realizing 16 models in American texts; 1014 contexts and 14 models in Russian discourse.

Examples cited in the paper to illustrate and prove the author's theses have spelling, punctuation and font of original texts (middle of the XIXth century –

beginning of the XXth century) in Russian, American and British political discourses; contexts from American periodicals are marked in the text with the label (US), from British texts – with the label (GB).

The corpus 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 future, this metaphor being the most frequent in discourses of Russia and the UK, and the fourth – in terms of frequency – in American periodicals. The fact primarily reflects the human's linear perception of time – the processes of the past becoming the future through the present: *But progress implies change; and change involves danger. A man is safe while he stands still; but if he moves, he may fall. The ship is at anchor or in port; but if she casts off restraining her chains and starts upon her voyage, the winds will toss and can destroy her. And yet she is a useless hulk unless she moves. And so is growth, improvement, progress involving change, the necessity of all societies. A nation to-day cannot anchor in ages past* / The New York Times, 26.11.1851 (US).

Most frequently metaphors of the source domain PATH are used in Russian political discourse: the Russians are used to starting all over again, totally destroying the old regime. Russia is thought to be a traveller, purposes – her destinations, means – her routes, difficulties – obstacles, counselors – her guides, achievements – landmarks, choices – crossroads. Having found out that the old one is a dead-end road, she chooses a new direction that is thought to be better: *Крымская война имѣла цѣлью повредить Россіи, но только ей и принесла пользу. Вѣрѣвки, которыми мы были связаны по рукамъ и ногамъ – ослабли, перетерлись во время войны, испуганный тюремщикъ самъ померъ... И Россія съ тѣхъ поръ идетъ мощно впередъ по широкой дорогѣ, не смотря на всѣ черепки и битыя бутылки, в родѣ Панина, Орлова, Муравьева, оставленные у ней подъ ногами упрямымъ и небрежностью шоосейнаго смотрителя, не смотря на дворянскія комитетскія лужи и бакалдины, ни на ложныя маяки доктринеровъ* / Колоколь, май 1859.

In British political discourse metaphors depicting Russia's future as PATH are often associated with

Краткие сообщения

expansionist policy of the Russian Empire: *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* / The Era, 11.01.1857 (GB).

Another common domain providing metaphors in the three discourses is that of DISEASE (the third model in terms of frequency in Russian discourse, the second – in the US, the fourth – in Britain).

Frequent usage of DISEASE metaphors when modeling future is justified and quite to the point. As in the case with PATH metaphors that conceptualize the country's wrong direction in the past and great obstacles in the present when seeking its future, DISEASE metaphors show that in present the Russian Empire is terribly ill or nearly at death's door: *Россия все еще не здоровая страна, а лазаретъ* / Русь, № 1, январь 1884.

Experienced physicians examine her, try to make a diagnosis, prescribe some treatment and find remedies to cure the country from fatal diseases: *It is a sort of clinical study of the situation in Russia, a diagnosis of the case, with a full prognosis and a suggested cure for the existing evil afflicting the body politic* / The New York Times, 26.08.1905 (US).

Depending on the discourse of the country a text belongs to DISEASE metaphors can be realized through at least two scenarios which represent its extremes – “bright” and “grim”. Some insist that the Russian Empire suffers from an incurable disease: *The malady of Russia is incurable. It is a political system that places a semi-barbarous population at the feet of one man* / The Times, 30.11.1855 (GB). Others think it possible for her to recover in future: *Въ органическомъ тѣлѣ, вслѣдствіе извращенія естественныхъ отправленій его, могутъ развиваться уродливыя и болѣзненныя явленія; но если въ этомъ тѣлѣ сила жизни велика, она побѣдитъ болѣзненное разстройство* / Вѣстникъ Юго-Западной и Западной Россіи, январь – декабрь 1863.

The content of the DISEASE concept varies greatly depending on the ideological position of the author, his intentions, on the fact whether he aims at emphasizing positive aspects of future or, on the contrary, negative ones.

Within metaphors used to conceptualize Russia's future in Russian and American discourses of the analyzed historical period we find a large set specifically equating Russia's future to INANIMATE NATURE, ranking fifth and third in the system of metaphorical models correspondingly.

In American political discourse metaphors drawn upon the source domain “INANIMATE NATURE” are frequently used in description of future of two countries – the Russian Empire and the US – in one

metaphorical context: *As we look into the future, with the past and the present for our guides, we see two great objects looming up conspicuously above all others, Russia and the United States, each one having double the population that is now possessed by all Europe* / The New York Advertiser, 15.03.1852 (US).

Despite metaphors of this source domain being saliently less frequent in Russian political discourse, they are brisk and rich in negative connotations of destruction, collapse, “pest” degradation, inability to withstand natural forces: *Да Россія – это океанъ широкій и бездонный. Когда онъ расходится, и прибрежный его прибой – грозень, а въ срединѣ его находили и найдутъ неизбѣжную могилу отважные аргонавты* / Вѣстникъ Юго-Западной и Западной Россіи, март 1863.

Metaphors of this type in Russian political discourse do not so much focus on modeling Russia's future, but rather warn those who infringe or can infringe on her expanse and power: *Гдѣ начнется разгромъ – въ потухнушемъ ли французскомъ кратерѣ или на морскомъ днѣ англійской жизни, куда вѣтеръ не доходитъ, гдѣ бури неслышны, куда самый свѣтъ едва проникаетъ?* / Колоколь, № 4, 1961.

It should be noted that in Russian discourse one of the richest sets of metaphors used to create a static matrix of future in political texts of the historical period draws upon the domain of LIVING ORGANISM (ranking second in the system of metaphorical models): *Въ Россіи, кажись, пришелъ конецъ нѣмецкимъ вліяніямъ, она серьезно желаетъ стать на свои собственныя ноги и жить для себя, руководствуясь только своими русскими, народными интересами* / Исторический вѣстникъ, Т. 3, 1882.

Another frequent domain providing metaphors in Russian political discourse is FLORA: *Оранжерея наша приходитъ все болѣе и болѣе въ ветхость, разросшіяся насажденія все сильнѣе вытираютъ стекла и стѣны, – но этого недостаточно. Всею умнѣе въ настоящее время открыто сознать и признать это наше невольное скудоуміе какъ плодъ нашей оранжерейной культуры, и устремиться къ тому, чтобъ просвѣщенія стѣмена падали въ грунтъ глубоко, въ черноземъ родной почвы и возрастали на родномъ, вольномъ воздухѣ* / Русь, № 1, январь 1884. Vegetation metaphors usually have positive connotations emphasizing the continuity of life, its gradual development. But when conceptualizing Russia's present they have negative meanings of impossibility for the country to develop further under prevailing circumstances; when modeling future – positive meanings of craving for reforms and change.

It should be emphasized that in English discourses – American and British – the most frequent are four common source domains. Besides PATH and DISEASE metaphors that are frequently used in Russian political discourse as well, in American and Eng-

lish texts concerning the future of the Russian Empire there is a high proportion of CRIME metaphors: *Russia is never at a loss for such excuses as will, in her own eyes, justify her acts of aggression and robbery* / The Sheffield Daily Telegraph, 29.03.1878 (GB). *Russia having grabbed all the land that she wants under the menace of war, now asks for a pause in the conversation that she may grace over her stolen mutton. There is no moral sanction to the czar's proposals* / The Aspen Daily Times, 14.03.1899 (US). *We take all possible precautions against the success of Russian machinations in that direction!* / The New York Times, 08.09.1860 (US).

CRIME metaphors actualize negative connotative aspects of cheating and robbery, they are aimed at modeling a “predatory policy” of the Russian Empire, the need to prevent and stop her dishonest means, methods and maneuvers, since she will always justify herself.

CRIME metaphors in creating the image of Russia's future are most frequently used in British political discourse (being a structured set the model ranks second in the system of metaphors modeling future): *Since he (the Emperor Nicholas) deliberately chooses to stand alone, not against the public opinion of Europe only, since that might be wrong as well as he, but against right and justice – in the face of a reasonable and pacific opponent – in defiance of the best interests of humanity, he makes himself an outlaw, and must expect to be treated as such. If he be suffered to rob and waste other's lands unchecked, there is no security for any one. Peace loads the cannon which are aimed at the disturber. Such being the case, the blow which must be struck is that of the Nemesis. The safety of mankind demands that the blow which he thus dares shall be heavy, sharp, deterrent* / The Hereford Times, 21.01.1854 (GB).

When conceptualizing the image of future within the British static matrix of the historic period analyzed, CRIME metaphors negate the absolute monarchy, which leads to regarding the Russian ruler, the Czar, as the head criminal in present and future of his country.

Another domain common for English discourses is FAUNA metaphors (ranking first in American political discourse in modeling Russia's future and third – in the discourse of the UK): *The highest representative of a newly born sister Republic is now among us – for, though crushed and bound, the Hungarian Republic still lives, – may his mission be accomplished, as well as his presence honored; for the interest of the civilized world demands that the Republic exist, as an outpost to watch and check the Northern Bear* / The New York Times, 13.12.1851 (US). *Conscious of his irresistible strength, the British Lion, with a contemptuous glance, is complacently watching the progress of the Russian Bear, as he is waddling up in a direct line towards India, which he has long marked for a prey. It is true that the Lion can and will, by*

a single effort, release India from the grasp of the Bear, but not till India has been scratched to bleeding. The inevitable struggle between the Lion and the Bear for undisputed supremacy in Asia cannot be long deferred / The Derby Mercury, 18.01.1882 (GB).

In most metaphorical contexts with the source domain FAUNA the authors use the “bear” metaphor identifying the animal with the whole empire. Metaphorical meanings the “bear” metaphor has in the English discourses reflect Russia's barbarism, aggression and unpredictable behavior.

It is a curious insight into Russian political discourse that the metaphorical domain FAUNA ranks only tenth, more important is the absence of “bear” metaphors in it. It points to the fact that in the XIXth century Russia did not associate herself with the image of a bear that has become so relevant and popular in Russian political discourse of future centuries.

Among frequent metaphors used in describing Russia's future in British political discourse we also find those coming from the domain GAME. Authors of British political texts think the Russian Empire to be constantly playing unfair political games, thinking over shrewd moves, trying to win this or that prize: *Russia is playing an underhand game, and not acting fairly by her two partners, England and France* / The Star, 11.07.1895 (GB).

Despite this fact Russia remains a weighty and prominent political actor, she cannot be offside: *Russia can afford to disregard the presumptuous clamour of those who tell her she is played out. A State of her importance is not to be extinguished by a few newspaper articles, and were she ten times more isolated than she is said to be, no change of importance can be effected in Europe without her assent* / The Standard, 03.10.1879 (GB).

Thus, conceptualizing Russia's probable future the most metaphorical of the three static matrices is the one based on the material from British political discourse, numbering 17 metaphoric models, the fact is caused by the following historical reasons: the international political situation in the period of the XIXth century, confrontation between Russia and Britain in Central Asia, in the East, in the Pacific Ocean, armed clashes where countries were acting either as rivals or as allies of warring states.

Nevertheless, it must be noted that of the total number of brisk conceit metaphorical contexts representing the future of the Russian Empire the largest proportion is characteristic of American political discourse, not British, despite the fact that general activity of metaphorical units in it is somewhat lower than in British discourse. However, the British tend to use “common” metaphors, while the Americans – bright and rare ones, which points to linguistic and cultural peculiarities of metaphorical models in political discourses of these two nations speaking the same language.

The most frequent in the discourses of the three

Краткие сообщения

countries are metaphors coming from the source domains PATH and DISEASE. Two more common domains are typical for American and British political texts aimed at conceptualizing Russia's future – CRIME and FAUNA metaphors. It is especially worth mentioning that “bear” metaphors are specific for political discourses of the two countries and never used in Russian discourse. The large set of expressions in American and Russian political discourses of the XIXth century activates metaphors of the domain INANIMATE NATURE. Besides, FLORA metaphors are discourse-specific for Russian texts, while GAME domain is frequent in British political discourse.

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МЕТАФОРЫ МИНУВШИХ ЛЕТ, МОДЕЛИРУЮЩИЕ БУДУЩЕЕ

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Настоящая статья посвящена лингвополитическому исследованию моделей будущего России. Материалом исследования послужили политические дискурсы Российской империи, Британской империи и США середины XIX века – начала XX века.

Ключевые слова: политический дискурс, метафора, домен, модель, синхронные матрицы.

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