

УДК 811.161.1'373.6 81'42

E.E. Anikin, E.V. Budaev, A.P. Chudinov

HISTORICAL DYNAMICS OF METAPHORIC SYSTEMS IN RUSSIAN POLITICAL COMMUNICATION¹

The paper investigates the drives for stability and change in the history of Russian political metaphors. It compares Russian and international techniques applied to studying history of political metaphors. The paper depicts the Russian researchers' contribution to the theory and methods of researching political metaphors, as well as to the theory and practice of historical metaphorology.

The co-authors come to the conclusion that the arsenal of contemporary Russian political metaphors represents a complex system that emerged from centuries of evolution as a result of interplay between the drives for stability and change, for preservation of cultural distinctiveness and interaction with other cultures. The study draws a distinction between the periods of "metaphoric storms" and "metaphoric calms" in the history of Russian political metaphor.

Key words: metaphor, cognitive metaphor, rhetorical metaphor, political communication, Russian metaphor, historical dynamics of metaphors, metaphoric worldview, metaphoric storms, metaphoric calms.

1. Introduction. The study of history of political metaphorical systems is one of the surging areas of metaphorology. Researchers aim at investigating the peculiarities of the drives for historical stability and change, for originality and interaction with other cultures at different stages in the evolution of national systems of political metaphors.

The drive for stability is reflected in the fact that a national system of political metaphors has a stable core, that is preserved at different stages in the history of evolution of the national system of political metaphors. Thus, for instance, from the earliest times, the Russian national political communication has been characterized by the use of metaphors from such donor areas as "Human", "World of animals", "World of plants", "World of inanimate nature", "War", "Spatial movement", and "Disease" (L.V. Balashova, A.N. Baranov, O.N. Kondratieva, A.P. Chudinov, etc.). For instance, according to O.N. Kondratieva, Prince Andrei Kurbsky tried to portray his political rival as an "unhealthy man", which resulted in stupid and even fatal political mistakes on his part. Ivan the Terrible was depicted as "a sick man", "patient" of the healers, including Kurbsky, who determined the symptoms of the disease and the diagnosis, and his allies, wise advisors, caring about the well-being of the state and prescribing medication and providing treatment (for instance, priest Silvester). It was perceived that the main cause of political "diseases" was sinfulness, violation of Christian commandments, as well as exposure to devil's influence.

Kurbsky was repeatedly accusing Ivan the Terrible of various sins, of the poor knowledge of the Holy Scripture, of submission to the devil's poisonous impact and persistently recommended repentance and confession to the first Russian tsar, stressing that this was the best "cure" for his illness. Thereby, morbid metaphors reveal the author's perceptions of abnormality and impermissibility of the state of affairs that existed in Russia at that time, as well as concern for the Russian state and need for changes [Кондратьева 2012; 2014]. The trend toward change is manifested by the fact that the 21st century morbid metaphors reflect the present-day level of medicine, and thus, Kurbsky's followers now diagnose their political rivals with schizophrenia, autism and amnesia, while recommending the necessary medication and treatment.

The trend toward interaction and even globalization of national systems of political metaphors is reflected in the fact that similar metaphors can be revealed in different cultures. The conclusions of A. Harvey [Harvey 1999] who studied the history of political metaphor "STATE IS AN ORGANISM" are indicative. The study demonstrates that this sort of interpretation of state is one of the mankind's oldest metaphors. The use of the anthropomorphic metaphoric model can be traced back to the oldest religious texts. For instance, the Rig Veda describes how the priests emerged from the mouth of a proto-human, soldiers – from his arms, shepherds – from his thighs, farmers – from his feet. In the Old Testament, Daniel the Prophet – when interpreting Nebuchadnezzar's prophetic dream – uses the metaphor of a human body. The pragmatic power of anthropomorphic metaphor was used both in the ancient world and in the medieval-era texts, as well as in the modern age. Thus, John of Salisbury offered

¹ This article has been prepared with support of the Russian Foundation for Humanities: project No 14-04-00268 "Political linguistics: problems, methods, aspects of study and prospects of the discipline".

the following metaphoric image of state: the prince is the head; governing bodies – the heart; judges – the eyes, ears and tongue; soldiers – the hands; peasants – the feet; tax collectors – the stomach. This image was extensively exploited by P. Sidney, B. Barnes, and F. Bacon.

Metaphors of disease have also been repeatedly used in various political situations, even though the target area of metaphorization has been changing depending on political environment, as well as on the recipient and the speaker. Thus, in 16th-century France, supporters of the Bourbons believed that the main cause of the country's malaise was Catholicism, while French Catholics argued that the main source of the disease was the spread of Protestant heresy. Both the groups argued that the only "cure" was the extermination of ideological opponents, which the antagonists were trying to implement in the course of protracted French Wars of Religion. Similar metaphors were identified in A. Hitler's [Mycолфф 2006; Chilton 2005; Hawkins 2001; Musolff 2007; 2014; Rash 2005; 2006], J. Goebbels' and A. Rosenberg's [Musolff 2014] rhetoric several centuries later: they argued that the cause of Germany's disease was the "Jewish parasites' plot". Metaphors of disease have recently played an equally important role in shaping the image of the enemy (specifically, in the U.S. political discourse during the Vietnam War [Milliken 1996], as well as in G.W. Bush's speeches [Charteris-Black 2005]).

2. Discussion of the causes of stability and change. Among the causes of similarity of metaphors in various cultures, researchers have pointed to the stable determinants of human consciousness or the archetypes of collective unconscious. When it comes to political metaphors, this viewpoint was articulated by Michael Osborn and people close to his way of thinking in the theory of archetypal metaphors [Osborn 1967, Osborn 1977]. M. Osborn primarily relied on behavioral science methods, even though in general, such conclusions could find methodological justification in a number of theories (V. Propp's structuralism, A. Veselovsky's historical poetics, C. Jung's analytical psychology, G. Lakoff and M. Johnson's experiential realism and "embodied mind" thesis).

The interaction of the drives for stability and variation of national metaphoric systems is reflected in the fact, that even though archetypal metaphors are used in all cultures and at all times, the frequency of these metaphors can be affected by the advance of culture, science and technology. Thus, after studying dozens of 19th-20th centuries' political speeches, Michael Osborn discovered that the technological

progress could decrease the frequency of traditional metaphors. For instance, the 20th century saw a decrease in the number of metaphoric images associated with water, while in the 19th century, river and ocean metaphors prevailed [Osborn 1977].

3. The cognitive theory of stability and change in political metaphors was formalized in the theory of conceptual metaphor, according to which metaphorization mechanisms are unconscious and are determined by the physical experiences of man's interaction with the environment [Lakoff, Johnson 1980]. Therefore, anatomical and physiological similarities of the homo sapiens representatives, determining – to a certain extent – their patterns of thinking, provided an important foundation for metaphoric universality. Meanwhile, when criticizing the conceptual metaphor theory, it is important to remember that according to G. Lakoff and M. Johnson's theory, conceptual metaphors correlate with the main concepts of a particular culture, which, on the whole, neither surmounts the deficiencies of cultural universality, nor explains the causes of diachronic variation of political metaphors.

G. Lakoff's publications analyzing the first and the second Gulf Wars [Lakoff 1991; Lakoff 2003], however, are very important for the theory of political metaphor. In these publications, the author, on the one hand, demonstrates the similarities between a number of metaphorical images, and on the other – discovers new metaphoric models. The author provides a detailed analysis of the metaphoric systems used to justify the United States' military campaigns against Iraq, as well as the metaphoric techniques used to discredit President Saddam Hussein.

Ch. De Landtsheer's articles make an important contribution to the study of diachronic characteristics of discourse metaphoricity [De Landtsheer 1991; 2004]. In these publications, based on the analysis of the Dutch political discourse, the author proves that the number of metaphors increases in periods of political crises. After comparing the metaphors of the Belgian election-period discourse to the inter-election discourse, Ch. De Landtsheer and D. Vertessen conclude that the metaphorical index (including such criteria as frequency and donor area pragmatic potential) goes up in the election period. These observations testify that the metaphor serves as an important tool to resolve problematic situations and later on provided the foundation for the Crisis Communication Combination Theory (CCC-theory).

Studies of political metaphor evolution within a particular donor area are of specific interest. Thus, A. Musolff [Musolff 2000] traces the "evolution" of the metaphor EUROPE IS A HOUSE/BUILDING in the last

decade of the 20th century in the British and German press. The author distinguishes two periods in the domestic metaphor evolution. 1989–1997 is a period of optimism, during which *bold architectural projects were being developed, the foundation strengthened and the pillars erected*. As contradictions grew through 1997–2001, skeptical and pessimistic metaphors start to prevail: *reconstruction in the European Home has begun, chaos on the construction site, at times, the European Home is even presented as a burning building without a fire escape*. Comparing the metaphors of the second period, the author points out that the Germans were less prone to actualizing the negative scenarios (*a more realistic approach to construction is required*), while the British were more eager to express the negative meanings in the house metaphor (the Germans *have invaded the European Home*, or Germans are *workers posing as architects*).

4. Russian studies of political metaphors dynamics. The question concerning the historical evolution of Russian (Soviet) political metaphors is of particular importance for our study. As early as in the first Russian studies published on this issue, it was claimed that during Stalin's era, the metaphors of war and mechanism prevailed; during Brezhnev's era, the metaphors of kinship came to the fore, while domestic and construction metaphors were characteristic of the perestroika period [Баранов, Караулов 1991; 1994]. Accordingly, metaphors from such donor areas as THEATER, SEX, CRIMINAL WORLD, and MONARCHY became prevalent during Boris Yeltsin's presidency [Чудинов 2001, Чудинов 2003].

Over the last years, problems of historical evolution of political metaphors have been extensively researched by the representatives of the Ural linguistic school [Aleksееva, Mishlanova, Nakhimova, Chudinov 2014].

E. Budaev proposes the method of even fragmentation of discourse with a combined step to analyze the evolution of the 21st century Russian political metaphor [2010]. This technique envisages a cross-year analysis of frequency of metaphors at the first stage, and a cross-season analysis at the second.

Analysis of metaphors of disease in a corpus of 67,200 Russian media texts demonstrated that the frequency of morbid metaphors was gradually decreasing in 2000–2006, while increasing in 2007 – on the eve of the global financial crisis. These results correlate with the Russian citizens' perceptions of socio-economic improvements that occurred during V.V. Putin's presidency. While in the late 20th century, metaphoric model CONTEMPORARY RUSSIA IS A SICK ORGANISM was prevalent [Чудинов 2001], in the early 21st century there was a substantial decrease in

the number of conceptual vectors of undesirable developments.

At the second stage, a fragmentation step equal to a season (three months) was used, which allowed to detect another regularity. Fluctuations in the frequency of morbid metaphors in the Russian media are cyclical, with the low point of the fluctuation range falling on the summer months. This distribution might be explained by the traditional Russian perceptions of the cold season as a period of disease and weakened immunity, while summer is usually associated with strengthened vitality and health. These perceptions are determined by a number of factors associated with the peculiarities of extralinguistic notions pertaining to the realms of medicine and climate, and get reflected – either consciously or subconsciously – in the political discourse metaphors.

Therefore, the use of even fragmentation with a combined step demonstrates that the dynamics of metaphoric systems correlates with numerous cognitive and discursive factors.

N.M. Chudakova's study convincingly demonstrates that substantial changes in the economic, political and cultural life of the country naturally result in the rebirth of metaphors from the "Inanimate nature" donor area. Thus, in the 1970s (during the period of antagonistic relationship between the socialist and the capitalist blocs, the "Cold War" and war in Afghanistan), this type of metaphors reflected a clear gradation of images based on the principle "we – they". In the early 1990s (the August coup, disintegration of the Soviet Union, repression of opposition in Moscow), nature metaphors had an explicitly negative meaning. The early 21st century marked a trend toward the increase in the number of nature metaphors with a positive meaning (*riverbed, river, road travel, atmosphere, etc.*), which, in the author's opinion, can be explained by the increased attention to the traditional fundamental values of the Russian people [Чудакова 2005].

T.Y. Bykova's studies analyze the metaphorical image of the Soviet Union in the Soviet and U.S. media political discourses of the Stalin era in the period from 1930 to 1954 [Быкова 2011; 2014; 2014a]. The author applies the method of focus fragmentation to reveal the relationship between the political discourse metaphoricity and the crucial developments in the country's politics. The method envisages fragmentation into three periods: pre-war, wartime, and post-war periods.

Basing her observations on Ch. Landtsheer's theory, T.Y. Bykova carries out a quantitative analysis to determine the metaphoric power coefficient factored into three variables: metaphor frequency (F), intensity (I) and Content (D). The results of a thorough quantitative

analysis, allow the author to identify the Soviet discourse metaphoric models prevailing during the respective period (donor areas: “War”, “Mechanism”, “Human body”, “Kinship”), and offer a substantial characteristics of the Soviet pre-war, wartime, and post-war metaphors. It is revealed that the pre-war period was dominated by such donor areas as the world of things and the world of animate/inanimate nature. During the war, images pertaining to the world of man became widespread. The Soviet media political discourse was characterized by conceptual vectors of courage and valor, reflecting positive connotations. In post-war years, military metaphors became more common. The Soviet people were fighting to fulfill the plan, engage in a battle for the harvest, rebuff the enemy’s assaults on the ideological front.

O.A. Solopova’s articles consider the common patterns and national peculiarities of metaphorical framing of Russia’s future in the Russian, British and U.S. media starting from the mid-19th century to the early 21st century [Солопова 2011; 2013; 2014]. These studies develop and apply the new method of diachronic comparative cognitive-discursive analysis of metaphors and other stylistic devices aimed at presenting the future in political discourse. The mentioned method includes intra- and inter-discursive comparison of synchronic and diachronic models composed of a matrix (static/dynamic), a system of metaphoric models (in synchrony and in diachrony) and a metaphoric script (static/dynamic). Three levels of the model ensure simultaneous continuity and variability of conceptualization of the future.

The author demonstrates that “The Future of Russia” retrospective models of the mid-19th – early 20th century in Russian, U.S. and British political discourses have a high degree of similarity at the level of static matrices. This is evidenced by the prevalence of “foreign policy” parameter contexts, similar distribution of “foreign policy” sub-parameters on the frequency scale in the respective countries’ discourses, and the distribution of “internal politics” subset in the Russian and U.S. discourses. Systems of metaphoric models are characterized by the domination of non-metaphoric verbalization of probable future developments over the metaphoric; the “road” and “disease” models being common in all the three discourses, while criminal and animal metaphors are common in the Anglophone discourses. At the level of metaphoric scripts, the “Participants” frame is characterized by the confluence of images of the tsar, monarchy, and government in the Anglophone discourses, a discrete conceptualization of Russia’s relations with the U.S. and Western Europe in the three discourses, similar content of the “Temporal localization” slot in the

three discourses, “Spatial localization” in the U.S. and British discourses, as well as by the prevalence of “Bright future” under the Russian and U.S. “Consequences” frames. The model of the future “through the past” represents the continuation of the most important ways to the future, ideas concerning the goals of development, the historic destiny of the nation, and confidence or lack of confidence in its existence in the future.

The studies have identified and justified the inter-discursive similarities of “The Future of Russia” synchronic models of the early 21st century in the three discourses: the level of static matrices is characterized by the domination of “internal politics” parameter contexts over “foreign policy”, as well as by a similar content of basic parameters in the Anglophone discourses. Systems of metaphoric models are characterized by the domination of metaphoric contexts over the non-metaphoric; the “road” and “inanimate nature” dominant models are common in all the three discourses, while five models – “road”, “disease”, “inanimate nature”, “monarchy” and “animal world” – are commonly prevalent in the Russian and U.S. discourses. Inter-discursive similarities have been revealed at the level of metaphoric scripts: the “Participants” frame is characterized by the confluence of images of the ruler and the country, the framing of the national leader as of the architect of the future of Russia. Besides, O.A. Solopova has discovered inter-model similarities at the level of metaphoric models systems: metaphors of “road”, “disease”, “inanimate nature” and “animal world” are the models that are commonly prevalent in the Russian, U.S. and British discourses of the mid-19th – early 20th and early 21st centuries.

O.N. Kondratieva’s studies introduce the method of metaphors diachronic analysis in a specific linguistic culture, describe the major factors (both linguistic and extralinguistic) affecting the emergence and evolution of metaphoric models, and demonstrate the dependence of metaphoric models on the era, cultural peculiarities and type of discourse [Кондратьева 2014]. In the papers analyzing the history of metaphors in political discourse, O.N. Kondratieva emphasizes that in order to describe political realia, the Old Russian texts most commonly referred to metaphors with conceptual vectors of aggression and deviation from the natural state of affairs. Thus, for instance, in order to characterize their political opponents, Ivan the Terrible and Andrei Kurbsky used three groups of metaphors with a strong negative potential: “political opponent is an animal”, “political opponent is the limb of the devil”, and “political opponent is a sick man” [Кондратьева 2012; 2013; 2014].

The use of Old Russian texts to analyze a political metaphor allows the author to determine the specific characteristics of this era. For instance, when creating a contemporary politician's image, metaphors are used predominantly to describe his appearance, manners, political decisions that he made, results of political reforms, etc., while the Old Russian texts primarily provided a characteristic of the political actor's inner world, soul, heart, mind and conscience. In a struggle for power, it is the politician's ethos, morals, inner world qualities/shortcomings, conformity to the ethical norms of the time, rather than political programs and ideology, that are the political opponents' main arguments. This peculiarity can be justified by the religious character of the Old-Russian culture, its particular focus on man's internal substance [Кондратьева 2011].

O.N. Kondratieva's studies also reveal and describe the metaphors that emerge in the Russian and Ukrainian political discourses of the 20th – 21st centuries. The brightest marker is the computer metaphor, through which politics is presented as a computer that is not working properly, is not responding, requiring restart and system restore, while political actors are presented either as unskilled users, or hackers evading the adopted laws and impairing the operation system of the state computer [Кондратьева 2014].

R.D. Kerimov provides intriguing cases demonstrating the relationship between the stability of metaphorical models and constant innovation of specific metaphoric images. Analysis of the present-day German metaphors demonstrates that, on the one hand, the military model, typical of Germany, is not occasional, while on the other – the arsenal of specific images depends on the epoch. Thus, for instance, contemporary German politicians extensively exploit the images going back to the Middle Ages, to the times of Friedrich, of Napoleonic Wars, of Bismarck, to the wars of the first half of the 20th century and military campaigns in Vietnam, Yugoslavia, Iraq and Libya [Керимов 2012; Керимов 2013]. Stability of the model and variations in particular images constitute a characteristic feature of political metaphors.

"Evolution of the Russian metaphoric system from the 11th to the 21st century" synthesis monograph [Балашова 2014] is a sui generis encyclopedia of the Russian metaphoric history. Chapter 3 laying out the author's view on the principles of diachronic studies of metaphor is particularly important for the purposes of our review. In search for the roots of contemporary theory, L.V. Balashova turns to N.V. Krushevsky's works of the 19th century. N.V. Krushevsky established the law of "conformity of the world of words to the world of thoughts" and proved that the changes in the meaning of words largely depend on the dynamics of

"our perception of reality". Equally important to historical metaphorology are M.M. Pokrovsky's ideas of the late 19th – early 20th century, emphasizing the systemic character of verbal semantics evolution. Meanwhile, L.V. Balashova justly points at the interplay of "systemic and asystemic" trends both in a synchronic state of the language and in its development" [Балашова 2014: 43]. She stresses "the need to take into account the cultural peculiarities of the nation, the realia guiding the language speakers", as well as the interaction of the pagan and Christian cultures, of Slavic and Byzantine traditions of mythmaking [Балашова 2014: 46].

Chapters 2 and 3 of the monograph are dedicated to the history of metaphorical nomination in the object and non-object areas. The author characterizes various semantic types of nominal and verbal metaphors, reveals the peculiarities of historic evolution of a number of metaphorical models (movement in time and space, anthropomorphic and sociomorphic metaphors, sensorial metaphoric sub-field, etc.)

The final chapter of the monograph characterizes the present-day system of political metaphors as a consistent stage in the development of Russian vocabulary in its interaction with other languages. The author demonstrates that the present-day Russian political metaphors usually derive from traditional models. Specifically, anthropomorphic, nature-morphic and spatial models, images of disease, sports competitions and physical impact are extensively exploited.

6. Conclusion. As this review demonstrates, the study of political metaphor with due consideration of historical perspective testifies to an on-going interaction of the two characteristics of the system of political metaphors: stability and variability. Variability of the system of political metaphors manifests itself both in the dynamics of the political discourse metaphoricity level and in the variation of the arsenal of metaphoric models, prevalent in particular historical eras.

The reviewed studies demonstrate that the Russian national system of Russian political metaphors can be characterized, on the one hand, by the drive for preservation of cultural distinctiveness and, on the other – by the drive for interaction with other systems of political metaphors typical of other cultures. Depending on the discursive conditions during a particular time period, either this or that trend might prevail.

The dynamics of the national system of political metaphors is uneven: periods of intensive growth ("metaphoric storms") give way to periods of relative stability ("metaphoric calms"). "Metaphoric storms" usually coincide with periods of political upheavals (and sometimes even signal future political transformations), while "metaphoric calms" are usually common in periods of political stability.

References

- Alekseeva L.M., Mishlanova S.L., Nakhimova Ye.A., Chudinov A.P.* Research of metaphor in the Ural linguistic school // *Life Science Journal*. 2014. № 11 (12). P. 315-319.
- Budaev E.* Why Cultural Metaphor Matters: Images of Power in National Media / E. Budaev, A. Chudinov // *Nauka i Studia*. Przemysl, 2007. № 4 (4). S. 71-80.
- Budaev E.* Political Metaphors and Cultural Frames: An Example of the US and Russia // *Language, Gender and Politics: A Festschrift for Yisa Kehinde Yusuf / A. Odeunmi, A.E. Arua, S. Arimi (ed.)*. Lagos: CBAC, 2009. P. 265-274.
- Charteris-Black J.* Politicians and Rhetoric. The Persuasive Power of Metaphor. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005.
- Chilton P.A.* Security Metaphors. Cold War Discourse from Containment to Common House. N.Y.; Bern; Frankfurt/M.: Peter Lang, 1996.
- Chilton P.A.* Manipulation, memes and metaphors: The case of Mein Kampf // *Manipulation and Ideologies in the Twentieth Century / L. de Saussure P. Schulz (ed.)*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamin's, 2005. P. 5-45.
- De Landtsheer Ch.* Function and the Language of Politics. A Linguistics Uses and Gratification Approach / Ch. De Landtsheer // *Communication and Cognition*. 1991. Vol. 24 (3/4). P. 299-342.
- De Landtsheer Ch.* Talking about Srebrenica. Dutch Elites and Dutchbat. How Metaphors Change During Crisis / Ch. De Landtsheer, I. De Vrij // *Metaphorical World Politics / F.A. Beer, Ch. de Landtsheer (ed.)*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2004. P. 163-189.
- Harvey A.D.* The Body Politic: Anatomy of a Metaphor // *Contemporary Review*. 1999. Vol. 275 (1603). P. 85-93.
- Hawkins B.* Ideology, metaphor and iconographic reference // *Language and Ideology / R. Dirven, R. Frank, C. Ilie (ed.)*. Vol. II: Descriptive Cognitive Approaches. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamin's, 2001. P. 27-50.
- Koteyko N.* Language and Politics in Post-Soviet Russia: A Corpus Assisted Approach. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.
- Lakoff G.* Metaphors We Live by / G. Lakoff, M. Johnson. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980.
- Lakoff G.* Metaphor and War. The Metaphor System Used to Justify War in the Gulf. 1991. URL: metaphor.uoregon.edu/lakoff-1.htm.
- Lakoff G.* Metaphor and War, Again. 2003. URL: www.alternet.org/story.html?StoryID=15414.
- Milliken J.L.* Metaphors of Prestige and Reputation in American Foreign Policy and American Realism // *Post-Realism: The Rhetorical Turn in International Relation*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1996. P. 217-238.
- Musolff A.* Metaphor and Political Discourse. Analogical Reasoning in Debates about Europe. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004.
- Musolff A.* Which role do metaphors play in racial prejudice? The function of anti-Semitic imagery in Hitler's 'Mein Kampf' // *Patterns of Prejudice*. 2007. Vol. 41 (1). P. 21-44.
- Musolff A.* From Social to Biological Parasites and Back. The Conceptual Career of a Metaphor // *Contributions to the History of Concepts*. 2014. Vol. 9 (2). P. 18-32.
- Osborn M.* Archetypal Metaphor in Rhetoric: The Light-Dark Family // *Quarterly Journal of Speech*. 1967. Vol. 53. P. 115-126.
- Osborn M.* The Evolution of the Archetypal Sea in Rhetoric and Poetic // *Quarterly Journal of Speech*. 1977. Vol. 63. P. 347-363.
- Rash F.* Metaphor in Adolf Hitler's Mein Kampf // *Metaphorik.de*. 2005. № 9. P. 74-110.
- Rash F.* The Language of Violence. Adolf Hitler's Mein Kampf. N.Y.: Peter Lang, 2006.
- Vertessen D.* A Metaphorical Election Style: Use of Metaphor at Election Time / D. Vertessen, Ch. De Landtsheer // *Political Language and Metaphor: Interpreting and Changing the World / T. Carver, J. Pikalo (ed.)*. London: Routledge, 2008. P. 271-285.
- Балашова Л.В.* Русская метафорическая система в развитии: XI–XXI вв. М.: Рукописные памятники Древней Руси: Знак, 2014.
- Баранов А.Н.* Политическая метафорика публицистического текста: возможности лингвистического мониторинга // *Язык СМИ как объект междисциплинарного исследования*. М., 2003. С. 134-140.
- Баранов А.Н., Караулов Ю.Н.* Русская политическая метафора. Материалы к словарю. М.: Ин-т русского языка АН СССР, 1991.
- Баранов А.Н., Караулов Ю.Н.* Словарь русских политических метафор. М.: Помовский и партнеры, 1994.
- Будаев Э.В.* Политическая метафорология: ракурсы сопоставительного анализа // *Политическая лингвистика*. 2010. № 1 (31). С. 9-23.
- Будаев Э.В.* Сопоставительная политическая метафорология: дис. ... д-ра филол. наук. Екатеринбург, 2010.
- Будаев Э.В., Чудинов А.П.* Метафора в политической коммуникации. М.: Флинта: Наука, 2008.

Быкова Т.Ю. Подготовка к войне или великая стройка? Метафорический образ Советского Союза в довоенный период (1930–1939 гг.) // Политическая лингвистика. 2011. № 3. С. 69–74.

Быкова Т.Ю. Метафорический образ СССР в советском и американском медийных политических дискурсах 1930–1954 гг.: автореф. дис. ... канд. филол. наук. Екатеринбург, 2014.

Быкова Т.Ю. Отцы и дети великой страны: метафора родства в советском политическом медиадискурсе 1930–1954 гг. // Политическая лингвистика. 2014а. № 2. С. 114–119.

Кондратьева О.Н. Натурморфная метафора как средство осмысления концепта «душа» в русской лингвокультуре (диахронический аспект) // Вестник Московского государственного гуманитарного университета им. М. Шолохова. Сер. Филологические науки. 2012. № 4. С. 83–94.

Кондратьева О.Н. Метафорическое моделирование в педагогическом дискурсе // Педагогическое образование в России. 2013. № 1. С. 116–122.

Кондратьева О.Н. Динамика метафорических моделей в русской лингвокультуре (XI–XX вв.): автореф. дис. ... д-ра филол. наук. Екатеринбург, 2014.

Керимов Р.Д. Метафорический антропоморфизм в немецкой социально-политической коммуникации. Кемерово: Офсет, 2012.

Керимов Р.Д. Когнитивные основания мультимедийной метафоры в немецком политическом дискурсе // Вопросы когнитивной лингвистики. 2013. № 3. С. 57–66.

Лакофф Дж., Джонсон М. Метафоры, которыми мы живем: пер. с англ. / под ред. и с предисл. А.Н. Баранова. М.: Едиториал УРСС, 2004.

Мусолфф А. Политическая «терапия» посредством геноцида: антисемитские концептуальные образы в книге Гитлера «Mein Kampf» // Будаев Э.В., Чудинов А.П. Современная политическая лингвистика. Екатеринбург: УрГПУ, 2006. С. 151–171.

Солопова О.А. Сценарный метод исследования когнитивно-дискурсивных моделей будущего в политическом тексте // Вестник Ленинградского государственного университета им. А.С. Пушкина. Серия «Филология». СПб., 2011. № 4. Т. 7. С. 167–177.

Солопова О.А. Когнитивно-дискурсивная ретроспекция: исследование моделей будущего в политическом дискурсе: монография. Челябинск: Изд. Центр ЮУрГУ, 2013.

Солопова О.А. Россия в Европе: будущее в метафорическом зеркале прошлого // Вопросы когнитивной лингвистики. 2014. № 3. С. 126–137.

Чудакова Н.М. Концептуальная область «Неживая природа» как источник метафорической экспансии в дискурсе российских средств массовой информации (2000–2004 гг.): дис. ... канд. филол. наук. Екатеринбург, 2005.

Чудинов А.П. Россия в метафорическом зеркале: когнитивное исследование политической метафоры (1991–2000): монография / Урал. гос. пед. ун-т. Екатеринбург, 2001.

Чудинов А.П. Метафорическая мозаика в современной политической коммуникации: монография / Урал. гос. пед. ун-т. Екатеринбург, 2003.

Е.Е. Аникин, Э.В. Будаев, А.П. Чудинов

ИСТОРИЧЕСКАЯ ДИНАМИКА МЕТАФОРИЧЕСКИХ СИСТЕМ В ПОЛИТИЧЕСКОЙ КОММУНИКАЦИИ РОССИИ¹

Рассмотрены тенденции к стабильности и инновациям в истории российских политических метафор. Сопоставлены отечественные и зарубежные методики изучения истории политических метафор. Охарактеризован вклад российских ученых в теорию и методику исследования политической метафоры, развитие теории и практики исторической метафорологии. Сделан вывод об арсенале современных российских политических метафор как сложной системе, ставшей итогом многовекового развития, как результате взаимодействия тенденций к стабильности и инновациям, к сохранению культурной самобытности и взаимодействию с другими культурами. Разграничены периоды «метафорических бурь» и «метафорических штилей» в истории российской политической метафоры.

Ключевые слова: метафора, когнитивная метафора, риторическая метафора, политическая коммуникация, российская метафора, историческая динамика метафор, метафорическая картина мира, метафорические бури, метафорические штили.

¹ Статья подготовлена при финансовой поддержке Российского гуманитарного научного фонда: проект 14-04-00268 «Политическая лингвистика: проблематика, методология, аспекты исследования и перспективы развития научного направления».