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‘CRISIS IS A MOVING OBJECT’ CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR
IN RUSSIAN POLITICAL DISCOURSE

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The report presents a case study of CRISIS IS A MOVING OBJECT metaphor, which is overarching in current mass media. The investigation is based on Russian print and electronic media resources materials, which metaphorically express the global and specifically Russian happenings and media attitudes to the events, pertaining to the global economic/financial crisis. The CRISIS IS A MOVING OBJECT conceptual metaphor is treated as one of the embodiments of THE EVENT STRUCTURE METAPHOR.

Key words: conceptual metaphor, global crisis, political discourse, Russian mass media, Event structure metaphor.

In current Russian political discourse most popular are the metaphors pertaining to global economic and financial crisis and its impact on Russia. Conceptual metaphors are found primarily in weeklies, Internet resources, TV and radio political discussion shows where the reporter not so much informs of the happenings but presents his/her or the media’s attitude (mostly critical) to them. It has been proved that “metaphor is an inherent part of culture” and “metaphorical understandings of culture concern intangible entities to which among others belong social and political institutions” [Kövecses 2005: 2].

The global crisis involves multifarious aspects of public life, which found their reflections in mass media, and are giving an impetus to journalists’ creativity. Metaphors disclose intricate interrelations between the conventional/the novelty, objectivity/subjectivity, universality/specificity. They are analyzed from a cross-
cultural perspective with a view of constructing a comprehensive theory that can account for both the universality and variation in our use of metaphor [Kövecses 2005: 3].

The crisis is an overwhelming event that daily gives birth to metaphors, which in most cases are overarching. The quantatative growth of metaphor samples in political discourse testifies to the fact that there is dependence between the frequency of occurrence of metaphors and social crises [De Landtsheer 1991]. The history of political metaphor is regarded as a succession of metaphoric gales and metaphoric calms [Chudinov 2008: 86]. Crisis is “a key word of the present moment” [Shmeleva 2009: 63]. Ubiquity of crisis metaphors enabled Heather Stewart, to come up with the slogan “Let’s put the brakes on these financial crisis metaphors” in her business comment [http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/2011/oct/16/economic-crisis-metaphors-item-club].

Contrastive analyses of political world view metaphoric modelling revealed that modern mass media is a kind of peculiar interdiscourse where the variations and diversities are minor, because while highlighting a current event, world mass media instantly pick up some catching word or phrase, and in no time it is spread over various press agencies and languages. We are looking at the world (or at least we are supposed to) in a very much similar way [Shmeleva 2001: 5; Kaslova 2003; Chudinov 2012a: 181]. Besides, according to a neural theory of language, the regularity with which different languages employ the same metaphors, which often appear to be perceptually based, has led to the hypothesis that the mapping between conceptual domains corresponds to neural mappings in the brain [e.g. Feldman, Narayananan 2004].

Language in newspapers is more than informative. It is usually a reflection of shared worries and points of view on reality. Therefore, the study of the metaphors, used in the media, provides a rich picture on how we collectively conceptualize the world [Hellsten 1997; Klein 2007]. Hence, a new-born metaphor becomes common knowledge in no time. Due to the fact that cultural products and signifying practices have become available transculturally, there is indeed an effect on local cultures, in
that cultural differences are beginning to show structural similarities [Hannerz 1992: 53]. We can hypothesise that such changes will show up in the communicative genres of a culture, presumably as a tendency towards hybridisation [Fetzer, Lauerbach 2007:14].

On the other hand, one should agree that “the most fundamental values in a culture will be coherent with the metaphorical structure of the most fundamental concepts in the culture” [Lakoff, Johnson 2003: 21]. “Most Arabs do not think in terms of our metaphors” [Lakoff, 1991], which caused misunderstandings between Americans and Arabs during the war in the Persian gulf. Such misunderstandings entail grave political consequences. Having analysed the linguistic literature devoted to political metaphor [Abadi, Sacerdoti 2001, Charteris-Black 2005; Lewis 1988; J.S. Mio 1996; Musolff 2000, 2004, 2006; Wee 2001; Wei 2001], E.V. Budaev concluded that in spite of active globalisation and Westernisation of traditional societies, there is room for metaphoric specificity in Eastern civilizations [Budaev 2010: 10].

The linguocultural paradigm is called upon to demonstrate that metaphoricity in some of its aspects reflects the national culture and national mentality, in others – it is typical of definite civilisation domains and cultural areas (the West, Russia, the East, Africa and others), and thirdly, it has a global character [Budaev 2010: 22]. Russian metaphoric modelling to a great extent follows the potentially universal patterns typical of the so-called Western (European-American) culture with certain specificity caused by local cultural-political and linguistic traditions. Very similar metaphors are used in English and Russian languages, as e.g. 
sick economy – больная экономика; oil prices collapsed – цены на нефть рухнули; price scissors – ножницы цен; recovery of price – оздоровление цены; price war – ценовая война; marriage of companies – брак (слияние) компаний [Chudinov 2012b: 61]. But characterizing certain similar economic situations, the Russian and English speaking people show preferences in selection different metaphorical patterns, e.g. in reference to grave faults in economic activities, in British mass media the images related to drunkenness and hangover are common: drunk markets, drunk indexes, stock markets have a
hangover [Kolotnina 2001: 7]. Accordingly, Russian texts are rich in metaphors pertaining to sickness, lack of good health: ECONOMY IN CRISIS IS A SICK, DYING PERSON OR A CORPSE: the sick world, to bring it to recovery; the Old world is feverish; to reanimate the economy; the markets are getting mad, world economy demonstrates symptoms of recovery, the death of the crisis, etc. Also popular in Russian mass media are military: ‘What are the means to fight the crisis?’ and theatrical metaphors: ‘The European debt crisis is always on the arena’.

In Russian mass media discourse “potentially universal primary conceptual metaphors” [Kövecses 2005: 35] are typical, though universal generic schemas are filled out in specific ways in some metaphors. For example, N.Roubini wrote in his article (Jun. 15, 2012): “Dark, lowering financial and economic clouds are, it seems, rolling in from every direction: the eurozone, the United States, China, and elsewhere” [http://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/a-global-perfect-storm]. The sentence is an entailment of the primary universal metaphor CRISIS IS A NATURAL DISASTER, representing an approaching storm. In Russian political discourse this primary metaphor is also present, but the entailments are mostly approaching waves than clouds. In a more specific metaphor CRISIS IS A CAR, we observe that in British examples, unlike the Russian ones, motion is accompanied by sound: ‘the eurozone crisis rumbling on’; the slowdown in the eurozone is rattling the banking sector; Jean-Claude Trichet must be at the wheel of a thundering euro monster truck’ [http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/2011/oct/16/economic-crisis-metaphors-item-club]. Such metaphors sound more effective. According to Z.Kövecses “primary metaphors are likely to be universal, whereas the complex ones that are formed from them are much less likely to be so” [Kövecses 2005: 4]. Also, linguocultural specificity in conceptual domains of each particular culture might be related to the specific ways of situational interpretations of certain political events [Budaev, Chudinov 2008]. It should be added that cultural traditions, history, literature, folklore, idiomaticity play their part.

Case and corpus studies of political discourse in Russian print and electronic media proved that within universal primary conceptual metaphors pertaining to the
domain of the global economic and financial crisis, occur metaphor variations, mappings and entailments, which altogether make up complex metaphors.

To universal metaphors belongs THE EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor, which is a complex one, represented on three basic levels [Lakoff 2006: 207] with variegated submappings, entailments and special cases:

*Level 1.* THE EVENT STRUCTURE METAPHOR as the most general and abstract universal pattern;

*Level 2.* CHANGES ARE MOVEMENTS.

Level 1 and 2 metaphors are universal primary conceptual metaphors. Level 3 metaphors are fixed in both global and Russian media discourse with certain specificity depending on socio-political situations in each particular locality and linguistic practice.

*Level 3.* – general mappings:

I. CRISIS IS AN EVENT: (1) CRISIS IS A MOVING OBJECT, ECONOMY IS A MOVING OBJECT, MONEY IS A MOVING OBJECT, CRISIS IS A STATIONARY OBJECT (AND WE ARE MOVING PAST IT), ECONOMIES ARE VEHICLES; (2) CRISIS IS A DESTRUCTIVE FORCE; (3) CRISIS IS A NATURAL DISASTER; (4) ECONOMY IS A GAME; (5) CRISIS IS A BATTLEFIELD; (6) CRISIS IS A LESSON; (7) CRISIS IS A THEATRE/CINEMA; (8) CRISIS IS AN APOCALYPSE.

II. ONTOLOGICAL METAPHORS: (1) ECONOMY IS A MECHANISM /MACHINE), including COMPUTER METAPHOR; (2) ECONOMY IS A CONSTRUCTION (in bad repair);

(3) ECONOMY IS A BUBBLE; (4) CRISIS IS A CONTAINER; (5) ECONOMY IS A PIE.

III. PERSONIFICATIONS: (1) ECONOMY IN CRISIS IS A SICK, DYING PERSON OR A CORPSE; (2) ECONOMY /CRISIS IS A PERSON CAPABLE OF EXPERIENCING EMOTIONS; (3) CRISIS IS A PERSON (IN)CAPABLE OF ACTION; AN INNOVATOR OR AN EXPERT IS A PROPHET; (4) CRISIS IS MOTHER.
IV. ANIMALISTIC METAPHORS (BANKS ARE ELEPHANTS, etc.)

Of all the above-mentioned metaphors the most overarching is CRISIS IS A MOVING OBJECT, which is an event of major importance. “…Our general way to talk and think about event structure is in terms of motion. In this metaphorical mapping, states are locations, change of state is change of location, causes are forces, purposes are destinations, means are paths to destination, guided action is guided motion, etc.” [Fauconnier 2006: 6]. Hence, G.Lakoff’s EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor algorithm can be referred to as adequately representing its essence “…various aspects of event structure, including notions like states, changes, processes, actions, causes, purposes and means, are characterized cognitively via metaphor in terms of space, motion, and force” [Lakoff 2006: 204]. As it was observed by Z. Kövecses [Kövecses 2005: 46–47], the EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor has a tendency towards universality as it is present in radically different languages and cultures, such as English, Chinese, Hungarian. And Russian as well.

The examples produced hereinafter are taken from the Russian media sources, printed (daily and weekly newspapers) and electronic, i.e. TV news programmes (Euronews, NTV, TV Channels 1, 2, 24), Internet. They reflect Russian views on current political processes worldwide and in Russia. Russian examples are presented in translations. If an example refers to global happenings, it is marked (global), in case it refers to specifically Russian current events, it is marked (Rus). The cultural markers of these references are toponyms, anthroponyms, names of political organizations, etc.

A. CRISIS IS A MOVING OBJECT

Target domain: Events Source domain: Space

Crisis includes such entities as recession, economy, finances, inflation, debts, default, currency, money, which are also moving objects.

(global) ‘The crisis is on the march; the crisis is expanding; the crisis is at full speed. ‘The European crisis is in full swing’.

There are no examples about the state of things in Russia because Russian

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1 In greater detail these metaphors are described in [Takumbetova 2010].
economists, politicians and the public at large are not sure whether the Western-type crisis is a Russian reality so far, or it’s a matter of recent future.

B. THE GENERAL MAPPINGS ARE AS FOLLOWS:

STATES ARE LOCATIONS (BOUNDED REGIONS IN SPACE)

a) The location is temporary:

(global) The location is a limit at which an arrangement changes: the threshold/ the edge, where the entities like the world, a continent, or a country are stationed: ‘The world is standing on the threshold of big chaos’; ‘We are standing on the threshold of a new crisis’; ‘The Old World is lost in expectation of downturn in production’; ‘This country is on the verge of default’. ‘A new Greek paradox: Greece was hanging on a hair’. Here a metonymic transference is observed: the world, a continent, or a country are the societies involved in the events. Societies are stationary objects, while the crisis with all the negative entailments like chaos, downturns and reduction in life standards is coming.

(Rus) ‘Rouble is ready for the downfall’ ‘We haven’t yet got over the edge’; ‘The Damocles sword is hanging over us’. Another inference is that inflation as one of the signs of crisis as the moving object: ‘Inflation is getting ready for a dash. An intricate complex metaphor explaining the dependence of Russian currency on oil prices is as follows: ‘A ball of rouble is tied up to the rope of supply and demand on oil’.

b) The location is long time:

(global) ‘We want Greece to stay in Euro zone’.

(Rus) ‘The fact is that we are not moving. There is no development’; ‘We are sitting on the next step to Europe’. THE STAIRCASE IS A WAY TO CRISIS is Russian specificity here. Russia is behind Europe, it will enter the crisis next to it.

‘The crisis is more in our heads than in actual everyday life’ – THE HEAD IS A CONTAINER.

‘We are sitting on a resources needle’. 'Shall we be able to jump off the oil needle and move away from the dependence on raw materials’? Russian specificity here is that a metaphor, reflecting Russian socio-politic realities OIL RESOURCES
IS A DRUG, comes into play.

**CHANGES ARE MOVEMENTS (INTO OR OUT OF BOUNDED REGIONS):**

a) movements into bounded regions:

The motion is horizontal:

(Rus) CRISIS IS STATIONARY AND WE ARE MOVING TOWARDS IT:

‘In what state *are we approaching this crisis?* ‘Slow stabilization on the point of stagnation is a dangerous *way*, which will *bring the country to a system crisis*.’

There are no examples pertaining to global events here, because, the Western world, is inside the crisis as a bounded region’, while Russia is still outside it.

– The bounded region is recession:

(global) ‘The eurozone looks like it’s *sliding into recession*’; ‘Sweden *has slid back into recession*; ‘Britain’s *economy may slide into a new recession*’. The moving objects are the eurozone, economy, and the countries, involved in the crisis.

– The bounded region is default: ‘*Default is waiting for Greece in September*’; Greece appears *to have taken yet another step closer* to an apocalyptic *default*’.

– The bounded region is risky: ‘Three countries got into a *risk zone*’.

– The bounded region is a financial sphere/zone/currencies deemed as a refuge. The moving objects are investors and all those concerned with finances: ‘The investors’ *running away to financial actives are buying dollars*’; ‘The investors are *leaving Euro for the dollar*’; ‘All are *running after the dollar*, but in 2 – 3 months they start turning the other way round.’

– The bounded region is a financial zone, which is a danger: ‘Spain enters the *danger zone*’. The moving objects are the countries, involved in the crisis.

Russian specificity is CRISIS IS A MOVING OBJECT, while the bounded region is a country: (Rus) ‘The crisis can *switch over* to Russia’. There are no other countries – bounded regions, because it is held in Russian press that the crisis is in operation elsewhere, but Russia is in its expectation so far.

The motion is vertical / downward:

– Crisis is a bounded region:
(global) ‘...the global economy is plunging into crisis again’.

– The bounded region is presented metaphorically as a chasm, a precipice, an abyss, a pit, a ditch, a swamp. The moving objects are countries, economies, industries. If crisis is the moving object, it drags all the institutions to bounded regions. DOWN IS BAD:

(global) The forthcoming crisis will draw(drag) the country still deeper into the debt pit (chasm)’. ‘We are all in the same bunch, and if one of the participants falls into a chasm, all the rest will follow’; ‘The collapse of Greek economy, as well as the Greeks exit from the eurozone will drag other European countries into a precipice’; ‘If financial institutions do not pay their debts, currencies, goods markets, people’s savings will fall into a precipice. The downfall will be lengthy’.

– The bounded region is a recycle bin or a cesspit:

(global) ‘Will Euro go to a recycle bin?’ ‘The safety margin assessments of Portugal and Cyprus slid down to the so-called ‘trash zone’’.

– The bounded region is a house:

(global) ‘The financial crisis is knocking at Spain’s doors’. ‘The crisis is opening doors to new discoveries’.

b) movements out of bounded regions:

– The bounded region is crisis:

(global) Coming out of the crisis requires much time and effort.

(Rus) ‘Is the economy successfully getting out of the crisis?’; ‘It will be sad, if we shall be coming out of the crisis along with the increase of prices for our traditional export goods’. It is emphasized that Russian economy is dependent on raw materials. ‘Capital’s running abroad will be stopped only by restrictions on currency’.

Metaphoric bounded regions are: a ditch, a swamp, a pit:

(global) ‘to pull the economy out of the ditch’; ‘They won’t drag us from this swamp’.

(Rus) ‘Russian economy will be slowly getting out of the pit’;

– The bounded region is a country involved in the crisis:
Money hurts out of Spain.’
– The bounded region is a eurozone, the European Union, or the crisis itself:
(global) ‘Greece: Euro exit?’; ‘Will Greece leave the EU?’; ‘Greece will come out of the crisis, but not out of the Euro zone’; ‘Europe is secretly getting ready for Greece’s exit’; Athens’ exit from the currency union’; ‘the Southerners should be lead away from the Euro zone’.
– The crisis is a monster that holds its victims between its teeth:
(global) ‘The Chinese tore themselves off the teeth of the crisis at others’ expense’.
– The bounded region is a house or a locked box:
(Rus) ‘The key to the exit door of the crisis is in the financial sector’. – It looks like the key is hidden in that sector much the same way as Koschey’s death is hidden in an egg’. Here is a specific Russian metaphor with the allusion to a fairy-tale, the personage of which is Koschey, the immortal, whose death is hidden in an egg. This is a case of interdiscoursivity, when a folklore element is interwoven into political discourse.

CAUSES ARE FORCES:
There is a kind of domino effect, when the crisis in one country causes the crisis in another:
(global) ‘The crisis in Spain will involve Italy’; ‘Apprehensions about Spain caused losses in European banks. ‘The recession has not hit us yet, but it is around the corner’.
(Rus) ‘Greece’s exit out of the Euro zone will cause crisis in Russia’; ‘Economy based on resources can give a push’.

ACTIONS ARE SELF-PROPELLED MOVEMENTS:
Self-propelled motion has the following special cases:
a) Motion per se:
(global) ‘The crisis is marching across the planet’; ‘On the whole, Europe is on the right way’; ‘Are financial torrents moving right way?’ In the last examples there is an evaluative component ‘right’.
(Rus) ‘The crisis is on the way in Russia’; In ‘But we are unable to go by seven-mile steps along with the rest of the world’. ‘To go by seven-mile steps’, is a Russian culturally specific phrase stemming from folklore, i.e. each step is as long as seven miles. ‘If the crisis has passed by some of the party members, millions of common citizens cannot boast of it’. The last example expresses criticism of the United Russia party officials.

b) The trajectory of the motion:

– Shaking / stirring / jerky:

(global) ‘Western economy is shaking’; ‘Euro is shaking’; ‘Are the U.S.A. ready to shake the whole world, fighting for the dollar?’; ‘After a jerk the bonds fell down’.

(Rus) V.Putin, president: “If the course of the rouble is stirring, it is alive” – Thank God! One could have thought that the rouble is under convulsions.

Wavering motion implies periodicity:

(Rus) ‘There will be determined the level, around which the rouble will waver’. ‘Before the crisis our economy was undulating – foreign money either left quickly or came back’.

– Spiral:

(global) ‘There are apprehensions concerning untwisting the deflationary spiral in Europe’.

(Rus) ‘After the New year the basic twist of the crisis will start’; ‘But what kind of a step to modernisation must be taken to tear away from the spiral of lagging behind?’.

– Curving/straight:

(global) ‘The curve of profitability is already beginning to straighten.

– Uneven: Ups and downs. ‘Ups and downs’ here differ from the forthcoming ‘up and down’ in that the latter means the movement strictly in a vertical direction, but ‘ups and downs’ presuppose uneven horizontal movement, when the moving object has to pass by certain heights and pitfalls:

(global) ‘The peak of the reestablishment of world’s economy seems to be left behind’; ‘Global economy passed the peak of the crisis’.
‘Russia has passed the highest point of the crisis’. Chasing the yearly bonuses, the managers went through roller coasters of transactions and risks. Russian specificity here lies in the fact that Russians call roller coasters ‘American hills’, as it is used in the Russian original sentence.

- **Bouncing / jumping / leaping / soaring/**: 
  - (global) ‘The ratings showed the highest leap...’; ‘The effect of a compressed spring will throw up prices’.
  - (Rus) ‘The purse won’t become thicker from the bouncing currency courses’. ‘The dollar will leap out of an ambush’.

- **Cyclic**: 
  - (global) ‘We must always proceed from the fact that economy develops in a cyclic way. Soaring up is followed by a collapse and depression’. ‘The bottom of each next crisis is higher than the bottom of the previous one’.
  - (Rus) ‘We are passing through the bottom and the recovery is on the way. If there isn’t going to be the second bottom in the West, we shall be able to avoid the next downturn of the economy.

- **c) Speed:** 
  - (global) ‘Worsening of the situation in the most powerful economies of the world (deceleration in the US, China and, probably, recession in the eurozone) will add speed to slowing down’. ‘US economy slows down’.
  - (Rus) ‘As a result the growth of economy / the investment activities will slow down’; ‘Our country is still straggling behind (as a tail) due to the economy, based on raw materials export’.
  - Quick movement: ‘China can keep building roads, airports and high-rise apartments at such a stunning pace’.
  - Acceleration of motion: 
    - (Rus) ‘Our country is gathering speed’; ‘Russia has probably appeared to be unique of the large developing countries, whose growth in the beginning of 2012 was accelerated’.
d) Complex movement:
(Rus) ‘In Russia crisis is moving along a more complex trajectory than in other countries of G20’.

e) Motion with regard to direction (but not destination):
A vector points to the direction:
(global) ‘Development vector should be found; The vector of economic growth is turning eastwards.
– Movement in vertical direction: up and down:
GOOD IS UP:
(global) ‘When the economy is on the rise, the entrepreneurs are launching many new projects’;
‘market/credit indexes/ratings are growing/rose/are raised/look upwards/rocket/soar.’
BAD IS DOWN:
(global) ‘the course of Euro/dollar/rouble/prices go downwards/fall/tumble/plummet/nosedive/lower/plunge’.
‘Is it true that euro will plunge down before Christmas?’ ‘Dollar/euro is/are tumbling’. ‘Will euro and oil take a tumble?’; ‘What will happen to the planet, if the Chinese economy plunges down? ‘No one could surmise that the crisis would be so deep’;
(Rus) One of the financial aspects of the crisis is that the courses of euro and dollar are moving upwards and downwards in relation to rouble, which might be stable, or vice versa. Rouble is movable with regards to euro or dollar depending on the vantage point, that’s why the well-known evaluative GOOD IS UP, BAD IS DOWN metaphor doesn’t hold truth here: ‘So why is the rouble plummeting?’ ‘The show called rouble’s rolling downhill is over. ‘Russian rouble is nosediving’. ‘The downfall of Russian economy is going on for 6 months’.

Russian specificity: ‘Unlike what is happening abroad, we are to face another, much deeper crisis’; ‘If their problems were caused by overproduction, we are experiencing a backward process – increased downturn of production’. Here we
observe an opposition “Russia versus the West”.

– Movement in horizontal direction: away and off:

(Rus) ‘When will you go away, crisis?’

Most examples of movement in horizontal direction are related to destinations into or out of bounded regions.

**PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS:**

The most desirable purpose is overcoming the crisis:

(global) ‘We are on the way to recovery’.

One of the ways to reach this end is influx of investments, money injections:

**CAPITAL IS A MOVING OBJECT:**

(global) ‘Capital departs/arrives/vanishes/leaves/returns from country (to country) / from bank to bank. ‘EU’s rescue money arrived in Greece’.

(Rus) ‘The capital returned to Russia – in June the inflow was $ 5 bln. For almost a year the Central bank was financing only pure outflow’.

**MEANS ARE PATHS (TO DESTINATIONS):**

A destination is overcoming the crisis. The means are as follows:

– Governments’ and world leaders’ activities play the most important role in overcoming the crisis, hence GOVERNMENTS’ / LEADERS’ ACTIONS ARE MEANS OF OVERCOMING THE CRISIS:

(global) ‘The Government should be instigated to face the crisis’; ‘I think that the Government is on the right way’; ‘Papandreu demonstrated his ability to maneuver’; ‘The participants of the summit promised to “mobilise European structural funds and instruments to put Greece back on the way of economic growth”’.

The crisis itself is a means to improve things:

‘The financial breakdown will put everything in its places and attract new investors’.

The Governments demonstrate their inability to act:

(Rus) ‘While gas and oil are still available in the country, the powers won’t get off the furnace’. Here is implied a Russian national symbol – the Russian furnace
typical of old houses. It means that the one who is lying on the furnace is reluctant to act. ‘The bureaucracy vertical is capable only of cockroach races’. Cockroach races, used ironically here, were popular in Russia in the nineteenth century. The entailment is that Russian bureaucracy is incapable of constructive activity.

‘The Government is not sure that if it pours money into our economic mechanism, the turbine will start rotating’. Here there is a blend of GOVERNMENTS’ ACTIONS ARE MEANS OF OVERCOMING THE CRISIS, MONEY IS LIQUID and ECONOMY IS A MECHANISM.

– Successful motion is in need of support:
  (global) ‘Germany is tired of supporting collapsing economies’.
– A means to overcome crisis is moving closer:
  ‘The positions on the bank union are coming closer’.
– Innovations are a means to overcome the crisis: ‘Revolutionary innovations pull mankind out the crisis quagmire’.
– One of the controversial means is money investments: ‘a limited intervention into the bank system’;

MONEY IS A FLUID:

  (global) ‘The U.S.A. stimulate their economy by pouring in money’. – ‘Money injections’ in British media. ‘But the money stream didn’t turn into a river. ‘The crisis sluice gates were open for the Western society’; ‘Spain became a kind of dyke, which is surged by floods of uncertainty’.

  (Rus) ‘The money is being pumped into our fund market’; ‘Weshan’t be able to do without foreign money poured in’. The financial policy of swimming currency course by Russia’s Central bank hinders inflation and in a certain degree it prevents abrupt shocks’.

– A means to overcome crisis is giving a push:
  (global) ‘This must give a push to raising the economy’.
– A breakthrough is a potent means in overcoming the crisis:
  (Rus) ‘The party leader explained how to make a breakthrough’. ‘A mighty step-forward (lit. jerk-forward) will happen in Russia due to scientific-technological
breakthrough’.

The following metaphors are related to sport:

(global) ‘Spain is trying to kick back the ball in the crisis set with the Moody’s international agency’; ‘George Papandreu sent world stock markets into a knockdown’.

– The destination is reached easier in good weather with favourable wind:

(global) ‘This was a country with most favourable climate for business’.
(Rus) ‘...rising oil prices was a favourable wind’.

Ineffective measures:

(global) ‘A printing press might be put into operation. But this will bring about higher inflation in the eurozone’.

**DIFFICULTIES ARE IMPEDIMENTS TO MOTION:**

– Crisis itself is an impediment to economic progress:

(global) ‘The global crisis was a grave impediment to us’. Hence, it is important to prevent its progress: ‘It’s obligatory to restrain the crisis’.

– Crisis is a trial:

(global) ‘We withstood the trial by the crisis’.

– A blockage:

(global) ‘to put a barrier against a new wave of the financial crisis’.

– Burdens:

(global) ‘The Swiss watch market sagged under the weight of crisis’.

– Features of the terrain (bad roads):

(global) ‘The crisis is like a car moving along a bumpy road. ‘It’s necessary to get over many hills’; ‘Won’t China stumble in its rapid development?’

– Lack of time:

(global) ‘Time is working against us’.

– Blockages (brakes):

(global) ‘Rising prices for energy resources act as a brake’; ‘The high level of debt continues to put a brake on economic recovery’; ‘Europe is floundering in debts’.
Russian realities: ‘corruption is a brake on innovations’.

EXTERNAL EVENTS ARE LARGE, MOVING OBJECTS

CRISIS IS A NET:

(global) ‘The main reason of the global economic crisis is the net of the offshores that covered the world. Because of this the crisis has entangled the world and it will be impossible to get out of it’.

CRISIS IS A VEHICLE:

The vehicles are the crisis itself, capital, economy, markets, money, the countries, the people involved in the crisis.

– The vehicle is a car:

(global) ‘The crisis is like a car moving along a bumpy road. Politicians are adjusting the screws’; ‘We live on one of the steep economic turns’; ‘The credit rally postponed the fall for several years’.

(Rus) ‘The money had to be invested in development of economy but not for stuffing the air cushion’.

– The vehicle is a train:

(global) ‘China is a locomotive that will drag world economy out of the crisis. In this sentence we also observe a movement out of a bounded region. ‘The U.S.A. can head the process which will lead euro away from the rails’; ‘China has torn past the crisis like a heated locomotive, and now it is slowing down its speed, so that its economy doesn’t explode’.

(Rus) ‘They (the regime) hope to hook our battered luggage van to the US economy locomotive, when it gains full speed. Or to the Chinese’.

– The vehicle is a flying object (an aircraft, a bird):

(global) ‘Money is flying out of Spain’. ‘The market went into a spin. ‘The capital was threatening to go into a crisis dive’; ‘America will start refuelling of economy; “Hard landing” will happen’ (in China); ‘the bureaucracy, creating financial pyramids, are afraid of riots and are creating reserve aerodromes’.

(Rus) ‘The Russian share market made a vertical flight’. ‘It looks like Russia along with the whole world is entering the zone of turbulence’. ‘Falling of oil prices
below $90 will cause hard landing: landing will be soft, the experts are promising’.

- The vehicle is a boat:

(Rus) ‘Here a ship is sailing, slowly, but still sailing, but if three loaded barges are hooked to it, everyone will drown’. The ship is Russian economy, the barges are industrial concerns. ‘The economy is being smashed like a ship under a huge wave’; ‘The one, who “rocks the boat”, displays antisocial tendencies’; ‘The rouble has not been set sail’.

– The vehicle is a space ship:

(Rus) ‘We got into the orbit of the global crisis’.

CRISIS IS A NATURAL PHENOMENON:

– Crisis is an avalanche:

(global) ‘Crisis in Europe resembles an avalanche that wipes everything off on its way’.

CRISIS IS A SEA (AN OCEAN):

(global) ‘The country rolled down into the depths of the sea of the crisis, and it is hard to get out’.

(Rus) ‘The flow of the crisis itself showed that we are a typical East-european country’; ‘And when the crisis started, the overseas money flew away, having left the Russian economy puzzled’; Capital’s flowing away happens periodically’; ‘If the united Europe collapses and euro sinks into oblivion, the ripples will spread all over the world and reach Russia’.

– The sea is stormy:

(global) ‘The typhoon of the crisis started in the Bermuda triangle of the Wall street and spread all over the world crashing everything on its way’; ‘There is a storm in Europe now. Is Denmark involved in this tempest?’

A very frequent mapping within the sea domain is WAVES ARE A DANGER:

(global) ‘And now they (the States) are launching a new wave of the crisis’; ‘The waves of the financial crisis reached German banks’; ‘A wave of economy crimes has surged the world in the time of crisis’; ‘The economists and politicians are talking of inevitability of the second wave of the crisis’; ‘There won’t be either the
second or the third wave’; ‘Greece will drown the eurozone in the new wave of the crisis’; ‘A new wave of the crisis will cause soaring up the prices for goods and services’; ‘A wave of financial tsunami started’.

(Rus) ‘What can be expected after the rouble is set afloat?’ ‘The wave from the West reached us’; ‘But if the wave covers us, it will be to the greatest degree’; ‘What is the second wave of the crisis threatening Russia with?’; ‘There is no sense in speaking about the second wave of the crisis today, while the first one is not over. – For the captain, whose ship has got a leakage while complete stillness, it’s all the same, how many waves are expected in the storm.

– A country involved in crisis is a drowning man:

(global) ‘The premier in drowning Greece is changed’.

A HARBOUR IS A SAFE PLACE:

(global) ‘Those eurozone countries, which are looked upon by markets like a “safe harbour”…; ‘Federal funds of other countries keep a part of their assets in the American harbour’.

A blending of the above mappings is a joke which was pronounced at the International economic forum in Saint Petersburg: “There is good news – there won’t be the second wave of the crisis, bad news - we are drowning. Of course, not everything is that bad, having downed the problems to a great degree, the global economy learned to swim in the sea of crisis, but the shore is not within its reach yet, and the external debts of many developed countries are on the way and drag it to the bottom”. [http://www.1tv.ru/news/economic/210107]

– Crisis is an earthquake:

‘The epicentre of the European crisis moved from Greece to Italy’.

– Crisis is a fire:

(Rus) ‘The fire was extinguished by pouring money into it’.

LONG TERM, PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITIES ARE JOURNEYS

– Starting the journey:

(global) ‘The fall of Lehman brothers triggered the crisis’; ‘The first step that we are able to make is creating the bank union’; ‘Berlin will pull the trigger and
destroy the eurozone’.

(Rus) ‘My country is at the start of its route’. ‘All the happenings pose a question: which way of development Russia will choose? Will it go the way of the West or will it try to fumble its own way?’; ‘Russia doesn’t need to run after anyone! It should go its own way’.

– Expected progress is a travel schedule.

The journey takes a long time:

(global) ‘The economy has to go a long way to recovery’; ‘The EU admitted that they should live according to their means – and they are slowly moving to this end’; “What might be the end of this “Santa-Barbara” with gigantic debts of the U.S.A. and Europe?” This movie metaphor emphasises the length the crisis.

– The way presupposes passing certain phases:

‘To pass all the crisis phases with minimum losses’; ‘Will the economic crisis go over to a harder phase?’; ‘China has to switch over to a more liberal variant of economy in the years to come. And great difficulties can emerge on this way’. ‘Spain has passed the point of no return’.

(Rus) Russia has its special way: ‘We have our own way, winding and tortuous’.

– Crisis is the end of the journey:

(global) ‘Socialists brought the country to the crisis’.

– The end (results) of the journey are (positive or negative) changes:

(global) ‘The economic crisis brought Christmas goods to the shops earlier than usual’; ‘The crisis is changing Europe’s political landscape’; ‘The discussion about saving economy came to a blind alley’; ‘Will there be light at the end of the tunnel?’; ‘And what is the happy end?’

(Rus) ‘Russia goes the way that brought Europe to a dead-end street’.

One of the entailments is emotional attitude to the global crisis:

(global) ‘Market euphoria evaporated’.

Conclusions:

1. Metaphoric gales, i.e. periods of intense metaphor creativity, are characterised
by activisation of primary conceptual metaphors, emergence of new mappings and entailments, detailed unfolding of metaphoric scenarios, creation of new metaphors and image schemas.

2. CRISIS IS A MOVING OBJECT is a primary conceptual universal, complex metaphor, comprising several levels of mappings, entailments, and special cases.

3. A metaphoric scenario for the universal, as well as Russian, CRISIS IS A MOVING OBJECT metaphor in mass media complies with G.Lakoff’s EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor, which is the most abstract level. The next level 2 CHANGES ARE MOVEMENTS and Level 3 general mappings are also primary universal potential metaphors.

4. A metaphoric scenario for CRISIS IS A MOVING OBJECT in Russian mass media, along with universal features of the EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor possesses certain specificity.

Culture specific aspects of this metaphor, revealed in Russian mass media, stem from:

a) The socio-political and economic situation in modern Russia, i.e. Russia is experiencing its own long-time system crisis; it passed by the first wave and is in anticipation of the second wave of the global economic/financial crisis. Such an uneasy situation accounts for the entailments like ‘Unlike what is happening abroad, we are to face another, much deeper crisis’ and ‘We have our own way, winding and tortuous’. However, Russia depends on the EU: ‘If the united Europe collapses and euro sinks into oblivion, the ripples will spread all over the world and reach Russia’. It is also stated that Russian lags behind the EU: ‘We are sitting on the next step to Europe’: THE STAIRCASE IS A WAY TO CRISIS.

The situation is made more complicated by the Russian authorities’ corruption: ‘…crisis has passed by some of the party members’, which gave rise to a metaphor CORRUPTION IS A BRAKE ON INNOVATIONS. Relevant to metaphor creativity is Russia’s dependence on raw materials: OIL RESOURCES IS A DRUG and its dependence on foreign investments: ‘Capital’s flowing away happens periodically’.

b) Some special entailments, taking root in Russian linguocultural peculiarities,
i.e. folklore: Russian furnace, seven-mile steps, Koschey, the immortal – a fairy-tale personage.

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