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THE PECULIARITIES OF METAPHOR EMOTIVITY IN RUSSIAN POLITICAL DISCOURSE

The study examines the functions of metaphor in modern political discourse. It concentrates on the main types of Russian political metaphor and their models considering the emotivity in the political speech of two Russian presidents, which are analysed based on specific examples. In this regard, it is shown that in the Russian modern political discourse, metaphors from the conceptual spheres, such as 'disease', 'culinary', 'human', 'game' and 'theatre', are more often used. In order to convey a specific state, it is very convenient to refer to metaphors, which, on the one hand, can significantly soften the statement, and on the other hand, can more figuratively convey it. Metaphor is as a powerful tool for influencing the consciousness of the recipient and transforming the political worldviews. The use of metaphor, as well as various ways of highlighting it in the text, ensures its semantic and emotional integrity. Researchers point out that the influence of emotions on the formation of political preferences is not inferior to the influence of rational awareness of the problem. Moreover, most often a person primarily tends to make a decision under the influence of emotions and only afterwards tries to find a rational explanation for the decision. The features of using the main metaphorical models are shown based on public speeches, interviews, and articles by two Russian political figures: Vladimir Putin and Dmitry Medvedev.

Key words: emotiology, metaphor; emotivity; emotion; surprise; political discourse; functions of metaphors.

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Орыс саяси дискурсындағы метафораның эмоциотивтілік ерекшеліктері

Мақалада қазіргі саяси дискурстағы метафораның функциялары нақты мысалдармен талданған және Ресейдің екі Президентінің саяси сөйлеуінде эмотивтілік туралы айтқанды ескере отырып, орыс саяси метафорасының негізгі түрлері және олардың модельдері қарастырылған. Сол негізде, қазіргі заманғы саяси дискурста "ауру", "аспаздық", "адам", "ойын" және "театр" ұғымдарының метафоралары жиі қолданылатындығы көрсетілген. Кез келген жағдайды жеткізу үшін метафораларға жүгіну өте ыңғайлы, олар бір жағынан сөйлемді едәуір жұмсарты алады, екінші жағынан оны бейнелі түрде жеткізе алады. Метафора – адресаттың санасына әсер етудің және оның әлемнің саяси бейнесін қайта құрудың қуатты құралы. Метафораны қолдану және оны мәтінде ерекшелеудің әртүрлі тәсілдері оның семантикалық және эмоционалды тұтастығын қамтамасыз етеді. Зерттеушілер эмоциялардың саяси таңдауларға әсері мәселені ұтымды түсінуден кем түспейтінін айтады. Дегенмен, көбінесе адам эмоциялардың әсерінен қандай да бір шешім қабылдайды және біраз уақыттан кейін қабылданған шешім үшін ұтымды түсініктеме табуға тырысады. Негізгі метафоралық модельдерді қолдану ерекшеліктері ресейлік қос саяси қайреткердің В.В. Путин және Д.А. Медведевтің сөйлеген сөздері, сұхбаттары мен мақалалары негізінде келтірілген.

Түйін сөздер: эмотиология, метафора, эмотивтілік, эмоция, таңдану, саяси дискурс, метафора функциялары.

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Особенности эмотивности метафоры в российском политическом дискурсе

В статье рассмотрены функции метафоры в современном политическом дискурсе и основные типы русской политической метафоры и их модели с учетом эмотивности в политической речи двух президентов России на конкретных примерах. На этом же основании показано, что в российском современном политическом дискурсе чаще используются метафоры из понятийных сфер «болезнь», «кулинария», «человек», «игра» и «театр». Для того, чтобы передать какое-либо состояние, очень удобно прибегнуть к метафорам, которые, с одной стороны, могут заметно смягчить высказывание, с другой стороны, более образно его передать. Метафора является мощным инструментом воздействия на сознание адресата и преобразования его политической картины мира. Использование метафоры и разнообразные способы ее выделения в тексте обеспечивают его смысловую и эмоциональную целостность. Исследователи указывают, что влияние эмоций на выборы политических предпочтений ничуть не уступает рациональному осознанию проблемы. Тем не менее, чаще всего человек принимает какое-то решение сперва под воздействием эмоций, и лишь спустя некоторое время пытается найти рациональное объяснение для принятого решения. Особенности употребления основных метафорических моделей приведены на основе публичных речей, интервью и статей двух российских политических деятелей В.В. Путина и Д.А. Медведева.

Ключевые слова: эмотиология, метафора, эмотивность, эмоция, удивление, политический дискурс, функции метафоры.

Introduction

Since antiquity, the speech of politicians has always been in the centre of attention of specialists in various fields as an object of research. Linguists were interested in its structural organisation, situationally determined purposefulness, explicit or implicit emotionality or other indicators. Each of these indicators is consciously chosen by the addressee from a variety of relevant language tools, and it is of great interest to researchers, who consider the same component from different points of view (text elements, the theory of speech acts, emotivity of speech, etc.).

Constant interest in political discourse has even led to the formation of a special section in the science of language – political linguistics. Its main purpose is to analyse the specific features of the speech of political actors in certain communicative situations, both in written and verbal forms. According to A. P. Chudinov, ‘... the difference between political linguistics and other areas of modern linguistics, which are united by the same type of methodology, and have postulates and principles recognised by most researchers (comparative historical linguistics, psycholinguistics, etc.), is that political linguistics is primarily united by the studied material (political language, political texts, political discourse) and not by the terminology and methodology’ (Chudinov, 2020: 8).

Political language is usually considered as one of the types of institutional discourse, since here, communication takes place ‘... not between specific people, but between a representative of a social institution: whether it is a government, Parliament, public organisation, municipality, etc., a representative of another social institution or a “citizen”, “voter”’ (Chudinov, 2001: 15).

V. I. Shakhovsky emphasises that like any text, the text of political discourse ‘... has a plan of expression and a plan of content. Both plans automatically record and regularly reproduce all the parameters of its author as a linguistic personality. The external form of expression of internal emotional tension is verbal and nonverbal language signs: expressive vocabulary, expressive syntax, stylistic techniques’ (Shakhovsky, 2008: 262). This quote confirms the idea expressed by J. Lakoff and M. Johnson in the study ‘Metaphors We Live By’: ‘The most important things in our lives are our feelings, aesthetic sensibilities, moral practices, and spiritual awareness. These are purely subjective. None of these is purely rational or objective’ (Lakoff, Johnson, 1980: 188).

Many linguists have discussed the need for a detailed study of the means of expressing emotions (Shakhovsky, Apresyan, Arnold, Vezhbickaja, etc.). For example, in the mid-90s of the last century, the outstanding scientist V. I. Kodukhov noted that every author ‘... faces the need for an adequate

selection of language tools to address issues related to the definition of human identity (civil, national, social, and even sexual)' (Karabulatova, 2019: 12). In other words, we can state that to express their attitude towards the surrounding reality, a person must consciously or subconsciously choose the appropriate language forms, and emotion regulates this process of reflection as a psychological definition of the meaning of objects of the world for each individual. Analysing the real manifestations of the relationship between the three components (human-world-emotions), Z. Z. Iskhakova notes that '... emotional correlations are subjective, but socially conscious and therefore, more or less typified. Thus, emotions always have a cause, a subject and an object' (Iskhakova, 2014: 51). The relationship between emotions and cognition is also clearly visible, for all emotions are related to reason: 'to some extent, emotionality is inherent in ordinary states of consciousness, and it precedes cognitive processes' (Izard, 1991: 69).

Materials and methods

The empirical basis of the study are the results of the method of traditional analysis of the speeches of the presidents of Russia V. V. Putin and D. A. Medvedev during their governing period (all the texts are reproduced according to the data of the corresponding official Internet sources, a list of which is given at the end of our work) in terms of the presence of emotive metaphors in their public speeches.

It should be noted that the study of emotions was originally carried out by representatives of sciences such as psychology and philosophy. Emotions have become the subject of research for Russian linguists since the 1970s. This indicates that emotiology in linguistics appeared relatively recently, which supports the rationale for the relevance of our work.

Literature Review

The issues of emotionality in language (emotivity) were studied by scientists such as V. I. Shakhovskiy (1987, 2008, 2019, etc.), Yu. D. Apresyan, V. Yu. Apresyan (2007), N. D. Arutyunova (1991), A. Vezhbitskaya (1996), L. Alba-Juez (2020, 2021), C. E. Izard (1991) and many others, as well as they were depicted in the scientific works on linguopolitology, Psycholinguistics, cross-cultural communication by A. P. Chudinov (2001, 2009, 2020 etc.), V. A. Maslova (2001), S. A. Dondo (2015), G. Lakoff, M. Johnson (1980), E. G. Borisova (2014, 2018) and others, which served as a theoretical basis

for our study and left an imprint on the overall methodology of the research.

Discussion and Results

Highlighting the semantic and metaphorical approaches to the description of emotional vocabulary, V. Yu. Apresyan and Yu. D. Apresyan note that 'in contrast to mental states, which are quite easily verbalised by the subject, it is very difficult to translate emotions into words', and besides, 'the specificity of metaphors related exactly to emotions ... does not get any explanation' (Apresjan, 2007: 294, 296).

Modern political discourse is also saturated with emotivity, and, according to many researchers (See Shakhovskiy, Apresjan, etc.), negative emotions predominate in it. For example, V. I. Shakhovskiy states that 'the expression of voices with emotions of negative semantics in political discourse is dominant and actualised in various forms. These are: "hot vocabulary", "irony", "repetitions", "allusions", "epithets", "phraseology" and, of course, "metaphors" such as *repairs in an apartment* (about the course of the country's development), *horses on a ferry, rocking a boat, a state ship, a common house* (an organism), *MP 'maydans', suicidal arguments, etc.'*" (Shakhovskiy, 2008: 262).

Among all these language tools, metaphor is the most striking and interesting. Metaphors can have a powerful impact on how individuals try to solve complex issues, as they try to gather more information to make better decisions and choices. According to P. H. Thibodeau and L. Boroditsky, when asked about metaphors, people do not regard them as an influential aspect in their decisions; however, the influence is still very strong, as 'different metaphorical frames created differences in opinion', and 'even minimal (one-word) metaphors can significantly shift people's representations and reasoning about important real-world domains' (Thibodeau, Boroditsky, 2011). Interestingly, J. Vervaeke and J. M. Kennedy have criticised the notion that 'influential implicit metaphors govern how people think without their knowing it', consequently, according to them, the root metaphor is not something a person is unaware about (Vervaeke, Kennedy, 1996).

Although metaphors are often considered a form of figurative language, used to compare two terms in a beautiful manner, according to A. Ortony, that metaphors are necessary, because they have a potential 'to transfer learning and understanding from what is known to what is less-known' in a vivid manner. Besides, they are 'closer to experience', which makes them 'more memorable' [Ortony, 1975].

The main advantages of using metaphors are:

1) demonstrating a special way of language thinking, based on the representation and evaluation of a fragment of reality with the help of analogies with the names of completely different conceptual areas;

2) allowing the corresponding phenomenon to be correlated with another category (according to Lakoff), which is familiar to the perceiving party, and to appeal to a certain fund of knowledge, which is common to the participants in the act of communication;

3) performing comprehensively 4 functions (according to A. P. Chudinov): cognitive, communicative, pragmatic, and aesthetic;

4) presenting a certain political situation as more familiar, with ready evaluability, to create a certain opinion about the essence of the object characterised in this way;

5) creating the possibility of transmitting national, social and personal attitudes to the new sphere through the prism of the source sphere;

6) allowing the addressor to convey a certain idea to the addressee in a more accessible and vivid form, to influence their emotional and volitional sphere and thereby, create appropriate relations to the considered realities;

7) increasing the level of clarity and imagery of speech. As political speech always takes into account the value orientations and interests of a particular addressee(s), it means that it improves the effectiveness of influencing them and changing their views.

With the definitions and advantages of metaphors as a means of language expression and influence, politicians at various levels often use them in their public speeches, in order to express the political texts most commonly with negative emotivity. According to O. P. Ermakova, now ‘the entire “arsenal”, of metaphors is used primarily to depict the negative aspects of politics, the economy, and the social situation as a whole in order to “expose” the political opponent’ (Ermakova, 1996: 55).

As K. S. Anumyan notes, «political speech is usually characterized by negative emotiveness, but the neutral cognitive emotion of surprise is very often found in this type of institutional discourse, which is quite natural, since it is this emotion with its essence and neutrality that largely affects the addressee, perhaps even stronger than a frank manifestation of a negative attitude towards certain events, facts, people, etc.» (Anumyan, 2020: 7).

There is no final and fully verified list of negative emotions, and there cannot be, as it mostly de-

pends on a particular person, situation, context, etc., but almost all researchers agree on the presence of five ‘... main categories of negative emotions’: sadness (depression, despair, hopelessness, etc.); anxiety (fear, anxiety, panic, etc.); anger (irritation, frustration, rage, etc.); blame; shame (embarrassment) [InHa].

S.A. Dondo, for example, identifies the following types of political discourse in new Russia: liberal discourse, patriotic discourse, communist discourse, official-power discourse (Dondo, 2015: 89-90).

According to the charismatic leadership theory, charismatic leaders are able to evoke change in preferences and needs, to motivate, to arouse emotional attachments, and their speech plays an important role in all these processes (House, Spangler, Woycke, 1991). As we have mentioned above, the use of figurative language by politicians is one of the best ways to influence people. Based on the above-mentioned classification and the general characteristic of political metaphors of A. P. Chudinov, we will discuss the most popular metaphors in political discourse in terms of emotivity based on the public speeches of two Russian presidents: Vladimir Putin and Dmitry Medvedev, since the use of these metaphors indicates the desire of politicians for brightness, expressiveness and persuasiveness of speech. «Certain speech situations associated with key moments that are prioritized for the fate of the country radically change people’s reactions to iconic linguistic personalities and the content of their speech, capable of transforming beliefs aimed at the audience and their perception of any situation in a global aspect. Effective methods of influence and the best means of changing beliefs in the process of communicating with a global addressee (nation) are based on the influencing power of the word and the personality of the true leader of the nation» (Tomanova, 2015: 77).

Conceptual Sphere ‘Disease’

The empirical material we have collected shows that medical topics are the most frequent for metaphorical understanding and representation of political events. Specifically, the choice of words that either have negative semantics in themselves or allegorically convey the idea of ‘poor health’, as well as the meaning of ‘overcoming the illness’.

We would like to present the examples of such metaphors from an article by V. Putin published in the American newspaper ‘New York Times’, and from an interview to ‘The Financial Times’:

Афганистан лихорадит, и никто не может сказать, что будет там после вывода между-

народных сил. // *'Afghanistan is feverish, and no one can say what will happen after international forces withdraw.'*

А что касается Центрального банка, да, они последовательно занимаются **оздоровлением нашей финансовой системы**, с рынка сходят малоэффективные, либо вообще полукриминальные финансовые организации, и это, конечно, большая, сложная работа. // *'As for the Central Bank, yes, it is engaged in the gradual rehabilitation of our financial system: inefficient and weak companies, as well as semi-criminal financial organisations are leaving the market, and this is a large-scale complicated work.'*

At the end of the working sessions of state and government heads during the 'Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation' forum, V. Putin, answering a question about the impact of the United States on the economy of other countries, said:

Это ведущая экономика мира – Соединенные Штаты, и от того, как она будет развиваться, насколько успешно она будет решать стоящие перед ней проблемы, в том числе проблему очень большого государственного долга, будет зависеть в значительной степени **«здоровье мировой экономики»**. // *'The United States is a leading global economy, and global economic health will largely depend on its development and the resolution of problems it is facing, including the problem of a huge state debt.'*

Here are two examples from D. Medvedev's speech at a meeting, during which projects for the development of transport infrastructure in northern Russia were discussed.

Действительно, это важнейшая **артерия**, которая идет через весь Сахалин. Я думаю, что это абсолютно правильно – сделать эту дорогу нормальной, полноценной, естественно, заасфальтированной. // *'Indeed, this is the most important artery that runs through the entire Sakhalin. I think it is absolutely right to make this road normally, full-fledged, and, of course, paved.'*

The following phrase was stated by D. Medvedev at a press conference organised within the framework of the XXXI ASEAN (Association of South East Asian Nations) and the XII East Asian summits:

Действительно, за последнее время (и это не некоторые данные, это уже, так сказать, медицинский факт, это уже **диагноз**, который поставили экономические аналитики) экономика вошла в стадию роста. // *'Indeed, in recent years (and this are not some data, this is, so to speak, a*

medical fact, this is already a diagnosis made by economic analysts), the economy has entered the growth stage.'

Here is an example from Dmitry Medvedev's speech dedicated to the anniversary of Anatoly Sobchak:

Обращаясь к залу, он [А. А. Собчак] говорил о том, что так поступать нельзя, потому что это не соответствует Конституции и нашим советским законам. Это было удивительно, что политик цитирует закон, тем более тот закон, который ещё многие подвергали критике. И это была первая **прививка** от пренебрежения к праву. // *'Addressing the audience, he [Anatoly Sobchak] used to say that acting like that is not acceptable, as it does not comply with our Constitution and Soviet law. It was surprising to see a politician cite the law, especially the same one criticised by so many people. And this was the first inoculation against the disregard for the law.'*

In all (except the second, penultimate, and last) the textual examples, we observe the negative emotion of anxiety which is the weakest of the five categories of negative emotions listed above, and in the second, penultimate, and last examples, there is no emotion at all, there is only information.

Conceptual Sphere 'Culinary'

When D. Medvedev first visited Cyprus on an official visit (during his presidency), he used several 'culinary' metaphors in his speech:

Для нас очевидно, что попытки навязать здесь **готовые «рецепты»** или искусственный график межобщинных переговоров, а тем более – установление сроков их завершения и введение внешнего арбитража – контрпродуктивны. // *'It is clear that attempts to impose ready-made 'recipes' or artificial timetables of inter-communal talks, and, even more, setting deadlines for their completion and introduction of external arbitration are counterproductive.'*

Here is another example:

Цель импортозамещения в этой сфере – **насытить** рынок нашей продукцией, которая не уступала бы иностранной. // *'The goal of import substitution in this area is to satiate the market with our products, which will not be inferior to the foreign ones.'*

Let us discuss the 'culinary' metaphor used by Vladimir Putin on the eve of the G20 summit. During the interview to the representatives of 'The Financial Times' editor Lionel Barber and the head of the Moscow Bureau Henry Foy, he noted the following:

Реальные заработные платы – наверное, мы ещё затронем реальные заработные платы в России, которые тоже нуждаются в особом внимании со стороны Правительства России, – но в Соединённых Штатах средний класс не получил никаких преференций от этой глобализации, он остался в стороне при разделе этого «пирога». // ‘The middle class has not benefited from the real salaries (we are likely to talk later about real salaries in Russia, which need special attention from the government) during the globalisation in the US; people were left out when the ‘pie’ was cut.’

In this example, the word ‘pie’ is used not in its direct but figurative meaning defined in the New dictionary of the Russian language by T. F. Efremova as follows (Efremova, 2000):

1) *direct meaning*: a soft baked product made of rolled, usually yeast dough with a filling.

2) *sl., metaphorical meaning*: a source of material goods, means of profit.

In our opinion, in this context, the term also holds the meaning of ‘a single whole consisting of parts’. It is in this sense that it forms metaphors in phrases, such as ‘TV pie’, ‘tax pie’, ‘Polish pie’, etc., extracted from the text examples of the RNC (Russian National Corpus).

These examples, as well as those related to the previous conceptual sphere, contain the emotion of anxiety, which is the weakest of the five categories of negative emotions listed above.

Conceptual Sphere ‘Human’, ‘Language’

By the end of 2016, almost all the attention of the Western media was focused on the elections in the USA. At a meeting with journalists (October 17, 2016), V. Putin, speaking about Hillary Clinton’s attitude towards Russia, stated the following:

Госпожа Клинтон избрала такую агрессивную риторику и агрессивную позицию в отношении России. // ‘Mrs Clinton has chosen such an aggressive rhetoric and aggressive position against Russia.’

Successful metaphors evoke emotions and remain in human memory for a long time. Putin’s choice of expressions at the plenary session of the UN General Assembly in New York is also an important example to be taken into consideration:

Отмечу еще один симптом растущего экономического эгоизма. // ‘I would like to note one more sign of rising economic selfishness.’

And here is a similar metaphor from an interview with D. Medvedev:

Еще год, может быть, два года назад, когда мы встречались на коллегии, по большей части говорили о резком падении нефтяных цен, о ситуации идеального шторма, в котором оказалась наша экономика. // ‘A year or, perhaps, two years ago, when we met at the collegium, we mostly talked about the sharp fall in oil prices and the situation of our economy – the ‘perfect storm’.’

These textual examples also contain only the emotion of worry, which is the weakest of the five categories of negative emotions listed above.

The study of the rules of metaphorical representation of reality in modern political speech shows that nowadays, metaphorical models with initial conceptual spheres of ‘Theatre’ and ‘Game’ are more popular than, for example, ‘War’ or ‘Economy’. It is true that the ‘theatre’, as a rule, is presented as the ‘distribution and/or play of certain roles’. As for the ‘game’, it means mean chess, that is, a sport, a serious game, which is based on logic, the desire for mental and analytical activity, certain rules of foresight, but gambling, where there are ‘bets’, most often, a game of cards, where there are ‘trumps’, ‘aces’, ‘layouts’, etc. Now, we are going to discuss the relevant examples.

Conceptual Sphere ‘Game’

At the meeting with the heads of Russian print media and news agencies, within the framework of the day of journalism, V. Putin expressed the following idea:

Мы же с вами видим, понимаем, что российская карта разыгрывается во внутривнутриполитической жизни США. // ‘We all see and understand that the Russian card is being played in the US domestic politics.’

During the meeting (on March 26, 2020) organised for the representatives of business communities, V. Putin said:

Ваш объём увеличивается, поэтому вполне естественно, что вы снижаете ставку, так что пока это не такая уж сильная благотворительность. // ‘The volume is increasing, so it is quite natural that you are lowering the rate, so it is of no great charity yet.’

When asked by a journalist about who could have used chemical weapons in Syria, and how the head of the state assesses the situation in this regard, the following answer was given by Putin:

В этих условиях давать козырь тем, кто постоянно призывает к внешнему военному вмешательству, – просто дурь несусветная. // ‘In such conditions, the idea of giving a trump to those,

who are constantly calling for foreign military intervention is nonsense.'

The example below is from an article by Vladimir Putin, published in the American newspaper 'New York Times':

*Ведь в сознании миллионов людей на планете Америка все чаще воспринимается не как образец демократии, а как **игрок**, который **делает ставку** исключительно на грубую силу, сколачивая под конкретную ситуацию коалиции с лозунгом «кто не с нами – тот против нас». // 'After all, in the minds of millions of people on the planet, America is more often perceived not as a model of democracy, but as a **player** who **solely makes a bet** on the brute force, creating coalitions for a specific situation under the slogan "You're either with us, or against us".'*

In all these textual examples, even if we come across a negative emotionality, it is very mildly expressed, and again, it is the emotion of anxiety, that is, the weakest of the five categories of negative emotions mentioned above. Moreover, the emotional colouring of the entire metaphor is based on the negative connotations of the words in the source. These are, for example, the words *player* (in a game, a gambler who usually loses control), *bet* (the expected benefit, the subject of bargaining), any card terms, as they are associated with excitement and deception, in particular, the word *trump* (a card term denoting the strongest suit in a given round of the game), etc. It is worth mentioning that the last word from the examples we have given is often used in the modern political discourse and as an element of the language game, since the word *trump* in English sounds the same as the surname of the current president of the USA (Donald Trump).

Conceptual Sphere 'Theatre'

Here is an example from V. Putin's interview to 'The Financial Times' (June 2019):

*Думаю, что Россия здесь вообще не имеет никакого для них значения, потому что вот этот **театр, военный театр Европы**, вряд ли сейчас представляет какой-то большой интерес для Соединённых Штатов, несмотря на расширение НАТО и несмотря на увеличение натовских контингентов у наших границ. // 'I do not think Russia is of any importance for them in this case, as this **theatre, the war theatre in Europe**, is unlikely to be within the scope of interests of the US, despite the expansion of NATO and NATO's contingent near our borders.'*

And here is a textual fragment with a 'theatrical' metaphor from another interview with V. Putin:

*Мы не будем спешить с пересчётами и с внесением корректив в бюджет, потому что это влечёт за собой снижение объёма финансирования и социалки, и реального сектора, но Правительство, конечно, **готовит сценарии** на любой вариант развития событий. // 'We will not rush to recount and make adjustments to the budget, as this would lead to a reduction in the funding of both the social and real sectors; however, the government is, of course, working on **different development scenarios**.'*

In these textual fragments with metaphors belonging to the conceptual sphere 'Theatre', we again come across the emotion of worry, that is, the weakest of the five categories of negative emotions listed above, and these metaphors seem softer, more neutral than metaphors belonging to the conceptual sphere 'Circus', which is quite often used in speeches of the politicians.

Phraseological Units in Political Speech

We can conclude that the main purpose of using metaphors in political discourse is to increase the degree of value and clarity in their speech. Numerous phraseological units, proverbs, sayings, case names and other similar verbal means serve the same purpose. They often appear in the speech of politicians, including Vladimir Putin and Dmitry Medvedev, and we would like to present several noteworthy examples:

*Похоже, что наши американские партнёры опять **наступают на те же самые грабли**, на которые они наступали неоднократно. (В. Путин) // 'Our US partners seem to be again **burning their fingers twice**: they have done it for so many times.'* (V. Putin)

*Корпорацию «Америка» нужно **списать со счетов**. (Д. Медведев) // 'The corporation 'America' **should be discarded**'. (D. Medvedev)*

*Как и антигитлеровская коалиция, она могла бы сплотить в своих рядах самые разные силы, готовые решительно противостоять тем, кто, как и нацисты, **сеет зло** и человеконенавистничество. (В. Путин) // 'Similar to the anti-Hitler coalition, it could have united a broad range of parties willing to stand firm against those who, just like the Nazis, **spread evil** and hatred towards humankind.'* (V. Putin)

*И для меня очень важно **свернуть часы** с президентом Беларуси и по этим вопросам, включая вопросы интеграции на постсоветском про-*

странстве. (В. Путин) // 'It is very important for me to **synchronise our watches** with the President of Belarus on these issues, including integration in the post-Soviet space.' (V. Putin)

А, следовательно, не нужно считаться и с ООН, которая зачастую вместо того, чтобы автоматически санкционировать, узаконить нужное решение, только мешает, как у нас говорят, «**пугается под ногами**». (В. Путин) // 'And, therefore, we do not need to take into account the UN, which often, instead of automatically authorising and legalising the necessary decisions, only interferes in the affairs, as we say, '**gets in the way**.' (V. Putin)

Conclusions

Based on the analysis of the collected empirical data, which is presented in the work, we can draw the following conclusions:

1) in Russian modern political discourse, the most popular metaphors are those with the words of five conceptual spheres: 'disease', 'culinary', 'human', 'game' and 'theatre';

2) metaphors with the meaning 'poor health' are used more often than others: this, in our opinion, is associated with the unstable and ambiguous situation of the world economy and politics;

3) with the general negative emotionality of political discourse, the emotion of anxiety, the

weakest of the five categories of the negative emotions listed above, is the most frequent and textually expressed one.

4) in order to clearly and vividly characterise the current situation of instability as a state of 'disease', 'game', 'theatre', to demonstrate the concern for the 'wounds and sores' of the world community, it is very convenient to resort to such metaphors, which help to describe it more figuratively, clearly and expressively.

These conclusions, based on the analysis of the speeches of two presidents, in other words, politicians 'in power', seem to be true for any type of political discourse, since a politician, if he/she is a professional (in power or opposition), does not have the right for excessive emotionality of speech, as well as for expressing strong negative emotions (despair, fear, rage, etc.). Regardless of the situation and personal attitude to the events, he/she must be restrained, tolerant, and must build his/her speech logically and argumentatively. The emotional component of a politician's speech should only be expressed by the emotion of concern – the weakest negative emotion. Hence, there will be no '... emancipation in political discourse, often bordering on permissiveness and sometimes political rudeness' (Chudinov, 2009: 22). Modern politicians should be cautious about their language behaviour, as well as be able to learn to see the border between objective reality and veiled demagoguery.

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