

Criminal Rhetoric in Russian Political Discourse

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Introduction

The infiltration of the words of criminal origin into mainstream Russian usage has been widely commented on by Russian and Western scholars. This process has been described mainly within the framework of the contemporary stylistic changes: democratisation and liberalisation of the language norms, the expansion of the colloquial and sub-standard strata and the increase in the use of different types of slang in public speech (Elistratov, Kakorina, 1996, 79-84; Khimik, 2000; Mokienko, 1998; Ryzanova-Clarke, Wade, 1999, 116-118). In Russia, this phenomenon has also attracted a keen interest in the prescriptive field of *Iazykovaia Kul'tura* ('Language Culture'), and its popular new branch *Ekologiiia Iazyka* ('Language Ecology'). In these areas the stylistic shifts are seen as a sign of the impoverishment and pollution of the Russian language, of the deformity in its stylistic balance and even of the 'criminalisation' of minds (Medvedeva, Shishova, 1995, 32; Savel'eva, 2000, 71-81; Skvortsov, 1996). Skvortsov in his book *Ekologiiia slova* ('The Ecology of the Word') warns of the dangers of the 'jargonization', saying that: 'Общество в целом может не принимать картину мира, отраженную в воровском жаргоне. Но даже отдельные словечки и выражения, которые мы бездумно используем как экспрессивные, выразительные средства, могут нести в себе "заряд" психологии уголовного мира – "паханов", ... "шпаны"... "штырей", "сявок", "шестерок", и "стукачей"' 'Generally, society might not accept the worldview reflected in a thief's slang. But even the separate words and expressions that we inadvertently use as expressive, emphatic devices, can contain an element of the psychology of the criminal world...' (1996, 71). Although Skvortsov makes a tentative step towards the connection between the usage and what can be termed *cognitive structures* in determining the worldview, his conclusion is squarely within the prescriptive mode: 'Язык подонков и блатарей горзит стать уже нормой. Именно поэтому ему должна быть объявлена беспощадная война' 'The language of society's dregs and

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criminals threatens to become the norm'. It is because of this a merciless war must be declared on it.' (1996, 60).

Few scholars writing about the criminalisation of Russian, however, have commented on the metaphorical nature of the criminal language used in the public discourse and the present discussion is often limited by the objectives of thesaurus compilation (Baranov, Karaulov, 1994; Chudinov, 2001). The objective of this article is to examine the criminal metaphor in contemporary Russian political discourse, within the framework of Cognitive Sociolinguistics. Leaving aside the debate about whether Russian society should declare a war on criminal metaphors, this approach views metaphoric conceptualization as deeply rooted in socio-cultural contexts.

This study is based on the following theoretical paradigms:

1) The dynamic nature of the meaning (Langacker, 1987; Hawkins, 2001). Hawkins writes of meaning as of a dynamic phenomenon, 'a process of constructing understandings of people, events and texts' (2001, 32-33), as opposed to a meaning as an immutable structure. This concept best explains the present situation of Russian social meaning construction, which is constantly described as society is searching for its ideological bearings.

2) The cognitive view of the metaphor as a tool of construction and making sense of reality. The investigation of metaphor in connection with the social sphere has been at the forefront of modern cognitive metaphoric studies (Chudinov, 2001; Hawkins, 2001; Lakoff, Johnson, 1980; Lakoff, 1992; 1996; Musolff, 2000; Rohrer, 2001; Santa Ana, 2002). According to Lakoff, 'we use our conceptual system to function socially and to comprehend social life' (Pires de Oliveira, 2001, 37). Far from being seen merely as a figure of speech, metaphor is a specific mental mapping which has a strong effect on how people think and reason (Lakoff, Johnson, 1980; Gibbs, et. al, 1999; Cameron, Low, 1999). It works as a depository and a tool of our thinking about the nature of ideas, marshals culturally-valid emotions and attitudes and structures our opinions and beliefs. In relation to the political sphere, metaphor captures and frames, the culturally and socially determined schemata and stereotypes in which the world of politics is conceptualized.

3) The concept of the cognitive cultural model (CCM). This has been developed by such scholars as Quinn (1987), Gibbs (1999), Sweetser (1987; 1990); Lakoff and Kövecses (1987), Kövecses (1999), Emanatian (1999). In the field of Social Anthropology a major contribution has been made by Bradd Shore (1996). The Cognitive Cultural Model is a form in which the

community or a culture attempts to make sense of new experiences. 'Cultural models are a stack of tools, at once external and internal, social and cognitive. Models aid in the processing of information and in people's active construction of meaning out of the complex, diverse, and partial information they gather'. (Shore, *ibid.*, 68) In Gibbs's words, 'Cultural models are intersubjectively shared cultural schemas that function to interpret experience and guide action in a wide variety of domains including events, institutions and physical and mental objects.' (1997, 153).

The role of metaphors in the CCM is of paramount importance. The metaphor is considered to be one of the main tools of the construction and motivation of the CCM. According to Kovecses, 'metaphors largely constitute the cultural model' (1999:171). Shore comes to a similar conclusion singling out metaphor as a genre of the cultural model. (1996, 59)

This article argues that the criminal metaphor in contemporary Russian public discourse is a cognitive resource which the speakers employ in order to negotiate new meanings and make sense of the world around them. The cognitive connection between the criminal domain and the domain of politics is entrenched to a degree which suggests that the criminal metaphor constructs a new cognitive cultural model. Ultimately, the criminal metaphor becomes the determinant of the common sense world view of Russian politics. The criminal metaphor therefore functions as a depository of the cultural and social determined schemata and stereotypes in which the world of politics is conceptualized as the world of crime.

Criminal metaphor in the public discourse

A new meaning construction in the process of the emergence of the cultural model is connected with knowledge distribution and reconfiguring the socially – valid knowledge.

In order to address the questions of meaning construction and the CCM, the following issues are suggested for examination:

1. Systematicity
 - 1.1. The emergence of the criminal metaphor
 - 1.1.1. Two cognitive types of criminal metaphors in terms of the viewpoint
 - 1.2. The local textual systematicity
 - 1.3. The universal discursive systematicity across the public discourse
2. Types of rhetoric strategies in the use of the criminal metaphor:
 - 2.1. Constructing of the out-group and the distancing strategy

2.2. Association with the in-group and the ‘identification’ strategies’ (Khimik, 2000:24)

2.3. The ludic strategy

2.4. The model-based usage.

1.1. Chudinov observes that the metaphorical model of the criminal mapped on to the political, is one of the most dominant models of the last decade. (2000, 94) This observation is in line with findings of Ermakova et al. that Russian colloquial lexis with a criminal source of origin is characterised by the fullness of its semantic field. (1999, xii)

In his book, Chudinov presents a classification of frames (in our terminology, source spaces/domains). An amended version of Chudinov’s classification of the criminal metaphors is given below. This shows that the emergence of the metaphor of criminal activity is systematic across the source domain. The criminal model of metaphorization demonstrates a high level of productivity as well as a high level of specialization within the domain.

Source spaces (vehicles) in the construction of criminal metaphors with the target spaces of politics

a) criminals and their specialisation: гангстеры ‘gangsters’, шулеры ‘card-sharps’, бандиты ‘bandits’, рэкетеры ‘racketeers’, наперсточники ‘thimble rigger’, киллер ‘contract killer’, вор ‘thief’, вор в законе [thief in law] ‘experienced, authoritative thief, normally a gang leader’

Штатный кремлевский политолог-наперсточник создает в сети INTERNET молчаливое путинское большинство ‘The *thimble rigger* *politologist* on the Kremlin payroll sets up a silent Putin supporting majority on the Internet.’ (*Sakharov Congress*, 27.1.02);

b) criminal groups and their structure: банда ‘band’, шайка ‘gang’, семья ‘family’, мафия ‘mafia’, малина [raspberry] ‘criminals’ den’

Банду Ельцина – под суд! ‘Put on trial the Eltsyn’s gang!’ (a *Communist slogan*); Второй канал обслуживает *околокремлевскую малину* ‘Channel Two is servicing the Kremlin den’ (*Mikhail Poltoranin, Vesti, RTR TV Channel*, 12.9.97) *бандитский* передел собственности, *бандитский* строй ‘*bandit* redistribution of property, a *bandit* social formation’ (*Zavtra*, 24.4.01); Сегодня необходимо решить конкретную задачу. Нейтрализовать *шайку* космополитов, фактически продолжающую править страной, и выдвинуть из них *награбленные* деньги. ‘Now it is paramount to solve a concrete task. To neutralise a gang of enemies of Russian interests who in fact continue to rule the country and to squeeze out of them the *plundered* money.’ (*Slovo i delo*, 8.12.01)

c) hierarchy within the criminal gang: авторитет [authority], Engl.slang: ‘face’, ‘don’; подельник [co-doer] ‘accomplice’, пахан [father] ‘gang

leader', Eng. slang: 'top banana', 'top bollocks', крестный отец 'godfather', братан 'brother, in-mate, endearing address to the fellow gangsters', братва (collective) – 'brothers, members of the gang'

Чубайс со своими *подельниками*. 'Chubais and his *accomplices*' (*Utro.ru*, 26.6.02); Монарший гнев не мог погасить даже всемогущий друг и *подельник* – премьер. 'Even the all-powerful friend and *accomplice*, the Prime Minister, could not extinguish the monarch's anger.' (*Sergei Timofeev, Press Centre 31.5.00*); натовские *братки* 'the NATO's *brothers*' (*Zavtra*, 21.1.02); Посмотрите, кто в состав Совета Федерации входит? 70 процентов - все блатные, все *заворовавшиеся*. Там Миронов не может справиться, там им надо избрать *пахана*. 'Look at the make up of the Federation Council. 70 % are all with connections, all *thieves*. Mironov cannot contain them – one has to elect the *top banana*. (*Transcripts of the Duma proceedings*, 22.1.03)

d) victims of the crime, 'outside world': лох 'hustler's victim, Engl.-Amer. slang: jamoke', фраер

Вас, нас, *лохов*... *разводят*, надо отметить, тупо, но эффективно. 'I should note that us, *jamokes* are *deceived* bluntly but effectively' (B. Berezovsky, *Kommersant*, 10.4.01)

e) criminals' professional activity: красть, воровать 'to nick, steal', грабить 'to rob', крышевать [to roof] 'to run protection racket, lit to roof', English slang: to taxi; шулерствовать 'to card-sharp', заказывать [to order] 'to take out a contract'; мочить [to wet, soak] 'to murder' 'finish off', Engl.-Amer. slang: 'to cap', 'clip', 'trim', 'lay down'; разводиться [to bring apart] 'to involve in the hustler's game'.

Путин *крышевал* "Русское видео" 'Putin gave protection to Russian Video; (*Transcript of the National-conservative Party of Russia Forum* 22.12.02); яблочники *мочат* СПС The Iabloko Party people are *capping* the SPS (Union of the Right Forces Party) (*Echo of Moscow Radio channel*, 4.1.03); черноморские курорты *заказали* 'a contract has been taken out on the Black Sea resorts' (*Krest'ianin*, 12.12.02)

f) relationships within/between criminal groups, lifestyle: жить по понятиям [to live according to concepts] 'to obey the criminal code of behaviour', разборка [taking-apart] 'gang warfare, bust-up', наезд [on-drive] 'physical pressure, strong arm tactics', дать наколку [to give a tattoo] 'to give a hint, to betray', кидать [to throw] 'to deceive, to set up', беспредел [limitless-ness] 'violation of the criminal code of behaviour,'

‘a criminal group which sets itself aside from the others’, стукач [knocker] ‘informer, Eng. slang: grass, snitch; общак [common thing] ‘gangsters’ shared reserves’, Eng. slang: cush. Крутой наезд правительства на крупный бизнес ‘a radical *strong arm tactics* of the government used on big business’ (*RBC Daily*, 12.7.03) беспредел в стране ‘*lawlessness* in the country’, даются хорошие наколки для налоговиков ‘good *leads* are given for the tax inspectors’ (*Parlament-skaia Gazeta*, 169, 01), министерский общак ‘the ministerial *cush*’ (Stringer, 8.7.03), местные вассалы договариваются с Москвой *по понятиям* ‘local flunkies arrange with Moscow the *relationship according to concepts*’ (*Moskovskie Novosti*, 23, 03)

A detailed systematicity of the vehicle suggests an elaborate system of metaphoric reference use for a number of political situations, constructing the sense that Russian political activity is connected with crime while constructing politicians as criminals. The specific metaphoric instantiations are organised by the underlying conceptual metaphors MODERN RUSSIA IS A CRIMINAL SOCIETY and POLITICIANS ARE CRIMINALS.

1.1.1 There is however further scope for cognitive exploration of the criminal metaphor beyond Chudinov’s classification. In order to understand the CCM construction, it is instructive to analyse the metaphor from the position of the viewpoint of its cognitive arrangement.

In analysing the types of criminal metaphor, this article proposes the introduction of the notion of a social viewpoint, which is an extension of Ronald Langacker’s concept of the viewpoint (vantage point) in his discussion of spatial perspective. Taken further and applied to the socio-stylistic marking the viewpoint takes an important part in socially structuring the focal setting. Langacker comments on this relationship, again in connection with cognitive spatial grammar: ‘that the speaker (or hearer), by choosing appropriate focal ‘settings’ and structuring a scene in a specific manner, establishes a construal relationship between himself and the scene so structured.’ (Langacker, 1987,128). This perspective can be taken further and applied to the socio-stylistic setting, in this case the viewpoint becomes a cognitive tool of arranging and structuring the focal setting in terms of social coding.

The socially understood viewpoint is the focus of distinction between the two types of criminal metaphors. The first type maps what I would call *the unmarked input space*, containing usually non-metaphoric concepts of criminal activity, onto the political sphere. This model encodes the mainstream worldview whereby the mental eye is positioned outside the criminal cultural model. An example of such an unmarked

metaphoric conceptualization is the interview with the former Prime Minister of the first post-Soviet Russian government and the designer of the shock therapy policy, Egor Gaidar:

Interviewer - Насколько вас задевают разговоры о том, что Гайдар и его команда *разграбили* Россию?

Gaidar - Не задевают...К тому времени, как я возглавил правительство, я точно знал, что Россию *разграбили* до меня.

‘Interviewer -to what extent are you concerned by the talk that Gaidar and his team *have robbed* Russia?’

Gaidar -I am not concerned... By the time I headed the government I knew for sure that Russia *had been robbed* before me.’ (*Moskovskie Novosti*, 12, 2003)

The second and the more prominent type of the criminal metaphor is the marked metaphor. It has a more complex configuration and involves a metaphoric (or metonymic) input domain. The marked metaphor is often built on the primary metaphor (or metonymy) which belongs to the criminal gang argot. This in its turn is mapped onto the target space of the political concept.

This metaphor construction can be presented as a metaphorical blend with two input spaces and the socio-stylistic viewpoint (fig.1). The marked metaphoric projection has a high symbolic complexity as its it connects the referential space – a criminal concept - with the socio-stylistic space – which is the criminal language encoding the concept. The stylistic and socio-cultural schema, which the criminal input space evokes, is put into focus as it is projected onto the blended space. As a result, the marked metaphor positions the mental eye of the speaker (the viewpoint) within the criminal world itself. Although not all the structure from the criminal input space is mapped onto the target domain, the properties of the criminal schema map the overtones of intimacy and immediacy in relation to the criminal world. Ultimately the metaphorical blend transfers the cultural knowledge pertaining to the criminal cultural model onto the blended space, where the construction of the new meaning takes place. The marked criminal metaphors are therefore characterised by the inherited viewpoint which can be redirected by the rhetoric strategy employed by the speaker and in some cases carry the nuance of complicity with the criminal worldview it represents.

The following is an example of the marked criminal metaphor in the report of the local Kaliningrad newspaper *Kalinigradskaia Pravda* on

the visit of the then chairman of the Federation Council of the Federal Assembly, Sergei Mironov, to the region. In particular, the newspaper co-

ments that Mironov promised to support new legislation which would grant the free economic zone status to Kaliningrad and protect it from the government which tries to limit it.

Спикер в ответ пообещал, что он станет грудью на защиту не только безвизового транзита, но и Закона об Особой экономической зоне в Калининградской области, на который недавно вновь "наехало" правительство. (Калининградская правда 10.9.02)
 ‘In response, the Speaker promised that he would protect with his body not only the no-visa transit travel [to and from the Kaliningrad enclave – LRC] but also the legislation on the Special Economic Zone in Kaliningrad region, which recently the government *naekhala* [on-drove] *used strong arms tactics towards*.’ (*Kaliningradskaja pravda*, 10.9.02)

Mironov, or indeed the reporter who interprets Mironov’s words, conceptualizes the government as a body with criminal characteristics, it attacks the legislation like gangsters would attack a rival gang.

Figure 1.
 Conceptual integration in the metaphoric blend: **правительство наехало на закон**

Input space 1	Input space 2
Правительство ◇ Закон ◇ Activity: принимать закон (в первом/ втором чтении), вносить изменения, отменять ◇	criminal gang (банда) victim (жертва) наехать (оказать физическое силовое давление); manner: crudely and forcefully Viewpoint: Knowledge of the cultural frame and the (insular) language of the criminal world

Blended space

Правительство:
Goal: optimisation of the legal process, <> acts in an illegal, criminal way
Issues laws beneficial for the nation <> attacks, violates the legislation
acts crudely and forcefully
Viewpoint: Knowledge of the cultural frame and the (insular) language of criminal world

As Fig.1 demonstrates, the metaphor inherits the socio-cultural and stylistic elements of the source domain and thus its viewpoint; this translates into the world view of the speaker as the inside view of the events, i.e. the view from inside the criminal cultural model. The speaker pictures himself as the knower of the inside (and even insular) criminal knowledge.

The prominence of marked criminal metaphors in modern political discourse suggests that the criminal cultural schema is a salient, highlighted aspect of the conceptualization of politics. It should be mentioned though that the distinction between the two metaphorical types is gradual, and as the marked criminal metaphor acquires common currency, there might occur a shift in the viewpoint from the inside to the outside position in the conceptualized frame.

1.2 Textual systematicity and coherence. The cultural model constructed by the marked criminal metaphor is supported and reinforced at the level of textual systematicity. The text uses a cluster of metaphors of the same criminal marked type. The cohesion of the text produces an effect of a criminal mega-metaphor whereby the actions connected with the electoral campaign are mapped onto the images of criminal activity including bust-ups, cheating, murder and public humiliation. The world of politics in the text is conceptualised and structured within the criminal mode.

Below is a description of the electoral situation in Nizhnii Novgorod in June 2003:

этого округа очень сильного, почти проходного кандидата вице - мэра Мелешкина, и что Пугин - это тот человек, которого можно провести в Государственную Думу. Но в Нижнем все это выглядит по-другому. Сама идея выдвижения Пугина кандидатом в депутаты Государственной Думы даже для желторотых журналистов представляется как процедура “опускания авторитета”. (Электоральный рейтинг партий в Нижнем Новгороде на 15 июня 2003г *Polikuhnya.ru*, 08.05.03)

‘In 1999 the main attention was attracted to Avtozavodskii area because of the duel between Nemtsov and Vidiaev. This year everything can be different, but what is going on in the Avtozavodskii area still presents certain interest especially because of the Moscow *razboriki* [takings-apart] *bust-ups*. It is reasonable to imagine that the [president’s] representative Kirienko talked Deripaska and Remchuk into betting on Pugin. And it did not matter what papers he slipped them. What was important was that he *kinul* [threw] *cheated* them. It cannot be excluded that at that moment words were said that the [president’s] man is taking away from the region a very strong, almost passable candidate, the vice mayor Melleshkin, and that Pugin is that kind of person who can be brought to the State Duma. But in Nizhnii [Novgorod] all this looks different. Even hacks (journalists) who are wet behind their ears, see that the mere idea of Pugin’s nomination as a candidate for a Duma seat, is the procedure of *opuskaniia avtoriteta* [lowering the authority] *buggering the don.*’ (*Polikuhnya.ru*, 08.05.03)

1.3. Discursive systematicity. By its discursive systematicity, the criminal metaphor is understood to be a systematic and coherent method of expression across political discourse and even the discourse of the socio-cultural community. Criminal metaphors are used in newspapers, political interviews, parliament debates and even presidential speeches.

Through this discourse, relations between political groups are constructed as bust-ups between criminal gangs, economic policy and government budgets as robbery and muggings and sidelining a political opponent as bugging the gang leader. The universality of its occurrence can be shown on the few examples taken from the variety of public discourse genres.

Press:

а) Это вы, мои сограждане, после взрывов в Москве, после развязывания ненужной вам войны избрали этого президента! Это вы привели к власти государственных *рэкетиров*, которые распоряжаются вашей жизнью. Добровольно согласились на «*крышу*» спецслужб, которые, как раковая опухоль, проросли метастазами во все властные структуры.

‘You, my compatriots, after this war was unleashed which you did not need, elected this president! You brought to power the *state racketeers* who control your lives. You volunteered to have the *racket protection of the Secret Service*, who like cancer, spread into all the power structures.’
(*Novaia Gazeta*, 6.9.04)

б) Немцов “заказал” устранение Явлинского.

Nemtsov *zakazal* [ordered] *took a contract out on* Yavlinsky. (*Pravda*, 20.12.2000)

Television:

Суды по-прежнему продажны, губернаторы коррумпированы, и правоохранные органы бессильны во всех случаях, кроме тех, когда сотруднику этих самых органов надо *наехать на простого человека и вырвать ему кадык*.

‘As always, the judiciary can be bought and sold, the governors are corrupt and the law enforcing bodies are helpless except in the cases when they need to *use strong arm tactics* against an ordinary man and *kick the shit out of him*’ (Iu. Latynina, *There is an opinion*, TVS, 30.12.02)

Radio:

С. БУНТМАН – Господин Венедиктов, как Ваше мнение, почему “яблочники” сейчас в фаворе, а СПС *мочат*?”...

А. ВЕНЕДИКТОВ –... Голосование, которое проводили наши слушатели и зрители ТВС с разрывом в две недели, показало, что “яблочники” в фаворе у слушателей и зрителей. Но это не значит, что *мочат* СПС. Что касается т.н. *мочиловки* СПС, я думаю, это Вы путаете с РАО ЕЭС, обсуждение реформ РАО ЕЭС.

С. БУНТМАН – Или, если Вам кажется, что если в разных местах намерение голосований по электронным опросам говорит далеко не в пользу СПС, то это уже происходит какое-то *кровавое мочилово*.

А. ВЕНЕДИКТОВ – Я думаю, что об этом должны задуматься руководители данных партий, вот и все.

‘S. Buntman: Mr Venediktov, what’s your opinion: why at the moment are the Iabloko [Party] members in favour and the SPS (The Union of the Right Forces) are *being capped*?’

A. Venediktov: ...The opinion poll which we conducted among out listeners and viewers of the TVS, with a two weeks’ gap, showed that the listeners and views favoured the Iabloko members. But this does not mean that the *SPS is being capped*. In connection with the so called *capping* of the SPS, you are confusing it with the EES (The Single Energy System) Ltd and the discussion of its reforms.

S. Buntman: Or perhaps if you feel that the respondents in the electronic polls are not disposed towards SPS, does it mean that *some bloody capping* is taking place?

A. Venediktov I believe that the leaders of these parties just have to ponder over this, that’s all.’

(A. Venediktov and S. Buntman, *Echo of the week, Echo of Moscow, 4.1. 03*)

The State Duma:

Памфилова Э.А. Я хочу добавить еще, что в конце концов Счетная палата превратилась в *политического киллера* по сведению счетов фракции КПРФ. Проходят только запросы со стороны фракции... (Стенограмма заседания Гос Думы, 12.2 .99)

Pamfilova, MP: I would also like to add that the Auditing Chamber has turned into a *politicheskii killer* ‘*political contract killer*’ which assists balancing the Communist faction’s scores. (*Transcripts of the State Duma proceedings, 12.2.99*)

Speech of top statesmen:

As a famous example, it is worthwhile mentioning Vladimir Putin’s notorious promise given during one of his interviews when he was still a Prime Minister. Speaking in the capacity of the prime minister, he answered the journalist’s question regarding his reaction to the Chechen war using a criminal metaphor:

Мы будем преследовать террористов везде: в аэропорту – в аэропорту, вы меня извините, в туалете поймает – мы их *в сортире замочим*. ‘

We will pursue terrorists everywhere: if at an airport, then it will be at an airport, and excuse me for the phrase, if we catch them in the toilet, we will *cap them in the bog*'. (V. Putin, interview, 16.9.1999)

All three types of systematicity: the systematicity of the input domain, textual and discursive systematicity, demonstrate that the established cognitive connection between the world of politics and the world of criminal activity, has reached the entrenched state of the schema, or in other words the CCM.

2. The second line of suggested inquiry is to examine the rhetorical strategies of the criminal metaphor. An analysis of the contexts of metaphoric use reveal the typical social situations which trigger the activation of this cultural model. The rhetoric strategy analysis can also test the level of entrenchment of the CCM. The final level of entrenchment can be expected when the criminal metaphor is used automatically in any political context and is and is extrapolated to new contexts.

The most typical rhetorical strategies for the use of the criminal metaphor are:

2.1. Constructing the out-group. This is the ideological strategy which is used as part of the so called *ideological square* (van Dijk, 1998, 267). According to van Dijk, the ideological square rules require to 'express/emphasize information that is positive about US and express/emphasize information that is negative about THEM. Suppress/de-emphasize information that is positive about THEM and suppress/de-emphasize information that is negative about US' (ibid). The criminal metaphor is thus used to refer to the activity and attributes of the out-group with the intent to emphasise their negative quality. In this way, this is also a distancing strategy, whose cognitive role in Conelia Illie's words, is to maximise the cognitive difference with the out-group (2002, 42).

A number of examples shown before can be placed in this category. For instance, Ella Pamfilova's turn in the Duma is quintessentially party political. It constructs the Auditing Chamber and by proxy the Communist Party which according to Pamfilova controls the Chamber, as criminal. Her metaphor maps the image of the contract murderer onto her definition of the out-group, turning it into demonisation (fig.2).

Figure 2

Conceptual integration in the metaphorical blend: **Счетная палата превратилась в политического киллера** ‘the Auditing Chamber has turned into a contract murderer’

Target domain Счетная палата ‘Auditing Chamber’ \diamond	Source domain политический киллер ‘political murderer’
Function: acts impartially \diamond	Damages the (political) opponent of the hirer

The blended space:

The actions of the Auditing Chamber violate the law and are directed at neutralising the opponent (in a criminal way).

When this strategy employs marked metaphors, projecting the criminal cultural model, the viewpoint can be either directed at the subject or can be dispersed and multi-focal, showing that the speaker and presumably the hearer, are the knowers of the model.

2.2. It has been observed that metaphor usage characterises the speaker no less than it characterises the subject. Criminal metaphors can also be the means of identification of the speaker with the in-group. ‘Identification’ strategies demonstrate belonging to the in-group and as a signal of it, the knowledge of the ‘coded’ language. These include strategies of threat, or other aggressive speech behaviour, the use of tough or macho language. The cognitive task here is to minimise the cognitive distance between the speaker and the referent. The employment of identification strategies evokes a romantic image of a speaker as a rogue, an adventurer, a courageous action man. The viewpoint position of the marked metaphors is directed onto the speaker, who is a knower, a controller and a promoter of the criminal cultural model.

An example of an identification strategy is an excerpt from a bugged conversation between the Leader of the Union of the Right Forces

Party Boris Nemstov and Anatolii Lebedko, the leader of the Belorussian opposition to President Lukashenko. The conversation reveals the conspiracy hatched within the Russian authorities to depose Lukashenko as well as expressing opposition to the idea of the creation of the new Union between Russia and Belarus. Among other things Boris Nemstov says:

Умерло это, лукашизм в союзных отношениях — это смерть и для вас, и для нас. Это консервация его режима с закреплением статуса на уровне союзного государства.... Кому это надо?.. Сейчас надо его *мочить* его же оружием. Значит, так, *друган*, ты кричал про союз? Ты против союза. Вот мы предлагаем режим европейской интеграции, ты против европейской интеграции....

‘It is all dead, Lukashism in the Union relations is dead, it is death for both, you and us. This would be a preservation of his regime while elevating its status to the level of the Union. Who needs this? We must *mochit’* [wet] *cap* him with his own weapon. You, pal, shouted about the Union? You are against the Union. Here we are offering a regime of European-[type] integration. You are against the European-[type] integration. (*Sovetskaia Rossiia*, 3.9.02)

2.3. The ludic rhetoric strategy. This strategy includes playful contexts, jocular speech behaviour and what has been called (by Kostomarov, following Bakhtin) *the carnivalization* of the language (Kostomarov, Burvikova, 2001, 6). This language carnivalization in the last decade started as a reaction to radical changes and crises affecting Russian society. Criminal metaphors play an active role in bringing in stylistic clashes, creating irony and, sometimes, the air of cynicism and permission to speak, in Kostomarov’s words ‘и о серьезном несерьезно, с шуткой и весело’ (‘even about the serious – not seriously, jokingly and funnily’) (ibid, 9). The ludic strategy does not contradict other strategies, rather it often overlaps, thereby supplementing them. It too contributes to the new meaning construction and creation of the cultural model, with the specific pragmatic shift in the attitudinal, evaluative aspect. The criminal metaphor plays the role of a language mask, which is typical for the carnival mentality.

Contemporary Russian public discourse is saturated with examples of the ludic strategy in the use of criminal metaphors. It is especially visible when it accompanies the play on words as in the following example, where the criminal metaphor is extended by the word formative device, where the prefix *до-* is added to the verb *мочить*, yielding the meaning ‘to take the action named by the verb, to its end’.

Гостев Р. Г., фракция Коммунистической партии Российской Федерации. Я думаю, что будет правильно, если мы расширим тогда понятия: каким образом Владимир Владимирович Путин борется с терроризмом внутри нашей страны? Это будет очень существенный момент, потому что "*мочим*", "*мочим*" и никак не "*домочим*".

‘R.G. Gostev, the Russian Federation Communist Party Faction: I think that it would be right to expand our notions: in what way is Vladimir Putin fighting terrorism within our country? This will be an essential question because we are continually *capping* but never *cap to the end*’. (*Transcripts of the State Duma proceedings*, 19.9.01)

In the next example, the metaphoric construction is emphasized by its telescopic use within a phraseological unit:

Куда едет “крыша России под название ФСБ”? ‘Where is Russia’s *protection racket* called the FSB going?’ (*Novaia Gazeta*, 27.8.01)

2.4 Finally there is the usage based on the constructed model. The model based usage reveals a conception of the system of norms accepted as common sense reality. It is a state of naturalisation’ and conventionalisation of the criminal metaphor, whereby the schematization of the cognitive connection has achieved what according to Shore, is ‘lending an ineffable sense of familiarity that members of a community take for granted’ (1996, 366).

New meaning construction employs analogical schematizing. (Shore, 1996, 363) As Shore shows, several types of schematizing take place in a culture. The movement of individual examples of criminal metaphors to the established schema underlying a stable cognitive connection - the analogy between politics and criminal life - fits what he terms the accommodation pattern of mapping from cases to models and schemas (ibid, 167). The process is two way however, and the constructed cultural model and the underlying foundational schema in their turn also affect further metaphoric development.

A pure case of the model based usage might not be easy to pinpoint. In the ideal case criminal metaphors would be used automatically in a political context as a natural choice of language expression. In real speech situations, rhetoric strategies coincide and overlap, however the presence of any other strategy does not exclude the model based usage. The dominant position of the cultural model is quite visible in the examples where the use of criminal metaphors is extrapolated to other political environments in addition to Russian politics. For example, in discussing the controversy between the British government and BBC about Andrew Gilligan’s report on the government’s misleading dossier on Iraq, a *Rossiiskaia Gazeta* report uses the criminal metaphor *наехать*.

Блэр *наехал* на Би-би-си. Но ее руководители отказались извиняться перед премьером
‘Blair used strong arms tactics on the BBC. But the station’s bosses refuse to apologize before the Premier.’ (*Rossiiskaia Gazeta*, 9.7.03)

Another example is the discussion at a State Duma parliamentary session of the position of the Olympic Committee towards Russia. The Olympic Committee is conceptualized by the Duma deputies, Alksnis and Shishkarev as a criminal gang, and the supposed discrimination of Russia as murder organised by the gang, and the deputies suggest acting accordingly by getting involved in a gang flight:

Алкснис В. И., депутатская группа "Регионы России (Союз независимых депутатов)". Я хотел бы уточнить. Как вы считаете, это просто позиция Международного олимпийского комитета или же это вообще отношение к России, как к государству, которое сегодня находится в очень сложном положении, поэтому можно ее, извините за грубое выражение, *мочить по всем направлениям*?

Шишкарёв С. Н. Можно *и мочить, и чморить* - как угодно, можно термины подбирать любые. Я думаю, что через призму поведения Международного олимпийского комитета наблюдаются некие тенденции по отношению к России. Я бы очень не хотел, чтобы эти тенденции получили какое-либо развитие. Именно поэтому очень уместно сегодня подобное постановление принять, а дальше, раз мы на такую терминологию перешли, *учинить очень серьезное разбирательство* по этому поводу на международном уровне.

‘V.I. Alksnis, Regions of Russia Deputy Group (The Union of Independent Deputies): I would like to clarify: what do you think, is this just a position of the International Olympic Committee or a general attitude towards Russia as a state which today is in a difficult position and therefore one can, excuse my language, *cap it in all directions*?

Shishkarev: One can *cap or finish off* – you can choose any term. I think that through the prism of behaviour of the International Olympic Committee some predisposition against Russia can be seen. I would not like this tendency to be developed any further. It is be-

cause of this, that it is important today to pass a resolution and then, since we have adopted such terminology, to arrange a serious bust-up about this at the international level. (*Transcripts of the State Duma proceedings*, 1.11.01)

Russia's economic relationship with the outside world is constructed with the use of the criminal metaphor as a criminal con trick of which Russia is a gullible victim:

В стране "реальных пацанов", "чисто конкретных" деляг и великих комбинаторов только отечественная дипломатия выглядит совершеннейшим "лахом", коему невдомек максима, доступная еще монтеру Мечникову, рожденному талантом И. Ильфа и Е. Петрова: "Утром деньги - вечером стулья".

'In the country of 'real guys' 'boys who talk business' and great adventurers, only Russian diplomacy looks like a complete *jamoke*, who is not aware of the truth, known to [the famous] Mechnikov the Electrician (created by the talent of the writers Ilf and Petrov), which says 'the money first and the goods later'. (*Moskovskie Novosti*, 4, 02)

These examples show that when confronted with new politically-valid experiences (Blair's relationship with the BBC, Russia's relationship with the Olympic committee etc) members of the Russian culture community marshal the existing cognitive cultural model, framed by the criminal metaphor in order to make sense of events and construct new meaning. Considering the cognitive distinction between the base and the profile, and following Alan Cienki, the cultural model can be seen as a base, while the metaphors as the profiles against it (1999).

To conclude, the criminal metaphor is actively engaged in reflecting and also constructing the post-Soviet Russian worldview. The body of evidence provided suggests that criminal metaphors are presently deeply ingrained in the conceptual frames of the Russian political discourse and are used within the rhetorical norm. Cognitive connections between the criminal and the political domains occur because this is the most optimal tool for the language community of conceptualization and negotiation of the new reality and making sense of it. In Shore's words, 'the mind is an opportunistic meaning constructor, and the contingent linguistic resources at the disposal of a society are 'used in a whole variety of ways by people as they seek to transform the unsteady flow of their lives into pockets of significance' (1996, 369-70). Lakoff once said that 'changing our ordinary metaphors is a way of changing our world view' (Oliveira, 2001, 41). The Russian criminal metaphor is the ultimate proof of these words.

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