

## Western Media Perception of the Spy Swap 2010: What Metaphors Construe

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**Abstract.** This paper aims to analyse the cognitive perception of the spy swap (July 8–11, 2010) in the British and American media by reconstructing metaphorical frames and examining their implications. For that purpose, more than thirty British and American press sources were collected and analysed in the theoretical framework of cognitive linguistics (i.e., the Pragglejaz Group's MIP (Metaphor Identification Procedure)). A cognitive linguistic approach has largely found its niche in critical metaphor analysis and now can be identified in the works of Lakoff, Fauconnier, Charteris-Black, Chilton, Mussolf, Koller, Goatly etc. The Pragglejaz Group's MIP was employed as a research tool to identify metaphorical expressions in the selected texts. The main principle of the procedure is to identify the contextual and basic meanings of the selected expressions and decide whether these two meanings contrast but can be understood in comparison with each other. If yes, the expression is marked as metaphorical. The research findings reveal that the reconstructed frames of the BUSINESS, RELATIONSHIP and MORALITY metaphors in the collected sample evoke the media perception of rational diplomacy in the US-Russia relations. This gives evidence to the fact that despite deeply entrenched cognitive model of pragmatism on the part of Russia and the US (*world Superpowers*), Western media perceives rational politics as more acceptable thus morally right.

**Key words:** *metaphor themes, modern politics, spy swap 2010, news media, rationalism.*

*Metaphors cannot be seen or touched, but they create massive effects*

(George Lakoff, 2006).

### Introduction

Critical metaphor analysis in the theoretical framework of cognitive linguistics and conceptual metaphor theory has gained significant ground in critical discourse analysis. Indeed, this approach to metaphor analysis has been practically implemented in the discourse studies of media, politics, business, philosophy, education etc. (e.g., Johnson, 1993; Jensen, 2006; Lakoff, 1996; Chilton, 2004; Koller, 2004; Goatly, 2007; Charteris-Black, 2011; Musolf, 2008). Such analysis as CMA is based on the principle that metaphorical expressions allow us to restore the underlying construal operations, which are ideological in nature. Metaphor is thus seen as one of the main construal operations identified in Cognitive Linguistics (Croft, Cruse, 2004).

In this article, I analyse the role metaphors play in shaping the media perception of the US-Russia relationship in terms of the spy swap 2010. I then shortly overview how metaphors popularize public opinion and construe social realities through social and moral implications (section 2). In the following section, I outline how the research data was collected and analysed and what the research findings are (section 3). In the following three sections, I describe the research findings by illustrating metaphorical expressions of the BUSINESS (section 4), RELATIONSHIP (section 5) and MORALITY (section 6) metaphors and discussing their implications. Finally, I conclude with some summary remarks (section 7).

### What Metaphors Popularize and Imply

Metaphors play a decisive role in shaping public opinion. Social and political problems, for instance, gain wide public attention through such distinguished metaphorical expressions as oil spill, ozone hole, Home Office cock-ups,

war on terror, financial crisis etc. Metaphors help people to visualize problems that otherwise may remain invisible. Metaphors involve understanding of one domain of experience in terms of another domain of experience (Lakoff, 2001; 2003; 2006; 2011; Croft, Cruse, 2004; Kövecses, 2002; Mussolf, 2008). The former domain is generally more abstract, while the latter is more specific (Croft, Cruse, 2004; Lakoff, 1996; Kövecses, 2005; Chilton, 2005). Such metaphorical mappings (i.e., ABSTRACT IS SPECIFIC/TARGET DOMAIN IS SOURCE DOMAIN) allow people to understand and visualize global problems better, that is in a more perceptive manner. The specific domains, which are mapped onto abstract domains, provide people with a broader set of images, expectations and explanations.

Metaphors thus are effective tools of cultural and social popularization, as they offer perspectives on different issues such as economics, politics, philosophy, morality, education, mathematics, biotechnology, emotions etc. (Turner, 2001; Lakoff and Johnson, 1999; Lakoff, 2001; 2006; 2011; Hellsten, 2002; Kövecses, 2002; Goatly, 2007; Johnson, 1993). These perspectives have wide social, political and moral implications. The implications arise due to the conflated construction of metaphorical meaning, which for the most part remains invisible thus goes unobserved. In this view, such basic mental operations as identity, integration and imagination are 'the key to both the invention of everyday meaning and exceptional human creativity' (Fauconnier and Turner, 2002, p.4). Conceptually metaphor is built on the operation of the afore-mentioned mental operations. Let me give you several examples of linguistic metaphors and their social implications and consequences.

Consider the linguistic metaphor of computer virus, which involves the mapping of two conceptual networks: the frame of biological virus (i.e., specific/ source domain) is mapped onto the frame of manufactured product — computer

(i.e., abstract/ target domain). As Gilles Fauconnier and Mark Turner explain (2002, p. 275):

This invention arose from two unconnected situations. In the first, hackers caused mischief by writing software code that interfered with the operation of computers. In the second, biologists and complexity theorists wrote programmes like *The Blind Watchmaker* to simulate the evolution of organisms on computers. The hacker scenario led to the initial, relatively thin blended concept of *computer virus*.

This metaphor has the following implication: a machine is conceived as a human being which can have health problems. The consequence of the metaphor MACHINE IS A HUMAN BEING can be traced in the emergence of a new profession — computer health maintenance providers and a new computational concept — artificial life (Fauconnier and Turner, 2002, p. 275).

Another example of social, cultural and moral implications retrieved by metaphors is Darwinian projection of evolutionary theory onto business and science (Baskerville and O'Grady, 2007). The metaphor of survival of the fittest provides with a shared understanding of ongoing competition and succession of the fittest both in business and science. As based on this assumption, it is observed that 'those cultures, human artefacts or social processes that survive show essential characteristics of fitness' (Baskerville and O'Grady, 2007, p. 8). The consequence of this metaphor is expressed through reassurance and hope to succeed even among such unnatural human artefacts as hyped-up dot.com companies in the information technology industry. Even more, such perception allows one to morally justify any means that are used for successfully achieving the ends in order to survive economic or academic competition.

All this considered, it is due to claim that metaphor analysis 'provides new insights into the sociological questions of power and ideology' (Hellsten, 2002, p. 9). Fairclough (2001; 2003) assigns much importance to the power-language relationship in discourse (i.e., immediate communicative contexts, e.g., face-to-face encounters) and behind discourse (institutionalized communicative contexts). In this regard, metaphor analysis in media discourse provides evidence of the existing power-holders whose perspectives and ideology are being presented. As noted by Fairclough, in most cases there is the case of media power relations of a mediated sort between power-holders and the mass of the population (2001, p.43). Appropriately, these mediated relations of power include the class relations, where the media implicitly expresses and reproduces the power of the dominant class and the dominant expectations of that class. This view is supported by Fairclough (2003) and Wodak (1985) who claim that (1) power relations are discursive, (2) discourse does ideological work, and (3) discourse is a form of social action. Van Dijk, on that basis, distinguishes various resources, which are used to exercise power; in case of media political discourse, power is exercised on the basis of knowledge, information or authority (1991, p.355).

The media discursiveness can be analysed by reconstructing metaphorical patterns, which reflect on the patterns of thought and social practices. As Andrew Goatly puts it:

Knowledge of the world is mediated through perception, cognition and language/ discourse. However, meaning and cognition certainly is grounded in our interaction of a real world and we do experience this real world, especially through the material consequences of our actions. Although we have no direct knowledge of this world, we develop those metaphorical models and categories which are positively adaptive to our environment, both physical and, hopefully, social, too. They are tested against experience, through feedback, and if the models and categories are more or less true they promote our physical and social survival and well-being. If these models are wrong we become sick, endangered, or fail to survive (Goatly, 2007, p. 33).

This paper aims at remodelling the media perception of the spy swap with the purpose to see how one of the today unacceptable method of Cold War — spying — is dealt with in the Western media. The metaphorical models are due to reveal what kind of experiences are right or wrong in modern politics and what they imply.

### **The Case Study of the Spy Swap 2010: What, How and Why?**

On July 8–July 10, 2010 British and American press marginalized with such headlines as *US considered spy swap before arrest of Russian agents*, *U.S.-Russia spy swap goes off without a hitch*, *Spies swapped in Vienna are flown to Russia and the US*, *Russian Scientist Reportedly Released in Spy Swap with US* etc. All these and other press sources vividly described a political and diplomatic drama of the spy exchange on July 9 in Vienna. Such dramatic perspective was explained by the incredibility of this diplomatic occurrence. As noted by the Reuters news agency, 'Spy swaps have precedence in East-West relations, especially during the Cold War' (July 8). BBC describes this event as 'the biggest spy swap since the Cold War' (July 9). Naturally, the broad coverage of this political issue gave rise to the following specific questions as below:

- Which metaphor themes underlie the perception of the spy swap 2010 in the selected sources of British and American press?
- How does their linguistic realization characterize political and social cognition of Russia-America relationship from the perspective of the selected British and American media?
- What are the moral implications of these metaphors in a British and American public debate (i.e., media political discourse)?
- What patterns of political roles and statuses can we see within the restored metaphorical framework and how do they connect to the pattern of the identified lexis (linguistic metaphors)?

To address these questions, metaphorical expressions have to be located and reconstructed into metaphorical themes. Metaphors thus serve as a vantage point where politics and media intertwine. To be clearer, the use of linguistic metaphors (and the restored metaphorical frames) in the media demonstrates the nature of general expectations raised of contemporary political actions: what kind of political thought is to be right or wrong, and what kind of political act is to be right or wrong. Thus the primary goal is to consider the interplay between politics and the mass

media in constructing cognitive images of the US-Russia relations from the perspective of critical metaphor analysis while analyzing the case of the spy swap.

The Pragglez Group's MIP (2007) was applied to the collected data. Metaphorical expressions were located and analysed in the following direction: text > metaphorical expressions [contextual meaning vs. basic meaning = conflation] > conceptual metaphor [TARGET IS SOURCE] > implications. Pragglez Group's MIP (2007) was employed as a research tool to identify metaphorical expressions in the selected texts. The main principle of the procedure is to identify the contextual and basic meanings of the selected expressions and decide whether these two meanings contrast but can be understood in comparison with each other (2007, p. 9). If yes, the selected expression is marked as metaphorical. For example, one of the most frequent verbs used in reference to politicians and their actions is *struggle*, as in the statement below:

(1) BBC News, 11 June 2012

Politicians have been struggling to find a permanent solution to the financial crisis afflicting the eurozone, and have yet to come up with one that all the member states can agree upon.

In this context, *struggling* indicates effort, difficulty or lack of success in achieving a goal, namely managing the financial crisis in the EU. By contrast, the basic meaning of the verb to struggle is to use one's physical strength against someone or something, as in She picked up the child, but he struggled and kicked. The contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning but can be understood by comparison with it: we can understand abstract effort, difficulty and conflict in terms of physical effort, difficulty and conflict.

For that purpose the following British and American online sources were accessed and retrieved for further analysis as follows: BBC News, The Economist, The Daily Mail, The Guardian, The Reuters, The Associated Press, The New York Times, CNN News, Voice of America. Despite the fact that the spy-swap took place between Russia and the U.S., Britain also played a pivotal role in the exchange: the two scientists — Igor Sutyagin and Sergey Skripal, jailed in Russia for spying for Britain, were on the spy list for the exchange. Appropriately, the perspectives of both British and American media are significant while restoring the metaphorical models. The articles were selected as based on the following principles: (1) the immediate and easy access to the news media sources provided by the Google search engine was checked, (2) the timeline — the articles in the time span of four days [July 8–July 11] were selected.

The analysis resulted in 187 metaphorical expressions which were reconstructed into three major metaphorical models: SPY SWAP IS BUSINESS, SPY SWAP IMPROVES RUSSIA-U.S. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIP and SPY SWAP IS A MORAL POLITICAL ACT. Their analysis allowed to restore the cognitive system of rational diplomacy underlying US-Russia relations, as perceived by the British and American media. Although this model implies war-like competitiveness (pragmatism) between Russia and the U.S., it popularizes the principles of

rational political thought (rationality). The restored metaphorical models can be schematically related in the following way, as in the Figure below:

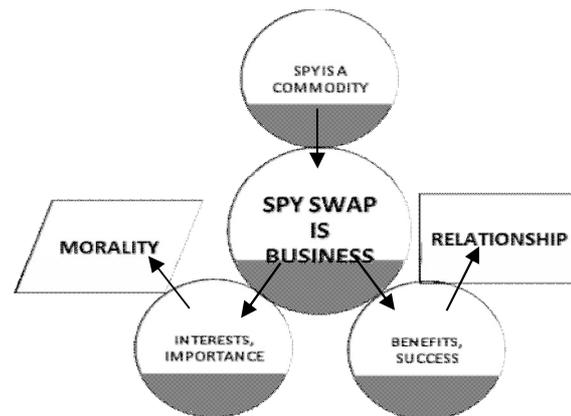


Figure 1. Inter-relations of BUSINESS.

The analysis of the metaphorical expressions reveals that the reconstructed metaphorical model of SPY SWAP IS BUSINESS plays a central role with its submetaphor of SPY IS A COMMODITY and highlighted elements (interests, importance/ benefits, success) directly related to the metaphors of SPY SWAP IS A MORAL POLITICAL ACT and SPY SWAP IMPROVES US-RUSSIA RELATIONSHIP.

**What the BUSINESS Metaphor Uncovers**

The reconstructed BUSINESS metaphor is a complex conceptual network whereby a political activity, in our case — spy swap, is perceived as a commercial exchange or transaction. This exchange aims to, firstly, protect the interests of both sides (i.e., Russia and the US) and, secondly, bring certain political benefits or *dividends* to both participants of the exchange. In other words, the identified lexis of the BUSINESS metaphor allows us to see the spy swap as a well-calculated, rational *business* plan aiming at protecting political interests and benefitting, consider the metaphorical expressions below:

~ the *interests* of both sides, to *trade* spies, the spies would be *exchanged under a tit-for-tat deal*, The Russian-American spy swap *deal*, *spy exchange rate*, the nuances of the *deal*, obtaining a *bargaining chip* to *trade* for Russian prisoners, to *facilitate such a trade*, a swap appeared to have the most *benefit* to the United States, little could be *gained* from locking up the Russian agents for years, U.S. *got better deal* in spy swap, Washington could *benefit* more from *using them for barter*, *put little on the table*, *bargain too softly*, *one-for-one exchange*, Britain has a direct *interest* in Skripal, Britain and the US *got more* out of the spy swap than Russia, Britain and US have *better deal*, U.S. intelligence equities and policy considerations *at stake*, the United States almost never *brokered swaps*, to make a *trade*, an *exchange* would have some *advantages* for the Obama administration, the two sides had *reached a final agreement*, *negotiating an exchange*, Russian and American officials *traded prisoners*, Moscow *agreed to the deal*, *sealing (make an agreement) the deal* on July 3, it showed the defendants and the Russians that *we've got the goods* etc.

As seen from the instances above, the media perception of the spy swap in terms of a commercial transaction unveils another metaphor of SPY IS A COMMODITY. The depersonification of spies leads to an interesting observation: spying is generally accepted as morally wrong though its wrongness is balanced by the political significance of the exchange, as noted by the media. Spies thus are seen as *goods* or *assets* that are directly transferred from one entity (the US) to another (Russia). To illustrate this, consider the statements below:

- (2) The Guardian, 9 July 2010  
Because they were not *high-value assets* in Russian foreign intelligence, the deep-cover agents were not expected to get a heroic welcome in Moscow.
- (3) The Economist, 8 July 2010  
But since the Russian agents had never penetrated the U.S. government, it seemed Washington *could benefit more from using them for barter* than as prisoners to be locked up for years.
- (4) The New York Times, 9 July 2010  
It showed the defendants and the Russians that *we've got the goods*.

In (2) the Russian spies are metaphorically referred to as *assets*, the basic meaning of which 'items of ownership having exchange value', discloses the commercial nature of the US-Russia relationship. In other words, the swapped spies are perceived as objects of commercial exchange which might bring a potential profit to their so-called *traders*. Similarly in (4), spies are lexicalized in terms of *goods*, the basic meaning of which is a related to 'articles of trade, merchandise'. Such depersonification of spies diverts attention from the amorality of spying but rather draws our attention to the significance of the exchange.

In addition, the significance of the spy swap is developed and supported by such metaphorical expressions as 'the biggest spy swap since the Cold War' or 'one of the biggest espionage exchanges in decades'. Therein he restored metaphor of IMPORTANT IS BIG, whereby big means important, leads to the ideological implication that this very important exchange demonstrates the interplay of political powers between Russia and the US and the importance of pragmatic values in the diplomatic relations of the two countries. Even more the significance of this event is articulated by the metaphor SUCCESS IS SPEED which is closely related to the metaphor of SPY SWAP (AS A POLITICAL EVENT) IS BUSINESS. As much as business is competitive, its success depends on the progressiveness (speed) of made decisions. Considering the fact that the decision *to swap spies* was speedy it is also perceived as competitively successful for both countries, e.g.:

- (5) The New York Times, 9 July 2010  
Russian and American officials *traded prisoners* in the bright sunlight on the tarmac of Vienna's international airport, bringing to a quick end an episode that had threatened to disrupt relations between the two countries.
- (6) The New York Times, 9 July 2010  
But they described a fast-moving sequence of events after the arrests in which both sides scrambled (move around quickly) *to reach an agreement*, even to the

point of Russian officials' offering money and *other benefits* to encourage one of their sleeper agents to *consider the deal*.

The accomplishment of the spy swap as successful raises another question: which party has benefited from the deal? The analysis of the BUSINESS metaphor shows the US is favoured over Russia, meaning the US has profited more and gained more *political capital* or *benefits* in the exchange. Let me give you several examples, as below:

- (7) The New York Times, 7 July 2010  
*An exchange would have some advantages* for the Obama administration, avoiding costly trials that could be an irritant for months or years in American-Russian relations.
- (8) The Associated Press, 10 July 2010  
While the arrests were not *planned to facilitate such a trade*, a swap appeared *to have the most benefit* to the United States.

As illustrated above, the spy swap benefits the US though it also serves the interests of the Russian side (see MORALITY metaphor). It should also be reminded that it is the Americans who initiated the swap, which is thus seen as a rational calculation of obtaining long-term political benefits. Thus, Americans are shown as more rational in their approach, while their Russian partners are more politically pragmatic.

To sum up, the BUSINESS metaphor evokes the frame of Rational politics based on upholding the principles of calculated decision-making, cooperation, partnership and interests. The core element of the BUSINESS metaphor is based on sharing interests and liabilities while managing political partnership. Thus, the spy swap is seen as an established political partnership, where liabilities and interests of both parties (Russia and the USA) are expected to be upheld. In this political deal, spies are seen as commodities or assets, which can be traded, exchanged or bargained. The initiated transaction of the spy swap is more beneficial to the American side, while their Russian partners gain less though they protect their interests. The consequence of this metaphor can be traced in the emergence of such political concept as 'balancing means and ends politics', when political leaders are encouraged to aim for the attainable rather than desirable and keep their efforts in proportion with the interests at stake. Finally, such perception of the spy swap demonstrates the positive effects of *cooperative* politics between the US and Russia.

#### What the RELATIONSHIP Metaphor Construes

The RELATIONSHIP metaphor may be regarded as a separate conceptual network though I view it as a part of the BUSINESS metaphorical theme (see Figure 1). This can be explained by the nature of the metaphorical expressions which reveal that the decision to swap spies (the BUSINESS metaphor) is used as a means of achieving political goals — *good political relations* (the RELATIONSHIP metaphor). Consider the metaphorical expressions, on the basis of which the RELATIONSHIP metaphor has been restored, e.g.:

~ a spy *drama*, presenting it as a *sign of an improvement in relations* between the big powers, the general *improvement*

of *Russia-US relations*, the *reset* of relations with Russia, spy passions, to *reset improved relations* with Russia, Washington's freshly *reset relationship* with its former Cold War rival, this extraordinary new chapter in U.S.-Russian relations, America has laid *too much stress on the health of its relationship* with Russia, steadily *improving relations* between the countries, lengthy trials could *strain relations* between the two countries, to continue towards *warm relations without impediments*, the U.S. will avoid *sensitive intelligence techniques*, President Barack Obama *values the overall U.S.-Russian relationship*, U.S. is right to try to *maintain good relations* with Moscow, the exchange in Vienna will have a *positive effect on US-Russian relations*, Moscow also wanted to minimise the impact (force) on recently *reset US-Russian relations*, bringing to a quick end an episode that had threatened to *disrupt relations* between the two countries, the most serious yet of *the new relationship*, Mr. Obama's effort to *rebuild Russian-American relations* etc.

The restored RELATIONSHIP metaphor as a complex conceptual system consists of other metaphorical structures such as NATION IS A PARTNER, POLITICAL PROBLEMS ARE OBSTACLES IN THE RELATIONSHIP, DIPLOMACY IS MAINTAINING RELATIONS etc. In the case of the spy swap, the nature of Russia-US relationship becomes clear with the analysis of the BUSINESS and RELATIONSHIP metaphors. Both metaphors imply that both countries are perceived as big powers, whose strength is ascertained through rational politics (when means, i.e., the spy swap, justify the ends, i.e., good relations), as in the statements below:

(9) CNN, 11 July 2010

It appears that the Obama administration proposed the spy swap as a way of getting the espionage drama out of the headlines, enabling both sides to *continue towards warm relations without impediments*.

(10) The New York Times, 9 July 2010

The officials described the episode as perhaps *the most serious test (prove how good and strong sth is) yet of the new relationship*, as well as a sign of its enduring complexity.

Hence, the *emotional* level of the *relationship*, as reflected in the metaphorical expression of *warm relations* in (9), is balanced by the spy swap. This shows the tendency for the commodified nature of political relationship, when people serve the function of commodities for serving *political interests*, when the emotional value is expressed through the gained political benefits. The rational nature of such relationship can be traced in the statements as follows:

(11) Reuters, 9 July 2010

The action is meant to *give the relations* between the two states "*new dynamics* which fit in with top level agreements between Moscow and Washington on the *strategic partnership*", the ministry said in its statement.

(12) Reuters, 9 July 2010

Russia's Foreign Intelligence Service and America's CIA have agreed for a deal "on the grounds of *humanitarian character and principles of constructive partnership*" and in the "context of *improvement of Russian-American relations*", the Russian Foreign Ministry said.

The above statements display the commercial nature of this political relationship, where the nations are perceived as partners. Moreover, in (11) the partnership is described in the most positive terms — *dynamic* and *strategic*, which are essential for successful business. This shows that it is not only the American government that prefers rational decision-making and cooperative diplomacy to pragmatic competitiveness, which is generally favoured by the Russian side (i.e., spying testifies to that fact) but also the Russian government is quoted as pro-cooperative as in (12).

To summarize, the analysis of the RELATIONSHIP metaphor suggests that the Western media perception of the spy swap is based on such conceptual structures as NATIONS ARE PARTNERS and GOOD POLITICAL DECISIONS ARE COMMERCIAL BENEFITS. Thus, the decision to initiate the swap on the American part is viewed positively for its *benefit* to the US-Russia relationship.

### What MORALITY Metaphor Suggests

The last metaphor to be discussed in this paper is SPY SWAP IS MORAL. As noted by Lakoff, political issues cannot be isolated from their moral matrix (1996, p. 385). Thus by reporting political events, the reporters also share their moral perception of the reported. The questions that arise are as follows: what kind of morality underlies the spy swap? Is it morally right or wrong? Is it acceptable? As the two parties participated in the swap, which of them is morally right? Before answering the questions, let me illustrate some of the metaphorical expressions I have associated with the MORALITY metaphor:

~ an issue that might have led to *blush-making revelations* for all concerned, the US-Russian swap may avoid *any potential embarrassment* (shame) to either government, spies are now *an embarrassment* to Moscow and Washington, to *hide its (Kremlin's) own embarrassment* at the discovery of its spy ring in the US, Russia said the 10 people freed by the US had been released "*for humanitarian considerations*", their (Russian spies) arrival was *private and low-key*, flown to Moscow with *no hero's welcome*, the Kremlin will also be keen to *sidestep the embarrassment* of Chapman and others giving testimony on their espionage, its (Kremlin's) willingness to negotiate suggests that *grave damage* could have been done to the *reputation* of the Russian spy service, this *scandal* (spying), a *face-saving* handover etc.

As a complex metaphor, the MORALITY metaphor is related to another metaphor of SPYING IS AMORAL, where spying is viewed as a 'scandalous and embarrassing incident', e.g.:

(13) The Guardian, 9 July 2010

The Times, meanwhile, says swaps today are more mundane as spies are now *an embarrassment* to Moscow and Washington.

(14) BBC, July 9, 2010

The Kremlin's refusal to acknowledge the spy swap has even taken place is perhaps an attempt to *hide its own embarrassment* at the discovery of its spy ring in the US, our correspondent says.

In the above examples, the contextual meaning of *embarrassment* evokes the feeling of shame as related to spying. Hence, it is generally accepted by the media that

spying is wrong or amoral. This implies that it is the Russians whose behaviour is wrong and amoral. More importantly, it is noted by the media that the US plays a significant role in saving Russia's face. By initiating the spy swap the USA does not only restore Russia's moral authority but also demonstrates its willingness to maintain a positive note in the U.S.-Russia relationship, e.g.:

(15) The Guardian, 9 July 2010

Moscow and Washington orchestrated the biggest and least secret spy swap in decades today, a *face-saving handover* that transferred 10 Russian sleeper arrested in America last week <...>.

(16) The Daily Mail, 8 July 2010

The Kremlin will also be keen to *sidestep the embarrassment* of Chapman and others giving testimony on their espionage. Its willingness to negotiate suggests that *grave damage* could have been done to the *reputation* of the Russian spy service if a trial had gone ahead.

Moreover, as noted by the media, this spy swap was one of *the least secret* (in 15) in the history of diplomatic relations. Such public display clearly shows the intention to restore Russia's moral authority by thus resetting the relationship between the two countries. This perception is also developed by the metaphorical expression 'the spy swap took place in broad daylight' (BBC, 9 July 2010), where broad daylight is associated with something that is public or morally acceptable (i.e., the metaphor of GOOD IS LIGHT). By contrast, the reaction of the Russian news media, as noted by the British and American journalists, was *bleak* and *low-key* as in (18). This is done with the purpose to ignore the story by thus avoiding further embarrassment and moral humiliation, as in the following:

(17) BBC, 9 July 2010

Russian TV and radio gave the spy swap *blanket coverage* on Friday after largely ignoring the story the previous day.

(18) BBC, 9 July 2010

Nor was there any sign of an official welcoming committee for the prisoners from Russia. Their arrival was *private and low-key*.

The analysis of the MORALITY metaphorical framework construes the script as follows. Spying is an amoral means of political action undertaken by Russia (SPYING IS AMORAL, the implied metaphor RUSSIA IS AMORAL). Despite that the American government shows the initiative to restore the moral authority of this *incident* by initiating the spy swap (SPY SWAP IS MORAL, the implied metaphor THE US IS MORAL). The Russian side accepts the proposition on the grounds of sustaining Russia-US relationship by thus avoiding further embarrassment. The Russian media gives little coverage to this event as not to belittle the moral authority of the Russian government. Such moral accounting scheme is closely associated with the BUSINESS metaphor. By restoring the moral authority of Russia and thus indebteding it to the US, the American government does not only disclose its own positive *face* to the public but also increases its political *capital*. Eventually the American government might expect that Russians, in their turn, might support the U.S. on the issues of proliferation in Iran or the Afghanistan war.

## Concluding Remarks

Hopefully I have been able to demonstrate that and how the analysis of metaphors discloses media perceptions of the U.S.-Russia spy swap 2010.

The analysed sources of the British and American news media reveal that the spy swap between Russia and the US is associated with a commercial transaction (the BUSINESS metaphor). The countries are viewed as partners whose interests are twofold. In the first position the media places the interest of both countries on maintaining good and strong relations (the RELATIONSHIP metaphor). Second, it is assumed that Russia agrees to trade spies for moral reasons (the MORALITY metaphor). The spying on the US is viewed as morally unacceptable in modern politics, thus to restore its moral authority the Russian government participates in the swap, which has been initiated by the Obama administration. The combinability of the BUSINESS, RELATIONSHIP and MORALITY metaphors in the context of the spy swap gives rise to the implications as follows.

The traditional model of political behaviour is pragmatic, when countries are divided into weak and strong. The strong countries are still competing for the status of the World Superpower. There are different means of building up the political strength. Russia has demonstrated the preference for illegal and morally unacceptable means — spying. This shows that Russian politics is dominated by the war-like competitiveness when any means are used to reach the raised political goals. Thus spying on another country — the US, which has the status of one of the world's Superpowers, is used as means of minimizing that strength and maximizing the political status of Russia.

Nonetheless, the spy swap initiated by the US demonstrates that the model of the American political thought is more rational than pragmatic. As described in the media sources, by this exchange the US not only raises (for the biggest part) its political status but also restores its relationship with Russia. The metaphorical expressions underlying the BUSINESS metaphor disclose that the American government tends to calculate risks and seeks long-lasting political benefits. The main benefit is seen through the MORALITY and RELATIONSHIP metaphors. Moreover, by initiating the exchange the US restores the moral authority of the Russian government which helps to develop better political relations between the two countries. Such political behaviour is governed by the principle of balancing means and ends, whereby efforts are to be kept in proportion with 'the interests at stake'.

This leads to a general observation that despite the overall dominance of diplomatic pragmatism (competitive politics) in modern politics, rationalism (cooperative politics) has established its ground especially when certain moral issues are at stake (saving the face or restoring moral authority of another country by thus improving bilateral relations).

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Liudmila Arcimavičienė

### Šnipų mainai 2010 m.: kaip juos metaforizuoja Vakarų žiniasklaida

Santrauka

Šio straipsnio tikslas – nustatyti, ką implikuoja 2010 m. įvykusių šnipų mainų metaforizacija Vakarų žiniasklaidoje. Tyrimui buvo pasirinkta apie trisdešimt straipsnių iš įvairių Didžiosios Britanijos ir JAV žiniasklaidos šaltinių (*BBC News, The Economist, The Daily Mail, The Reuters, The Associated Press, CNN News, The New York Times*). Remiantis teoriniais kognityvinės lingvistikos principais bei taikant kokybinį analizės metodą (*ang. the Pragglejaz Group's MIP*) yra ne tik nustatomas kalbinių pasakymų metaforiškumas bet ir rekonstruojama metaforų ideologinė vertė. Pagrindinis šio metodo principas yra siejamas su kontekstinės ir tiesioginės pasakymo reikšmės analize. Jeigu kontekstinė ir pagrindinė žodžio reikšmė skiriasi, bet yra įmanomas jų palyginimas, toks žodis pažymimas kaip metaforinis. Šio tyrimo metaforinių pasakymų analizė leidžia teigti, kad 2010 m. įvykusių šnipų mainus Vakarų žiniasklaida grindžia trim metaforizacijos modeliais: ŠNIPŲ MAINAI – TAI VERSLAS, ŠNIPŲ MAINAI – POLITINIŲ SANTYKIŲ GERINIMO PRIEMONĖ ir ŠNIPŲ MAINAI – MORALUS POLITINIS AKTAS. Šių modelių lingvistinė charakteristika leidžia daryti prielaidą, kad, nepaisant pragmatinių abiejų šalių (JAV ir Rusijos) diplomatinių siekių, Vakarų žiniasklaida sieja šnipų mainus su racionalumo apraiškėmis šiuolaikinėje politikoje.

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