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SOME ASPECTS OF ENGLISH INTERNET NEOLOGISMS' TRANSPOSITION INTO GEORGIAN

Abstract

This article deals with the translation of English neologisms of computing, the Internet and virtual reality. The article is part of a more extensive study of modern day Media neologisms. The objective of the study is to determine the tendencies of translation of English Neologisms into Georgian, namely, to see what kind of neologisms are mostly transferred, what the main translation procedures and strategies are for their transposition, what are the possible reasons for choosing particular strategies of transposition and how this process affects the Georgian language.

The analysis of the data shows that for computing and virtual reality concepts two dominant translation strategies are loan translation and transliteration, the latter prevalent in oral communication. The study also revealed that in many cases there are several transposition options. One peculiarityproved to be phonetic variations of Georgian transliterations of English words. Also the study showed that there is a tendency of the development of a special jargon – the variety of the Georgian language for virtual communication, which is quite different from English Net speak as it does not serve the purpose of shortening the contents of messages and which mainly consists of transferred and naturalized English words for referring to different concepts and phenomena in virtual reality.

Key words: Neologisms, Virtual communication, translating strategies.

1. Introduction

1.1 General Overview

Communication is the most important aspect of human existence. Throughout the history of mankind language has always been the main instrument of social interactions. Social changes have closely been linked with new experiences, thus resulting in language transformations. One feature characterizing language development is loss and appearance of linguistic units. Any aspect of human existence is

reflected in the words we use. When the world changes – through inventions, discoveries, revolutions, evolutions and personal transformations, so does the language. (1; 82)

In the 21st century the language which has the greatest impact on a global scale is English, the reason for it being the status of it: in the era of technological advancements English is N 1 global language. It is a lingua franca of intercultural relations, international science, education, high technologies and the Internet, 80% of all electronically stored information being English (18).

1.2 Topicality of the Study

Living in the Information Age, a human faces the necessity of giving names to every new invention and concept on a regular basis. Never has the tendency of appearance of neologisms been as intense as in 21st century. That is why it is crucial to linguistically observe this process. Many studies have been devoted to neologisms worldwide. All substantial changes in the vocabulary of a language need to be reflected upon. Many English dictionaries now have a special segment for neologisms. Thus the *Berkley Pub Group* regularly publishes *The Oxford Essential Dictionary of New Words*, with approximately 2500 new entries. *The American Dialect Society* has annual nominations for the status of Word of the Year, in which the absolute majority of nominees are neologisms, *Fake News* (Author – Donald Trump) being the word of the year 2017. There are also special online dictionaries like *Wordspy.com* and *Netlingo.com* which record and analyze new lexical formations found in all kinds of media and publications. All of this proves the topicality of the issue of neologisms and the necessity to observe recent developments of this kind in the Georgian language.

1.3 Aim of the Study

Neologisms are imported from a source language into recipient languages when there is a necessity, or when a concept or an idea becomes widespread. As every language has its unique structure and features, neologism translation represents a challenge for linguists and this is particularly true about Georgian, which is radically different from English: while importing an idea or a concept, particular characteristics of a language phonology, morphology and syntax should be considered. Thus it is both interesting and essential to observe how English neologisms are transferred into Georgian, what the main tendencies of translation are and what kind of impact keeping up with this global process has on the Georgian language.

2.Methodology and Data Collection

This paper is focused on Virtual (Internet) neologisms. The study is carried out through descriptive, qualitative and quantitative methods. The first stage is collecting samples of neologisms. The main source is the internet – different kinds of websites, social networks, and videos. Afterwards, the samples are examined to define their qualitative values and to see their formation details.Being the most comprehensive system for studying neologisms, Peter Newmark's classification of neologisms and translation strategies serve as the basis for analysis. At the following stage Georgian equivalents are found and translation strategies and procedures – defined. Again, the main source of Georgian versions is the Internet. The analysis serves the purpose of determining what kind translation strategies apply to certain types of neologisms. Then quantitative analysis is done to see what type of neologisms are mainly imported and translated intoGeorgian and which translation procedures prevail. Finally, general tendencies of English neologisms' integration into Georgian and their impact on the language are outlined.

3. Results and Discussion

3.1 Concepts of computing and the Internet

Let us start the analysis from the names of inventions and concepts associated with computers and the Internet. The word "**to google**"(conversion from the noun "**google**") is recognized to have been the word of the decade 2000-2010 by the American Dialect Society. It has been a concept of great influence. The word was formed in 1920 from the term "**googol**" – the figure 1 followed by 100 zeros equal to 10^{100}(16). In the Georgian language the transferred version is transliteration (გუგლი/gʊglI/). As for the verb – **to google**, it is formed through adding affixes(**და-, -ა**)to the English word for further naturalization (დაგუგვლა- /dʌgʊgvlʌ/). The word Google itself has given rise to many different English forms: **google hack, google whack,ungoogleable, google docs, google earth, google maps, google chrome.** Some of these terms are transferred into Georgian through recognized translation of the second component (such as გუგლისდოკუმენტები/gʊglIs dɒk'ʊment'ebI/, გუგლდედამიწა/gʊgl dedʌmIts'ʌ/,გუგლისრუქები/gʊglIs rʊkebI/). These forms can be found when keyed in in the google search engine as well as in the online technical dictionary compiled in 2014-2016 in TSU. However, along with these translated forms there still are transliterated options of

the neologisms (გუგლდოქსი/gʊgldɒksɪ/, გუგლერთი/gʊgl ertI/, გუგლმეფსი/gʊgl mepʰsI/)and, as we will see further, it is not a rare case.

Nowadays it is impossible to imagine our life without **"Smartphones".** The English term for it is a compound. Right from the introduction of the concept to the Georgian society a loan translation was formed (ჭკვიანიტელეფონი/tʃˈk'vIʌnI t'elepʰɒnI/). Alongside this translation there also exists transliteration („სმარტფონი" /smʌrt'pʰɒnɪ/ /smʌrt'fəʊnɪ/) of the word. Both forms are presented in the above mentioned technical dictionarybut simple observation onthe Georgians' speech reveals that transliteration is a dominant form in this case.

The Oxford Dictionary Word of the Year – "**Selfie**" was first used in 2002 as a shortened version of self-portrait (19). "**_ie**" suffix is considered by some to make the narcissistic motive of taking a selfie more acceptable. Others believe that as the form was first used in Australia, and as the Australians like clipping words (**Barbie – barbeque, firie – firefighter**), this form is also a clipping. The Georgian version is transliteration – „სელფი"(/selpʰɪ/). However, even if the Georgian language does not havevoiceless labiodental fricative"**F**" in its alphabet and the written version of the word contains "**ფ**", which sounds like unvoiced aspirated bilabial stop"**p**" in English, in oral communication the dominant form is phonetically identical with English "**Selfie**" /ˈsɛlfi/. This seems to be a tendency. Wherever there is "**F**" phoneme, in most cases the Georgians tend to leave it unchanged. "Selfie" is a very productive new lexical item in English as it has given rise to many new words. We could consider (**_el)fie** a productive suffix as it has formed such blends as **elfie –** selfie in an elevator, **belfie –** butt selfie, **delfie –** a selfie of a dog, **gelfie –** gym selfie, **nelfie –** nude selfie, **lelfie –** selfie of the legs, **welfie –** workout selfie, **drelfie –** drunk selfie. It is notable that even though most of these kinds of photos are actually taken by Georgian Internet users, none of these forms have been brought into Georgian. The only version for all kinds of auto portraits is **Selfie**.

The word **Internet** is a compound, first introduced in 1980s. In 90s a clipping – **Net**gave rise to many new forms. As a single word,**Net** is translated into Georgian as „ქსელი"/kʰselɪ/, which is a recognized TL translation. In compounds the Georgians, as well as many other nations worldwide, prefer a transliterated version. Words created on the basis of Net show a variety of translation options. **Net** and **Network** are both translated into Georgian as „ქსელი". **Network access** has direct loan translation –

„ქსელზეწვდომა"/kʰselze ts'vdɒmʌ/**, Network interface –** „ქსელურიინტერფეისი"/kʰselʊrɪɪnt'erpʰesɪ/ – is a combination of loan translation and transliteration, as the second component is a blend. Blends like **Netiquette** are transliterations – „ნეტიკეტი" /net'ɪk'et'ɪ/**.** Even from these examples it is quite obvious that when a neologism consists of two or more independent items, and when the components have standard equivalents, loan translation is the main translation strategy. But if a neologism or a component of it is a blend (Netiquette, Internet, and Interface), then transliteration seems to be the dominant strategy.

The same can be said about the word **"Screen"** („ეკრანი"/ek'rʌnɪ/)**,**which, when not a part of a compound or a blend, is transferred through a recognized TL equivalent. However, transliterations„სქრინი"/skʰrɪnɪ/ or „სკრინი" /sk'rɪnɪ/are also quite popular**.** As for blends such as **"screenshot", "screensaver"**, the translating strategy is transliteration –„სქრინშოთი" „სკრინშოტი" /skʰrɪnʃɒtʰɪ/ /sk'rɪnʃɒt'ɪ/„„სქრინსეივერი", „სკრინსეივერი"/skʰrɪnseɪverɪ//sk'rɪnseɪverɪ/.This is the way they are presented in online dictionaries. According to the rules of transliteration the SL voiceless phonemes /**p,t,k/** are transmitted as non-aspirate bilabial, dental and pre-velar plosives /პ,ტ,კ/**,** but in oral communication "სქრინშოთი","სქრინსეივერი"are dominant forms, being phonetically almost identical with their source.As for the compound with the same word "**Screen Protector**", here we have a loan translation (ეკრანისდამცავი/ek'rʌnɪs dʌmtsʰʌvɪ/)**,**with occasional variations of transliteration.

Hashtag has been very popular on social networks for the past several years. The word is a compound (**hash - #, tag).** There are several options in Georgian translation **-** ჰეშთეგი /ˈhaʃtagɪ/,which has analogous sounding with the English version, ჰაშთაგიand ჰაშტაგი(/hʌʃtʌgɪ/, /hʌʃt'ʌgɪ/).As the English word is a blend, it is also transmitted through transliteration. The second component of the word **-"Tag"** is both a noun and a verb in English. In the Online Technical dictionary **"Tag"** – noun is transliteration while as a verb it is presented through a recognized TL equivalent – „მონიშვნა"/mɒnɪʃvnʌ/. On social networks almost nobody ever uses the latter while**"Tagging"**. Here a naturalized„დათაგვა"/dʌtʰʌgvʌ/(transfer + standard Georgian affixation for verb formation) is

common. However, it should be mentioned that this naturalized form never leaves the context of social networks.

One noticeable tendency of certain types of virtual and computer neologisms is existence of parallel forms: recognized translation for dictionaries and transliteration for oral communication. In these words we mean those old forms of English which have acquired new meanings and which can be easily translated because of the existing TL forms. Let us see several of those. The word **"Smile",** apart fromits initial meaning also denotes icons of faces representing different kinds of emotions. **"Smiley"** was translated into Georgian as **„ღიმილაკი"** /ɣɪmɪlʌk'ɪ/,a diminutive form created through adding **„-აკი"** /_ʌk'ɪ/ suffix to the recognized TL translation. Nevertheless, this Georgian word is almost never used, just like **"Mouse"** –**„თაგუნა"**/tʰʌgʊnʌ/, (also diminutive). However sad it may be, even if these are very accurate translations of new concepts,in oral communication they are rarely used. The same is true about the terms **"Bookmark"** and **"Icon".** For the first word there is a naturalized form**„დაბუქმარქება"**/dʌbʊkmʌrkebʌ/(**და_ება** affixes**)** particularly for the context of "Adding a web page to Favorites". As for**"Icon",**which has several meanings in English, number one being religious (a paintedrepresentation of Christ, the Virgin Mary, or a saint– **„ხატი"**/xʌt'ɪ/), in Georgian translation it is represented as **„ხატულა"**/xʌt'ʊlʌ/– a diminutive form of **„ხატი"**, or**„პიქტოგრამა"**/p'ɪkt'ɒgrʌmʌ/– **"pictogram",** neither of which turned out to be quite acceptable for the Georgians, probablythe first being a bit too poetic and the second –devoid of associations with computing. The prevalent forms in this caseareeither a transliteration from English – **„აიქონი"**,**„აიკონი"**/aɪkʰɒnɪ/, /aɪk'ɒnɪ/,or a Russian **„იკონა", „იკონკა"**/ɪk'ɒnʌ/ /ɪk'ɒnk'ʌ/. When the word is a part of a blend (**"Emoticon"** – a representation of a facial expression),just like in other cases above, itis transferred through transliteration (**„ემოტიკონი"**/emɒtɪkɒnɪ/).

Unlike the previous forms the word **"link",** which is a short form of **"Hyperlink",**is a rare case, where the Georgian recognized equivalent has been successfully used widely and frequently in form of **„ბმული"**/bmʊlɪ/**.**However, equally widespread is its transliteration – **„ლინქი", „ლინკი"**/lɪnkʰɪ/ /lɪnk'ɪ/**.** Word **"Cyber",** which has existed in Georgian since 1960, and which is an abbreviation of Cybernetics, was initially brought into Georgian from Russian as **„კიბერ"**(k'iber), which is an

authentic pronunciation of the word in its original - Greek language. The word is part of many compound neologisms, in which we observe prevalence of partial loan translation: **Cyberspace -** კიბერსივრცე/k'ıber sıvrtsʰe/**, Cyberwar - კიბერომი/k'ıber ɒmı/, Cyber age -** კიბერსაუკუნე/k'ıber sʌʊk'ʊne/**, Cyber security - კიბერუსაფრთხოება/k'ıber ʊsʌpʰrtʰxɒebʌ/.** All these terms are phonetically convenient, have unambiguous meanings and stability. Thus, although there are occasional cases of parallel usage of partial transliteration of the word (e.g. საიბერუსაფრთხოება/sʌıberʊsʌpʰrtʰxɒebʌ/), transliterations probably will not ever become dominant forms.

"Troll" is a very interesting neologism. The name is taken from a Scandinavian mythological creature and in the realm of the Internet its new meaning denotes a person who posts a deliberately provocative message to a newsgroup or message board with the intention of causing maximum disruption and argument. Transposition of such terms does not pose any problem as a long-established word is given a new meaning. The Georgian equivalent for the word is „ტროლი"/t'rɒlı/– transliteration. As**"Troll",** which is a noun**,** also forms a verb in English through conversion – **"to troll",** the necessity to denote the activity of **trolling** someone appeared in Georgian too. Just as in many other cases, the Georgian version was formed through affixation „და _ა" – „დატროლვა" /dʌt'rɒlvʌ/and the form is currently being naturalized.

Rapid technological development and widespread Internet access haveinfluenced the English language in one more way: widespread appearance of abbreviations and acronyms, which are not only for shortening long and complicated names of technological innovations to make them laconic and easy to remember, but also for making virtual conversations brief and convenient, enter the English language in large quantities: "acronyms, abbreviations, and neologisms have grown up around technologically mediated communication to help us be understood…acronyms help speed up a real-time typed conversation. On mobile phones they minimize the inconvenience of typing with tiny keys. And on Twitter they help you make the most of your 140 characters." (13)The purpose of creating abbreviated neologisms in English is the same in these two cases: making forms shorter and more convenient. But from the translation point of view they are absolutely different and there are objective reasons for that. We can bring many examples of high tech abbreviations and acronyms which, despite having loan translations or descriptive translations for their full forms in Georgian, are generally "transferred" or

"transcribed" as acronyms. The examples of it are **Wi-Fi - ვაი-ფაი**/vaɪ pʰaɪ/**, IT - აი-თი (აი-ტი)**/aɪ tʰɪ//aɪ t'ɪ/**, HTML - ეჩთიეჭელ**/eɪtʃ t'ɪ em el/**, IP - აი-ფი, აი-პი**/aɪ pʰɪ/ /aɪ p'ɪ/**, CCTV - სისიტივი**/sɪ sɪ t'ɪ vɪ/**, SMS - ესემესი**/es em esɪ/**, GPS - ჯიპიესი**/dʒɪ p'ɪ esɪ/. Generally, after the initial introduction to the society this type of neologisms are used as acronyms and abbreviations in most languages and in the majority of cases people do not even know what the symbols stand for. In Georgian they are presented through transliteration, either completely or almost completely identical with the English forms.

3.2 Net Speak and SMS Neologisation tendencies

Net Speak as a linguistic phenomenon has risen to global prominence as a result of the digital revolution. It is a constantly shape-shifting language, vibrant and in some ways unstructured, characterized with very specific features, one of which is the tendency of speakers to use abbreviations and acronyms in order to make messages shorter and more convenient. Hundreds of such kind of neologisms have been created in English since the beginning of computer mediated communication. It is very rare, however, for such English neologisms to be incorporated into Georgian. The fact of the matter is that these acronyms are shortened forms of standard words, phrases or sentences used in authentic English communication, e.g. **OMG – Oh, my god! LOL – Laughing out loud, BTW – by the way, ASAP – as soon as possible, CU – see you, B4 – before, 4ever – forever, IDK – I don't know. IMHO – in my humble opinion.** The necessity of translation of this kind of forms does not exist in Georgian. Exceptions are very few like in case of **LOL** and **OMG,** which are spelt either in English or in Georgian (**ლოლ, ომგ**) by Georgian social network users. At this stage the Georgian language does not show any signs of prospective development of Georgian Netspeak of this kind. However, we can observe some new Georgian lexical items showing some features of English netspeak terms such as **B4 – Before, 4ever – forever**. Generally, these are the words a part of which is either a number or coincides with it in how it sounds. These forms are not neologisms in either of the languages as their purpose is visual shortening of standard words while pronunciation stays the same. These forms are: **გა2მაგება**/gʌɒrmʌgebʌ/(**doubling**), **გა20ება**/gʌɒtsʰebʌ/(**astonishment**), **10ნათი**/ʌtʰɪnʌtʰɪ/(**sun beam**), **სამ7ობ**/sʌmʃvɪdɒbɒ/(**peace-keeping**) and so forth.However, what should be mentioned is that these kind of clipped forms mainly appear on advertisements as their novel visual representation

attracts customers' attention. The absence of netspeak could be explained by the absence of capital letters in Georgian. As we know, netspeak acronyms consist of initial letters of each element in a phrase, which are spelt with capital letters and pronounced the same way as in the alphabet.

We mentioned above that English is the source of all types of Internet and virtual reality terms for all languages around the world. The Georgian language, as well as many others, has developed a kind of Internet jargon, lexical items of which are naturalized transfers or transliterations of old words with new meanings. This can be particularly easy to notice in case of English verbs. Although there are standard Georgian equivalents for these verbs, Internet users tend to transfer and naturalize them through application of Georgian rules of verb formation. As we know, Social networking sites such as Facebook, Twitter and others, have their specific linguistic style and forms. As Twitter users are considerably fewer in Georgia, the tendencies can be more obvious on Facebook. The words **"Post", "Like", "Tag"** are old forms with new meanings in English. Their standard Georgian equivalents are „გამოქვეყნება"/gʌmɒkʰveqʼnebʌ/, „მოწონება"/mɒtsʼɒnebʌ/, „იარლიყისმიბმა"/ɪʌrlɪqʼɪs mɪbmʌ/ – in this particular context - „მონიშვნა"/mɒnɪʃvnʌ/. Nonetheless, the tendencies reveal that if social networks are in focus, the majority of users tend to say or write naturalized transliterated forms like „დაპოსტვა" /dʌpʼɒstʼvʌ/(**to post**), „დალაიქება"/dʌlʌɪkʰebʌ/ (**to like**), „დათაგვა" /dʌtʰʌgvʌ/(**to tag**),„დაფორვარდება" /dʌpʰɒrvʌrdebʌ/(**to forward**), „დაკომენტება" /dʌkʼɒmentʼebʌ/(**to comment**), „დასეივება"/dʌseɪvebʌ/ (**to save**), „დამესიჯება" /dʌmesIdʒebʌ/(**to message**), „ლოგინი"/lɒgɪnɪ/ (**to log in**) etc. The tendency seems to be caused by the Internet users' desire to differentiate between virtual and real world communications. If we take a closer look at the Georgian case, we will see that these kind of words almost never leave the Internet context, unlike English, where Internet neologisms can be transferred to other spheres. A good example of it is "to click" – which, apart from its meaning in computing nowadays also means "at a very short distance" – "They're just a click away from getting together". For Georgian users this type of vocabulary is associated only with social networks. Nobody ever uses "დავალაიქე"/dʌvʌlaɪkʰe/for expressing **"liking"** something outside the realm of social networks, or „დავასეივე"/dʌvʌseɪve/– for **"saving"** not connected to computing. We can include words like **"wall", "profile",** and **"friend"** in the same category as although they have standard equivalents in Georgian („კედელი"/kʼedelɪ/, „პროფილი"/vɒlɪ/,

„მეგობარი"/p'rɒpʰɪlɪ/),in social network context, alongside these standard translations they are more frequently used as transferred forms – /vɒlɪ/, /p'rɒpʰɪlɪ/, /pʰrendɪ/ or/frendɪ/.

Although the number of examples studied in this article is limited, general tendencies still can be observed. One of these tendencies is phonetic variation of word transfers. We mean voiceless Bilabial plosive /p'/,/ ph/, dental plosive /t'/,/th/and prevelar plosive /k'/,/kh/. These voiceless phonemes /p,t,k / may have aspirate and non-aspirate variants. As we saw, it is quite usual for Georgians to use sharper phonemes non-existent in English (კ, პ, ტ) instead of aspirate variations (ქ, ფ, თ) which are much closer to the authentic pronunciation of the phonemes. When words enter the Georgian language directly from English, two options co-exist, Georgians tend to keep both affricate and non-affricate versions (**Bitcoin - ბითქოინი, ბიტკოინი**) and, recently quite frequently, authentic pronunciations dominate. The better the Georgians' competence in English, the stronger the position of transliterations with English pronunciation.

Conclusion

We analyzed neologisms of two main groups: 1. high tech and virtual neologisms which are names of new concepts and inventions; 2. Terms created and used by the internet, social networks and forum users. The tendencies are listed below:

There are two main strategies of translating high tech and virtual neologisms: 1) Loan translation; 2) Transliteration (loanwords). Loan translation prevails when English neologisms are or consist of old words in new contexts. Naturally, in such cases a recognized TL equivalent of an SL item is transferred (e.g. **e-mail - ელექტრონულიფოსტა**). This is particularly noticeable in written communication. However, as we mentioned before, in oral communication there is a strong tendency of using transliterations from English (e.g. **e-mail - იმეილი**). This is not an event of local nature. The tendency can be observed in many countries worldwide. As the Internet is the main tool for intercultural relations, it is not surprising that its language is inclined to become international.

The main translation strategy for names of new inventions and concepts is transliteration (e.g. **selfie - სელფი**). From the phonetic point of view these forms are presented in a great variety (e.g. **screenshot**

- სქრინშოთი/სკრინშოტი). However, it has become quite noticeable recently that in oral communication of the Georgians the forms of maximum proximity with English phonetics prevail.

Equally important is the absence of such a phenomenon as Georgian Net speak. The reason, as we mentioned above, lies in the structure and characteristics of the Georgian language. Net speak neologisms are mostly acronyms, which are formed from the initial letters or groups of letters of words in a set phrase or series of words. These letters are generally capital. Unlike English neologisms for new inventions and concepts on the internet, English Net speak neologisms cannot be considered a global phenomenon. Their appearance is a peculiarity of the English-speaking part of the world. Thus, there is no necessity of transference of such acronyms and terms into Georgian (such cases are very few). Identical Georgian version does not exist. However, there is a very strong inclination of Georgian Internet users to differentiate between the languages of the real world and virtual reality. In this we mean the tendency to use forms which are transferred and naturalized in Georgian (to tag - დათაგვა, to like - დალაიქება). In such cases the most productive affixes are „და_ება" /dʌ_ebʌ/, „და_ვა" /dʌ_vʌ/. The lexical items formed this way in Georgian are considered to be local neologisms and together with other transferred items form a local language variety for communication in virtual reality.

What is observed here is that these kind of Georgian neologisms almost never leave the context of the Internet and computers, which is very good. Thus the Georgian language is not threatened with overload with Anglicisms. The tendency of neology in the domain of high technology and the Internet is irreversible. Concepts of modern reality enter the language and find their place in it. Here a question arises whether there will be any necessity of their translation from an SL into a TL. Naturally, it is desirable to have Georgian translations for new words and this is what should be done, where possible. However, even today the tendencies indicate that transliteration and naturalization are two dominant strategies for transference of neologisms. Quite probably, there will be one global base vocabulary with local variations for high tech and virtual terms. Yet even in such circumstances this natural process will still need linguistic observation, analysis and, in case of necessity, giving the right direction.

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Mariam Keburia

PRACTICAL ARGUMENTATION IN AMERICAN POLITICAL DISCOURSE

Analysis of President Barack Obama's State of the Union Address

Abstract

This paper is an attempt to analyze practical reasoning and practical argumentation schemes in the speeches of the 44th President of the United States – Barack Obama. It looks into the State of the Union Addresses delivered annually in the United States Congress (2009-2012) and focuses on the selected text of 2010, applying Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as an analytical framework. Emphasis is put on the stated values behind the practical reasoning – analysis has shown that the *Claims for action* and *Goals* are guided by the values of *unity, fairness and responsibility*. *Claims for Action* and *Means-goals'* relations to the set *Goal* of the identified practical argument are strong and reasonable. This paper also identifies common rhetorical devices used by the speaker to achieve persuasive rationalization of the advocated measures.

Key words: practical argumentation, Critical discourse analysis, State of the Union address,

1. Introduction

The Constitution of the United States of America, Article II, Sec. 3, Clause 1 requests the President of the United States to inform congress 'from time to time' about the State of the Union. The first speech acknowledged as the State of the Union message / address was delivered by the President George Washington to a Joint Session of Congress on January 8, 1790. [i] Since then, according to the project-History, Arts and Architecture[ii], there have been 95 in-in person annual messages/addresses. Considering their importance, the messages pronounced by the president are elaborated and crafted carefully and constitute interesting material for analysis.

Few would argue about the spectacular public speaking skills and charismatic oratory of Barack Obama. The 44th President of the United States is seen as a gifted speaker and distinguished leader in recent history. His political discourse features are emphasis on change, hope and unity of nation. While working on the present article, I have looked at Obama's State of the Union Addresses to see how practical reasoning is formulated, what are the leading values and arguments.

To illustrate a practical argumentation scheme, attention is drawn on two major topics identified in the text of 2010 - employment and research and innovation development. These issues are addressed in all SoU addresses of President Barack Obama, they remain as major claims of action in the speeches of 2009-2012. The analysis shows that the word choice the president makes is often related to competitive context. While describing state of the arts, the speaker applies metaphors that are related to contest, examination, overcoming challenges and thus, to my mind, highlights the circumstance where the U.S. has to pursue its efforts to be the world leading country.

2. Methodology

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a method of analysis that focuses on text and believes the language is a social practice; According to one of the prominent founding authors of CDA - Prof. Norman Fairclough, through this method of research one can lead to change and social actions. It is an interdisciplinary approach that provides platform for various disciplines' interaction. „Methodologically, this approach entails working in a 'transdisciplinary' way through dialogue with other disciplines and theories which are addressing contemporary processes of social change" (Fairclough N. 2001).

CDA directs its attention to problem(s) in the society, these might be various forms of social inequality, excessive power in certain social circles: „Critical Discourse Analysis" (CDA) has become the general label for a special approach to the study of text and talk, emerging from critical linguistics, critical semiotics and in general from a socio-politically conscious and oppositional way of investigating language, discourse and communication... CDA is essentially dealing with an oppositional study of the structures and strategies of elite discourse and their cognitive and social conditions and consequences, as well as with the discourse of resistance against such domination" (T. Van Dijk, 1995).

In this article I focus on practical reasoning in identified arguments, I attempt to study explanations, means-goals and values of the speaker in favour of suggested actions, policies, decision. The structure I apply is that of the practical argument structure developed by Isabela Fairclough and Norman Fairclough in their work „Political Discourse Analysis – Method for Advanced Students": „Where the hypothesis that action A might enable the agent to reach his goals (G), starting from his

circumstances (C), and in accordance with certain values (V), leads to the presumptive claim that he ought to do A. It is often the case that the context of action is seen as a 'problem' (and is negatively evaluated in view of the agent's existing values or concerns) and the action is seen as the solution that will solve the problem." (Fairclough I., Fairclough N. 2012:47).

2.1 Data collection procedures

I have considered State of the Union Addresses delivered By President Obama in the United States Congress (2009-2012) for analysis. Thanks to open data and digital technologies, all major speeches and addresses by international politicians are available online (both scripts and videos) enabling any researcher to proceed with the analysis smoothly and without limitations. The reason behind selecting this particular type of address is that these are institutional speeches, well prepared and crafted in advance with participation of relevant professionals. Main messages of the addresses are widely acknowledged, discussed and in some way, they declare the policy of the speaker. It's noteworthy that the delivery of the State of the Union Addresses is envisaged by the constitution of the United States. Therefore, there is a special responsibility, meaning and implication between the lines of the address.

3. **Analysis**

In the address of 2010 the problem-solution context of the speech is that of employment and economic recovery of the country. The speaker identifies the goal of taking the country from the current circumstance into the one that has better economic conditions, offers more opportunities to its citizens and has more jobs. In this analysis I want to look at the *argument in support of the announced new job bill.*

Expression of gratitude and deep respect towards the American nation, as well as reference to the historical events is a common component of the addresses by the President. In the first part of the speech (2010), the speaker **acknowledges difficulties** and shares the concerns of the wider society, especially those who are in need:

„So, I know the anxieties that are out there right now. They're not new. These struggles are the reason I ran for President."

But he also gives account to what has been already done to tackle the issue of unemployment, in this case - recovery act.

Considering the practical argumentation scheme, the goal premise is to **„Put more Americans to work'**. Circumstance premises are represented with the strong rhetoric of encouragement. The means-goals are elaborated so, that they require immediate reaction, the president calls for prompt acknowledgement of the identified challenge:

„True engine of job creation in this country will always be America's businesses. But government can create the conditions necessary for businesses to expand and hire more workers. Now, the House has passed a jobs bill that includes some of these steps. As the first order of business this year, I urge the Senate to do the same, and I know they will. They will. People are out of work. They're hurting. They need our help. And I want a jobs bill on my desk without delay. "

So, in terms of planning the recovery and development process, the president sets immediate and long term goals. The same statement is pronounced several times in different parts of the text. According to the address of 2010, the immediate goal is to pass a job bill, long-term goal is – to „ lay a new foundation for long-term economic growth and finally address the problems that America's families have confronted for years." Long-term goals are formulated as larger challenges. The main value that the president appeals to is justice, fairness, unity. The speaker chooses words expressing **action**, problem-solving initiative, creates context of action and makes his address a persuasive communication. Action is a background context of the 2010 speech text and appears in different parts of the narrative:

„So tonight, I'm proposing that we take $30 billion of the money Wall Street banks have repaid and use it to help community banks give small businesses the credit they need to stay afloat... To recover the rest, I have proposed a fee on the biggest banks. I am also proposing a new small business   tax   credit . As temperatures cool, I want everyone to take another look at the plan we've proposed. So tonight, I'm proposing specific steps to pay for the $1 trillion that it took to rescue the economy last year."

<u>Argument reconstruction</u>

Goal
We should put more Americans to work

Claim for action
Jobs must be our number-one focus in 2010 and that's why I'm calling for a new jobs bill tonight.

Circumstance
So we face big and difficult challenges.
Despite our hardships, our union is strong. We do not give up. We do not quit. We do not allow fear or division to break our spirit.

Means- goal
The government can create the conditions necessary for businesses to expand and hire more workers.

Counter-claim
But the truth is, these steps won't make up for the seven million jobs that we've lost over the last two years workers.

Argument from authority
Previous similar effort was successful as the economists claim -
„Economists on the left and the right say this bill (the Recovery Act) has helped save jobs and avert disaster"

As the above given table shows, the claim for action and the means-goal arguments are strongly related to each other, they are supported by motivational description of state of the art and argument from authority. However, if the suggested plan is **enough and sufficient** to deliver medium and long-term goals remains open to disagreement.

Another issue that I want to draw the attention on is the instance of the President's practical argument on **Research and Innovation**. It is addressing the question of what to do in response to challenging circumstance – how to put more Americans to work. Research and innovation is represented not only in the text of 2010, but also in all other texts of the SoU.

It's worth mentioning, that the understanding of the way research and innovation should be advanced can be considered as unique in the US-it is very strongly connected to economy and market oriented research. In the address of the president, research and innovation is presented in the context where it is **inseparable with the economic** development of the country. Moreover, it is highlighted as an absolutely necessary premise and basics for progress and world leadership. It's widely acknowledged that the problem and challenge-oriented attitude towards planning research and innovation policy is a common practice in the U.S. Intensive cooperation with business, private sector investment in research and innovation activities are high. During the presidency of Barack Obama, National investment in science was strong[iii] , promotion of science, technology in particular environment, energy, climate and space related topics were in the agenda of administration. Quite recently, the European Commission has published a new strategic approach towards the research and innovation policy in the forthcoming framework programme putting more emphasis to the role of the research activities in the economic development of the countries. Dr. Mariana Mazzucato highlights in her report on „Mission-Oriented Research & Innovation in the European Union" a new approach of the EU research and innovation policy: „Europe has been thinking about and tackling such challenges for a long time, including through Horizon 2020… Finding ways to steer economic growth, and the European policy agenda, is difficult but necessary. Missions are a powerful tool to do this. They can provide the means to focus our research, innovation and investments on solving critical problems, while also spurring growth, jobs and resulting in positive spillovers across many sectors.[iv]".

In the addresses of President Obama, science and innovation policy related narrative follows the employment and economic development topics. Science and business connection is explicit in the text, so is the **tough competition** among world leading countries in technologies and development through innovation. The global leadership role of the U.S. is highlighted by the speaker in this context as well. Circumstances that hamper growth of the U.S. Should be addressed by science and technology projects. The same argument on supporting research and innovation is formulated in several parts of the text.

3.1 Practical argument on encouraging American innovation

Goal: We should put more Americans to work

Claim for action: we need to encourage American innovation. We need passing a comprehensive energy and climate bill with incentives that will finally make clean energy the profitable kind of energy in America.

Circumstance: Last year, we made the largest investment in basic research funding in history – an investment that could lead to the world's cheapest solar cells or treatment that kills cancer cells but leaves healthy ones untouched. And no area is more ripe for such innovation than energy.

Means-goal: To create more of these clean energy jobs, we need more production, more efficiency, more incentives. That means building a new generation of safe, clean nuclear power plants in this country. It means making tough decisions about opening new offshore areas for oil and gas development. It means continued investment in advanced biofuels and clean coal technologies. And yes, it means passing a comprehensive energy and climate bill with incentives that will finally make clean energy the profitable kind of energy in America.

Means-goal: But even if you doubt the evidence, providing incentives for energy efficiency and clean energy are the right thing to do for our future – because the nation that leads the clean energy economy will be the nation that leads the global economy. And America must be that nation.

Means-goal: Fourth, we need to invest in the skills and education of our people.

Means-goal: When we renew the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, we will work with Congress to expand these reforms to all fifty states.

Argument from authority 1: You can see the results of last year's investment in clean energy – in the North Carolina company that will create 1200 jobs nationwide helping to make advanced batteries; or in the California business that will put 1,000 people to work making solar panels.

Argument from authority 2: You see, Washington has been telling us to wait for decades, even as the problems have grown worse. Meanwhile, China is not waiting to revamp its economy. Germany is not waiting. India is not waiting. These nations — they're not standing still. These nations aren't playing for second place. They're putting more emphasis on math and science. They're rebuilding their infrastructure. They're making serious investments in clean energy because they want those jobs. Well, I do not accept second place for the United States of America.

Given argument justifies need for new actions – efforts related to science & innovation should be translated into legislative actions and profitable steps forward. Energy is highlighted field of science due to its potential of contributing to the country's economic development. The speaker claims that supporting (and investing in) energy related research will lead to the better economy and more jobs. Besides, investing in education is presented as another means of reaching the goal. Overall, to my mind, the means-goals presented in the practical argument are reasonable.

4. Findings and discussion

As mentioned above, SoU addresses are highly characterised by competition discourse. Almost in all paragraphs supporting the claim for action, the president highlights the superpower status of the United States, an indispensable nation solving the challenges of global concern. This status has been achieved in competition with nations that „are not standing still". And the speaker presents himself as a leader who „does not accept second place for the United States of America."

The text of 2010, similarly to other State of the Union Addresses by President Obama is rich in stylistic and rhetorical devices. Competition and action are the leading representations of the text of 2010.

Highlighting competition

- These nations aren't playing for second place... Well, I do not accept second place for the United States of America.
- From the first railroads to the Interstate Highway System, our nation has always been built to compete. There's no reason Europe or China should have the fastest trains, or the new factories that manufacture clean energy products.
- We have to seek new markets aggressively, just as our competitors are. If America sits on the sidelines while other nations sign trade deals, we will lose the chance to create jobs on our shores.
- I didn't choose to tackle this issue to get some legislative victory under my belt.

Highlighting the need to take action

- So we acted -– immediately and aggressively. And one year later, the worst of the storm has passed.
- I'm calling for a new jobs bill tonight.
- Tomorrow, I'll visit Tampa, Florida, where workers will soon break ground on a new high-speed railroad funded by the Recovery Act.
- it's time to get serious about fixing the problems that are hampering our growth.
- That's why I urge the Senate to follow the House and pass a bill that will revitalize our community colleges.
- Let us find a way to come together and finish the job for the American people.
- Tonight, I'm proposing specific steps

- It's time to require lobbyists to disclose each contact they make on behalf of a client with my administration or with Congress. It's time to put strict limits on the contributions that lobbyists give to candidates for federal office.

Highlighting the US superpower and Evocation of history

(Both addressed and elaborated in the beginning and final parts of the speech)

- Our Constitution declares that from time to time, the President shall give to Congress information about the state of our union. For 220 years, our leaders have fulfilled this duty. They've done so during periods of prosperity and tranquility. And they've done so in the midst of war and depression; at moments of great strife and great struggle.
- America takes these actions because our destiny is connected to those beyond our shores.
- For America must always stand on the side of freedom and human dignity.
- Abroad, America's greatest source of strength has always been our ideals. The same is true at home. We find unity in our incredible diversity, drawing on the promise enshrined in our Constitution: the notion that we're all created equal; that no matter who you are or what you look like, if you abide by the law you should be protected by it; if you adhere to our common values you should be treated no different than anyone else.
- In the end, it's our ideals, our values that built America — values that allowed us to forge a nation made up of immigrants from every corner of the globe; values that drive our citizens still.

Repetition, anaphora to emphasise accomplishments**:**

- Now, let me repeat: We cut taxes. We cut taxes for 95 percent of working families. We cut taxes for small businesses. We cut taxes for first-time homebuyers. We cut taxes for parents trying to care for their children. We cut taxes for 8 million Americans paying for college;
- Let us find a way to come together and finish the job for the American people. Let's get it done. Let's get it done.

Contrast / antithesis:

- But when I ran for President, I promised I wouldn't just do what was popular – I would do what was necessary;
- burdens that America's families have been dealing with for decades –- the burden of working harder and longer for less;
- Next, we can put Americans to work today building the infrastructure of tomorrow.

Expressive metaphors:

- Again, we are tested. And again, we must answer history's call;

- How long should America put its future on hold?

- The worst of the storm has passed;

- Our most urgent task upon taking office was to shore up the same banks that helped cause this crisis.

Metonymy:

- Washington has been telling us to wait for decades.

Summing up, in this paper I have discussed two arguments a) in support of the announced new job bill and b) in support of the current Research and innovation policy referring to the Critical Discourse Analysis perspective and focusing on practical argumentation scheme. The two arguments have been highlighted because the same statements are pronounced several times in the text of 2010 as well as other State of the Union addresses. In terms of structure, both practical arguments are strong and reasonable – *Claims for Action*, Goals and *Means-goals'* relations are in related to each other, although weakly, but *Counter-claim* is also present in the text. The guiding values of both arguments are unity, fairness, responsibility. While describing state of the arts, the speaker applies metaphors that are related to contest, examination, overcoming challenges and thus, highlights the circumstance where the U.S. has to pursue its efforts to be the world leading country.

5. Conclusion

State of the Union Addresses, text of 2010 provides another good example of how President Barack Obama acknowledges and addresses all potential and power of language. The text is rich with rhetorical devises. Values shared by the whole nation are highlighted and presented as the basis of policy, fundamentals of further actions. Throughout his speech, President hardly ever separates himself from the American people and society, expressing deep gratitude, respect and emphasizing the need for joint efforts and common agenda. Indeed, if we invite relevant experts of the fields to scrutinize the arguments provided by the president, it is most probable that the provided premises will become subject to criticism and review. However, Claims for Action and Means-goals' relations to the identified Goal in President's practical argumentation are strong and reasonable.

Deeper and more comprehensive CDA analysis of each identified argument could become the subject of further analysis.

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[ii] History, Arts and Architecture is a collaborative project etween the Office of the Historian and the Clerk of the House's Office of Art and Archives.

[iii] According to the U.S. National Science Foundation (NSF) info brief by Mark Boroush, „research and experimental development (R&D) performed in the United States totaled $495.1 billion in 2015 (table 1). The estimated total for 2016, based on performer-reported expectations, is $510.0 billion. These numbers compare to U.S. R&D totals of $454.0 billion in 2013 and $475.4 billion in 2014". R&D expenditures, by performing sector and source of funding: 2008–16 are **available on NSF website.**

[iv] Mission-Oriented Research & Innovation in the European Union by Dr. Mariana MAZZUCATO is **available on the EC website**

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SopioTotibadze

GENDERED METAPHORS IN POLITICAL DISCOURSE

Abstract

Metaphor can be seen as one of the most essential and sufficient tools at politicians disposal, as it is based on the sub-conscious associations of the listener and is used to stir their emotions (Charteris-Black, 2014). Moreover, metaphors are not only used to influence the audience, they also help the linguists to sketch the image of a political leader, depending on what types of metaphors the latter employes.

This paper aims to analyse the political discourse of four British Prime Ministers and seeks out to answer the following questions: (1) do politician women reveal the same pattern of choice when employing metaphors as their male counterparts, and (2) are there gender-related differences between the sets of metaphors chosen by male and female politicians. Finally, the paper determines the probable reasons behind the choice of metaphors by female politicians to investigate the increase of masculinity in their speech.

The study has shown that most frequently used metaphors in the researched speeches are from the domain of war, health building and journey, which are habitual for a masculine speech (Mio, 1997; Flannery, 2001; Philip, 2009; Friedman, 1987). Interestingly, the reasons behind these choices can be that Britain is a masculine culture (Hofstede, 1991), as well as women in male-driven professions still feel the urge to opt for the masculine speech strategies, in order to avoid the social gender prejudice.

Key words: gender, metaphor, sociolinguistics, political discourse.

Introduction

Public spheres like politics and the media consider the ability to communicate ideas properly and persuasively to be crucial for successful communication. While nowadays trust in the media has become a more difficult commodity to gain than ever, political leaders face the need to employ special

linguistic or non-linguistic tools in their speeches, in order to achieve their ultimate goal - that is to build trust in and gain empathy with their possible voters. As claimed by Charteris-Black (2014), rhetoric remains to be the indivisible part of politics. In addition, only thoroughly planned and chosen words that fit the speaker's needs together with refined and corresponding body language can ensure both the success of the delivered speech and, most importantly, the positive effect on the target audience. Charters-Black also reflects back on Aristotelian and Platonic traditions, which, according to him, still survive and are deeply interwoven with the public spheres, including politics. He defines rhetoric as the arts of presenting the truth in a way that persuades the audience and meets the needs of the speakers. Moreover, the branch of rhetoric that is employed in politics is considered to be deliberative, placing an emphasis on attracting the voters and aiming at the future benefits of the speaker (2014).

Based on this, it is often suggested by linguists that language can offer invaluable insight into the intentions and, even more, can construct a psychological portrait of a speaker. Nowadays, due to its high importance, immense attention is drawn to the role of the gender in the speechmaking process, as linguists often claim that men and women command language differently. More precisely, whilst women see the act of speaking as a means of establishing personal relationships, men use language as a tool to obtain and convey information (Holmes, 1995). In addition, a handful of researchers interested in gender studies claim that female and male speaking styles also vary because of the social attitudes towards the masculine and feminine roles in the society (Crespi, 2003; Merchant, 2012). For instance, in a public space like politics, men are considered to be more dominant, therefore, the masculine way of speaking (such as being assertive, competitive, aggressive, interruptive, confrontational, direct, autonomous, dominating, task-oriented (Holmes, 2006)) is largely considered to be an appropriate style. On the contrary, women are believed to be naturally empathetic, less prone to interruptions, more skilled in turn-taking, polite and less confrontational or direct. Unlike men, they tend to use powerless speech forms like tag questions, hedges, apologies, forms of politeness, etc. (Mills, 2003). Not surprisingly, women seem to be negatively assessed, and are claimed to sound unconvincing whilst using feminine speech strategies in a male dominant sphere. Therefore, despite the undesirable nature of masculine speech strategies, women tend to opt for them when exposed to the male dominated public spaces.

One of the ways to successfully communicate a hidden message is by employing powerful stylistic devices, for instance, tropes like allusion, allegory, irony, metonymy, and metaphors. According to Charteris-Black, Aristotle in Poetics proposes the definition of metaphor as something that consists in giving the thing a name that belongs to something else. Thus, metaphor is used to link two notions that are not usually considered as related or which do not naturally evoke each other positively. Therefore, one of the most prominent features of metaphor is that on the basis of one idea, notion or thought, the listener can explore the limitless ways of understanding another notion that is not obviously connected to it (2014). Strikingly, the role of metaphor and other stylistic devices as effective persuasive tools in politics have been known for a long time too. For instance, it is believed that metaphors make it easier for people to "grasp the meaning of political events and feel a part of the process" (Mio, 1997, p. 130). In addition, metaphors are parts of the prevailing notions of information-processing models of public knowledge of politics. However, contemplating the significance of metaphor for political discourse, Mio admits the equivocal and contradictory character of the studies aiming at exploring this issue. Interestingly, the author advises future scholars to focus on the situations in which metaphors are effective which would lead to hiding some aspects of political discourse whilst revealing many of its interesting moments (1997).

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) suggest that metaphors play a colossal role in our everyday lives. Based on their research, the shape of a human's brain is structured in a way that people think through metaphors, stressing the approach that a metaphor is not simply a trope or a linguistic device, but a core conceptual part of human brain. Therefore, it is not surprising that scientists (Charteris-Black, Chilton, Lakoff, etc.) suggest that metaphors take up a vast amount of attention in political rhetoric as the speakers try to trigger emotional associations in their listeners and possible voters by carefully selected words. However, it is important to be aware of the fact that a wide cultural and background knowledge is required in order to properly decode the metaphor suggested by the speaker.

Additionally, in her insightful study of discourse and gender, Koller explores the way metaphor positions men and women and how it can evoke socio-cognitive representations of gender social domains (Koller, 2004). On the other hand, as the previous studies have shown (Shaw, 2002; Jones, 2016; Rusieshvili-Cartledge, 2017), women tend to use more masculine ways of speaking when it comes to public spheres like politics. Therefore, there still remains a significant gap when it comes to

the usage of metaphors by female and male politicians and this sparked the interest to investigate whether the two sexes reveal gender-specific differences when employing metaphors in their narrative or they actually follow the tendency of opting for a more masculine way of speaking. In this specific case, it is interesting to explore whether female politicians choose the metaphors that are most commonly employed by males.

The relevance of this research lies in the fact that it aims to contribute to the existing research in the field and, at the same time, add new data to already known facts about this issue. Specifically, the paper investigates whether female politicians show the same trend as men when employing metaphors in their speech. More precisely, the paper will focus on two main research questions (1) whether politician women reveal the same pattern of choice when employing metaphors as their male counterparts, and later (2) will investigate whether there are gender-related differences between the sets of metaphors chosen by male and female politicians. Finally, the paper will determine the probable reasons behind the choice of metaphors by female politicians to investigate the increase of masculinity in their speech. To achieve answers to the above-mentioned research avenues speeches delivered by four British Prime Ministers (two female and two male) will be explored and metaphors employed by them will be compared and contrasted. Metaphors will be identified and grouped according to their belonging to a certain source domain. Finally, metaphors will be analysed according to which gender they belong to (feminine or masculine) and whether there is a tendency emerging regarding the preference of certain gendered metaphors as employed by female and male politicians.

2. Metaphor in Politics

As claimed by Charteris-Black, metaphor is essential and at the same time highly sufficient in politics, being based on the emotional and sub-conscious associations, when uttered it calls up on the cultural or historical background knowledge of the listener. Implying the fact that the target audience is part of the culture and aware of the historical past of the country, correctly chosen metaphorical mapping can trigger emotional response and persuade the possible voters towards the goodwill of the politician (2014). Therefore, when correctly used, metaphor can be a powerful device in politics.

In spite of the fact that the frequent usage of this or that metaphor is very dependent on the current processes and the issues of the day, there are still several of them that keep their constancy. Chilton

(2004), when analyzing political discourse, claims that political concepts usually include conceptual metaphors of JOURNEY, like coming to a crossroads, moving ahead towards a better future, overcoming obstacles on the way, etc. Besides, according to the previous studies (Howe, 1988; Mio, 1997) metaphors of WARFARE, SPORT, NATURE, VIOLENCE and FAMILY are also repeatedly used in the political discourse. The popularity of SPORT metaphors can be explained by the positive mappings connected to it, e.g., TEAM, which helps the speaker create a bond between the voters and the political party and establishes the sense of a group or team. Furthermore, the aforementioned metaphor gives the politician a possibility to innocuously speak about winning and defeating the competitors, thus, other parties, scoring against them or hitting home runs. Therefore, by employing SPORT metaphors, especially those connected to the TEAM make the electorate believe that they themselves are actively involved in a campaign and are the important members of the team (Howe, 1988). WAR metaphors also let the leaders gain the victory and defeat the adversary, however, as Mio points out, these metaphors are strongly male in nature and exclude women (1997). However, unlike WAR metaphors, which, as mentioned above, usually entail winning over others, FAMILY metaphors often occur in the context of creating the sense of family and bringing people together (Ottati, 2014).

Interestingly, metaphors are not only used while describing certain political situations, but are also perfect devices in the process of sketching the image of a political leader, in order to strengthen or weaken their public image in society. For instance, calling Margaret Thatcher 'The Iron Lady' underlies her iron-like character, which for its part presents her strong personality - unusual for a woman. Gendered metaphors connected to Hillary Clinton sometimes help her to revise positively her role in society (Madonna), or, on the contrary, destroy her femininity and image (Witch, Bitch). However, some metaphors place her in a "double bind" (Unruly Woman) and it is up to the recipient's attitude how it is decoded (Lim, 2009).

Thus, metaphor as an indivisible part of public speaking remains to be the core device in persuasive speech. Apart from giving the text a holistic touch and coherence, when properly encoded/decoded, it enables the speaker/listener to enhance the experience. Metaphor is key to both gaining attention and obtaining trust. Even more, it enables a speaker to stir and take control over people's emotions and direct them in favour of their team. While, at first glance, skilled and clever politicians might seem to use familiar, even easy language and common metaphors, in reality they establish a common ground

and set of values with their audience, which in the end can be a powerful, even dangerous commodity for the opponents (Charteris- Black, 2014).

3. Metaphors in Politics and Gender

Although the twenty-first century brought about a number of changes regarding the way we think and perceive the world, gender-driven differences still remain to be striking. In spite of the fact that in most countries women are officially considered equal to men, the reality is still far from the ideal. Interestingly, nowadays women constantly challenge the stereotypical views about which professions are more suitable for them and sign up for the jobs that might seem to be more "acceptable" for their counterparts (Tannen, 1992). However, while doing so, in order to fit in certain standards and stereotypes accepted by their culture, they start adjusting to more masculine speech strategies and try to even sound like them (Holmes, 2006; Rusieshvili-Cartledge, 2017). While politician women try to please the gender-prejudiced public (which undoubtedly is an extremely difficult thing to do) and, at the same time, do their job, they create numerous opportunities for linguists to analyze their speeches and determine the socio-stylistic reasons behind their linguistic choices. As it is speculated that men and women perceive the world differently and use language accordingly (Holmes, 1995), researchers use language as a tool to determine the contrast between the two. Nowadays, when the political platform is being heavily "invaded" by women, interest in the analysis of their political speeches is increasing proportionally and, in fact, a lot of linguists (e.g., Lakoff, Charteris-Black, and Chilton) have channeled their work to analyze political discourse.

As already mentioned on numerous occasions, metaphor in the political speech-making process plays rather a significant role. Therefore, some gender related researches (Lim, 2009; Semino & Koller, 2009; Tenorio, 2009, etc.) are conducted to investigate the probable gender marked differences when politicians employ metaphors in their speeches. However, results are strikingly heterogeneous and keep generating mixed pictures. Dissimilar results in the studies of metaphors used by female and male politicians were explained differently. Some linguists argue that metaphors might not really be gender-marked and the differences or similarities in the choices depend on the political course of the party and their objectives, as well as the target audience (Koller & Semino, 2009). The comparative study of Irish female and male country leaders, on the other hand, proves that there is an obvious interference of gender when it comes to the choice of metaphors (Tenorio, 2009). Analyzing the British Parliamentary

debates, Charteris-Black (2009) observes that experience can be considered as a salient factor when using metaphors, consequently suggesting, based on the collected quantitative data, that males tend to use more metaphors than females and inexperienced women politicians try to avoid employing them in their speech.

Despite the fact that the linguists cannot univocally state that gender is a salient factor when analyzing metaphors, they cannot disagree with the fact that most of the languages are not inherently gender neutral and this might be visible through metaphors too (Mio, 1997; Baider and Gesuato, 2003; Philip, 2009). Specifically, so-called feminine metaphors connote the ideas that are primarily connected to the function of a woman in a domestic space/ family or a society, such as a child bearer, mother or a homemaker. Consequently, feminine metaphors include NURTURING (cooking, feeding, etc.) and other notions that as a cliché are associated with femininity (Friedman, 1987; Philip, 2009). On the other hand, masculine metaphors are comprised of the notions denoting historic roles ascribed to men, among which are HUNTING, WAR and, nowadays SPORT, operating machinery and using tools (Flannery, 2001).

As seen, most famous metaphors occurring in the political discourse (WAR, SPORT) are masculine in nature and show a high tendency to discriminate and exclude women (Mio, 1997), once again strengthening the argument that politics is a male-driven sphere and when part of it, women subconsciously or consciously use the metaphors that are associated with power and winning, rather than stressing their maternity and nurturing side of their essence. This way they avoid placing an emphasis on an empathetic side of a feminine character and stress their strong, man-like one in order to achieve political power.

Hofstede, who groups cultures into feminine and masculine, claims that different cultures can display a different index of masculinity/femininity and the gender-roles are correspondingly adjusted. For instance, more masculine cultures connote that both women and men hold tougher values, learn to be ambitious, competitive or assertive. On the other hand, the members of the feminine culture have more tender values. Thus, as suggested by the author, men in feminine cultures hold more feminine values than women in masculine cultures. According to the data proposed by Hofstede, the United Kingdom, which is selected in this thesis for exploration, scores quite high (66/100) in the masculinity index (MAS). Therefore, British culture is claimed to be more masculine in nature rather than feminine. This

score implies that both men and women are more focused on achievement and are driven by success and competition. In addition, women are more commonly accepted in man-driven workspaces, for instance in the subculture of politics.

4. Data and Methodology

The comparative study of speeches delivered by James Callaghan, Margaret Thatcher, David Cameron and Theresa May has been conducted to investigate (1) which domains of metaphors are mostly employed by them and (2) whether these metaphors are more characteristic of feminine or masculine type of speech. The analyzed corpus consists of about 37,000 words and is divided between the two female and two male PMs of the UK. The previous researches revealed that metaphors can be gender-marked, i.e. feminine or masculine. Their belonging to this or that gender, however, is determined by the nature of the tenor. More precisely, if the notion mapped to the metaphor is originally ascribed to the male sphere, the metaphor conformably is labeled as masculine (Mio, 1997; Flannery, 2001; Baider & Gesuato, 2003; Philip, 2009; Friedman, 1987). The abovementioned grouping of metaphors based on gender is used in this study as a starting point to determine to which gender the political speeches of James Callaghan, Margaret Thatcher, David Cameron and Theresa May are more characteristic of: male or female. As well as this, in the cases of the metaphors that are neither considered to be feminine nor masculine in nature, situations that metaphors describe, are further analyzed into being more passive or active. Specifically, the situations connected to the state or once lacking the agencyare grouped as characteristic of female speech, whereas the situations connected to activity are considered as representatives of the male speech.

The UK was chosen as a country of the survey for the following reasons: First, is has a high masculinity index in his categorization of cultures by Hofstede (1991). In addition, the country practices democracy and, at first glance, there is no need of women mimicking male speech peculiarities. Further, throughout its history the UK has given birth to and still is producing influential female figures in politics. More importantly, the data are in English and easily accessible due to the country's political transparency.

Due to the fact that Britain (so far) has only had two female Prime Ministers, Margaret Thatcher and Theresa May, they were chosen for the research. However, in order to ensure the homogeneity of the

political issues and speeches, as well as the similar historical context, the preceding male Prime Ministers of the female PMs, thus James Callaghan and David Cameron, were chosen for comparison.

Additionally, political speeches delivered by the Prime Ministers are divided into three major parts: early career (before becoming the PM); middle career (after becoming the PM) and late career. Due to the reason that Theresa May has not been in the office for a long time, regrettably, in her case, the late career is impossible to analyse. As well as this, speeches delivered by the PMs are thematically selected. More precisely, speeches refer to more or less similar issues. This approach ensures that in all explored cases metaphors are determined by the similar topics, consequently making the research data more homogenous. Metaphors are manually and correspondingly analyzed.

5. Data and Results

The comparative study of four British Prime Ministers' discourse is based on a corpus of 36,628 words (Table 1-2). The data were evenly split between male (18,552) and female (18,076) politicians. In addition, the speeches were selected to cover more or less similar topics concerning education, inflation, crime and current issues. After manually identifying metaphors 598 metaphors in total surfaced from various domains.

Table 1. General description of the data

	Men	Women
Corpus Size/ Number of Words	18,552	18,076
Number of Metaphors	284	314
Metaphor Density (per 1,000 words)	15.3	17.4
Metaphor Density (%)	1.53	1.74

Table 2. Number of metaphors per Prime Minister

	James Callaghan	Margaret Thatcher	David Cameron	Theresa May
Corpus Size	10,455	9,933	8,097	8,143
Number of Metaphors	148	202	136	112
Metaphor Density (per 1,000 words)	14.15	20.3	16.7	13.75
Metaphor Density (%)	1.41	2.03	1.67	1.37

As shown in Tables 1 and 2, on the basis of the speeches selected for the study, Margaret Thatcher uses the highest number of metaphors in her discourse, specifically, 20.3 metaphors per 1,000 words in total (2.03%). Theresa May employs the least number of metaphors, more precisely, 13.75 per 1,000 words (1.37%). As for James Callaghan and David Cameron, both male Prime Ministers exploit approximately the same number of metaphors, 14.15 (1.41%) and 16.7 (1.67%), respectively. Interestingly, in difference to the previous study in this field by Charteris-Black (2009) that suggests that British women politicians, unlike men, avoid using metaphors in their narrative, according to this research, Margaret Thatcher uses the highest number of metaphors out of the four selected British Prime Ministers. On the other hand, Theresa May strengthens Charteris-Black's results as she indeed uses a significantly lower number of metaphors compared to male politicians selected for the study.

Table 3. Summary of most frequently used metaphors in the selected speeches.

Source Domain	Callaghan	Thatcher	Cameron	May
War	20	29	19	13
Journey	30	25	32	34
Health	8	15	3	0
Sport	6	1	2	0

| Total | 64 | 70 | 50 | 47 |

Table 3 describes the most frequently surfaced metaphors in the selected speeches by four British Prime Ministers. Specifically, the analysis of the data has revealed that the most commonly employed metaphors come from the domain of WAR, JOURNEY, HEALTH and SPORT that, for their part, are considered to be masculine in nature. Interestingly, May usually follows the results put forward by Charteris-Black (2009) and uses the least amount of WAR metaphors (13) and does not employ any HEALTH or SPORT metaphors. However, quite surprisingly, she has the highest score regarding the usage of JOURNEY metaphors (34). On the other hand, Thatcher repeatedly exploits WAR and HEALTH metaphors and, in fact, scores the highest in this respect - 29 and 15, respectively. Callaghan mostly opts for JOURNEY metaphors and uses the most amount of SPORT metaphors (6) compared to other Prime Ministers, whereas Cameron does not reveal any preference for a particular type of metaphor and employs, more or less, all of them.

6. Discussions

The close discourse analysis reveals that the conceptual metaphors that usually underlie speeches delivered by the four politicians are drawn from the domain of WAR and JOURNEY. It is worth mentioning that the WAR metaphors frequently, but not always occur, with the preposition *for* rather than *against*. In other words, when the leaders discuss problematic issues the country is facing and they need the policies to be positively seen and evaluated by the nation, they activate WAR metaphors followed by preposition *for*. Thus, they create the sense of something worth fighting for, such as families, country, or freedom. On the other hand, using WARmetaphors together with the preposition *against* generates negative connotations, for instance, things that threaten Britain's independence, or even the national survival, therefore it needs to be dealt with immediately:

If you risk your life to fight for your country, we will honour you (David Cameron).

And that's why we are now taking still tougher action against knives and against guns (Margaret Thatcher).

In addition, metaphor usage in the selected speeches largely depends on the contrasts where the opponents (in the case of James Callaghan, the Labour party, in other cases the Conservative party) or social and economic problems are regularly seen as the enemies, competitors, cause of infections, threat and obstacles on the road, whereas they themselves and their parties appear to be the defenders of the country, healers or providers of adequate guidance on the road. Therefore, the contrasts based on metaphors are seen as crucial and serve the purpose of heightening the difference between the competitor parties.

Though being rarely presented in the speeches, some interesting metaphors, apart from the SEA and AUCTION metaphors have emerged from the analysis and are worth mentioning. More specifically, Cameron and May, in their speeches, mention a conventional metaphor 'beacon of hope' that is either mapped on to Parliament or Britain:

Let Britain be a beacon of hope (May)

Our parliament used to be a beacon to the world (David Cameron).

As argued by Charteris-Black (2014), the aforementioned metaphor is quite commonly employed in political discourse and serves the purpose of "social aspiration". More precisely, a beacon, according to the Macmillan Dictionary, is "a bright light or fire that shines in the dark and is used as a signal to warn people against danger or to show them the way". Therefore, when mapping Britain or the British Parliament onto the frame of a beacon, it activates the implications of fire (warmth, hope, purifying), light (seeing, knowing) and up (health, happiness). Thus, being a beacon to the world, Britain is presented in the role of the enlightener and provider of hope to the world.

Other striking metaphors that have been observed in the speeches are the MASTER and SERVANT/ SLAVE metaphors:

To become the master of events and never again to be their slave (Callaghan).

The politicians are always their servant and never their masters (Cameron).

This country which I am privileged to serve… (Thatcher).

Apart from evoking sentimental feelings linked to imperial Britain that was one of the dominant powers in the world (Charteris-Black, 2005), the MASTER-SERVANTmetaphor puts an emphasis on the power of people in the process of governing the country that, for its part, creates the sense of stewardship and of being involved in the governance of the country. As a result, people feel part of the political process. Further, the nation is perceived as the master, whilst the politicians are the servants/slaves serving their country. With this persuasive and powerful metaphor, people are tricked into believing that they have the power, when in reality, politicians are the ones who really govern the country.

The FAMILY metaphor is seldom employed in the speeches selected for this research. In fact, only Callaghan and Thatcher use such metaphors in their narrative and, interestingly, with two polar connotations:

What a wise parent would wish for their children, so the state must wish for all its children (Callaghan).

Inflation is the parent of unemployment (Thatcher).

On the one hand, Callaghan uses family metaphor in a positive way, suggesting that the country/ the government is a parent, whereas the nation is the child. In this way he activates a very productive string of entailments, such as home, warmth, protection and persuades his listeners into his compassion towards his nation. On the other hand, Thatcher connotes the negative associations of a parent as it is seen as the bearer and deliverer of the social problems that is spreading across Britain.

As for the HEALTH metaphors, they are scarcely scattered throughout the speeches. Moreover, they are not at all employed in Theresa May's speeches, which agrees with Charteris-Black's conclusion that women try to avoid health metaphors in their discourse (2009). However, the HEALTH metaphors

that have surfaced in this research usually are comprised of the word 'recovery'. Moreover, Callaghan believes that "unemployment has become endemic", whereas Cameron suggests that "self-belief is infectious" and needs to be spread in the country.

To return to the main research question of this paper, more precisely, whether the selected Prime Ministers of the UK employ more masculine metaphors or feminine, it has been previously claimed that metaphors from the source domain of WAR, SPORT and BUILDING are overtly masculine, therefore, undoubtedly belong to the more masculine speech types, than female.

HEALTH metaphors in this research are also grouped as masculine due to its historical context. More precisely, according to Bowman (2002), medicine has a long history of discriminating women from the sphere. Subsequently, as medicine is historically ascribed to be the profession for men rather than women, this paper treats HEALTH metaphors as representatives of more masculine than female speech.

As for the metaphors drawn from JOURNEY domain, that do not have consistent mapping of a certain gender, in order to determine whether they are more indicative of masculinity or femininity, the verbs and situations that metaphors describe are further grouped into ones denoting more active (masculine) or passive (feminine) settings. More precisely, those situations that have obvious agent fulfilling the action are treated as more characteristic of masculinity, whereas when the agent is absent, it is suggested to be more feminine in nature. Consequently, when the speaker presents himself/herself as the one leading the road, the action is handled as masculine. On the contrary, there are cases when, while describing a journey, the speaker states that they are following a certain road. As the process of following (and not leading) is a passive act, such metaphors are considered to be more feminine in nature.

Table 4a. Amount of most frequently used masculine and feminine journey metaphors

Journey Metaphors	James Callaghan	Margaret Thatcher	David Cameron	Theresa May
Lead the road/ the nation	+	+	+	+

Move forward/ different directions	+	-	+	+
Bring forward (the change)	+	+	+	-
Bring the country through the bad times	+	-	+	-
go down the road	+	+	+	+
Take a course/ go that way	-	+	+	+
Total amount of masculine journey metaphors	21	19	19	22
Total amount of feminine journey metaphors	**9**	**6**	**13**	**12**

Table 4b. Total amount of most frequently used feminine and masculine metaphors

Metaphors	**James Callaghan**	**Margaret Thatcher**	**David Cameron**	**Theresa May**
Masculine	55	64	37	35
Feminine	12	7	13	12

Table 4a reveals the most frequently exploited masculine metaphors in the speeches delivered by the four British PMs (+ is inserted in the corresponding cells if the JOURNEY metaphors are present in the speeches. Accordingly, - is inserted if the metaphor is absent from the selected speeches). Clearly, these metaphors are active in nature and often denote the process of leading the road or the nation, bringing people towards or through better times, thus, taking a sort of course. As for feminine metaphors that are rarely but still used in their narrative, are usually comprised of words that lack agency, such as a leap that the mankind has witnessed, a climb, a first/final step, or enemies and

problems that lie ahead. These words and phrases denote passive situations and, therefore, belong to the group of feminine metaphors.

> I think its best days still lie ahead and I believe deeply in public service.

> Yes it will be a steep climb. But the view from the summit will be worth it.

> Yes, we have to put our faith in technologies. But that is not a giant leap. Just around the corner are new green technologies, unimaginable a decade ago, that can change the way we live, travel, work.

Table 4b further reveals that with regard to the number of metaphors drawn from the masculine and feminine source domains, masculine metaphors noticeably exceed the metaphors considered more feminine in nature. Strikingly, Thatcher is the one who uses the largest amount of masculine and least amount of feminine metaphors. In addition, apart from 9 feminine JOURNEY metaphors, and one FAMILY metaphor discussed above, Callaghan is the only PM in this research who employs 2 more feminine, more precisely FLOWER metaphors (hence number 12 in the table):

> Industrial relations are human relations. They flourish best on a basis of mutual understanding, mutual respect and mutual recognition of rights and responsibilities.

> …partnership will continue to flourish and prosper.

7. Conclusions

The spoken word in politics plays a crucial role and is employed extensively by politicians while persuading people to believe in the advantages of their leadership. Metaphors, being one of the prominent figures of speech, fulfill the linguistic purpose of "stirring up" people's emotional and psychological systems and therefore help the politicians to better express their ideas and win the hearts of their voters. Moreover, metaphors can influence our attitudes and even values by transmitting negative or positive associations to "a metaphor's target" with the help of "various source words"

(Charteris-Black, 2011). Thus, if exploited properly, metaphors can be dangerous "tools" at certain politicians' disposal.

Based upon the assumption that previously more attention was paid to both general analysis of political discourse and studying the implications of metaphors exploited in narrative structures, this paper focuses on investigating gendered metaphors employed by politicians in their speeches selected for this study. More specifically, the thesis aimed at answering the following questions: (1) which metaphors are most commonly employed in British political discourse and (2) whether the most frequently used metaphors are more characteristic of female or male speech style, or in other words, whether the speeches indeed contain more female or masculine metaphors. Two female British Prime Ministers' speeches were selected for the speech analysis and their two preceding male Prime Ministers' speeches were employed as a basis for comparison. Metaphors were identified and later grouped according to (1) their source domains and (2) belonging to either masculine or feminine style. Taking into consideration that it is highly challenging to decide which of the gender metaphors are more characteristic, several points were taken into account. First, exploration of previous researches (Mio, 1997; Flannery, 2001; Philip, 2009; Friedman, 1987) in the field which were taken as a starting point revealed that WAR, SPORT, and BUILDING metaphors were classed as masculine based due to their historical associations with men-dominated space. By the same token, HEALTH metaphors, based on the acceptance of the fact that medicine has a long history of discriminating women from the field, were also considered to be representatives of masculine speech. Secondly, metaphors associated with family, flowers and nurturing, on the other hand, were classed as feminine. Finally, some metaphors, specifically JOURNEY metaphors, that were difficult to assign to a certain gender, were further analysed. More precisely,JOURNEY metaphors denoting actions and active situations were treated as masculine. On the contrary, the JOURNEY metaphors connoting passivity in the action and lacking the agency were grouped as feminine metaphors.

The collected data analysis highlighted that the selected British Prime Ministers indeed exploit a number of metaphors in their discourse. Most frequently used metaphors turned out to be connected to WAR, HEALTH, BUILDING and JOURNEY, whereas FAMILY metaphors were extremely rare. It is undoubtedly important to mention that the most commonly used metaphors that surfaced from the

comparative study came from the source domains that are suggested by the researchers to be habitual for masculine speech strategies (Mio, 1997; Flannery, 2001; Philip, 2009; Friedman, 1987).

Surprisingly, some of the analysis generates controversial pictures regarding the previous scholarship exploring similar issues. For instance, analysis of Margaret Thatcher's narrative provides a counter evidence of a case study by Charteris-Black (2009) of British Parliamentary Debates which suggests that women tend to avoid using metaphors in their speeches, especially HEALTH metaphors. In fact, as was revealed by this research, Thatcher uses the highest number of metaphors (20.3 per 1,000 words, 2.03%) and also, the highest number of HEALTH metaphors (15). On the other hand, the analysis of May's speeches reveals that she does not employ any HEALTH metaphors and generally tends to use the lowest number of metaphors (13.75 per 1,000 words, 1.37%).

Interestingly, the reasons behind the choices made by female politicians regarding exploiting more masculine metaphors, rather than female ones can be twofold. First, as already mentioned above, in the light of Hofstede's classification of cultures (1991), Great Britain scores high regarding the rate of masculinity. Thus, women in Britain must have more masculine values mirrored in their manner and way of speaking. It can also be assumed that because of being representatives of a masculine society, this trait is so deeply embedded in their nature, that women might not even be aware of their masculine linguistic choices and speech strategies. Secondly, despite the fact that Britain recognizes equality and women are not being differentiated or discriminated based on their gender, some professions still remain to be male-driven. Undoubtedly, politics is one of them. Therefore, women (consciously or unconsciously) try to adjust their narration accordingly, so they are not oppressed due to gender prejudices and can become successful in their professional career (Jones, 2016). Thus, linguistic choices made by female political figures classed as 'natural' for men, can be highly conditioned by the social attitudes towards their gender and women's roles accepted in society and may be considered to be one of the means of constructing their identity.

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Farzin Ghobadighadikolaei

METAPHORICAL EXTENSIONS OF 5 ENGLISH AND PERSIAN VERBS

An image-schematic analysis

Abstract

Languages change and this change may occur in the sound structure, morphology, syntax, lexicon and the lexical meaning. Lexical and semantic changemay produce polysemy based on different mechanisms of semantic changes. Metaphor as one of the mechanisms of semantic change extends the possible range of lexical meaning, operates on the basis of a real or assumed similarity between the source and target domains. This similarity, in turn, derives from conceptual structures called *image schemas* that are active in the mind of speakers of different languages. The present research, therefore, attempts to investigate metaphorical extensions of 5 cognate English and Persian verbs of common Indo-European origin. The ultimate goal of the article is to compare and contrast image-schematic types of the selected verbs based on image-schemas proposed by Johnson (1987) and Lakoff and Turner (1989). The analysis reveals that the present verbs have similar types of image-schemas in both English and Persian including image-schemas of path, existence, containment and attraction. This is along with the fact that not all cases of polysemy act similarly due to the diachronic nature of semantic changes and different historical and social circumstances.

Key words: semantic change, mechanisms of semantic change, metaphor, image-schema,

1. Introduction

Languages change in time and part of this change is the shift in their meaning (Finegan, 2012). Shift in the meaning or semantic change happens in verbs as well. This shift starts from the original meaning changing it into its more abstract renderings based on some sort of similarity between the old and new

meanings. An important point here, however, is to investigate tendencies and qualities of change in various languages, that is, to inquire whether languages tend to change in certain directions and if the results are similar or different.

This paper attempts to analyze five English and Persian verbs having a common Indo-European origin. The aim here is to explore tendencies of metaphorical extensions in the selected English and Persian verbs based on the image schematic theory.

2. Theoretical background

2.1. Language and Semantic change

Languages change with time, all living languages are subject to changes and this process is continuing all the time. The language change is universal, continuous and to a very considerable degree- regular. Despite different theories of language change, there is no comprehensive and inclusive theory that can cover all the reasoning and facts about language change.(Lyons, 1990) The change in language can be viewed at two levels; first, at the level of phonological, grammatical and lexical changes, second, at the level of internal and external factors. After being coined and lexicalized,words often undergo subtle but wide-ranging changes. The most common type of change is change in meaning referred to as semantic change. (Kuiper and Allan, 1996). In other words, semantic change is the type of lexical change in which no formally new creation occurs, but an already existing form is extended in use. (Grzega and Schöner,2007)

2.2. Mechanisms of semantic change

There are certain mechanisms by which lexical semantic change happens. Semasiological machanisms involve the creation of new readings of an existing lexical item. Semasiological innovations provide existing words with new meanings contrary to onomasiological innovations that express a concept by a new or alternative lexical item.(Geeraerts, 2010) Within semasiological mechanisms, there is a distinction between changes of denotational, referential meaning and changes in connotational meaning, especially in the emotive meaning of the word. Denotational changes in meaning comprise the classical set of specialization, generalization, metonymy and metaphor. On the other hand, the major types of emotive meaning change are pejorative and ameliorative; that is- a shift toward a more

negative emotive meaning versus a shift toward a more positive emotive meaning respectively.(Geeraerts,2010)

2.3.   Metaphors

One of the commonest of all types of semantic change ismetaphor. Metaphors apply a word to something it does not literally denote in order to draw attention to a resemblance (Trask, 2003). In linguistic terms, a simple way to look at a metaphor is to consider it as a breach in the normal literal selectional restrictions that the semantic components of words have in a sentence (Kuiper and Allan, 1996). Viewed as the most important form of figurative language use, metaphor is usually regarded as reaching its most sophisticated forms in literary or poetic language. The two main concepts involved in a metaphor are referred to differently in the related literature. For instance, the starting point or described concept is often called the target domain whereas the comparison concept or the analogy is called the source domain. (Geeraerts, 2010)

Based on a classical Aristotelian view metaphors are a kind of a decorative addition to ordinary plain language; a rhetorical device to be used at certain times to gain certain effects (Saeed, 2009). Thus according to this theory, metaphors are considered to be beyond the normal use of the literal language acquiring special forms of interpretation on the part of listeners or readers.The other view onmetaphor often referred to as the'romantic view' holds that metaphor is integral to language and thought as a way of experiencing the world, it is evidence of the imagination in conceptualizing and reasoning and it follows that the language is metaphorical by definition, so that there is no distinction between literal and figurative languages (Saeed, 2009).

Lakoff and Turner (1989: 135) assert that"Metaphors allow us to understand one domain of experience in terms of another. To serve this function, there must be some grounding, some concepts that are not completely understood via metaphor to serve as source domain".

2.3.1. Features of metaphors

Cognitive   semanticists argue that metaphors exhibit characteristic and systematic features. Some of these characteristics bear the headings of conventionality, systematicitiy, asymmetry and

abstraction(Saeed, 2009). Conventionality raises the issue of the novelty of the metaphor. Systematicity refers to the fact that a metaphor does not just set up a single point of comparison: features of the source and target domain are joined so that the metaphor may be extended, or have itsown internal logic. The third feature asymmetry refers to the way that metaphorsare directional. They do not set up a symmetrical comparison between two concepts, establishing points of similarity; the mappings in metaphors do not work the other way round. Finally, the fourth feature is abstraction related to asymmetry. It has often been noted that a typical metaphor uses a more concrete, specific source to describe a more abstract target. In fact, in cognitive semantics this allows metaphor its central role in both categorizing of new concepts and the organization of experience (Saeed, 2009).

2.3.2. Image-schemas

Image schemas are conceptual structures that are formed as the result of our physical experience of being and acting in the world and our perceiving the environment, moving our bodies, exerting and experiencing force etc. These basic conceptual structures are then used to organize thought across a range of more abstract domains.

Domains that give rise to images are embodied (Lakoff 1987: 267; Johnson 1987: 19-23) or grounded (Lakoff and Turner 1989: 113). Johnson provides the most precise specification of which domains are embodied: those that refer to physical experience (1987), specially "our bodily movements through space, our manipulation of objects, and our perceptual interactions" (1987: 29; see also Lakoff 1987: 267). An inventory of image schemas collected from Johnson (1987) and Lakoff and Turner (1989) includes the following:

SPACE UP±DOWN, FRONT±BACK, LEFT±RIGHT, NEAR±FAR,

CENTER±PERIPHERY, CONTACT

SCALE PATH

CONTAINER, CONTAINMENT, IN±OUT, SURFACE, FULL±EMPTY,

CONTENT,

FORCE BALANCE, COUNTERFORCE, COMPULSION, RESTRAINT,

ENABLEMENT, BLOCKAGE, DIVERSION, ATTRACTION

UNITY/MULTIPLICITY MERGING, COLLECTION, SPLITTING, ITERATION, PART±

WHOLE, MASS±COUNT, LINK

IDENTITY MATCHING, SUPERIMPOSITION

EXISTENCE REMOVAL, BOUNDED SPACE, CYCLE, OBJECT, PROCESS

3. Data and Methodology

To carry out the analysis considered in this article, five Persian verbs of Indo-European origin and their English cognates were selected from Cheng (2007). Then the diachronic developments including semantic changes and the polysemy of the selected verbs were elicited and studied both in English and Persian. To do this, the following dictionaries were used: English Oxford Dictionary on Historical Principles (2006),Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary: Eleventh Edition (2004), five-volume etymological dictionary of Persian by Hassandoust (2016) and 16 volume Dehkhoda dictionary of Persian available at online Abadis dictionary (2017). Next, the instances of semantic change and polysemy were analyzed based on the image-schema inventory proposed by Johnson (1987) and Lakoff and Turner (1989).

4. Data analysis

1. **PIE. * step (to hasten, to op/press)**

* OIr. abi-štāpa   >   MPers. wīštab   (to hasten, to op-press), NPers. šitaftan (to hurry)

OCS. stǫpiti   (to tread)   >   ORuss. stopa (fast-step)   >   Russ. stopa

OE. stæppan   >   ME. stæppan   >   NE. to step

PIE. * step

English

1.   Moving by raising the foot and bringing it down somewhere else 2.Danc

3.   To go on foot, walk   4.   Advance, proceed5.   Be on one's way; leave

6.   Press down with the foot   7. To come into 8.   Set   9.   To make erect by fixing the lower end of sth   10.   To measure by steps   11.   To construct and arrange as if in steps

Persian

1.   Hurry up

2.   Rush, go hastily

2. **PIE. *steH₂   (to stand, to place)**

Av. stā-   (to place, set, stand); MPers. īst   (to stay, stand, be); NPers. īstādan (stop, arrest, rob, stand against)

OE. standan   >   ME. standan   >   NE. stand

English

1.   Support oneself on the feet   2.To rise in an erect position

3.   To take up or maintain a specified position or posture

4.   Obs. Hesitate   5.   To be a candidate, run   6.   To occupy a place or location   7.   Agree, accord   8.   To exist in a definite written or printed form   9.
                      Remain valid or efficacious   10.   Endure or undergo successfully   11.
                       To participate in a military formation   12.   Remain firm in the face of sth

Persian

1. Getting up on, rising upside   2. Stop, hindering   3. Insisting on

4. Agreeing, consent   5. Being upright

6. Reside, be located   7. Delay   8. Stop moving   9. Insist   10. Continue to do

3. PIE. * Har- (to set in motion); PIE. *H_3 er (to move , to set in motion)

Av. ar-   (to set in motion);   MPers. rān (to drive, to expel, to pursue), NP. rāndan (to drive away, expel)

OE. rinnan /iernan   >   ME. ronnen/rinnen   >   NE.run

English

1. To go faster than a walk   2. Flee, retreat, escape

3. To go without restraint, go freely   4. To keep company, consort

5. To enter an election, race   6. To go back and forth, ply   7. Turn, rotate

8. Function, operate   9.Melt, fuse   10. Spread, dissolve   11. Hunt,chase
12.Reach   13. Manage   14. Smuggle   15. To cause to produce or flow   16. Drive for a graze   17. Thrust

Persian

1. Making to go or move   2. Driving a car or airplane

3. Making an animal move and go   4. Expel, drive out   5. Describe, write

6.   Inflicting diarrhea

4. PIE. *sed   (to sit)

Av. hiⵣ / had   (to sit, to be seated, sit down), OPers. ni-šād (to establish),   MPers. nišastan   (to sit down)   >   NPers.nišastan

OE. sittan   >   ME. sitten   >   NE. Sit

English

1.   To sit on the buttocks 2.   Perch, roost   3. Occupy a place as a member

4.   Brood   5.   Serve as a model   6.   Dwell   7. Lie, rest

8.   To remain inactive   9.   Babysit   10.   To please or agree with one

11.   To cause to be seated   12.   Squelch, repress

Persian

1.   Establishing a living

2.   Putting on the throne of the monarchy and the Emirate

3.   Preaching at home or at work to visit friends   4.   Riding (on horseback riding etc

5.   Hold something in something   6. Accommodation, staying

7.   Disposal of the discharge

115. PIE. *grabH   (to grab, seize, take)

Av. grab- (gərəvnāiti)   (grab, seize, take),   OPers. gr̥bā (to seize as possession, as a prisoner), MPers. griftan (take, seize)   > NPers. giriftan

OCS. grabiti (to rob)   >   Russ. grabit'

OE. gripe   (LGer. Grabben) ME.   >   NE. grab

English

1.   Take or sieze by a sudden motion   2.   Obtain unscrupulously

3.   To take hastily   4.   To sieze the attention of   5.   To impress favorably and deeply

Persian

1. Accept   2. Select   3. Reprimand   4. Start   5. Effect   6. Capture   7. Grab

8. Do   9. Hunt 10. Impede   12. Happen   13. Eat/drink

5.   Findings and results

1. Looking through the polysemic structure of the verb "to step" in English, it appears that most of the semantic extensions are related to the sense "motion" and "movement''. On the other hand, Persian polysemy shows the same sense of "movement with haste". Thus, an underlying image-schema for this verb could be that of "path" schema that reflects our everyday experience of moving around the world and experiencing the movement of other entities. Consequently, these two languages depict the similar image schema, involved in the interpretation of the metaphorical extensions.

2. The verb "to stand" in English conveys meanings of "being present", "remaining motionless, firm or steadfast". Apparently this verb indicates presence and existence at underlying layers of the metaphorical interpretations although this presence at times assumes the upright and erected form. In Persian the meanings of "existence" and "stopping" are at the core of most of the polysemy either in the form of "stopping to go forward or '' stopping going forward" and becoming motionless. In fact, these meanings take up different image schemas in each of the polysemy. For example, in the sense of "reside and wait" the apparent image involved is "existence" while in the meanings

"insist" and "continue" the images involved are "force and path". Likewise, the image actualized in "finish" is "containment".

3. In both Persian and English the dominant image schema for the verb "to run" is "path" because in both inventories of polysemy the main underlying sense is that of "motion" from which most of the metaphorical extensions related to this verb are derived. Thus both languages show dynamicity with parallel but different levels of abstraction from more concrete meanings as driving a car or an animal to more abstract meanings of operating, managing, writing and taking part in elections. Evidently, in all these cases beginning and ending points are imaginable.

4. The dominant image-schema in the verb "to sit" in both Persian and English seems to be "containment". The sense of being present and staying somewhere is visible in most of the meaning inventories, for instance, Persian staying, establishing living and putting on the throne all have a core meaning of settlement somewhere. Likewise, English showing more diversity in the range of the verb meaning from dwelling, sitting on the buttocks, resting, and remaining inactive, goes to more abstract instances of pleasing and repressing that altogether share the same element of existence within a framework or confine.

5. The verb "to grab" indicates an act of picking up and getting. An act of moving things in directions aimed toward the speaker. Metaphorical extensions of this verb in both languages share this essential sense and concept. The major image-schema involved here is that of "attraction". Here English shows more uniformity where the metaphorical meanings have to do with taking and seizing; typical instances of attraction. Persian, however,reveals more diversity in realization of this underlying image-schema. Whereas in "accept, select, hunt, eat" there is a sense of "moving towards the speaker" either in concrete or abstract forms, there are instances such as "happen, start, impede, and do" that are less typical and could have other image-schemas involved like the case of "impede" and the image-schema of blockage.

6. Conclusions

Investigating the underlying image-schemas of the metaphorical extensions of 5 English and Persian verbs shows that metaphorization, being the main process of the semantic change in verbs, is mostly based on similar image-schematic structures among the selected verbs of English and Persian. In other words, whereas the image schemas involved are the same, the resulted metaphors may be different, depending on the indeterminate nature and sequence of the circumstances in life and the outer world. For example in **PIE. *grabH,** evidently there is a common core meaning of "take and seize" that is, the image-schema of "attraction" in both languages, the same similarity is relevant to**PIE. *sed (to sit)**where the core meaning of "sitting, staying, dwelling and resting" is evident in the verb polysemy in both languages- an instance of the "containment" image-schema. In fact, while analyzing image-schematic structures, special attention must be paid not to the superficial similarity or differences but to the underlying core meaning with due consideration of the varying levels of abstraction in rendering different metaphors.

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