ETAGTSU

Online Journal of Humanities

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IRONY AND SARCASM – VERBAL RESISTANCE AGAINST WESTERN STEREOTYPES

Abstract

This research examines the role of sarcasm and irony in transmitting protest in the speeches of Muslim stand-up comedians in America. The study includes jokes from ten performances of four top-rated Muslim stand-up comedians analysed through the exclusively elaborated criteria that include the concept of 'face', 'target', 'implicature'. The results of the research show that ironic and sarcastic utterances applied in comedians' speeches were related to the most painful stereotypes about the Muslim community. Accordingly, irony and sarcasm were the major resources used to confront these stereotypes. The results of the present research revealed that irony and sarcasm can be effective rhetorical and persuasive instruments against well-established beliefs and stereotypes. We propose that they can be used in other situations with similar success.

Keywords: Stand-up, Satire, Stereotypes.

Introduction

Prejudice toward religious and racial minority groups has long represented a challenge to values such as equality and liberty that are central to the American ethos (e.g., Myrdal 1944). Prejudice toward most minority groups has declined in recent decades, but Muslims are an exception: they are viewed much less favourably than most other religious and racial minorities. The topics of discrimination range from cross-border processes to everyday relationships.

Terrorism is supposedly the most dominant reason for American antipathy toward Muslims. 9/11 terrorist attacks which were followed by "war on terror", directed at Islamic fundamentalist groups and eventually U.S. military action in Afghanistan and Iraq couldn't

have ended without certain political and social consequences. The distaste for Muslims was eventually encouraged with the most recent reformation concerning the US immigration policy, that banned citizens of Muslim-majority countries Iran, Syria, Libya, Yemen, and Somalia, as well as North Korea and Venezuela from entering the United States.

There is no hesitation that the tension and the actuality of the issue find reflection in every possible aspect in the life of American society, particularly in such a socially determined field as Standup comedy. Satirical and insightful Standup performances have always provided some of the most authentic social commentaries and considering the fact that Standup comedy has been an important feature of American popular culture since its earliest days, we can agree that it echoes the social thought and can easily reshape it as well.

In this study, we discuss the language Muslim Standup comedians use to confront Western stereotypes about the Muslim minority. Sarcastic and ironical utterances will be vetted in particular as they function in communicating attitudes/ assessments in parallel with commenting. Our aim is to detect how sarcasm and irony serve comedians in being funny and didactic at the same time and their functioning in preserving the preciseness of the comedians' attitudes while commenting about different social situations.

Theoretical frame of the article

1.1 Verbal irony

According to Abrams, M. H., & Harpham, G. G, (2009), the verbal irony is a statement in which the meaning that a speaker employs is sharply different from the meaning that is ostensibly expressed. An ironic statement usually involves the explicit expression of one attitude or evaluation, but with indications in the overall speech-situation that the speaker intends a very different, and often opposite, attitude or evaluation.

According to Sperber and Wilson (1995), ironic simile is a form of verbal irony where a speaker intends to communicate the opposite of what they mean. For instance, the following explicit similes begin with the deceptive formation of a statement that means A, but eventually

conveys the meaning not A: "as soft as steel", "as simple as building Babylon", "as pleasant and relaxed as an Intramuscular injection".

The irony is recognisable in each case only through the knowledge of the source concepts (e.g., that steel is one of the hardest metals on earth; that building Babylon was hard work; that an intramuscular injection is unpleasant) to detect an incongruity. Accordingly, background knowledge is a crucial component participating in the process of decoding an ironical/ sarcastic utterance.

1.2 Verbal irony and sarcasm

A fair amount of confusion emerges when discussing the issue of the relationship between verbal irony and sarcasm.

The psychologist Martin (2007), in "The Psychology of Humour", claims that in case of irony, the literal meaning is opposite to the intended and sarcasm is aggressive humour that pokes fun. The author provides the following examples: for irony, he uses the statement "What a nice day" when it is raining. For sarcasm, the author cites Winston Churchill's reply to Bessie Braddock's comment on his being drunk: "But I shall be sober in the morning, and you will still be ugly", as being sarcastic, while not stating the opposite of what is intended.

Psychology researchers Lee and Katz (1998) addressed the issue directly. They found that ridicule is an important aspect of sarcasm, but not of verbal irony in general. By this account, sarcasm is a particular kind of personal criticism levelled against a person or a group of persons that incorporates verbal irony.

1.3 Verbal Irony and echoic allusion

An echoic allusion is the main component involved in conveying verbally ironic meaning. It is best described by Wilson, D. (2006) as a speech act by which the speaker simultaneously represents a thought, belief or idea, and implicitly attributes this idea to someone else who is

wrong or deluded. In this way, the speaker intentionally dissociates themselves from the idea and conveys their tacit dissent, thereby providing a different meaning to their utterance. In some cases, the speaker can provide stronger dissociation from the represented thought by also implying derision toward the idea or outwardly making fun of the person or people they attribute it to.

Prieto, P. et al. (2015) suggest that an echoic allusion, like other forms of verbal irony, relies on semantically disambiguating cues to be interpreted correctly. These cues often come in the form of <u>paralinguistic markers</u> such as prosody, tone, or pitch, as well as <u>nonverbal cues</u> like hand gesture, facial expression and eye gaze.

These definitions from well-known scholars and rhetorical and persuasive functions of irony and sarcasm allow us to see the concepts of irony and sarcasm as the main tools Muslim comedians employ in their discourses to "fight" Western stereotypes about the Muslim community.

According to the definitions of sarcastic and ironic utterances it can be concluded that in order "to make sense", they have to be decoded at some level. To identify an utterance as an ironic or sarcastic, we have to confirm the presence of certain linguistic elements. The following linguistic instruments allow sarcastic and ironic utterances.

1.4 Target

Dauphin (2000: 3) defines sarcasm as "a form of ironic speech commonly used to convey implicit criticism with a particular victim as its target". The target appears to be the object to whom the criticism is directed through the ironic/ sarcastic utterance. Most cases of ironic and sarcastic utterances include some target; it can be a person, an idea or an attitude.

1.5 Implicature

An implicature is something the speaker suggests or implies with an utterance, even though it is not literally expressed. This phenomenon is part of pragmatics, a subdiscipline of linguistics. H. P. Grice coined the term in 1975 and distinguished conversational implicatures, which arise because speakers are expected to respect general rules of conversation, and conventional ones, which are tied to certain words such as "but" or "therefore" (Grice, 1975:24–26).

1.6 Punchline

The function of the punchline is to make the audience laugh. A linguistic interpretation of the punchline/response is enlightened by Victor Raskin in his "Script-based Semantic Theory of Humour" (1985). Humour is evoked when a trigger, contained in the punchline, causes the audience to abruptly shift its understanding of the story from the primary (or more obvious) interpretation to the secondary, opposing interpretation. The punchline will serve as another tool in the research to correctly analyse and interpret stand-up jokes.

1.7 The concept of 'Face'

Brown and Levinson (1987) suggest the concepts of "face-saving ", and "face-threatening acts" (FTAs). The Face is defined as the public self-image, projected by a person. A Face-threatening act in some way damages the „Face‟ of a person, acting in opposition to what the interlocutor thinks, believes or desires. Every time FTA occurs, it is possible to lessen it through what is labelled as a "Face-saving act". These acts spontaneously occur in conversation and other social interactions. Therefore, it is likely to find such instances in the use of ironic or sarcastic utterances. Observing face-threatening acts in stand-up discourse will help us to determine the role of the aggressive language in creating laughter; it is expected that the seriousness of the target's Face damage increases the quality of the joke.

1.8 Humour – standup comedy

Humour is a strong social and psychological phenomenon. Standup comedy has been an important feature of American popular culture since its earliest days. Standup comedians provide us with some of the most valuable social commentaries. Their performances are politically satiric and insightful. such categorization belies the consistent role of standup comedy as social and cultural analysis. Their complaints contain a critique of the gap between what is and what is believed should be. The issues the comedians address sometimes even cause social divisions.

In all cultures, humour discourse appears to reflect all the crucial characteristics of their social life. Accordingly, comedians are social mediators for society to make changes. In this case, Muslim comedians display their own struggles. They naturally are the "deviations" of behavior and expression between the society and its minorities. As well as this, they become the key to understanding the role of standup comedy in the process of cultural affirmation and subversion is a recognition of the comedian's traditional license for deviate behaviour and expression. (Lawrence E. Mintz, 1985).

1.9 Standup comedy – satire

Quintero, R. (2011) states that satire is traditionally thought of as a literary mode with a moral purpose; the satirist writes with a sense of moral vocation and with a concern for the public interest. It is also clear that satires often address the same sorts of particular moral problems that papers in applied ethics do.

As is known, sarcasm and irony are one of the several linguistic instruments used to achieve satirical effect in any type of discourse. Similarly to satirists, Muslim comedians try to influence moral aspects of their society; their ridicule and mockery always intends a demand for a change and almost always is strengthened by morality.

The amount of irony and sarcasm detected in comedians' utterances allow us to identify their narrative as satiric or non-satiric.

Methodology

This study aims to explore the figurative language Muslim comedians employ in their discourses to "fight" Western stereotypes about the Muslim community.

Exploration of the resources Muslim comedians use for accomplishing their purposes enabled us to verify the validity of the two most discussed aspects of irony and sarcasm – rhetoric and persuasion.

2.1 Data collection procedures

The data analysis carried out in this research involved several procedures. At the initial stage of the research the relevant data were selected and downloaded from Youtube. After the transcription process was completed, the utterances were carefully examined and alalysed. All the humorous utterance segments were selected from 10 performances and treated as the specific data for the present research to the extent that they were regarded as the most representative utterances concerning the expression of protest. 50 utterances compatible with the research purposes were chosen from 10 stand-up performances of 4 Muslim comedians: Ramy Youssef, Mo Amer, Ismael Loutfi and Kumail Nanjiani. The videos were found on Youtube platform. The video transcriptions were later broken down into specific utterances and measured by means of the instruments elaborated exclusively for our research purposes.

2.2 The instruments

The selection of instruments has been determined by their importance in decoding sarcastic and ironic utterances. The following instruments are employed in this research: a target, implicature, a punchline and a face-threatening act.

Target is one of the essential parts of the ironical/ sarcastic utterance; it is the object towards which the criticism is directed.

Implicature is the implied, usually opposite meaning of what was actually stated.

Punchline is [usually last] segment of a joke that creates incongruity and pushes the listener to look for an alternative meaning.

Face-threatening act represents another undoubted hint that sarcasm is present in the utterance. The ridicule and mockery conveyed by the utterance creates a threat to a listener's face.

We also divide speech acts into Apparent and Intended ones in order to demonstrate the contradiction between the intended and actually stated meanings. The last instrument will be the source knowledge. As it has been mentioned above, both, irony and sarcasm are recognisable only by using knowledge of source concepts.

2.3 Data analysis

The study has been carried out by qualitative and quantitative analysis of 10 performances of 4 top-rated Muslim comedians.

The utterances were broken down according to abovementioned criteria; the presence of targets, implicature, punchlines and face-threatening acts were detected and stated in each case. The meanings were also divided into Apparent and Intended ones and the Source knowledge was stated if necessary.

The analysis of the utterances allowed us to state the exact quantity of ironic and sarcastic utterances and eventually make conclusions according to their frequency and intensity.

3. Discussion and Results

The results of the research have revealed that ironic and sarcastic utterances were related to the most painful stereotypes about the Muslim community as seen by the comedians'. These were: Islam is a violent religion; all Muslims are terrorists or potential terrorists; all Muslims are Arab or Middle Eastern; they can't be Muslim and at the same time be patriotic to America; Islam oppresses women and forces them into a subservient role.

Accordingly, irony and sarcasm were the major resources used to confront these stereotypes.

The transcribed 50 jokes were reduced to sarcastic (26) and ironical (19) utterances. Selected (20) utterances were later divided into sarcastic (12) and ironic (8) cases.

As for the intentions, there were detected the cases of biting (7), criticising (8), humiliating (2), mocking (3).

'Apparent' and 'Intended speech acts' were contradictory in all (20) cases.

The 'face-threatening' act was activated in 16 cases.

The target was present in 16 cases.

3.1 An example of ironical expression and its analysis:

"OBVIOUSLY, I DON'T AGREE WITH THE BAN. OF COURSE NOT. BUT THE PROBLEM IS I DO AGREE WITH, LIKE, EVERY THIRD THING THAT TRUMP SAYS.

IT'S LIKE A WEIRD MULTIPLE CHOICE TEST.

HE'LL BE LIKE:

_MEXICANS ARE RAPISTS, MUSLIMS HAVE GOT TO GO, THE GOVERNMENT IS BROKEN, IT COULD DO BETTER.

I'LL BE, LIKE:

_ONE OF THOSE IS TRUE. BUT ARE ALL OF THEM TRUE? (LAUGHTER)"

Type of utterance: sarcasm

Implicature: the only truth is that US government is broken

Apparent speech act: commenting

Intended speech act: mocking

Face-threatening act: yes

Target: US government

Punchline: "I'LL BE, LIKE, ONE OF THOSE IS TRUE"

Source knowledge: Trump is very well known for his inadequate statements.

The use of sarcasm and irony in any kind of narrative bears the purpose of informing, impressing, expressing (our attitude) and many other pragmatically charged behaviours. These definitions make the analysis of standup speeches particularly fascinating data, as they represent the largest minority group in the community; their protest and contradiction invite every possible linguistic instrument for making them extremely dramatic.

What makes comedians narrative more linguistically attractive is the unique fashion of saying one thing and implying another –the wordplay technique. Irony works together with the incongruency mechanism, in other words, we encounter two contradictory layers in an ironical utterance, that makes us negate the literal interpretation of the utterance and perceive it alternatively.

Quantitative and qualitative analyses of speeches of 4 standup comedians enabled us to detect the specificity and purpose of sarcastic and ironic utterances in their narrative.

Sarcastic (12) and ironic (8) cases demonstrate the comedians' approval of these concepts in communicating their attitude.

The cases of biting (7), criticising (8), humiliating (2), mocking (3) visualize, once again, the important share of face damage in standup speeches. However, it seems to perfectly suit their satirical pathos. The comedians attack the vicious sides of the society hoping their jokes assist with the transformation of society.

After discussing the results, it can be stated that comedians' speeches are satiric and ironic and sarcastic utterances are the key instruments in achieving this effect. They reveal a very well-recognised purpose - elimination discriminative attitudes towards Muslim society by pointing out to certain moral values. Muslim comedians show the stereotypic and simple-minded nature of Western society through their sophisticated and witty jokes.

It can be concluded that irony and sarcasm can be effective rhetorical and persuasive instruments against well-established beliefs and stereotypes. We propose that they can be used in other situations with similar success.

Conclusions

As a conclusion, it can be stated that standup comedians play a significant role in foregrounding vicious sides of society and raising awareness about its stereotypical nature. The field they work in (humour) turns them into very powerful force against any misconception of societal norms.

The concepts of sarcasm and irony represent crucial linguistic instruments in the realisation of their negative attitude towards unfair society. They produce the meaning harsh enough to touch peoples' feelings but sophisticated enough to not be perceived as impolite.

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FROM WORK TO TEXT AND BACK AGAIN

Abstract

It has become a common practice in contemporary literary criticism that the concepts "literary text" and "literary work" are used as interchangeable synonyms and over the past few decades, the term "text" has occupied the place of "work". This article aims to discuss the reasons for stimulating this tendency and to specify the appropriateness of such use. It also stresses the particular relevance of not conflating the two aforementioned concepts into the same area of enquiry and attempts to draw the line between them.

1. Introduction

There has been a tendency of using the terms "literary work" and "literary text" indiscriminately, without specifying in which sense they may be distinguished from each other. Such indiscriminate use signifies either lack of precision or deliberate accentuation that they, in fact, are interchangeable synonyms. This fact leads up to significant confusion about many vital theoretical aspects concerning the nature of literature itself.

The article aims to discuss the important factors which prepared the way for the confusion of the terms "literary text" and "literary work" and attempts to draw the line between the aforementioned concepts by specifying the appropriateness of their use. It claims that the above task cannot be achieved solely by employing the theories of literary studies and other disciplines interested in literature as a linguistic fact and also as a form of art should be included in the interdisciplinary field of enquiry about the problem in question. Hence, the article is on interdisciplinary line.

The twentieth-century literary studies has become an interdisciplinary field of science. Its preoccupation with the problem how literature uses language as the medium of its expression and the emphasis on the textual analysis naturally determined its connection with other sciences interested in the concept of text, notably linguistics, text linguistics, pragmatics and discourse analysis. Apart from its verbal nature, literature possesses the nature of art, and consequently, as a form of art, it falls under the special interest of analytical aesthetics. The latter, viewed primarily as the philosophy of arts, studies all forms of art and is concerned with their interpretation. Hence, it is not surprising that analytical aesthetics has been seeking collaboration with literary studies.

Richard Shusterman points out that literary criticism is the most developed "aesthetic counterpart of science in academic art criticism" (Shusterman 1987:118) and that analytic aestheticians are "most frequently and closely concerned themselves with it" (ibid.). However, he rightly notes that if aesthetics willingly seeks such collaboration, literary criticism "seems to be rejecting its own traditional ground where literary aesthetics seemed… to be heading" (Shusterman 1986: 35). Peter Lamarque expresses his concern that unlike aestheticians, who are ready for collaboration, literary critics reveal a "marked reluctance to acknowledge the relevance of aesthetics to literature" (Lamarque 2007: 27).

Throughout its history, analytical aesthetics finds the study of a literary work as a type of artwork and its interpretation as one of its major concerns. Consequently, analytic aestheticians usually employ the term "literary work" rather than "literary text". Conversely, contemporary literary theory reveals considerable reluctance of using the term "literary work" after poststructuralism decidedly replaced it with "literary text".

The article argues that the specification about the use of the terms "literary work" and "literary text" requires an interdisciplinary view about the problem and hopes that their

appropriate distinction will shed light on many theoretically relevant issues concerning the nature of literature.

2. The Focus on Textuality in Contemporary Literary Theory

The fact that the notion of work has been replaced by the text in contemporary literary theory is not coincidental and several important factors can be singled out to explicate the reason for such replacement. For this purpose, I will provide a brief outline of the precondition of the tendency of shifting emphasis from work to text.

a)Russian Formalist Focus on Language Use and New Critical Focus on the "Words on the Page"

One of the factors that contributed to the rise of separate and independent "science of literature", initiated by Formalists at the beginning of the twentieth century, was a redirection of focus from studying literature in terms of social, religious, political, etc. backgrounds to formal properties of literary works and establishment of criticism for the purpose of "scientific" activity. In Boris Exjenbaum's words[1], "what brought together the initial group of the Formalists was the desire to liberate the poetic word from the fetters of philosophical and religious tendencies, which had achieved considerable prominence in Symbolism" (quoted in Erlich 1980 : 71-72). He states that "the verse is born from the need to concentrate attention on the word, to take a close look at it, to play with it" [2] (Ibid: 67).

Russian Formalists put forward the conception of poetic language and tried to determine what makes it different from ordinary language. As Roman Jakobson proposed it, the object of literary science was not literature but literariness and the Formalists insisted that it was peculiar language use that makes poetic language stand out of the norm. Such "deviation" was referred to as "defamiliarization"(estrangement) By Victor Shklovsky in "Art as

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[1] Exjenbaum, B. 1927. *Literatura. Teorija, kritika, polemika.* Leningrad, pp. 90-91.
[2] Exjenbaum, B. 1929. Moj Vremennik. Leningrad, p.40.

Technique". In his famous work "Linguistics and Poetics" Jakobson announced poetics as an integral part of linguistics - "global science of verbal structure" (Jakobson 1987: 63). The function of poetic language, as Mukarovsky puts it, consists of "the maximum foregrounding of the utterance" (Mukarovsky 1964: 19). He explicates the notion of foregrounding as the conscious use of the utterance when appropriate norms are violated.

The emphasis on the constitutive role of language and the unique nature of poetic language was equally strong in New Criticism. Like Russian Formalists, New Critics also distanced themselves from any external considerations about literary works, dissociating them from political, moral, social, biographical or whatsoever contexts and focused on them as self-sufficient and self-contained verbal structures. Their focus exclusively rested on "the words on the page" – "what is there in the text" and distinguished emotive language of poetry from referential language of science, considering the former as marked by aesthetic function. Frank Raymond Leaves claimed that literature is "the fullest use of language", (Leavis 1975: 44) "supreme creative art of language" (ibid: 51). It was the verbal object – text – and its analysis that was the domain of literary criticism. The meaning of the text was completely freed from the author's intention and partly from the reader's emotive response and both were acknowledged as fallacies (see Wimsatt and Beardsley 1946; Wimsatt and Beardsley 1949).

b) **Replacement of "Work" with "Text " in Literary Poststructuralism**

The preoccupation with the text-oriented approach ("what is there in the text?") that was equally characteristic of Russian Formalist and New Critical schools of literary criticism, took an absolutely different turn in literary poststructuralism. The latter, like structuralism, out of which it originated and later redefined many of its premises, was heavily influenced by linguistics. Roland Barthes, one of the key figures of literary poststructuralism, notes that "literary work offers structuralism the picture of a structure homological with that of language" (Barthes 1967: 897) and that "structuralism emerged from linguistics and in literature, it finds an object which itself emerged from language" (ibid.). As Jonathan Culler points out, linguistics

was the very science providing "an algorithm for an exhaustive and unbiased description of a text" (Culler 1976 :57).

In the second half of the century, linguistics turned the whole focus to the concept of text, but before the latter became the primary object of study in language science, it was customary to limit with studying the sentence as the largest unit of language. The necessity to study language units within a broader unit than a sentence rose as a result of an inability to account for many linguistic phenomena without reference to the text (for example, article or pronoun). Language science moved beyond the sentence borderline and special science of texts – text linguistics as a branch of linguistics - emerged in the second half of the 20th century. Boa Pettersson so rightly notes that "text did not gain currency as a central notion for language in written or printed form until the early twentieth century and that it took another half-century before it became the central term in the western world. Second, …as text in the 1960s and 1970s had a veritable boost in usage its semantic range underwent a related expansion" (Bo Pettersson, 2005: 133).

Being under a strong influence of linguistics, literary post-structuralism turned the concept of text as its major concern. Thus, contemporary literary theory with its clearly poststructuralist background became totally oriented at providing textual analysis.

Poststructualists believed that there were no borders between text types and they all were just 'écriture' (writing). As Stein Haugom Olsen and Anders Pettersson point out in the introductory part of their work "From Text to Literature," poststructuralists made the concept of text "logically prior the concept of literature and consequently removed any principled distinction between literary works and other genres of texts. In essence, the notion of "literary text replaced the notion of literary work" (Olsen and Pettersson, 2005: 2).

In his famous essay "From Work to Text", Barthes argued that the conceptions of language and literature were moving towards interdisciplinarity as the object of literary studies and linguistics changed – this object became fluid and its range extended to interdisciplinary boundaries – "there is now the requirement of a new object, obtained by the sliding or

overturning of former categories. That object is the Text" (Barthes 1982: 156). He drew the line between the concepts of "work" and "text". According to him, work can be characterized as something materially existing - a fragment of a substance, which can be seen on a bookshelf, in bookshops, in catalogues, in exam syllabuses and it can be held in a hand; whereas the text is a process of demonstration - it is held in language and only exists in the movement of a discourse (Ibid.: 156-157).   If work functions as a general sign, for Barthes, quite the contrary, text practices the infinite deferment of the signified (Ibid.: 159), it is plural, plural in the sense that "it accomplishes the very plural of meaning – this plurality is not just the existence (or rather coexistence) of meanings that can fall under the scope of interpretation, but it is a "weave of signifiers" that blends "citations, references, echoes and cultural languages (cultural codes) (Ibid.: 160). Text, he claims, in contrast to work, can be read "without the guarantee of his Father" (Ibid.:161), i.e. the author and the latter can only be the "guest" in the text (Ibid.) The work, in contrast to text, according to him, is an object of consumption and the quality of work requires an appreciation of "taste" (Ibid.), whereas text empties the work from consumption and "gathers it up as play, activity, production, practice" (Ibid.: 162). Barthes finishes the essay with the Derridean belief that the theory of text can coincide only with the practice of writing" (Ibid.:164), suggesting that any type of text, as he puts it, "should itself be nothing other than text" (Ibid.).

In summing up the distinction between text and work offered by Barthes, I will introduce Paisley Livingston's words: "Roland Barthes… notoriously asserted that the concept of the work of art is part of a repressive ideology that should be replaced by a liberating conception of textuality. 'Textuality" referred in his mind to a highly indeterminate and exciting sphere of semantic and erotic possibilities; "work" [une œuvre] was, on the contrary, an ideological drag involving wrong-headed thinking about fixed meanings, ownership, and repression" (Livingston 2012:12).

3.   **Literary Aesthetic View About the problem of Replacement of "Work" with "Text"**

The Poststructuralist insisting fascination with "textualism" and disengaging it from outer reality, has been frequently criticized. Gerald Graff was among many others, who, in his book "Literature Against Itself" pointed out: "the concept of literary autonomy has come under fire recently from structuralist criticism, which attempts to demystify literature by showing that literary language, linguistic conventions, and "textuality", not the imagination or consciousness of the writer, are the constitutive agents of writing" (Graff 1979:18).

Hogan Olsen in his essay "Literary Aesthetics and Literary Practice" argued that an account of the characteristic features and functions of literature should explain why it is worthwhile to single out certain texts as literary works (Olsen 1986: 1).

Olsen offers two different types of answer to this question - one is reductive and the other - non-reductive. In order to see the difference between them, he introduced a distinction between the notions of "textual feature" and "aesthetic feature"(Ibid.). According to him, textual features (such as phonological, syntactic, semantic and a minimum of rhetorical features) are possessed by all types of text. They all have style, content and structure (Ibid.) and "this notion of a textual feature will serve as a contrast to the notion of aesthetic feature. For the aesthetic features constitute a text a literary work of art, and the question "What is literature?" concerns the nature of a literary aesthetic feature" (Ibid.). A reductive answer makes an attempt to determine what textual features are necessary and sufficient for classifying a text as a literary work. But he argued that non-reductive analysis of literary aesthetic features "offers a more plausible and sophisticated account of literary aesthetic features than reductive theories" (Ibid.: 3) as he firmly believed that literature is a value concept and declared in his essay "Literary Theory and Literary Aesthetics" that "literary work is defined through the value which it is expected to yield" (Olsen 1986: 211) and pointed out that "literary theory has never been able to

come to terms with it" (Ibid.) and because of that it "has entered a crisis from which it does not recover" (Ibid.). He most emphatically claims that "a literary work cannot be defined through a set of textual features, be they relational, textual, or structural" (Ibid. 207).

Peter Lamarque and Stein Haugom Olsen in their work "Truth Fiction and Literature" argue that "a text is identified as a literary work by recognizing the author's intention" (Lamarque and Olsen 1994: 255-256) and on this assumption, they build up their "institutional" conception of literary practice. I find it impossible to discuss the latter within the scope of an article, moreover, it will carry me away from the chief purpose of the paper – to discuss the distinction between the concepts of work and text. But what is worthwhile to note in this context is that in their institutional practice, the aforementioned two scholars, convincingly show how a text gets determinate textual features when it is construed as work. Basing on their institutional view, they draw the line between the two concepts and argue: " The concept of 'text' is logically secondary to the concept of 'work' or related concepts which designate types of text. A text is always a text of something, of a literary work, a philosophical treatise, a historical chronicle, a historical monograph, a medical article, etc. A text cannot be understood just as a text" (Ibid.: 379).

4. Conclusion

Literary theory, seeking constant collaboration with linguistics, intensively applying linguistic methods "for an exhaustive and unbiased description of a text" (Culler 1976:57), turned the whole focus to the concept of text and replaced the concept of work with it. Literary Aesthetics expresses its concern that literary theory disregards the real value of literature by not acknowledging that literary work should be defined through its value and not through the textual features. I believe that the clear distinction between the two concepts – "work" and "text" - is not only a matter of terminological appropriateness but it will have further consequences about the way one treats literature- rests the whole focus on the textual analysis or, at the same time, devotes considerable attention to experiencing a work of literature as verbal art. This is a challenge for contemporary literary theory.

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Sophie Gvritishvili

LINGUISTIC AND PRAGMATIC ANALYSIS OF THE FUNCTIONING OF PRAGRAMATIC MARKERS IN ENGLISH AND GEORGIAN FORENSICS
(Based on courtroom discourse)

Abstract: This article discusses the findings of a contrastive study of pragmatic markers as indicators of illocutionary force based on the compatible data from English and Georgian languages. As is known, discourse markers are commonly used in everyday communication. They are important indicators concerning the portraying a speaker's intentions and attach certain force to the utterances employed. This paper describes various uses of specific discourse markers as found in lawyers' questions during the stages of direct examination and cross-examination. It is argued that such markers are used as argumentation and confrontation strategies and maintain control of the flow of information, and mark a progression in the narration. A general classification of such markers is based on Fraser's taxonomy.

 KEYWORDS: Pragmatic markers; Discourse; Commentary markers;

1. Introduction

It may be claimed that a number of issues in the courtroom are closely connected to the pragmatic aspects of discourse, namely to being able to achieve a certain illocutionary force and match the level of coerciveness during the trials. One aspect that can affect the illocutionary force of an utterance is the utilization of the particles known as discourse markers.

The research concerning pragmatic markers has been the focus of attention for the last 20-30 years. However, interest in this issue first emerged in the 1960s -1970s. Moreover, diversity is found in the approach to the methodology and terminology of pragmatic markers research.

This, in turn, is due to the complexity of the issue, namely, the diversity of functions and meaning the pragmatic markers may convey in the context. However, despite the efforts of many scholars (Fraser 1996, Hutchinson 2003, amongst others), there is still no commonly accepted classification of pragmatic markers.

This paper will present the results of a databased study concerning the utilization of discourse markers in the courtroom. Specifically, it addresses two major research questions:

1) In what way pragmatic markers are used in the courtroom; 2) What kinds of commentary markers are actualized in the courtroom?

2. The concept of Discourse

Discourse is an important category in communicative linguistics and modern social sciences.

First of all, it should be noted that this term has a number of meanings. Specifically, it may denote a combination of phrases and a set of organized sentences which express certain communicative intentions.

The acts of discourse are considered to be an important tool for speech analysis and are classed as minimum units of speech.

Discourse can be analyzed through hierarchical and functional analysis based on the principle of interaction. There are three main levels of hierarchical analysis:

1. Speech Act: this is the smallest unit generated by the speaker;

2. Relationship: This is the smallest unit of interaction. It contains at least two acts of speech from different speakers;

3. Intervention - Each component of the relationship is referred to as an intervention, it can be simple, consisting of one act of speech or one speaker may use a few speech acts and on the other hand, complex intervention that brings in a different speaker with several acts of speech. (Östman 1981).

As for functional analysis, a distinction is made between the elements of the relationship: those with a "primary illocution function" (Brinton 1996) and those that express a "reactive

illocution function." The former presents the statements of the interlocutors while the latter is either positive or negative, depending on whether the application of anterior illocution function. Interactive functions allow us to clearly explain the argumentative role of the subordinate component in the main act (justification, comment, explanation, concession). Markers are of great importance here because they indicate the more or less marked labelling of a given interactive function.

Thus, the specificity of the concept of discourse lies in its procedurality and dynamism and, most importantly, in the bond with discourse interlocutors and their sociocultural context.

3. The Typology of Pragmatic Markers

3.1. Framework of Markers

The present study was based on the classification of pragmatic markers proposed by Bruce Fraser (Fraser 1996: 167-190). This choice was conditioned by the approach of the author to the notion of pragmatic markers. In this work, the author considers discourse markers as one of the types of pragmatic markers.

This classification is based on the following concept: every sentence possesses a meaning that Fraser calls the "potential of a direct message" (ibid.:167). It derives from the meaning of the sentences and specifies the messages that can potentially be expressed in the conversation when sentences are uttered. The "potential of the message" is rarely fully realized. The prosodic features (e.g., intonation) and the context of the sentence define the meaning of the sentence, with the exception of some messages that identify or express additional content. For example, the sentence "Silence, please!", You have exhausted that subject, please move on".. has the potential to express the request in the primary sense. If the sentence is pronounced with the rising tone, it expresses a question; on the other hand, the angry loud tone may indicate the offender's annoyance. Fraser discusses the initial stage of the addressee's pragmatic

interpretation process. This is the "potential of the message", which derives from the meaning of the sentence and is expected to be perceived by the listener The communicative content of the expression is directly related to the notion of the communicative intent, which is defined as the illocutionary force. This force can be expressed by various means including markers of syntactic sentence structure and lexical units of varying phonetic properties and complexity which in Fraser's terms are referred to as *pragmatic markers.*

Pragmatic markers that are supposed to be separated from the propositional content of a sentence contain linguistically coded information that conveys the potential communicative intention of the interviewee.

Pragmatic markers that are supposed to be separated from the propositional content of a sentence contain linguistically coded information that conveys the potential communicative intention of the interviewee.

Pragmatic markers can serve as elements of various word classes if they are not part of the propositional content. As a result, the class of pragmatic markers is diverse. It includes interjections (Oh !, Uh!), routine, phatic phrases (How are you?), and many other linguistic units (Aimer et al. 2009: 289).

Fraser (1996) proposed a taxonomy of pragmatic markers that distinguishes four types of messages and, consequently four types of related pragmatic markers that differ in function:

The main pragmatic markers, in Frazer's theory, indicate the "locking power of the expression" that means complete control of the expression. These four types of pragmatic markers (Basic Markers, Commentary Markers, Parallel Markers, Discourse Markers) are further subdivided into subtypes.

According to the general framework of markers, this research makes an attempt to reveal commentary markers and subclasses that are mainly employed in Georgian and American Courts. (see Table 1).

Table   1. General framework of pragmatic markers that distinguishes four types of messages and, consequently, four types of pragmatic markers associated with them differ in function:

Basic Pragmatic markers	Structural	Declarative Interrogative Imperative	
	Lexical	Legal Expressions	
	Mixed Markers	Decarative Based Interrogative Based Imperative Based	
Commentary Markers	Evidential Markers Manner-of-speaking Markers		
Discourse Markers	Elaborative Markers Inferential Markers		

basic markers of the private power, marker-comment - notification, which is the main message of the comment, the discourse marker expresses relationship between the main messages and the current discourse.

Basic markers, which signal, more or less specifically, the force include sentence mood and lexical expressions. These markers are illustrated by the examples in (1).

(1) a) I **regret** *that MR. Chase was still there.*

b) **Admittedly***, I was involved in that commitment.*

Sentence (1a) is an expression of regret, and sentence (1b) an admission. Both involve lexical basic markers.

The most common of the basic pragmatic markers is the structural marker which includes Declarative, Interrogative, Imperative sentences which can also be referred to as narrative, question,[u1] and command. These markers appear as parts of the utterances;

2.*Do   you   think   your   decision   was   justified*? Pragmatic markers are not part of the content of the proposition. For the lexical items (eg. truthfully, amazingly, obviously) there are no overlapping functions in a particular sentence. When the unit functions as one type of a pragmatic marker, it will not be considered as part of the propositional content and vice versa. In addition, when an entity functions as one type of the pragmatic marker, it cannot simultaneously act as another type of the marker. In the following example,

-                 *Obviously, a plea bargain will be the most reasonable decision in the current situation! Think about it!*

The propositional content of the expression is the fact that the plea bargain is the solution, while the pragmatic marker (obviously) emphasises the comment of the speaker that the fact is clear and obvious.

Given this characterization of DMs, many segment-initial expressions are excluded. For example, consider sequences like (3):

(3) a*. A: He was not quite strong to do it.*

B: **Frankly,** *I don't think he could have done that.*

b. *Two victims, Canty and Cabey, file civil suits against Goetz seeking $50 million in damages.* **Obviously***, We know the truth.*

c. *A: We should leave have left fairly soon..*

B: **Stupidly***, I have lost the way so we could not..*

In (3a-c), *frankly, obviously, and stupidly* signal a comment, a separate message, that relates to the segment following it. These are commentary pragmatic markers (cf. Fraser, 1996b).

According to the generally accepted classification, commentary markers express a representational meaning through which they refer to the concepts; besides, the markers of discourse have a procedural meaning and specify how the suggestions in the discourse are related.

The most common feature of pragmatic markers is that almost all of them can be in the initial position of a sentence. However, they may also occupy the middle or final positions, but the markers are often separated by commas or intonation, order to differentiate them from the homophonic form that can be used as part of a sentence. For example:

4) *Frankly,* I told him frankly, what I saw!

5) *ნამდვილად,* უკანონო ქმედება უფროსმა სრულად აღკვეთა და დაადასტურა, რომ იდეით მხოლოდ პროვოცირებდა.

In this sentence, using the pragmatic marker „frankly", the subject expresses the manner of the conversation that he speaks to the addressee honestly whereas the other „frankly" is a part of the proposition. The same role is played by the Georgian marker which serves to strengthen the content of the proposal.

Consequently, in order to explore distinctive features of the function of pragmatic markers and the frequency of their use in two languages (English and Georgian), I used the above-mentioned classification and explored the most commonly used markers during the trials.

4. METHODOLOGY

4.1. Research data and analysis

Pragmatics requires a complex interdisciplinary approach, and research has relied on anthropocentric-communicative approaches that facilitate effective qualitative research and result in defining the features of pragmatic markers in forensic linguistics in two languages-English and Georgian. The paper uses the method of comparative analysis to solve the set tasks.

Research is based on the spoken discourse that is "the flow of words in the prosodic aspect" (Zunkova,1989). Great importance is attached to the agreement of the words. It also allows us to consider the functions of phrases in relation to discourse.

This paper is qualitative in nature and employs the data, including four cases from one of the Georgian prosecutors' office. (2 from Civil and 2 from the Criminal law cases). The compatible data taken from the transcripts[1] of the USA courts sessions are also used . They

involved the discourses from the courtroom hearings. These were selected based on the availability from the archive. I worked together with the above-mentioned office to interpret the results of the cases from the courts. Firstly, I observed court proceedings in the hearings of Georgian civil and criminal cases. Secondly, civil and criminal cases were chosen from Georgian trials and I extracted the important data from the cases of American trials relative to criminal and civil law. Totally, the analyzed corpus consists of about 50,000 words. This was followed by the identification of the most frequently employed pragmatic markers in the sentences and comparison of them between Georgia and English languages during the courtroom questioning and proceeding. At the last stage of the research, based on the analytical examples, we were able to determine the percentage of markers.

5. Findings

5.1. The most frequently employed pragmatic markers in English and Georgian Courts

Pragmatic markers possess a representational meaning that means that they convey conceptual information in addition to the propositional content. More specifically, they convey information that expresses the direct key message of the proposal. This discrepancy in meaning between the propositional content and the main pragmatic markers was first noticed by Searle (Searle 1969: 30). In his view, the syntactic structure of a sentence can be separated into two elements - the proposition and the illocutionary force indicator. The latter shows how the

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[1] O.J. Simpson--the Bronco Call; Sandy Hook School--Newtown Police; BART Police Transcripts---Oscar Grant Shooting (2010);

addressee received the proposal and whether or not they were able to decode the information accurately.

In the following section, I will consider the following basic markers and commentary markers where, following Frazer (1988), the following subclasses can be distinguished:

Assessment markers

Manner-of-speaking markers

Evidential markers

Focusing markers

Specifically, the following commentary pragmatic markers will be examined:

A. Assessment Markers

Assessment markers signal the speaker's evaluation of the state of the world represented in Assessment markers signal the speaker's evaluation of the state of the world represented in the proposition. In (5a), for example,

(5) a) **Amazingly,** *U.S. Attorney Rudolph Giuliani decides not to proceed with a federal civil rights prosecution after finding insufficient evidence that race was a motive in the shooting.* b) **Fortunately**, *Based on new evidence regarding the fifth shot that paralyzed Cabey, District Attorney Waples petitions Judge Crane to allow him to resubmit the assault and attempted murder charged to a grand jury.*

c) **Sadly,** A year after his release, on December 22, 2011, Ramseur dies from a drug overdose (suicide cannot be ruled out).

In these examples, the speaker is sending two messages: the basic message that Giuliani decides not to proceed with a federal civil rights prosecution and the comment that the speaker finds it amazing. These assessment markers, primarily adverbs, include the following lexical items: ironically, (in)correctly, justifiably, justly, luckily, mercifully, naturally, oddly, predictably, prudently, refreshingly and their variations, for example, It was remarkable that… It was reasonable that..

B. Manner-of-Speaking Markers

These markers can signal a comment on how the basic message is being conveyed. In (6a), for example,

(*6a*)-*Because I,* **briefly,** *thought I picked you because your self-defence argument*

showed you think well on your feet.

(6b)-**Strictly,** *You go to jail, and I'm the shoddy lawyer who put you there!*

 (6c)-**My point** *is, frankly, something is going on.*

 The speaker, in addition to the basic message, is informing the addressee that the message is being conveyed concisely. Similarly, in (b), in addition to the basic message, the speaker is informing the addressee that, he/she is not happy concerning the way things are unfolding. Adverbials falling into this group include the following lexical items: objectively, personally, precisely, roughly, seriously, simply, strictly, truthfully and their variations, for example, to speak candidly, roughly speaking, to be honest, and in all seriousness.

C. Evidential Markers

Another class of commentary markers includes the evidential adverbs which signal the degree of confidence, held by the speaker about the truth of the basic message. They are presented by the examples in (7).

(7a) **აშკარაა,** რომ მომხდარში ორივე მხარეს ჰქონდა ჩადებული ძალის დემონსტრირების საშუალება.

(7b) **რასაკვირველია,** იფიქრეთ,რომ ტერმინების გამოყენებით გაგზავნიდით ანგარიშს

სამინისტროებში.

(7c) **Undeniably**, *I just need the supplemental arrest report on Max St. Vincent.*

 Are you flipping kidding me? What? Of course, you're not. Lucinda teaches you this

when you start working for her, right?

(7d) **It's like** *that woman looks for ways to waste the time.*

*(7ed)***Certainly***, you don't believe that that's nonsense, isn't it?*

In these examples, together with the main point, the pragmatic markers used show how clear and convincing the key message is to the subject - (7a), (7b) (7c),and (7d) but in (7-e) another speaker does not believe the heard opinion.

It is noteworthy that some of the clarity markers in the English language, for example: certainly, indeed, undoubtedly, undeniably, no way and clearly, show a high degree of clarity, while markers such as possibly, conceivably, evidently, supposedly - low. (Table 2)

Table 2.

Strong adverbs of Evidential markers	Markers for Assumption
Obviously	Possibly
Certainly	Presumably
Clearly	I think
Surely – Sure	
Definitely	
Believe	

Evidential markers include the following lexical items : indubitably, most/ quite/ very likely, obviously, indeed, indisputably.

The diversity found in the Georgian segment of the analytical materials allowed me to develop the following classificationy (Table 3).

Table 3.

ფაქტია(ფაქტობრივად)	მეექვება
ნამდვილად	არ ვარ დარწმუნებული
რასაკვირველია	სავარაუდოდ
ცხადია	რამდენადაც ვიცი..
ნათელია	
მართალია	

It is noteworthy that the Georgian segment of the analytical corps is distinguished by its diversity. Each type of pragmatic marker appears in a much more varied lexical form in the Georgian-language segment than in the parallel English-language segment. The same tendency was revealed in case of using of the word 'think'.

-"I **think** if they live there and they just had a hard time with their key. But I did notice they used their shoulder to try to barge in and they got in.

- **I don't think** if they had a key or not, 'cause I couldn't see from my angle," Whalen says.

Moreover, in Georgian courtroom, it is common that pragmatic markers signal messages that apply only to the direct basic message. They do not apply to any indirect messages which may be implicated by the direct basic message. For example, the indirect interpretation of 8 examples.

(8) a. სამწუხაროდ, ამ ეტაპზე ვერ დგინდება უშუალოდ სხვა მონაწილე პირების დადგენა.

ბ.სავარაუდოდ, ეს არის ახალი მტკიცებულებები, რაც ხელს შეუშლის პროკურატორის წარდგენილ ბრალდებებს.

c. **ეჭვი გვაქვს,**ადგილზე მოხდა ყველა მტკიცებულების მოცილება, რაც საქმის გამოძიების ხელახალ გამოძიებას მოითხოვს

as a request to find other guilty people is unaffected by the commentary marker unfortunately in (8a) Similarly, In (8b-c) where the direct message is taken to be figurative not

literal, the pragmatic markers apply to the figurative, direct interpretations, but not to any indirect interpretations.

Interestingly, during the observation the construction "I think'' as a marker was found in 60 examples in the English and Georgian corpus and 17 examples from them were given with the negative connotation - "I don't think'', which is the largest number of the pragmatic markers out of 250 cases under observation.

The largest indicator in two languages is different in subclasses of pragmatic markers.

Statistical analysis showed that the subclass of assessment markers in the English-language segment of the analytical corpus constituted 5.9% of the class of pragmatic markers of commentary out of 60 sentences where above-mentioned markers were revealed in concrete sentences during the trials. In the Georgian-language segment, the situation is as follows: the subclass of assessment markers is 6% of the class of pragmatic markers of comments and their lexical expressions have a representational meaning specifying an entire message.

In the English-speaking segment of the analytical corpus, the subclass of manner-of-speaking markers represents 10.1% of the class of pragmatic markers of commentary. In the Georgian-language, the situation is as follows: the subclass of the markers expressing the manner of speaking comprises 5% of the class of commentary markers. In these examples, the speaker is informing the addressee. This type of marker has been identified in large numbers because evidential markers serve other purposes, such as indicating the speaker's attitude towards or belief in the statement. Moreover, a direct evidential marker may serve to indicate that the speaker is certain about the event stated that is essential in our study.

In the case of the subclass of evidential markers in the English-language segment of the analytical corpus consists of 60.2% of the class of pragmatic markers of commentary. In the Georgian-language, the situation is as follows: the subclass of evidential markers is 50% of the class of pragmatic markers of comments.

Conclusion

It can be said that pragmatic categories related to the subject are predominant in both languages. Based on the obtained data, it can be concluded that pragmatic markers in courtroom discourse serve to convey the ideological influence of the addressee on the subjective spectrum.

In this research, most common pragmatic markers for both countries' trial system based on the sequential characterization of pragmatic markers and their functionality in English and Georgian courtrooms were identified.

The main emphasis was on commentary pragmatic markers, which signal the meaning of an entire message and provide a comment in the direct basic message. However, when they do occur, the message actualised by them is typically very general, with a single word often signalling both the message force and its content.

It turned out that evidential markers specifying the strength of commitment by the speaker towards the basic message occurred most frequently in both languages.

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Sopio Totibadze

GENDER STEREOTYPES IN FAIRY TALES

A CASE STUDY

Abstract

Since a fairy tale is considered to be a social piece of writing, it frequently expresses the problems faced by society. The fact that social roles assigned to genders are biased, allows generating a socio-cultural and sociolinguistic portrait of the community of the period. Even more, studies have shown that tales influence on a child's development is immense and they have the capacity to have an impact on their perception of gender roles, gender prejudice and negatively affect their self-esteem. Whilst fairy tales have the greatest impact on both the child and society, it is advisable to transform traditional roles of women and men and adapt them to the demands of modern life (Warner, 1995; Zipes, 1993).

The paper aims to reveal the stereotypes that children of a school gymnasium "Shavnabada" have regarding gender and social roles. Moreover, the research sets out to determine the possible reasons behind the children's attitude to gender bias. As the case study presented in the article shows, the society manages to brainwash people as early as a school-age. Indeed, school children have already fallen "victims" to the biased gender roles and sexism. The experiment also reveals that the pupils have already acquired their attitudes towards acceptable roles of women and men in society. Specifically, men are breadwinners, whereas women are assigned only the role of homemakers. On the other hand, it was obvious that girls try to overcome prejudice as they consider these stereotypes to be humiliating and even degrading.

Key Words: Gender, Stereotypes, Sociolinguistics, Fairy tale

1. Introduction

Since a fairy tale is considered to be a social piece of writing, it frequently expresses the problems faced by society. Although gender issues and particularly, those of gender inequality have only recently become a popular research topic, this issue emerges in old, traditional tales. The fact that social roles assigned to genders are biased, allows generating a socio-cultural and sociolinguistic portrait of the community of the period. Gender inequality shines through real-life situations as well as in paintings, literature, and even through sexual life (Eden, 2016). Moreover, this tendency is expressed in traditional fairy tales, where, in most cases, the princess is waiting for the prince to save her or cherishes the dreams of marrying him, while the male characters are active and look for adventures. According to Nanda (2014), passivity in fairy tales is one of the most valuable and important attributes for a woman. A woman cannot save herself and waits to be saved by a man. The author's extensive research suggests that ambitious women are less "successful" in traditional fairy tales, because active females are usually depicted as evil characters, and they often die in the story. It is also noteworthy that the authors often refer to the proverb "a beautiful soul in a beautiful body" because kindness is inevitably associated with beauty, whereas the evil is associated with the ugliness (Nanda, 2014). Since fairy tales have the greatest impact on both the child and society, it is advisable to transform traditional roles of women and men and adapt them to the demands of modern life (Warner, 1995; Zipes, 1993).

As is known, the influence fairy tales make on a child's development is immense. A 2007 study by Baker-Sperry focused on Cinderella and the impact of the tale on the school-age children. As the author points out, "Cinderella" is one of the sexist fairy tales, even though it doesn't have many male characters and the main target group is girls. The lack of female characters in the lead role is particularly important as well as relevant, considering the study of gender roles, as gender is based on social perceptions and stereotypes. When children do not have access to both gender roles, they are mostly given information about negative stereotypes or limited gender roles. Consequently, for Baker-Sperry, Cinderella is one of the most significant fairy tales through which we can perceive traditional feminist stereotypes and study the gender perception development of the modern child. Accordingly, children participating in the Baker-Sperry study were read the adapted version of "Cinderella" by Disney. As revealed by

the results, although both girls and boys knew the story equally well, the boys negatively reacted to their male group-mates, who showed interest in the "girls' fairy tale". Consequently, the lack of responses from the boys was caused not by the fact that they did not like "Cinderella", but by the fear of how other members of the group would react to their choice (Baker-Sperry, 2007). Therefore, these children can be seen as a model of society where members are constantly (intentionally or unintentionally) forced to be stereotyped.

Kate Patterson conducted a study similar to Baker-Sperry in 2014, but she read only one specific paragraph from "Cinderella" to the children. In particular, the corset dress scene. To the question of why the children thought the sisters wanted to wear a corset, they replied that perhaps the sisters were fat and wanted to look thin to attract the Prince. The children's concerns that the sisters aren't beautiful enough to play the role of Cinderella indicate the harmful effects of gender stereotypes in fairy tales. Also, Kate Patterson, in the same study, showed the children an illustration from the fairy tale "Goldilocks and the Three Bears". The children correctly guessed which of the bears was the father bear and the mother bear, because they thought men should be bigger than women and the aprons were only made for women. This, of course, stresses the stereotypical thinking that children are exposed to from an early age.

Based on the previous case studies, this paper aims to reveal the stereotypes that children have regarding gender and social roles. Moreover, the research sets out to determine the possible reasons behind the children's attitude to gender bias.
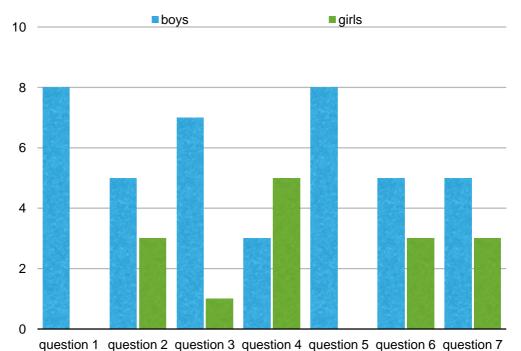
2. The Case Study- Methodology, Data and Discussion

The target group of the experiment was school-age children. In this particular case, 19 students aged 10-14 (11 girls, 8 boys) were interviewed at the "Shavnabada" Gymnasium. The experiment was conducted in two stages. The experiment aimed to survey the student's attitudes towards gender stereotypes. At the beginning of the experiment, the students were asked several easy and engaging questions to help to create the "safe" atmosphere and encourage the participants to speak their minds. At the first stage of the study, students were given an

anonymous, seven-question questionnaire to complete [1]. The children were only required to indicate their gender (to ensure anonymity and honest answers) and indicate whether they thought the extracts from the fairy tales were about a girl or a boy. Students also had to substantiate their answers. Interestingly, the questionnaire did not have the option "both sexes" as I wanted to focus on the participant's first reaction to the extract in question. Also, I interviewed the target group of the experiment (school students) employing both in-depth and group interviews and group observation methods. The second stage included followed a similar study by Kate Patterson's (2014). Specifically, students were read "The Paper Bag Princess" and asked first the pre-prepared comprehension questions and later the questions that were generated by the discussion. Children were allowed to express their attitudes towards gender roles presented in fairy tales in a fun and free environment; We also asked the participants to draw parallels with their lives. The sessions were recorded and analyzed. The experiment lasted about 50 minutes.

Interestingly, each excerpt in the questionnaire refers to the girl and is taken from the collection of modern fairy tales, "There Once Was A Girl." However, as seen from the tables, in most cases most of the students thought that the excerpts referred to boys (except for the third and fourth questions, where four girls indicated that the excerpt was about a boy, and five girls noted that the text implied a female).

All eight boys who participated in the experiment believed the excerpt presented in the first question:Strong, smart, adventurous? I know some […] that defeat the strongest wrestlers, pull up the horse by the hand, wrestle the bear, and with one stroke, harvest half of the field" was addressed to the boy, because, in their opinion, strength and intelligence are the qualities characteristic of a boy and not a girl - "Of course [the boy] because they are the strongest and love adventures," "The boy is the strongest. A woman is cowardly and powerless"; "Because boys are strong and girls are gentle." Moreover, the boys involved in the experiment not only think that men are strong and smart but also, in their imagination, a woman is cowardly and powerless. These adjectives characterize a woman negatively. Interestingly, most of the girls also agree with the opinion that boys are stronger and, in their opinion, more boys are characterized in fairy tales through such epithets. It is clear that children at this age already have a wrong attitude towards the role of women and only perceive women as "weak sex" who need protection and care. Interestingly, not only boys but also girls agree with this idea. Both girls and boys believe that such words as "strength", "helmet", "military armor", "stubborn", "strong", "daring", "bold" are more characteristic of boys because they . are brave and good warriors who "manage to do everything." Moreover, children think that boys are "better able to store and keep [items]", which means that they are more careful and attentive than girls. Besides, according to one of the boys, the diamond is usually given to the boy because "the boy

is the most precious thing for the mother", which reflects the stereotype that giving birth to a son, hence to the heir, is a priority for a woman. In addition, children believe that "only a man carries a gun", therefore, children are already exposed to the roles embedded in a stereotypically minded society. In addition to weapons, children also believe that girls should be more obedient and gentle, they are also "easy to upset and they always cry." Consequently, according to the children, obedience and crying are more common in girls than in boys. At the same time, it is interesting to see the attitude of children towards the word "stubborn". Stereotypically, stubbornness is more characteristic of a boy, and children often refer to it together with the boy's other stereotypical trait, namely, courage. Interestingly, in the negative context, the participants considered this adjective to be more characteristic of a girl - "girls are totally stubborn and do not obey anyone."

In the Georgian society, boys are frequently addressed with the sentence, "Why are you crying, are you a girl or what?!". In the excerpt, "Are you here? I was looking for you. - [she] suddenly heard his voice and [she] was so ashamed of [her] own tears, [she] immediately climbed a tree", the aforementioned stereotype comes to life - it is shameful for boys to cry. The children assumed that the excerpt referred to the boy, because "tears would probably embarrass a boy more than a girl." Those who indicated that this extract referred to the girl while substantiating their reasons, noted that in their opinion, tears and crying are more typical of a girl because girls are "crybabies and shy."

From a linguistic point of view, the last question was especially interesting: "Why does [she] run with a gun in [her] hand? [she] should stay at home, start a family, take care of [her] children". Here, students highlighted three different stereotypical approaches. Some in this excerpt paid special attention to the phrase "running with a gun", which, as has already been mentioned above, is more masculine than feminine. The next phrase that caught the children's attention and resulted in a difference in responses is "creating a family." According to the students, boys are asked to create a family, because, according to the stereotype, a man takes the initiative to start a family, he is the one who chooses a wife and then creates a family, and a

woman "gets borrowed[1] Boys are encouraged to start a family,", "I think it's [a boy] because we're talking about starting a family. The word used is more often said to a boy, not to a girl". The third phrase that some children focus on is "look after the children", which is not surprising because in the Georgian culture looking after the children is the duty of a woman - "a girl should look after the family", "In my opinion, a girl should take care of children". There are also girls who run with a machine gun, but such girls also have to keep calm, sit at home and look after their kids." It is noteworthy that even at this age (10-14 years) students reveal the stereotypical perception of gender roles. Moreover, their linguistic choices clearly indicate aggression and a negative attitude towards a strong woman and a strong woman and a desire to subdue her (metaphorically "curb") and force a woman to confine herself only to the family space.

In the second phase of the experiment, based on a study by Kate Patterson (2014), we read the Georgian translation of "The Paper Bag Princess" to the children and asked questions to better analyze the text and find out the children's attitudes. In the fairy tale, Princess Elizabeth's Palace is attacked by a dragon and everything is burnt and the dragon kidnaps Elizabeth's fiancé, Prince Ronald. Elizabeth, left without a dress, turns a paper bag into a paper dress and chases the dragon to free the prince. The girl manages to trick and tire the dragon, but the prince is not impressed by her attire and asks the girl to "be as beautiful as a princess should be" and then return to him. Enraged by the rudeness of the prince, Elizabeth calls Ronald a 'bum' and calls off the marriage.

We asked the children the following pre-prepared questions, and then the questions that arose after the discussion:

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[1] In Georgian, getting married has two different terms depending on whether it describes a woman or a man. The man "gets/brings a wife, starts a family-ცოლის მოყვანა'', whereas a woman "is 'borrowed" გათხოვება' by her husband.

1) In this tale, the dragon kidnaps the prince. In other fairy tales, why do dragons mainly kidnap princesses?

2) How do princes defeat the dragon in fairy tales?

3) Do princesses often run with swords?

4) How did Princess Elizabeth save the prince? If it were the other way around, how do you think the prince would have saved the princess?

5) Do you think Princess Elizabeth made a good decision not to marry the prince? Why?

To the question why dragons mainly kidnap princesses, not princes, the children said the girls are "weak" and that "boys are stronger and want to appear like heroes and save girls." Both boys and girls agree that in order to defeat the enemy, in this case, the dragon, only effort is not enough and intelligence are needed. However, in their view, if the prince had saved the girl, he would have used the sword rather than his brain, as Elizabeth did in this case. This is due to the fact that "men are more likely to fight." Interestingly, some of the girls mentioned that the portrayal of girls as weak characters in fairy tales "humiliates girls" because it does not correspond to the truth - "We have boxer girls too!". When analyzing the tale, the children do not deny that Elizabeth could have been really strong, but she was smart. Children also remember the proverb correctly: "The way is better if the man invents it." However, some of the children reject the idea that the girl may have been strong, but instead " she used her brain" because she realized she could not physically defeat the dragon. Notably, through healthy discussions, children came to the conclusion that they should not generalize and some girls may be stronger in class than boys, and there may be boys who are smarter than girls. It is interesting to note the change in the approach to stereotypes- a woman is a foolish creature because, during the children's discussions, it is obvious that nowadays they believe that girls are stereotypically smart and boys are stereotypically strong.

The attitude of the children towards the fact that Elizabeth does not marry Ronald at the end of the fairy tale also deserves attention. The girls point out that they do not need a husband who will not "care for them and will only think about beauty", "the main thing is not beauty, the main thing is that he loves you", "why would she want to marry an ungrateful man who did not appreciate what she had done for him?". Interestingly, the girls still emphasize the fact that

the husband should take care of the wives, however, they also note that they liked "that the girl left the boy" because in their opinion, in real life, it is on the contrary- boys break up with girls. It is obvious that girls try to fight against some of the stereotypes, although they are sometimes still influenced by the prevailing approaches in society.

The participants of the experiment clearly had a different approach to gender roles- girls tried to "fight for their rights" while boys stubbornly suggested that girls should sit at home and cook. Moreover, the examples given by boys in relation to women were stereotypically related to the family space: "Girls cry when they break a nail while cleaning the house." These views caused particularly heated debates:

Giorgi[2]: "Men bring food."

Tamar: "So what? Women prepare them! "

Mariam: "My father helps my mom when she is tired and often washes the dishes."

The girls try to counter George's phrase and emphasize the important role of women - products brought by a man are nothing if it is not prepared by a woman. In addition, Mariam cites the example from her own family life that her father often washes the dishes because women get just as tired at work as men.

Based on the experiment, it is clear that both girls and boys are well aware of the stereotypes in society. Interestingly, from the answers to the questionnaire, we can clearly see that both girls and boys think quite stereotypically, because both of the groups share biased gender roles that are rooted in our society: women must be obedient and gentle, girls are crybabies, and boys are ashamed of tears; courage, fighting, and fighting attributes are common to men, and only men run around with weapons. In addition, "creating a family" is a man's job, while raising children and looking after their homes is a woman's job. Surprisingly, on the other hand, the same children presented a different approach when discussing the fairy tale: the girls were visibly trying to confront the boys, and to overcome stereotypes that impose quite a few restrictions on them- they no longer like being portrayed as weak creatures in fairy tales;

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[2] Names are changed.

Moreover, girls perceive this as humiliating and no longer want to be associated with only household chores and secondary roles, and support the view that family affairs are equally distributed to both sexes, and there is nothing shameful about that.

3. Conclusion

The fairy tale as a social construct indeed plays an immense role in the stereotypical development of a child and society, in general. For decades, active male characters have dominated the tales, whereas the females have only appeared as secondary and passive characters. This perfectly reflects the stereotypes that are deeply rooted in our societies. The experiment conducted at the Shavnabada Gymnasium once again proves that the society manages to brainwash people as early as a school-age. Indeed, school children have already fallen "victims" to the biased gender roles and sexism. The experiment also reveals that the pupils have already acquired their attitudes towards acceptable roles of women and men in society. Specifically, men are breadwinners, whereas women are assigned only the role of homemakers. On the other hand, it was obvious that girls try to overcome prejudice as they consider these stereotypes to be humiliating and even degrading. Nevertheless, the girls considered horse riding, archery, or fighting in a battle to be strictly masculine, rather than, even only rarely, characteristic to a woman.

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Appendix

1. "Strong, smart, adventurous? I know some […] that defeat the strongest wrestlers, pull up the horse by the hand, wrestle the bear, and with one stroke, harvest half of the field.

2. "You are like a rock- says grandma- with an unbreakable and stubborn personality".

3. "This diamond will be your strength. Remember, [women] can do a lot of things as long as you use your strengths correctly…"

4. "Are you here? I was at your house looking for you. - [she] suddenly heard [his] voice and was so ashamed of [her] own tears, [she] hurriedly climbed up the tree."

5. "In the morning [she] put on the armor and the helmet, specially made by the King's order".

6. A lot of them praised [her] for being so courageous and bold, but there were some who were angry at [her]; [women] should be delicate and obedient, they have never been this stubborn   and   unapproachable…
7. "Why does [she] run with a gun in [her] hand? [she] should stay at home, start a family, take care of [her] children"

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The paper aims to reveal the stereotypes that children of a school gymnasium "Shavnabada" have regarding gender and social roles. Moreover, the research sets out to determine the possible reasons behind the children's attitude to gender bias. As the case study presented in the article shows, the society manages to brainwash people as early as a school-age. Indeed, school children have already fallen "victims" to the biased gender roles and sexism. The experiment also reveals that the pupils have already acquired their attitudes towards acceptable roles of women and men in society. Specifically, men are breadwinners, whereas women are assigned only the role of homemakers. On the other hand, it was obvious that girls try to overcome prejudice as they consider these stereotypes to be humiliating and even degrading.

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1. Introduction

Since a fairy tale is considered to be a social piece of writing, it frequently expresses the problems faced by society. Although gender issues and particularly, those of gender inequality have only recently become a popular research topic, this issue emerges in old, traditional tales. The fact that social roles assigned to genders are biased, allows generating a socio-cultural and sociolinguistic portrait of the community of the period. Gender inequality shines through real-life situations as well as in paintings, literature, and even through sexual life (Eden, 2016). Moreover, this tendency is expressed in traditional fairy tales, where, in most cases, the princess is waiting for the prince to save her or cherishes the dreams of marrying him, while the male characters are active and look for adventures. According to Nanda (2014), passivity in fairy tales is one of the most valuable and important attributes for a woman. A woman cannot save herself and waits to be saved by a man. The author's extensive research suggests that ambitious women are less "successful" in traditional fairy tales, because active females are usually depicted as evil characters, and they often die in the story. It is also noteworthy that the authors often refer to the proverb "a beautiful soul in a beautiful body" because kindness is inevitably associated with beauty, whereas the evil is associated with the ugliness (Nanda, 2014). Since fairy tales have the greatest impact on both the child and society, it is advisable to transform traditional roles of women and men and adapt them to the demands of modern life (Warner, 1995; Zipes, 1993).

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the results, although both girls and boys knew the story equally well, the boys negatively reacted to their male group-mates, who showed interest in the "girls' fairy tale". Consequently, the lack of responses from the boys was caused not by the fact that they did not like "Cinderella", but by the fear of how other members of the group would react to their choice (Baker-Sperry, 2007). Therefore, these children can be seen as a model of society where members are constantly (intentionally or unintentionally) forced to be stereotyped.

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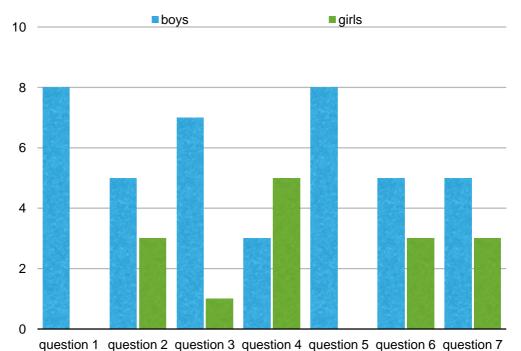
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All eight boys who participated in the experiment believed the excerpt presented in the first question:Strong, smart, adventurous? I know some […] that defeat the strongest wrestlers, pull up the horse by the hand, wrestle the bear, and with one stroke, harvest half of the field" was addressed to the boy, because, in their opinion, strength and intelligence are the qualities characteristic of a boy and not a girl - "Of course [the boy] because they are the strongest and love adventures," "The boy is the strongest. A woman is cowardly and powerless"; "Because boys are strong and girls are gentle." Moreover, the boys involved in the experiment not only think that men are strong and smart but also, in their imagination, a woman is cowardly and powerless. These adjectives characterize a woman negatively. Interestingly, most of the girls also agree with the opinion that boys are stronger and, in their opinion, more boys are characterized in fairy tales through such epithets. It is clear that children at this age already have a wrong attitude towards the role of women and only perceive women as "weak sex" who need protection and care. Interestingly, not only boys but also girls agree with this idea. Both girls and boys believe that such words as "strength", "helmet", "military armor", "stubborn", "strong", "daring", "bold" are more characteristic of boys because they . are brave and good warriors who "manage to do everything." Moreover, children think that boys are "better able to store and keep [items]", which means that they are more careful and attentive than girls. Besides, according to one of the boys, the diamond is usually given to the boy because "the boy

is the most precious thing for the mother", which reflects the stereotype that giving birth to a son, hence to the heir, is a priority for a woman. In addition, children believe that "only a man carries a gun", therefore, children are already exposed to the roles embedded in a stereotypically minded society. In addition to weapons, children also believe that girls should be more obedient and gentle, they are also "easy to upset and they always cry." Consequently, according to the children, obedience and crying are more common in girls than in boys. At the same time, it is interesting to see the attitude of children towards the word "stubborn". Stereotypically, stubbornness is more characteristic of a boy, and children often refer to it together with the boy's other stereotypical trait, namely, courage. Interestingly, in the negative context, the participants considered this adjective to be more characteristic of a girl - "girls are totally stubborn and do not obey anyone."

In the Georgian society, boys are frequently addressed with the sentence, "Why are you crying, are you a girl or what?!". In the excerpt, "Are you here? I was looking for you. - [she] suddenly heard his voice and [she] was so ashamed of [her] own tears, [she] immediately climbed a tree", the aforementioned stereotype comes to life - it is shameful for boys to cry. The children assumed that the excerpt referred to the boy, because "tears would probably embarrass a boy more than a girl." Those who indicated that this extract referred to the girl while substantiating their reasons, noted that in their opinion, tears and crying are more typical of a girl because girls are "crybabies and shy."

From a linguistic point of view, the last question was especially interesting: "Why does [she] run with a gun in [her] hand? [she] should stay at home, start a family, take care of [her] children". Here, students highlighted three different stereotypical approaches. Some in this excerpt paid special attention to the phrase "running with a gun", which, as has already been mentioned above, is more masculine than feminine. The next phrase that caught the children's attention and resulted in a difference in responses is "creating a family." According to the students, boys are asked to create a family, because, according to the stereotype, a man takes the initiative to start a family, he is the one who chooses a wife and then creates a family, and a

woman "gets borrowed[1] Boys are encouraged to start a family,", "I think it's [a boy] because we're talking about starting a family. The word used is more often said to a boy, not to a girl". The third phrase that some children focus on is "look after the children", which is not surprising because in the Georgian culture looking after the children is the duty of a woman - "a girl should look after the family", "In my opinion, a girl should take care of children". There are also girls who run with a machine gun, but such girls also have to keep calm, sit at home and look after their kids." It is noteworthy that even at this age (10-14 years) students reveal the stereotypical perception of gender roles. Moreover, their linguistic choices clearly indicate aggression and a negative attitude towards a strong woman and a strong woman and a desire to subdue her (metaphorically "curb") and force a woman to confine herself only to the family space.

In the second phase of the experiment, based on a study by Kate Patterson (2014), we read the Georgian translation of "The Paper Bag Princess" to the children and asked questions to better analyze the text and find out the children's attitudes. In the fairy tale, Princess Elizabeth's Palace is attacked by a dragon and everything is burnt and the dragon kidnaps Elizabeth's fiancé, Prince Ronald. Elizabeth, left without a dress, turns a paper bag into a paper dress and chases the dragon to free the prince. The girl manages to trick and tire the dragon, but the prince is not impressed by her attire and asks the girl to "be as beautiful as a princess should be" and then return to him. Enraged by the rudeness of the prince, Elizabeth calls Ronald a 'bum' and calls off the marriage.

We asked the children the following pre-prepared questions, and then the questions that arose after the discussion:

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[1] In Georgian, getting married has two different terms depending on whether it describes a woman or a man. The man "gets/brings a wife, starts a family-ცოლის მოყვანა'', whereas a woman "is 'borrowed'' გათხოვება' by her husband.

1) In this tale, the dragon kidnaps the prince. In other fairy tales, why do dragons mainly kidnap princesses?

2) How do princes defeat the dragon in fairy tales?

3) Do princesses often run with swords?

4) How did Princess Elizabeth save the prince? If it were the other way around, how do you think the prince would have saved the princess?

5) Do you think Princess Elizabeth made a good decision not to marry the prince? Why?

To the question why dragons mainly kidnap princesses, not princes, the children said the girls are "weak" and that "boys are stronger and want to appear like heroes and save girls." Both boys and girls agree that in order to defeat the enemy, in this case, the dragon, only effort is not enough and intelligence are needed. However, in their view, if the prince had saved the girl, he would have used the sword rather than his brain, as Elizabeth did in this case. This is due to the fact that "men are more likely to fight." Interestingly, some of the girls mentioned that the portrayal of girls as weak characters in fairy tales "humiliates girls" because it does not correspond to the truth - "We have boxer girls too!". When analyzing the tale, the children do not deny that Elizabeth could have been really strong, but she was smart. Children also remember the proverb correctly: "The way is better if the man invents it." However, some of the children reject the idea that the girl may have been strong, but instead " she used her brain" because she realized she could not physically defeat the dragon. Notably, through healthy discussions, children came to the conclusion that they should not generalize and some girls may be stronger in class than boys, and there may be boys who are smarter than girls. It is interesting to note the change in the approach to stereotypes- a woman is a foolish creature because, during the children's discussions, it is obvious that nowadays they believe that girls are stereotypically smart and boys are stereotypically strong.

The attitude of the children towards the fact that Elizabeth does not marry Ronald at the end of the fairy tale also deserves attention. The girls point out that they do not need a husband who will not "care for them and will only think about beauty", "the main thing is not beauty, the main thing is that he loves you", "why would she want to marry an ungrateful man who did not appreciate what she had done for him?". Interestingly, the girls still emphasize the fact that

the husband should take care of the wives, however, they also note that they liked "that the girl left the boy" because in their opinion, in real life, it is on the contrary- boys break up with girls. It is obvious that girls try to fight against some of the stereotypes, although they are sometimes still influenced by the prevailing approaches in society.

The participants of the experiment clearly had a different approach to gender roles- girls tried to "fight for their rights" while boys stubbornly suggested that girls should sit at home and cook. Moreover, the examples given by boys in relation to women were stereotypically related to the family space: "Girls cry when they break a nail while cleaning the house." These views caused particularly heated debates:

Giorgi[2]: "Men bring food."

Tamar: "So what? Women prepare them! "

Mariam: "My father helps my mom when she is tired and often washes the dishes."

The girls try to counter George's phrase and emphasize the important role of women - products brought by a man are nothing if it is not prepared by a woman. In addition, Mariam cites the example from her own family life that her father often washes the dishes because women get just as tired at work as men.

Based on the experiment, it is clear that both girls and boys are well aware of the stereotypes in society. Interestingly, from the answers to the questionnaire, we can clearly see that both girls and boys think quite stereotypically, because both of the groups share biased gender roles that are rooted in our society: women must be obedient and gentle, girls are crybabies, and boys are ashamed of tears; courage, fighting, and fighting attributes are common to men, and only men run around with weapons. In addition, "creating a family" is a man's job, while raising children and looking after their homes is a woman's job. Surprisingly, on the other hand, the same children presented a different approach when discussing the fairy tale: the girls were visibly trying to confront the boys, and to overcome stereotypes that impose quite a few restrictions on them- they no longer like being portrayed as weak creatures in fairy tales;

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[2] Names are changed.

Moreover, girls perceive this as humiliating and no longer want to be associated with only household chores and secondary roles, and support the view that family affairs are equally distributed to both sexes, and there is nothing shameful about that.

3. Conclusion

The fairy tale as a social construct indeed plays an immense role in the stereotypical development of a child and society, in general. For decades, active male characters have dominated the tales, whereas the females have only appeared as secondary and passive characters. This perfectly reflects the stereotypes that are deeply rooted in our societies. The experiment conducted at the Shavnabada Gymnasium once again proves that the society manages to brainwash people as early as a school-age. Indeed, school children have already fallen "victims" to the biased gender roles and sexism. The experiment also reveals that the pupils have already acquired their attitudes towards acceptable roles of women and men in society. Specifically, men are breadwinners, whereas women are assigned only the role of homemakers. On the other hand, it was obvious that girls try to overcome prejudice as they consider these stereotypes to be humiliating and even degrading. Nevertheless, the girls considered horse riding, archery, or fighting in a battle to be strictly masculine, rather than, even only rarely, characteristic to a woman.

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Appendix

1. "Strong, smart, adventurous? I know some […] that defeat the strongest wrestlers, pull up the horse by the hand, wrestle the bear, and with one stroke, harvest half of the field.

2. "You are like a rock- says grandma- with an unbreakable and stubborn personality".

3. "This diamond will be your strength. Remember, [women] can do a lot of things as long as you use your strengths correctly…"

4. "Are you here? I was at your house looking for you. - [she] suddenly heard [his] voice and was so ashamed of [her] own tears, [she] hurriedly climbed up the tree."

5. "In the morning [she] put on the armor and the helmet, specially made by the King's order".

6. A lot of them praised [her] for being so courageous and bold, but there were some who were angry at [her]; [women] should be delicate and obedient, they have never been this stubborn and unapproachable…

7. "Why does [she] run with a gun in [her] hand? [she] should stay at home, start a family, take care of [her] children"

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Tata Tevzadze

SOCIAL-SEMIOTIC APPROACH TO ADVERTISING

Abstract

The objective of this research is to reveal the connotations of verbal and non-verbal signs "hidden" in advertisements. Specifically, this article mainly represents the system of image-text relations applied to different genres of discourse in which images and texts co-occur. Such advertisements combine two kinds of relations – the relative status of images and text and how they relate to each other in terms of social semiotics. The analysis of the advertisement by MacDonald is made based on the theory suggested by Kress and van Leeuwen (2006).

Keywords: Advertisements, Sign, Image, Text, Kress and van Leeuwen theory

Introduction and theory

According to Halliday (Halliday 1994), there are three major metafunctions of the language-ideational, interpersonal and textual. Similar metafunctions were introduced into the domain of visual social semiotics by Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) and are referred to as representational, interactive and compositional. According to the authors, "the visual, like all semiotic modes, has to serve several communicational (and representational) requirements, to function as a full system of communication" (2006: 41). Kress and Van Leeuwen describe signifiers (forms) as vector, modality, gaze, composition, perspective, line and colour. The authors also theorise about how these forms create meanings (signified) when making up signs. As well as this, the compositional meaning of images is realised through three interrelated

systems: information value (given or new, ideal or real, important or less), salience (achieved through size, colour, tone, focus, perspective, overlap, repetition, etc.), and framing.

Multimodal discourse analysis describes how different semiotic modes come together to create a "unified text or communicative event" (Liu 2013). From this standpoint, in multimodal advertisements, texts are expressed both verbally and visually through the text layout, colour designs, and typographical features. As well as this, the authors assume that images and other visual modes are also capable of forming texts, complexes of signs, which reveal internal coherence with each other and external coherence with the context in and for which they were produced. (Kress & Van Leeuwen 2006; Lui 2013).

Advertising aims to influence recipients and motivates them to be interested in the offered goods or services or find out more information about the brand. On the other hand, advertising employs sign systems quite significantly. Decoding of these complex message structures is frequently performed through social semiotics (Najafian & Dabaghi (2001) which is generally considered to be interdisciplinary (Braga (2017). Social semiotics may be actively employed when analysing "hidden" messages in media, particularly, in print advertising. The overall pragmatic aim is to make the advertisement more interesting and multilayered and thereby enhance its effectiveness by linking the product to a broad and subtle range of associations encoding in the writer/speaker and decoding in the reader/listener/viewer. The main aim of this research is to reveal the ideological, denotative and connotative concepts hidden in advertisements using the example of the advertisement by MacDonald's.

Methodology

The advertisement below was analysed based on the theory suggested by Kress and Van Leeuwen and described above (2006). According to van Leeuwen (2005, p.8), "A good starting point for studying aspects of visual communication is to consider that there are verbal and

visual modes of communication in print advertising with complex interaction". It can be assumed that both linguistic and visual choices made by advertisement producers are not accidental but pre-thought and pre-planned. What seems important is that the meaning of signs may only be assessed concerning their structure and their relationships with other signs. As is known, the signified always plays a certain role concerning the particular signifying system.

Representational metafunction

Representational metafunction includes narrative and conceptual processes. Narrative patterns are described as dynamic and "present unfolding actions and events, processes of change, transitory spatial arrangements," whereas conceptual patterns are static and "represent participants in terms of their class, structure or meaning". There are two types of participants in this theory. The first type (represented participants) is represented in images and texts whereas "interactive participants" encode and decode the image/text.

While describing narrative processes, Kress and Leween maintain that the participants may be connected by a vector which is described as a line made up by the components of the image.

More specifically, the actor is the creator of the vector whereas the recipient is referred to as the Goal. The participant who performs the action   is called the "Reacter" whereas the recipient of the action is referred to as the 'Phenomenon'.

Narrative processes are dynamic whereas conceptual processes are static. The authors single out analytical and symbolic subprocesses. The former depicts visual elements from the point of view of part-whole relations, whereas the meaning of a represented participant is given through symbolic processes.

The first metafunction also describes the method of encoding of the topic of the advertisement. The visual encoding is performed by utilizing narrative and/or conceptual structures. (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006: 59).

In this advertisement, there is only one vector indicated by the baby's happy smile. The vector actualized is transactional as it is formed by the direction of the glance of the baby (i.e directed towards something outside the picture frame) (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006: 67-68). The Goal in this advertisement is represented by the burger. Kress and Leeuwen relate participants from the point of view of their class, structure or meaning (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006: 59). In this case, the classificational process relates the participants to each other and emphasizes the bond between the burger and the baby (i.e Mother and child). Besides, topographical (physical and spatial relations) and topological (logical relations between participants) ties between the participants are also represented through these components. The symbolic meaning of the advertisement emphasizes the bond between the mother and the child, described in terms of the MacDonald's product presented as a mother's breast.

Interactive metafunction

The interactive meaning of images in the advertisement can be realized through three dimensions: image act, social distance and point of view.

The image act involves the gaze direction of the represented participants, which can be directed at the viewer or at some other parts of the image and may be accompanied by certain, significant facial expressions and gestures (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006: 116-118). The advertisement below expresses a genuine relationship between the baby and the McDonald's burger. The way the baby is attached to the burger (i.e the breast) expresses genuine feelings of happiness and well-being. The close social distance between the baby and the burger (baby and his/her mother) is emphasized by means of the close-up which depicts a very close bond between the mum and her baby (i.e MacDonald's burger and the baby). The last dimension of the interactive function is the point of view or perspective

(Kress & van Leeuwen 2006: 143), which again reveals close relationships between the participants of the advertisement. This is achieved by the focus of the camera-the participants are photographed from eye level angles, which emphasizes love and tenderness between mother and her child.

Compositional metafunction

Kress & van Leeuwen believe that compositional metafunction refers to "the way in which representations and communicative acts cohere into the kind of meaningful whole we call 'text' (Kress & van Leeuwen 1996: 181). Consequently, meaning in this theory is built by three interrelated and intertwined systems: information value, salience and framing. Information value is presented through three main visual areas: left and right; top and bottom; and centre and margin. The authors state that the left side is usually related to the given information, which is "assumed to be familiar and accepted as a point of departure for the message by the viewer". (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006: 179-185). In the advertisement to be analyzed, the McDonald's burger is placed in the left-hand side, which implies that it is as good and healthy

as Mother's milk and, importantly, this is a known fact. The baby's face which is placed in the right-hand side presents new information implying that the offered product is as safe as the mother's milk even to babies. Salience is expressed through the visual clues as to size, the sharpness of focus, tonal and colour contrast, placement in the visual field, perspective and specific cultural factors (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006: 201-203). Besides the salient elements, such as the baby and the burger, the logo of MacDonalds is also significant as it is the only verbally expressed element and establishes links between the image and the company. A warm, peach colour creates an overall positive ambience and emphasizes the state of contentment.

Discussion of the findings and Conclusion

Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) suggest several analytical tools for interpreting visual language. Based on the analysis of the advertisement according to the categories provided by the theory, it can be maintained that the advertisement presents the model of a bond between a mother and a child (the burger and the baby). The picture is presented through the combination of metafunctions indicated by the theory. The main function of the advertisement, persuasion, is achieved by the combination of all the three functions   Therefore, the model proposed by Kress and van Leeuwen can be utilized when describing and discussing multimodal texts, namely, printed advertisements.

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Tinatin Vardidze

UNIVERSAL MODELS OF POLYSEMOUS NOUNS IN ENGLISH AND GEORGIAN

LANGUAGES

Abstract

This paper presents the results of a comparative study of polysemous words to reveal universal models of nouns in the English and Georgian languages. The study examines the models of nouns denoting the body parts (*hand, head*), facial parts (*eye, mouth*), as well as the names of the internal organs (*heart, brain*) through comparing them with the same group words in the Georgian language. The research through the methodology of definitional analysis, contextual analysis and corpus analysis, revealed that these noun groups represent the same type of model that professor Tinatin Margalitadze named as **solar model** (Margalitadze, 2008). I present the sub models of the mentioned solar model; I further distinguished a **long-ray solar model** and a **short-ray solar model**. The research is part of my thesis on universal models of polysemous nouns in the English and Georgian Languages. In this paper I will discuss the example of the comparative study of the noun "eye" to present the results of the research.

Keywords: *contextual analysis, polysemic nouns, solar model.*

Introduction

This article is a part of a more comprehensive study within the framework of my PhD thesis aimed at analyzing universal models of polysemous nouns in modern English and Georgian languages. The research was carried out on the nouns of several thematic groups, namely the nouns denoting the parts of the body (*hand, head*), the nouns of facial parts (*eye, mouth*) and the nouns denoting internal organs (*brain, heart*). The above-mentioned nouns were selected for the research based on the rich number of polysemous meanings they present. The study was conducted using the following methods: analysis of dictionary definitions (definitional method

of analysis), contextual analysis and the corpus research method. This article presents the analysis of results from the research that is part of my thesis, based on the comparative study of thematic groups in both languages mentioned above. The example of the noun *eye* is presented for the visualization of the study's results, since the noun *eye* is the source of more than 32 meanings in English language that give considerable grounds for comparative analysis.

1. Methodology

1.1 Methods of Analysis

This work is carried out with the methods used by Professor Tinatin Margalitadze to reveal universal models of polysemy of various parts of speech (T. Margalitadze, 1982, 2006, 2014)

I used the following dictionaries to analyze the definitions: The Oxford English Dictionary on Historical Principles, Webster's Third New International Unabridged Dictionary, English language dictionaries (Cambridge Dictionary, McMillan Dictionary, Dictionary.com). For the contextual analysis of the given nouns the corpora of Georgian (Georgian National Corpus)[1] and English languages[2] were used as well as British National Corpus (BNC) and English Web 2013 (enTenTen13)[3]. The study was conducted following several steps. First, I identified the basic senses of each noun and described their polysemous meanings through the methods mentioned. For the next step I identified the semantic components of the word meanings through the method of definitional analysis. For the third step, the relationship between the semantic components and the polysemous meanings of the words were analyzed, and for the final step polysemous words were graphically illustrated to demonstrate the results.

1.2 Models of Polysemous Nouns

Unlike English, Georgian words are not highly polysemous, though the above-mentioned nouns proved to be quite polysemous in the Georgian language as well. Thorough analyses showed that nouns denoting facial parts (*eye, mouth*) have more than 20 meanings in both

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[1] Georgian National Corpus - www.gnc.gov.ge
[2] www.corpus.leeds.ac.uk/internet.html
[3] https://www.sketchengine.eu/

languages. The goal of such analysis was to reveal the universal models of nouns in English and Georgian. My hypothesis was that models of investigated nouns would coincide with the model of polysemous nouns in English, described by T. Margalitadze (Margalitadze, 2008), which she termed the **Solar Model.** My study has shown that the solar model is a universal model of polysemous nouns in English and Georgian. I have identified and described two subtypes of this universal model: **a short-ray solar model** and **a long-ray solar model.** In a **a short-ray solar model,** polysemous meanings of a noun develop from its main meaning, from the semantic components of the main meaning. Each semantic component gives rise to one, two or maximum three meanings, therefore, graphically such nouns resemble the sun with short rays (see Figure 1.).
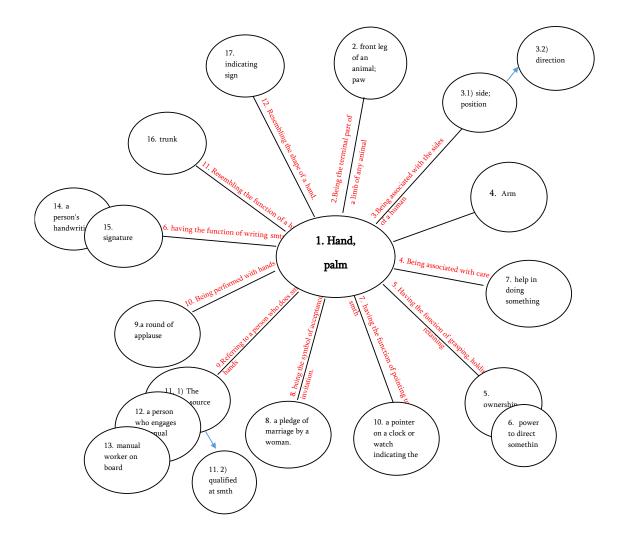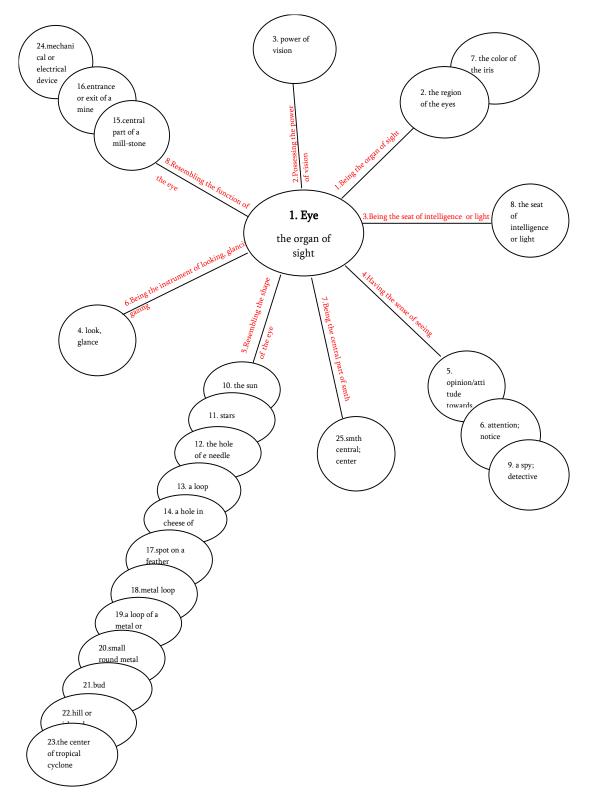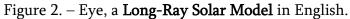
Figure 1. – Hand, a **Short-Ray Solar Model** in English

In **a long-ray solar model,** polysemous meanings of a noun also develop from the semantic components of the main meaning, but one or two of its semantic components become the basis for the development of several meanings and such nouns graphically resemble the sun with long rays (see Figure 2.).

Figure 2. – Eye, a **Long-Ray Solar Model** in English.

2. Results/Findings

The results of the study, as mentioned above, are presented on the example of the noun *eye*. The study of the above-mentioned polysemous word has shown that the word *eye* has 25 different meanings in English and 14 in Georgian, the most important of which are meanings based on the metaphor. The majority of word senses of the Georgian noun *eye* are identical with the meanings of its English counterpart. Among these, 8 meanings of *eye* in Georgian coincide with the meanings of the word *eye* in English. The fact that, *eye* has 6 additional senses in Georgian and 17 in English proves once again that English nouns are highly polysemous, also this shows that even such words as *eye* may have different meanings based on different metaphors in English and Georgian.

Below is the list of meanings of *eye* in English and Georgian languages:

Eye – polysemous meanings in English

1. **eye**; the organ of sight;

2. taken as including the eyelids, or the surrounding parts; **the region of the eyes**

3. Used to refer to someone's **power of vision** and in descriptions of the direction of someone's gaze; weak eyes, good eyes.

4. **look, glance**;

5. Used to refer to **someone's opinion or attitude towards something.**

6. **attention, notice;**

Eye - polysemous meanings in Georgian

1. **eye**, the organ of sight;

2. taken as including the eyelids, or the surrounding parts; **the region of the eyes;**

3. **vision**;

4. **Look, glance;**

5. Used to refer to **someone's opinion or attitude towards something.**

6. **attention, notice;**

7. **with adjs. denoting the colour of the iris;**

8. fig. Applied to a city, country, province, etc.: **The seat of intelligence or light;**

9. Applied to a person who uses his eyes on behalf, or instead, of another. spec. **a detective agency or a detective**, esp. a private one;

10. Poet. attributed to heaven, **the sun**;

11. *poet.* **stars;**

12. The hole or aperture formed to receive the thread; **the hole in the needle;**

13. A **loop** at the end of a rope, especially one at the top end of a shroud or stay;

14. A small **hole or hollow in bread or cheese;**

15. the **central part of the mill-stone;**

16. **entrance or exit** of the mine/den;

17. **One of the spots** near the end of the tail-feathers **of a peacock.**

18. A small **metal loop** into which a hook is fitted as a fastener on a garment

19. **A loop of metal or thread** in a 'hook and eye', esp. that used as a fastening in dresses;

7. **the surrounding of the eyeball;**

8. fig. Applied to a city, country, province, etc.: **The seat of intelligence or light;**

9. **a precious stone**.

10. the eye of a **woven;**

11. **the eye of a wheelbarrow;**

12. **the power of perception, notice;**

13. **attitude towards somebody;**

14. **external impression.**

20. a small **round metal loop** for hanging the curtains;

21. the axillary bud; **the leaf-bud of a potato;**

22. Applied in local names to a prominent natural object**, such as a hill or island;**

23. **an area like a hole in the center of a tropical cyclone** marked by only light winds or complete calm with no precipitation;

24. A **mechanical or electrical device resembling an eye** in its function or appearance;

25. something **central; center.**

2.1. Polysemous noun *eye* in English

Based on the analysis of dictionary definitions I have identified the following semantic components for the noun *eye* in English:

1. Being the organ of sight

2. Possessing the power of vision

3. Being the seat of light

4. Having the sense of seeing

5. Resembling the shape of the eye

6. Being the instrument of looking, glancing, gazing

7. Being the central part of something

8. Resembling the function of the eye.

Below will be shown links between the semantic components of *eye and* its senses in English. Semantic components listed above are the source for the development of polysemous meanings of *eye*.

- Sense 1- **the eye, the organ of sight** - is derived from the basic semantic component - *Being the organ of sight*;

- Sense 2 (**the region of the eyes**) derived from the main meaning – *being the organ of sight*;

- Sense 3 – **power of vision** - developed from the second semantic component - *possessing the power of vision*;

- Sense 4 – **look, glance** - developed from the sixth semantic component - *being the instrument of looking, glancing, gazing*;

- The fifth semantic component - *resembling the shape of the eye* - is the most productive in the structure of the given polysemous noun. The semantic component *resembling the shape of eye* gives rise to the following meanings:

  - *poet.* **the sun** (10th);
  - *poet* **stars** (11th);
  - **the hole of a needle** (the 12th meaning);
  - **a loop** (13th);
  - **the hole or hollow of bread or cheese** (14th);
  - **circular figure (on peacock's tail)** 17th meaning; the same semantic component is basis for the majority of technical meanings (18, 19, 20) and the 21, 22, 23rd meanings.

- Sense 7 (**the color of iris**) - also derives from the main meaning – *being the organ of sight*;

- The seventh semantic component - *being the central part of smth* – is the basis for the 25th meaning - **something central; center** (or location or significance);

- Sense – **the seat of intelligence or light** - is based on the third semantic component - *being the seat of light*;

- The eighth semantic component - *resembling the function of the eye* is the basis for such meanings as: 9, 15, 16, 24.

- The 9th meaning - **a detective**, is a very interesting sense that has also evolved from the meaning gaze, look, The Oxford dictionary explains the evolution of this meaning as follows - *applied to a person who uses his eyes on behalf, or instead of another.*

- Sense 5 – **someone's opinion or attitude towards something** - developed from the polysemous meaning of the given word - gaze, namely, it means a way of looking at things and the sixth meaning – **attention, notice** - is also evolved from the meaning - gaze, since the gaze usually means attentively looking at something.

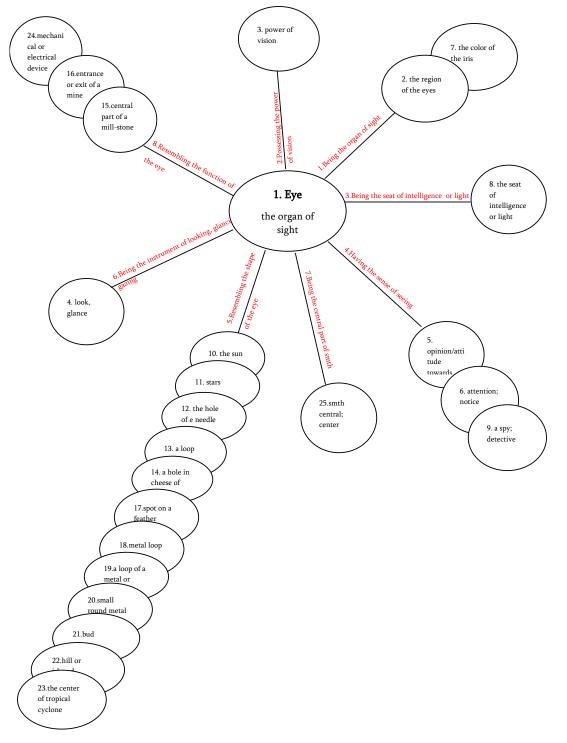Graphically, the above analysis can be presented as follows (see Figure 3.)

Figure 3. **Eye –** a Long-ray Solar Model in English.

2.2. Polysemous noun **eye** *in Georgian.*

Analysis of dictionary definitions revealed the following semantic components of the Georgian noun *eye*:

1. Being the organ of sight

2. Possessing the power of vision

3. Being the seat of light

4. Having the sense of seeing

5. Resembling the shape of the eye

6. Being the instrument of looking, glancing, gazing.

Below will be shown links between semantic components and senses of *eye in* Georgian.

- Sense 1- **the eye, the organ of sight** - is derived from the basic semantic component - *Being the organ of sight* similarly as in the case of its English counterpart.

- Sense 2 - **the region of the eyes** and sense 7 – **the surrounding of the eyeball** also derive from the main meaning – *being the organ of sight*;

- Sense 3 –**vision** - developes from the second semantic component - *possessing the power of vision*;

- Sense 4 – **look, glance** - developed from the sixth semantic component - *being the instrument of looking, glancing, gazing*;

- The fourth semantic component is the most productive among the other semantic components of the 'eye' in the Georgian language being the source of five different meanings of the noun as follows: having an opinion/attitude towards something; attention/notice; the power of perception; attitude towards somebody and external impression on something/somebody.

- The fifth semantic component - *resembling the shape of the eye* - is the source for three senses of the given polysemous noun:

  ➢ *Eye, a precious stone*

  ➢ *Eye, the eye of a woven*

> *Eye, the eye of a wheelbarrow*

- The Sense – **the seat of intelligence or light** - is based on the third semantic component - *being the seat of light*.

Thus, the Georgian polysemous noun *eye*, like its English counterpart, also represents a long-ray solar model (see Figure 4.). The analysis has revealed that the same meanings of the noun *eye* are based on the same sematic components in both languages, however the same semantic component may develop far more meanings in the English language than in Georgian as in the case of the semantic component *resembling the shape of the eye.*

The result of the study demonstrates that the noun *eye* is a clear-cut example of a long-ray solar model, which develops one long ray – a semantic component leading to a number of senses, but based on different semantic components in the languages discussed. In English it is the fifth sematic component (*resembling the shape of eye*) that creates a long-ray, whereas in Georgian the fourth semantic component (*having the sense of seeing*) develops a set of meanings that result in a long-ray. The same analysis is conducted on other nouns included in our study, resulting in the same Solar Models.

Figure 4. **Eye** – a Long-ray Solar Model in Georgian.

3. Conclusion

Our study of polysemous nouns has revealed that **the solar model**, described by T. Margalitadze is a universal model of nouns not only in English but also in Georgian. The

subtypes, identified by us during the research, namely: **a short-ray solar model** and a **long-ray solar model** are also universal for English and Georgian nouns.

The **solar model** seems to suit the nature of nouns very well. Nouns denote different objects of reality which contain numerous features, reflected as numerous semantic components in their semantic structures. From this point of view nouns differ from adjectives which denote one feature of things and therefore are 'poor' in semantic components. Numerous semantic components of nouns give rise to transferred senses which spread around the main meaning of a noun like rays of the sun, creating a radial polysemy. Thus, the solar model reflects the nature of the noun itself, while the richness of its semantic components is clearly visible in its universal polysemous model.

I find the results of this type of comparative study useful in teaching foreign languages. It is true that polysemy has been a headache for learners, when they have to memorize a number of meanings of one single noun. This research can be used to provide students with an in-depth understanding of word senses and their semantic links with primary and transferred meanings of a noun. Instead of just memorizing words and their senses, this research may offer a more productive way of learning vocabulary. My experience has shown that students enjoy to see and realize cognitive mechanisms of development of transferred senses of polysemous words, this makes the learning process easier, more interesting and enjoyable for learners.

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The author of the article is a PhD student specializing in lexicography, who has ten years of working experience as an English language teacher and during the last few years she has been actively testing the results received through the examination of polysemous nouns in English in her classroom. She has presented her work in the field at teachers' conferences and has triggered great interest among English language teachers. She has also developed lesson plans on how to teach certain polysemous nouns discussed in her thesis.

Elene Khuskivadze

"CONTROLLED VOCABULARY" AND ISSUES CONCERNING THE COMPILATION

OF AN ENGLISH GEORGIAN LEARNER'S DICTIONARY

Abstract

The aim of the article is to represent the study that explores the necessity of the controlled vocabulary in a bilingual English-Georgian learner's dictionary and the necessity of the reduction of polysemantic meanings of a word based on the frequency principle in an English – Georgian learner's dictionary.

It is necessary to combine the two main methodologies of lexicography: on the one hand, to get acquainted with the methodology of learner's lexicography and on the other hand to study the needs of the dictionary users. An experiment was planned and conducted with the participation of school students, which revealed interesting results.

Thus, the study identified the need to create an English-Georgian learner's dictionary tailored for students' needs.

Keywords: learner's dictionary, controlled vocabulary, polysemantic meanings.

Introduction

Along with the traditional fields of lexicography such as comprehensive explanatory dictionaries, bilingual dictionaries, terminological dictionaries, etc., a new direction - learners' lexicography - emerged in the second half of the 20th century (Cowie, 2007). The emergence of this direction was driven by the increasing popularity of the English language teaching (ELT)

around the world. Michael West, Harold Palmer, and Albert Hornby helped design and develop the learners' lexicography. The "Research Institute for the Teaching of the English Language", created in Tokyo in the 20s of the 20th century, played a major role in the development of the genre of the learners' lexicography. In 1927, the Institute was commissioned to create a "controlled vocabulary" for the English language, that is, to develop a list of 1,000 - 2000 English words that would enable a language learner to communicate successfully. This acted as the basis for the creation of the first 'controlled vocabulary'. Scientists devised various methods employed while creating lists that would make it easier for children to learn English. Later, the aforementioned scholars came up with the idea to develop new types of learners dictionaries in which word definitions would be based on the controlled vocabulary. This is how the first-generation of learners' dictionaries was born: 1. The New Method English Dictionary (West and Endicott, 1935) 2. A Grammar of English Words (Palmer, 1938) 3. A Beginner's English-Japanese Dictionary (Hornby and Ishikawa, 1940) 4. Idiomatic and Syntactic Dictionary (Hornby, 1942).

For a considerable time, only monolingual explanatory dictionaries were considered to be learner's dictionaries. However, quite recently people working in the education sphere and lexicographers have started talking about the need to develop bilingual learner's dictionaries, as well as about their special role in teaching foreign languages (Margalitadze, 2019: vi). In learner's dictionaries, besides the use of the controlled vocabulary, the second guiding principle is the frequency principle. Such dictionaries usually include the most frequently used words and most commonly actualised meanings of words, idiomatic expressions, and phrasal verbs.

Following the need for bilingual learners' dictionaries which has been emerging recently, we are interested in the following issues:

- Since equivalents of English words are already availabe in Georgian in a bilingual English-Georgian dictionary, is it still necessary to use the controlled vocabulary in illustrative phrases and sentences of an English-Georgian dictionary?

- Is it necessary to simplify word entries in an English-Georgian learner's dictionary and make them less polysemantic than they are in the "Comprehensive English-Georgian Online Dictionary", 2010?

Investigation of these issues through an experiment is the goal of this study. Our experiment falls in the category of the research of dictionary users. The methodology for this type of reasearch was developed in the 1960s and since then has become one of the important areas of theoretical lexicography (Bejoint, 2010).

The Study of the Dictionary users

The aim of the study discussed in this article was to explore the following :

1. Is it necessary to use the controlled vocabulary in a bilingual English-Georgian learner's dictionary?
2. Is it necessary to reduce polysemantic meanings of a word based on the frequency principle in an English-Georgian learner's dictionary?
3. How effective do these principles make a bilingual English-Georgian dictionary for the Georgian learners of English?

While planning the experiment, I partially used the methodology of the Laufer and Hadar experiment and its modified version suggested by Eugene Chen (Laufer & Hadar, 1997; Chen, 2007). However, there is one principal difference between the experiment conducted by us and the original methodology. Namely, Laufer and Hadar's research uses one meaning of a polysemantic word based on the fact that the researchers are interested in the efficacy of three types of dictionaries while learning new vocabulary. In our case, we used the whole polysemantic entry of a word, as we were interested in the principle of presenting the information in a learner's dictionary. Our experiment concerns the use of the controlled vocabulary in a bilingual dictionary, as the research of this type has not been conducted before.

Participants of the Experiment: 52 pupils of VIII and IX forms of Tbilisi Public School # 24 (average level of English - Intermediate).

Research process: At the first stage of the research, the following 15 words were selected for the study: *bleak, abrupt, hectic, remote, slender, burden, bout, asset, brink, assumption, avert, rage, abuse, suppress, appeal.* Out of these words, there were 5 adjectives (*bleak, abrupt, hectic, remote, slender*), 5 nouns (*burden, bout, asset, brink, assumption*), 5 verbs (*avert, rage, abuse, suppress, appeal*). These words were supposed to be unknown to the students participating in the study. Students were given printed lists with these words three weeks before the experiment to determine whether they were familiar with any of them. Some of the students mentioned that they were familiar with several words. Due to this, these words were deleted from the list.

At the next stage, the following 7 words were selected from the original list of 15 words: abrupt, hectic, slender, bout, asset, rage, suppress. As mentioned above, all words familiar to students, were excluded from the study.

At the next stage, the following 7 words were selected from the original list of 15 words: *abrupt, hectic, slender, bout, asset, rage, suppress.*

Two types of word entries were prepared for the experiment: complete word entries taken from the "Comprehensive English-Georgian Dictionary" (www.dict.ge) for one group of participants. For the second group, I compiled simplified word-entries for the same words. In the word-entries compiled for this experiment, we used controlled vocabulary in illustrative phrases and sentences, and on the other hand, we reduced the number of meanings of polysemantic words to 4 or 5 senses. The meanings were selected based on the frequency principle.We needed these two groups to obtain the answers of the study questions specified above.

Four different types of exercises were designed for the experiment and given to the participants. Specifically, (1) the participants were expected to translate the English sentences containing the words used in the experiment into Georgian. This tested the comprehension of

the word in question; (2) the participants were given sentences with gaps to be completed from the list of the study words. This exercise was production-oriented and checked the accuracy of the use of the word; (3) The third task involved a multiple-choice exercise. Students were given two different definitions of the research word or its synonyms out of which one was right and the other - wrong. Clearly, this exercise was oriented on the correct usage of the word (production). The participants had to decide on the correct option; (4) Finally, the participants of the experiment had to put the missing word in the appropriate gap in sentences. This assignment was focused on the retention of the meaning. Exercises were made separately for all the participants, with a total of 220 samples.

The research process was planned and carried out as follows:

Stage One: The students participating in the experiment were divided into two groups: A and B. Before the participants were assigned tasks, for the purposes of verification and objectivity, they were given a list of words on the printed-out sheets and asked to write down their definitions. The number of the participants initially was 55, but three students recognized the meaning of words (of one word each) and therefore they left the experiment room. A total of 52 students remained: 26 (VIII – IX forms) students in Group A and 26 (VIII – IX forms) students in Group B.

Stage Two: Students in group A were given the list of test words and unchanged word entries from the "Comprehensive English-Georgian Dictionary". Group B students were given test words and simplified word entries compiled by us. Participants were asked to familiarize themselves with these words and their Georgian equivalents to comprehend each of the words on the list.

Stage Three: At this stage, the participants were given the first exercise to do the translation and identify the meaning of the polysemantic word used in each of the sentences. They were explained that in the following exercises, the polysemantic words would be used in that particular meaning.

Stage Four: The second exercise where the gaps had to be filled in correctly was given to the participants of the research at this stage. While doing this exercise, the participants had word-entries taken from the dictionary and translations of the exercises made by themselves.

Stage Five: The students were given exercise N 3 - they had to circle the correct option from two alternative definitions and a synonym. At this point, the participants had the dictionary and exercises made by themselves.

Stage Six: All the materials (words, word meanings, completed exercises) were taken from the participants of the experiment at this stage. They were given the fourth exercise. The participants were expected to insert the missing words correctly in the sentence. This exercise focused on remembering the word correctly.

After this assignment, the participants left the room. The experiment lasted 1 hour and 30 minutes.

Findings and Results of the experiment:

A total of 208 tests were marked for the experiments (52 participants and 4 assignments each). The papers were marked based on the following principle. The maximum score for the comprehension exercise was - 7 (the exercise consisted of 7 sentences). The test was considered excellent if it was given 7 or 6 points, good with 5 correct answers; fair with 4 correct answers and weak with 3 or less correct answers.

The maximum score for word production exercises was 14 (2 exercises, each with seven tasks). The answers in these exercises were graded as follows: the test was considered excellent with 14 or 13 correct answers, good with 12 or11 correct answers, fair with 10 or 9 correct answers, weak - with 8 and less correct answers. The maximum score for the word retention exercise was 7 (the fourth exercise also had 7 sentences). In this case, the work was considered excellent if it had 7 or 6 correct answers, good with 5 correct answers, fair with 4 correct answers, and weak - with 3 or less correct answers.

These four tasks were then grouped into two groups of indicators of positive and negative outcomes: Positive outcome group comprised excellent and good works whereas negative outcome group - fair and weak works.

The tables below (Table N 1 and Table N 2) clearly show the results of the study. Table N 1 reveals that the number of excellent works in all three types of assignments is higher in group B compared to the group A. On the other hand, the number of weak works in group A is higher than in group B.

As for table N 2, it is also clear that the positive results are much higher in group B than in group A.

Table N 1

Group A

Task	Excellent	Good	Fair	Weak
Comprehension of the word	9 tests	10 tests	4 tests	3 tests
Production of the word	8 tests	9 tests	3 tests	6 tests
Retention of the word	9 tests	3 tests	4 tests	10 tests

Group B

Task	Excellent	Good	Fair	Weak
Comprehension of the word	24 tests	1 tests	1 tests	0 tests
Production of the word	19 tests	4 tests	2 tests	1 tests

Retention of the word	16 tests	4 tests	4 tests	2 tests

Table N 2

Positive and negative results according to Group A and Group B

Group A	Comprehension of the word	Production of the word	Retention of the word
Positive	73 %	65,4 %	46,2 %
Negative	27 %	34,6 %	53,8 %

Group B	Comprehension of the word	Production of the word	Retention of the word
Positive	96,2 %	88,5 %	76,9 %
Negative	3,8 %	11,5 %	23,1 %

Analysis: From the results above it is clear that participants of the group A who were given word entries from the "Comprehensive English-Georgian Dictionary", must have had more difficulty performing tasks than participants of the group B who had simplified word entries specially prepared for this experiment. The results are unambiguous both in terms of the results of the group work as well as of overall performance.

We were interested in the participants in Group A who performed the exercises well and showed high performance. Interviewing with the students showed that they had the skills to use the dictionary and loved to look up words in a dictionary.

Conclusion

The results of this study showed that schoolchildren found it easier to work and make exercises with simplified word-entries. As mentioned above, simplified entries used controlled vocabulary in illustrative phrases and sentences, as well as reduced number of polysemantic meanings.

Thus, the study identified the need to create an English-Georgian learner's dictionary tailored for students' needs.

The study also revealed that students who were familiar with the polysemantic nature of English words, also scored better even if they were given word entries from the Comprehensive English-Georgian dictionary.

The experiment revealed once again that there is a great need to teach skills how to use a dictionary. The results of this study coincides with the research conducted in other countries revealing the necessity to teach the same skill, that is, the user who has been taught to search for information in a dictionary is better able to extract relevant and necessary information from a dictionary (Bejoint, 2010).

The study also revealed that it is necessary to continue study of the needs of the school children concerning the use of dictionaries.

From my experience, when planning such experiments, it would be advisable to consider the following recommendations:

1. Before conducting the experiment, it is necessary to conduct a 'placement test' to ensure that the level of students in each study is more or less homogenous.

2. When conducting a similar experiment in future, it would be advisable to give the same student test words from both the "Comprehensive English-Georgian Dictionary" and the simplified word-entries.

3. Simplified word-entries of the following types can also be given to the participants : a) An entry with one illustrative example for each meaning; b) a word-entry with several (two or three) illustrative examples for each meaning;

4. It is advisable to further explore the necessity of employing the "controlled vocabulary" in a bilingual English-Georgian learner's dictionary.

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Khatia Namitcheishvili

METAPHORIC MOTION PICTURES IN SOCIAL NETWORKS

Abstract

This paper explores specific features and the role played by pictorial metaphors as employed in social networks in a cross-cultural context (using the examples of Georgian and English languages) and discusses the cases when motion pictures or so-called GIFs work as pictorial metaphors. However, not all of the motion pictures or GIFs are considered to be pictorial metaphors. The paper will focus on the items conveying metaphoric concepts and discuss their peculiarities and features.

Specifically, the aims of this paper include the following:

To explore the peculiarities of the usage of pictorial metaphors in social networks and reveal a new type of representation of this stylistic device.

To show the ways motion pictures and GIFs are employed in social networks, reveal their specific features and the reasons for their popularity.

The theoretical background of the research is Charles Forceville's fourfold distinction of pictorial metaphor into Hybrid metaphor; Contextual metaphor; Pictorial simile and Integrated metaphor

The empirical data this paper is based on embrace the relevant examples from social networks, such as Facebook.

Keywords: pictorial metaphor, social networks, motion pictures, GIFs, pragmatics.

1. Introduction

Metaphor is a linguistic phenomenon that has been attracting more and more attention in recent years. The growing popularity of this stylistic device can be the result of the modern

lifestyle and tendencies not only in linguistics but also in other fields of knowledge . This paper focuses on the pictorial representation of metaphor and its occurrence in social networking sites. Emphasis is on motion pictures, the so- called GIFs. According to Cambridge Dictionary – "GIF is a type of computer file that contains a still or moving image. GIF is an abbreviation for "Graphic Interchange Format" (Cambridge Dictionary). In social networks the GIFs suggest specific context, specific information and are to substitute verbal representation of some specific utterances.

Before the 21st century, metaphor revealed a purely linguistic understanding and most of them were represented in a verbal mode. However, developments in different fields, especially in technology, resulted in some major changes in a language as the means of communication. This brought alterations and transformations for a number of different linguistic devices. George Lakoff and Mark Johnson opened new opportunities to metaphor when they suggested that this stylistic device is more about thought, actions, and imagination. (Lakoff & Johnson 2003). This means that metaphors may have both verbal and pictorial, filmic and musical representations. (Rusieshvili & Dolidze 2015)

Lakoff and Johnson define conceptual metaphors as "understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another.. (Lakoff 7 Johnson 2003 : 5). Creating a metaphor is defined as a process when the characteristics and features of one domain are transmitted to another domain in order to explain or characterise it. This definition suggests that there are two elements in the process of decoding of this trope - one of them is a primary element (i.e the element depicted through the features of the secondary element) whereas the other element is classed as a secondary element (i. e the element which transfers additional features to the primary element).

The key point in decoding a metaphor correctly is to take into account culture, background knowledge of the decoder and a shared context. Lakoff and Johnson explain that "every experience takes place within a vast background of cultural presuppositions" (Lakoff & Johnson

2003: 5). Without proper background knowledge and cultural awareness, the addressee may misinterpret the metaphor or, in some cases, not understand it at all.

Metaphors can be represented in various ways. However, this paper emphasizes the pictorial representation of metaphor. Furthermore, it explores specific features and the role played by the pictorial metaphor as employed in social networks (For example, Facebook, Twitter, etc.) in a cross-cultural context (using the examples of Georgian and English languages and cultures). The data selected for the analysis are motion pictures, the so-called GIFs, which have become quite an important part of communication on social networking sites. As revealed by the research, more than half of the 100 cases of GIF or verbal statuses on social networks that this research covered were followed by at least one GIF comment. It should be mentioned that GIF comments are more common than GIF statuses. Motion pictures substitute verbal representations of certain concepts and usually suggest a specific context. It is the context, which helps an addressee decode the metaphor expressed by the motion pictures adequately, refer to allusions and infer the essence of the whole conversation. Before discussing the examples it should be mentioned that not all the motion pictures (GIFs) that convey certain meanings and trigger some thoughts or refer to allusions can be considered as pictorial metaphors.

This paper focuses on metaphoric motion pictures, defines their function and reveals their significance for communication in social networks. As well as this, it discusses the peculiarities and socio-linguistic features of this stylistic device in modern communication and puts the emphasis on the role of background knowledge, age and culture in the process of decoding the metaphor.

The theoretical background of the research is (Forceville, 2009) Charles Forceville's fourfold distinction of pictorial metaphor into

    A.   Hybrid metaphor

    B.   Integrated metaphor

    C.   Pictorial Simile

D. Contextual metaphor

Social network tendencies and its linguistic features are constantly changing since new generations of internet users bring in new methods of communication. Nowadays GIFs are becoming popular on social networks. This has also made pictorial metaphors popular in this field. The data of this research suggest that Forceville's theory of four types of pictorial metaphors may be utilized as the theoretical basis for the linguistic phenomenon of motion pictures, so called GIFs that have recently emerged on social networking sites.

Data and Methodology of the Research

The examples of pictorial metaphors in the paper are brought from social networking site - Facebook. The research analyzed 100 cases of using GIFs as Facebook statuses or employing them in post comments.

Social network features non-metaphoric GIFs too, but this research focuses on the ones which fit in with Forceville's fourthfold distiction of pictorial metaphor.

1. A hybrid type of pictorial metaphor

"A hybrid type of pictorial metaphor (image 1). A phenomenon that is experienced as a unified object or gestalt consists of two different parts that are usually considered as belonging to different domains, and not as parts of a single whole. The interpretation of this hybrid depends on understanding one of the two parts in terms of the other". (Forceville 2002a)

Image 1.

According to Charles Forceville, there are three questions that define whether a certain example belongs to pictorial metaphors or not. (Forceville 2007)

1. What are the two elements (primary element and secondary element) of the metaphor?

2. Which are the primary and secondary elements of the metaphor and how we assume that?

3. Which features of the secondary element are transmitted to the primary element and how we perceive it? (Forceville, 1996.)

To assume whether the examples given below belong to any of the four types of pictorial metaphors as singled out by Forceville, we will need to answer those above-mentioned three questions.

The first example (Image 1) is taken from one of the Facebook user's profile. "13th day… Me: …" is a verbal element of metaphor accompanied with a motion picture (GIF) depicting a faith healer making some moves with his hands to heal people from a distance. It can be impossible to decode the verbal element of this metaphor unless one knows when the post was uploaded. During March 2020, the whole world fought against Covid 19, the virus that spreads easily and the only way to avoid being infected is to stay at home. Self-isolation became a mainstream for social network influencers at that time and was also reflected in the language. Therefore, the author indicates the number of the self-isolation day (13) and to express his mental condition on the 13th day of self-isolation, he employs the GIF where the faith healer makes some motions

with his hands to express his magical powers. In order to decode the GIF, it is crucial to possess relevant background knowledge. As well as this, without knowing modern generation's attitude towards faith healers (they are consideredto be swindlers) and the quality and standards of TV shows of the Soviet days, it would be harder to understand why the healer's GIF is used to describe a person's feelings and state during self-isolation. Therefore, employing this metaphor, the author ironically describes his current condition and tells us that he is close to insanity due to such a long self-isolation period.

After decoding the meaning of this metaphor, we should move to defining its primary and secondary elements. The two elements of this pictorial metaphor are the text, which is a verbal representation of the main massage, and the GIF enclosed to the text. In other words, the primary element or the domain is characterized by another domain, the picture. It can be assumed that considering the fact that the days of self-isolation, which the text refers to, are characterized by the allusions suggested by the GIF. Accordingly, the text is the primary element of the metaphor and it is characterised by the motion picture, which is the secondary element of the metaphor.

2. Integrated type of pictorial metaphor

Forceville defines integrated type of pictorial metaphor as "a phenomenon that is experienced as a unified object or a gestalt is represented in its entirety in such a manner that it resembles another object or gestalt even without contextual cues". (Forceville, 2002a)

Image 2.

The example is brought from one of the Facebook pages and suggests culture specific content in an ironical and sarcastic way. The first photo depicts a boy's new haircut whereas the second one describes what the hairstyle was meant to look like. Both photos are accompanied by the GIF comment concerning this post. The GIF shows basketball fans applauding and expressing their excitement through various dancing motions. The GIF comment is ironical and also contains elements of mockery. Moreover, the metaphor suggests that this haircut makes the boy look like a basketball star and fans' ironical plaudits go to him. The primary element of the metaphor is the photos and the secondary element is realized through the GIF comment. Therefore, the picture builds up the domain that suggests the idea and the GIF comment is the domain that transfers additional characteristics (reaction of the society and fans) to it. Although the picture would still convey the same meaning without the GIF comment, it provides additional features and makes the whole situation more ironical.

The reesearh has revealed that one of the main functions of motion pictures (GIFs) is irony. The shorter and sharper the comment is the more ironical or sarcastic it can be. Accordingly, utilising GIFs to express irony or sarcasm is very common in social networks. Sarcastic and/or ironical functions can be assumed considering the user's reactions to the post or the comment.

3. Pictorial Simile

According to Forceville, pictorial simile is "A phenomenon that is experienced as a unified object is juxtaposed with a unified object belonging to a different category in such a manner that the first is understood in terms of the second". (Forceville, 2002a)

Image 3.

Picture 3 is from the author's personal Facebook profile account. It depicts an example of a pictorial simile where one element of the metaphor is a picture and the second element is a GIF comment. As any other pictorial similes, this example puts emphasis on the visual resemblance between the two elements. Decoding this metaphor is quite easy due to the explicit resemblance to the Red Riding Hood and her story. The picture depicts a person in the forest wearing a red hat and the metaphoric GIF comment provides additional features to the picture and activates many associations such as walking alone in the forest, picking flowers, watching out for wolves, etc.

The primary element of this metaphor is the picture, which emerges as a domain characterized by another domain, the GIF. The associations accompanying the Red Riding Hood are transmitted to the girl wearing a red cap in the picture and consequently, the girl in the photo is compared with the fairy tale character. It is also worth mentioning that primary and secondary elements of the metaphor become obvious in the comments evoked by the GIF. Since a comment is a reaction of a user towards another user's status, a picture or a post on social networking sites, it can be assumed that the domain, which works as a secondary element, adds features to the primary element and, in this way, create a metaphor.

4. Contextual type of pictorial metaphor

"Contextual type of Pictorial metaphor. A phenomenon that is experienced as a unified object or gestalt is understood as being something else due to the visual context in which it is depicted". (Forceville, A Course in Pictorial and Multimodal Metaphor, 2002a)

Image 4.

The example is taken from one of the facebook pages. Based on Forceville's definition it can be claimed that image 4 depicts an example of contextual type of pictorial metaphor. One element of the metaphor is a newspaper article published online whereas the second element is a GIF comment. When it comes to the contextual pictorial metaphor, it is critical to consider that both elements convey meaning if taken separately but when they are put together, they suggest somethng different from their original meanings.

In this particular case, the newspaper article describes a politician's announcement, according to which people with higher salaries should pay more taxes to facilitate the economic development taken into consideration the ongong events caused by the pandemic. Both ,this initiative and its author were criticized ironically referred to by social network users.

The GIF comment depicts a popular character Robin Hood who is famous for stealing from the rich and giving to the poor. With the GIF the author expressed their attitude towards the initiative and ironically drew parallels between the politician and day Robin Hood. It is also worth mentioning that the GIF is taken from a cartoon which makes this comparison even more ironic. It should also be mentioned that the same happens in case of pictorial simile, but

the difference is that in pictorial similes both elements are pictures and the metaphor itself focuses on visual resemblence between the two elements, while in contextual metaphor we have verbal representation equalised with a pictorial representation of one and same concept.

While decoding the metaphor it can be assumed that its primary element is the verbal representaion given in a form of an article whereas the secondary element is the GIF comment. The verbal part of the metaphor suggests a concept, idea which is specified by the GIF comment and the allusions it triggers in the addresses. Accordingly, the primary element is the verbal part of the metaphor and the the motion picture acts as its second element.

Discussion of the findings and conclusions

The research studied 100 cases of motion pictures employed in the comments of posts on social networks. The study shows that when providing a non-verbal comment, social network users frequently prefer motion pictures over still pictures, because they bring more associations to the addressees' minds. In majority of cases, due to the fact that emotions we see in GIFs activate a number of allusions which make metaphor even more "valuable" than it was actually meant by the author. GIFs featuring famous characters from movies, TV series, cartoons, etc. are the most popular. Out of 100 cases of GIFs on social networks explored by this research, more than 70% featured a character or a situation from a famous and popular movies, cartoons, TV series, etc. The addressor and the addressee possess shared knowledge about the characters or situations from famous TV shows that we see in GIFs. So their characteristics, personalities and the stories behind these characters are transmitted to the primary element of the metaphor and make it fuller. This once again emphasizes how important the shared knowedge is in the process of decoding a metaphor.

The research allows us to conclude that:

1. The main function of motion pictures (GIFs) is to express an irony or sarcasm.
2. GIFs that feature famous caracters or celebrities are the most popular.
3. Most frequently motion pictures are employed either in the status or picture comments.

4. In nearly 40% of 100 cases analyzed by the research GIFs are used for summarizing or finishing the discussion. Making a GIF comment after a verbal conversation is a sign that the speaker has nothing more to say and just summarizes or expresses his/her emotions or position pictorially. Therefore, in more than 90% of cases this works well and the GIF comment actually finishes the thread of the conversation.

5. Social network users do not realize that GIFs are metaphoric representation of a certain concept.

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Natia Zardiashvili

GENDER DIFFERENCES IN EMOTION FRAMING

Abstract

Expressing and understanding emotions can be considered one of the key activities of our lives. However, at times, the feelings of a person might be misinterpreted or the initial emotional response in a partner might be misunderstood. There have been various studies concerning the differences in emotion expression between male and female target groups (Chaplin 2015). This research discusses the issues of emotion framing in public discourse paying particular attention to the ways male and female speakers frame emotions and influence the audience.

Consequently, the article focuses on emotion framing and compares two presidential candidacy speeches (Hilary Clinton's and Donald Trump's) from the USA elections recorded in June 2015. The research showed that both speakers follow the same pattern of emotion framing (positive social identity construction-framing-emotion implication) but used different techniques and emphasise different values throughout the speech. These differences were linked to Hofstede's (1983) definition of cultures with high versus low masculinity rate and finally, assumptions were made about how gendered stereotypes influence different ways of framing emotions.

 Keywords: Gender stereotypes; Framing; Sociolinguistics;

1. Introduction

Communicating emotions is one of the key goals of public speakers as it is their main tool to influence and persuade their audience. According to Schnall (2005), the aim of communication is to reach a certain cognitive outcome, to communicate relevant information. (Schnall 2005: 28) Accordingly, in the process of successful communication, the speaker and the listener develop common reality and the information in this reality is not transposed word by word as an instruction of some kind but has to be inferred. (see Schnall 2005: 28)

 Holmes and Schnurr (2006) studied gender differences in organisational culture and noted that "gender is relevant at some level in every workplace interaction, an ever-present influence on how we behave, and how we interpret others' behaviour, even if our level of awareness of this influence varies from one interaction to another, and from moment to moment within an interaction."

(Holmes & Schnurr 2006: 33). Likewise, we are always conscious of gender roles, presume a certain way of expressing emotions and interpret these emotions accordingly. However, these interpretations also depend upon the culture's understanding of what is feminine and masculine. According to Hofstede (1983), in cultures with low masculinity rate "men need not be assertive, and can also assume nurturing roles. Whereas in cultures with High masculinity rates men should behave assertively, and women should be nurturing." (Hofstede 1983: 63). This means that culture encodes and prescribes gender roles that serve as a norm for social life.

According to Brody and Hall (2008) "gender differences in emotional functioning are both mediated and moderated by sociocultural, cognitive, biological, and behavioral variables." (Brody & Hall 2008: 395). In any interaction, social norms play a significant role. It is important to make a distinction between communicating emotions and framing emotions. Framing emotions does not necessarily imply communicating emotions, because the main goal of emotion framing is not directly connected to influencing audience in order to reach a certain level of understanding and agreement between the speaker and the listener. Speakers, through subconsciously following a specific pattern that will be briefly discussed below, achieve mutual understanding. The focus of the research was to observe if this pattern reveals similarity concerning male and female speakers. The specific pattern represents the hypothesis according to which, in order to achieve emotional influences, speakers follow several stages, namely, a positive social identity creation – the framing – an emotional implication.

Gendered stereotypes of emotions play a great role in the research because these stereotypes serve as guidelines of what is expected from females versus males while trying to discuss sensitive issues. Because stereotypes can be emotion-specific, one can use these expectations purposefully to frame emotions. For example, according to Brody & Hall (2008), happiness, embarrassment, surprise, sadness, fear, shame, and guilt are believed to occur more frequently in women whereas anger, contempt, and pride are observed in men (Brody & Hall 2008: 396). Revealing stereotypically female emotions can serve for men as a tool to connect with the audience and to make an emotional influence on the listener.

An additional important factor in the study of gender differences must be a cultural context. The theoretical framework for this case would be Hofstede's theory (1983) which through four dimensions (power distance, uncertainty avoidance, individualism versus collectivism, and

masculinity versus femininity) explains the ways we act in certain social situations. Chaplin (2015) gives several examples in which cultural context overwrites the stereotypes, see the extract:

"For example, in working-class or low-income U.S. settings, girls may be encouraged to appear "tough" in order to protect themselves in potentially dangerous neighborhoods, and thus these girls may not face strong socialization pressures to limit anger expressions (Brown, 1999; Eisenberg, 1999; Miller & Sperry, 1987). In addition, different ethnic groups may have different display rules for emotion, and potentially for gender and emotion. For example, Matsumoto (1993) found, in a U.S. sample, that Caucasian adults rated displays of fear as more appropriate than Hispanic adults and sadness as more appropriate than African Americans and Asian Americans. This could mean that Caucasian parents in the US may be more likely to encourage sadness expressions among girls, whereas African American parents may be more likely to discourage sadness expressions, possibly for both boys and girls." (Chaplin 2015: 18-19)

As mentioned, social rules play a significant role in any type of communication. To study emotion framing, on the bases of Tajfei & Turner's social identity theory (1986) and frame theory (Minsky 1974) specific system was constructed. This system is represented through three stages: a positive social identity creation – the framing –an emotional implication.

One of the main goals of this research is to observe whether both male and female speakers follow the same system and if so, what initial differences may be observed between the stages. The first stage of the system is to create a positive social identity. Theoretically, this is explained through Tajfei & Turner's social identity theory (1986). This theory outlines three main principles that individuals follow to create positive social identity: 1. Maintaining positive social identity; 2. Positive social identity is based on comparisons between in-group and out-group members. 3. In case of unsatisfactory social identity, individuals will leave the group or make their existing group more positively distinct (Tajfei & Turner 2004: 284).

The second stage in the system involves the framing. Framing generally implies using cognitive structures to create a common reality. Framing can be achieved through semantic frames (see Fillmore 1976) or through bigger units like paragraphs; using humour can also serve as a tool to frame certain idea or emotion. Framing is understood as a tool for the speaker that is used for

creating common cognitive evaluation and understanding of reality. At the last stage of emotion framing appears to be the emotion implication. Following the speakers' frame, the main message is to create implications in the listener's mind. Depending on what framing strategies speakers use, this always results in certain, different emotion implications. This last stage of the process is crucial for the successful communication and correct understanding of the speaker's intentions.

2. Data and Methodology

Two speeches (one female speaker and one male speaker) from the presidential campaign (June 2015) of the United States have been analysed and compared. Both speeches are announcements of the candidates for the president. The speakers are Hilary Clinton and Donald Trump. Duration of Hillary Clinton's speech is 45:52 minutes and of Donald Trump's - 46:34 minutes. These speeches and transcriptions may be found on the following links:

1. Hillary Clinton https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-i8vdM15K6c ;

 Transcript: https://time.com/3920332/transcript-full-text-hillary-clinton-campaign-launch/

2. Donald Trump https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SpMJx0-HyOM&t=44s;

Transcript: https://www.cbsnews.com/news/transcript-donald-trump-announces-his-presidential-candidacy/

 The selected speeches share context and time span to minimise the difference concerning the social importance and emotional involvement of the society.

Methodologically, the three-level system of analysis was used, theoretically based on social identity construction theory (Tajfei & Turner 1986) and frame theory (Minsky 1974), each stage concentrating on different aspects of emotion framing. The first stage of the analysis involved identification of the episodes where the speakers tried to positively distinguish themselves. On the second stage, the framing strategies were identified and analysed and on the last, third stage the collected information was linked to corresponding framing strategies and possible emotional implications were identified.

3. Findings and Discussions

3.1 Hillary Clinton's Speech

The speaker starts the speech by identifying herself as a positive in-group member. To do this, she outlines her career paths by stating the following:

Example 1:

"It's wonderful …. To be in New York with my family, with so many friends, including many **New Yorkers who gave me the honor of serving them in the Senate for eight years.**

To be right across the water from the headquarters of the United Nations, **where I represented our country many times."**

This choice of emphasising lifelong achievements of the speaker demonstrates the social value of success and its positive value, especially for females. This seems particularly significant because throughout the whole speech, Clinton demonstrates the qualities characteristic for society with low masculinity rate, but in this particular case, when she portrays herself as a positive in-group member, she chooses to underline the qualities characteristic of the society with higher masculinity rate. These qualities include achievement ideals, independence ideal excelling, decisiveness, sympathy for the successful achiever (Hofstede 1983: 63). However, at the same time we will see the qualities like modesty, equality and unisex and androgyny ideals. These ideas are expressed in the following passage:

Example 2:

"President Roosevelt called on every American to do his or her part, and every American answered. He said there's no mystery about what it takes to build a strong and prosperous America: **"Equality of opportunity… Jobs for those who can work… Security for those who need it… The ending of special privilege for the few… The preservation of civil liberties for all… a wider and constantly rising standard of living.***"*

I assume that while portraying her positive identity, Clinton emphasised the qualities that are stereotypically appreciated in men and when she moved on with the framing of the ideals, she mentioned the qualities accepted by low masculinity rate societies.

Having created a positive identity, the speaker moves on to framing, the main points of her campaign. As well as this, through framing, she manages to create emotional implications. It is worth noting that this three- stage process of emotion framing (which creates positive social identity-framing-emotional implications) does not necessarily correspond to the specific parts of texts, such as, introduction, main body and conclusion. In one small paragraph, all three stages may emerge or they can be distributed more distantly throughout the text. Through the next example (3) the speaker frames injustice by describing the sharp issues concerning gender inequality in the workplace. This framing gradually builds up the emotional implication of lack of fairness and, in

the end, reaches its peak through the question "when?" and the answer "I say now." This answer also emphasises a highly masculine trait of decisiveness.

Example 3:

While many of you are working multiple jobs to make ends meet, you see the top 25 hedge fund managers making more than all of America's kindergarten teachers combined. And, often paying a lower tax rate.

So, you have to wonder: "When does my hard work pay off? When does my family get ahead?"

"When?"

I say now.

Later on, as can be seen from example 4 below, the speaker carries on to frame injustice and again creates emotional implication of lack of fairness by again emphasising inequality.

Example 4:

"Prosperity can't be just for CEOs and hedge fund managers.

Democracy can't be just for billionaires and corporations.

Prosperity and democracy are part of your basic bargain too.

You brought our country back.

Now it's time — your time to secure the gains and move ahead.

And, you know what?

America can't succeed unless you succeed."

Through the following passage (example 4) we see another attempt to create a positive identity (*"Prosperity can't be just for CEOs and hedge fund managers. Democracy can't be just for billionaires and corporations"*), frame ideals (*"Prosperity and democracy are part of your basic bargain too"*) and build up emotional implications (*You brought our country back. Now it's time — your time to secure the gains and move ahead. And, you know what? America can't succeed unless you succeed."*).

In the next example (5) the speaker creates her positive identity through making contrasts between different social classes and distinguishes financially weaker members of society.

Example 5:

*"I'm running to make our economy work for **you and for every American**.*

*For the **successful** and the **struggling**.*

*For the **innovators** and **inventors**.*

*For those **breaking barriers in technology** and **discovering cures for diseases.***

*For the **factory workers** and **food servers** who stand on their feet all day.*

*For the **nurses** who work the night shift.*

*For the **truckers** who drive for hours and the **farmers** who feed us.*

*For the **veterans** who served our country.*

*For the **small business** owners who took a risk.*

For everyone who's ever been knocked down, but refused to be knocked out.

*I'm not running for **some** Americans, but for **all** Americans."*

In this case (example 5), I assume that the process of creating positive identity also implies framing Clinton's ideals as an example of the moral values, therefore creating emotional implications of fairness. The speaker tries to depict sharp contrasts between the mentioned professions and the inferred, less important or less moral ones. These comparisons continue throughout the whole speech and serve the same goal, namely they help to implement the moral values and build an emotional implication of fairness versus unfairness.

Another interesting aspect of the speech is the framing of family values. Therefore, reaching the first step in emotion framing (positive identity construction) by framing the family values, she portrays the emotional implications of respect in the audience. (see Example 6) ;

Example 6:

"My mother taught me that everybody needs a chance and a champion. She knew what it was like not to have either one.

*Her own parents **abandoned** her, and by 14 she was **out on her own**, **working as a housemaid**. Years later, when I was old enough to understand, I asked what kept her going.*

*You know what her answer was? Something very simple: **Kindness from someone who believed she mattered.***

*The 1st grade teacher who saw **she had nothing to eat at lunch** and, without embarrassing her, brought extra food to share.*

*The woman whose house she cleaned letting her go to high school so long as her work got done. **That was a bargain she leapt to accept.***

*And, **because some people believed in her, she believed in me**.*

That's why I believe with all my heart in America and in the potential of every American."

I assume that the speaker frames her mother as her moral standard and by again contrasting completely opposite situations emphasising having nothing versus having everything, she creates emotional implications of respect in the audience. In the end of this passage (example 6) when she states: "***That's why I believe with all my heart in America and in the potential of every American***" we can assume she already has the respect of the audience because of the family values she framed by outlining traits typical for low masculinity rate societies, namely: sympathy for the unfortunate (*Her own parents **abandoned** her)*, work to live (*The woman whose house she cleaned letting her go to high school so long as her work got done)* and people orientation (*And, **because some people believed in her, she believed in me***).

The final part of the speech was also interesting, as you can see from the example 7 the speaker again carries on framing family values with the purpose to create emotional implications of respect in the audience:

Example 7:

"I wish my mother could have been with us longer. I wish she could have seen Chelsea become a mother herself. I wish she could have met Charlotte.

*I wish she could have seen the America we're going to build **together**.*

*An America, where **if you do your part, you reap the rewards.***

*Where **we don't leave anyone out, or anyone behind.***

An America where a father can tell his daughter: yes, you can be anything you want to be. Even President of the United States."

Overall, the speech showed that the speaker followed the emotion framing system theoretically based on identity construction theory (Tajfei and Turner 1986) and frame theory (Minsky 1974). This system can further be reintroduced as the following scheme:

Stage 1 – Creating a positive identity

The speaker uses humour or creates a sharp contrast between the different groups of society

(or)

The speaker states herself as a distinctively positive member of the group

(or)

The speaker distances herself from the negatively coloured out-group.

Stage 2 – Framing

After building a positive social identity, a certain level of trust is achieved in the audience so the speaker starts framing ideas. Framing can be achieved through employing semantic frames, or longer units like utterances and paragraphs.

Stage 3 – Emotional implication

The main goal of framing is to create emotional implication in the speaker. Depending on the context, framing different ideas can cause different emotional implications. This process is always syncronised with context.

Through framing emotions, therefore, following the system, the speaker also demonstrated various occasions (as discussed above) when she used the strategies that are stereotypically considered to be masculine by Hofstede; for example decisiveness, independence, striving to success etc. (Hofstede, 1983: 62). However, Clinton also emphasised characteristics of low masculinity rate societies such as unisex ideals, equality, orientation etc. These distinctions between using feminine versus masculine traits also follow certain guidelines. For example, she never portrayed herself to be stereotypically feminine (did not focus on her own role in a family as a mother, did not emphasise her nurturing role in her family), however, she advocated for a number of qualities usually seen in low masculinity rate cultures. This indicates that she tried to portray herself as a strong individual. To achieve this, she employed the role of a masculine character, but at the same time, while speaking about her ideals and policy, she distinguished herself from masculine society and put forward the issues, such as equality for both sexes, for minorities; Clinton advocated for women by portraying a strong female character of her mother as a role model. Although the morals of low masculinity rate society was displayed, as a political character, the speaker portrayed herself as having qualities typical for masculine societies. The reason for this can be stereotypical assertions of dividing sexes based on two opposite (strong versus weak) qualities: Strength is usually stereotyped with men and weakness – with women. One of the reasons for the speaker to use masculine traits while building up her identity can be her willingness not to associate herself with what is considered stereotypically "feminine".

3.2 Donald Trump's speech

Trump starts the speech (example 8) by using humor. In other cases, using humor would directly indicate the attempt of the positive identity construction of the speaker, but in this case, I assume it

serves as a demonstration of power to out-group members. Interestingly, this strategy still leads to the positive identity construction.

Example 8:

"And, I can tell, some of the candidates, they went in. They didn't know the air-conditioner didn't work. They sweated like dogs.

(LAUGHTER)

***They didn't know the room was too big, because they didn't have anybody there**. How are they going to beat ISIS? I don't think it's gonna happen."*

Demonstrating his power over others also serves as a positive identity indicator in this context as Trump frames it as a positive trait. The humorous passage always creates a very "light" atmosphere that can be used to generate a very sharp contrast by introducing emotionally opposite settings. In this particular speech, after the joke, the speaker rapidly moves on with drawing the audience's attention to the problem (example 9).

Example 9:

*"Our country is in serious trouble. **We don't have victories anymore**. We used to have victories, but we don't have them. When was the last time anybody saw us beating, let's say, China in a trade deal? They kill us. **I beat China all the time. All the time."***

The problem outlined by the speaker is "having no more victories". As this passage (example 9) is preceded by a humorous passage (example 8) the problem may sound harsher for the audience. This leads to the speaker being distanced from negative out-group members ("*I beat China all the time. All the time.*") and perceived to be a strongly positive in-group member. Later on, the speaker moves on to the stage of framing (example 10).

Example 10:

*When did we **beat** Japan at anything? They send their cars over by the millions, and what do we do? When was the last time you saw a Chevrolet in Tokyo? It doesn't exist, folks. They **beat** us all the time.*

When do we beat Mexico at the border? They're laughing at us, at our stupidity. And now they are beating us economically. They are not our friend, believe me. But they're killing us economically.

The U.S. has become a dumping ground for everybody else's problems.

In the following example (10) the frame "beat the opponent"[1] is employed. This frame is reintroduced through lexical unit "beat". Using this frame serves the purpose of creating emotional implications of anger. The peak is reached in the last sentence of the example 10: *"The U.S. has become a dumping ground for everybody else's problems."*

Later in the speech (example 11) Trump carries on framing wealthiness and uses it to create the emotional implication of anger.

Example 11:

*"I'm using my own money. I'm not using the lobbyists. I'm not using donors. **I don't care. I'm really rich**. I (inaudible).*

(APPLAUSE)

And by the way, I'm not even saying that in a -- that's the kind of mindset, that's the kind of thinking you need for this country.

*TRUMP: So -- because **we got to make the country rich**.*

It sounds crass. Somebody said, "Oh, that's crass." It's not crass.

*We got $18 trillion in debt. **We got nothing but problems**.*

We got a military that needs equipment all over the place. We got nuclear weapons that are obsolete.

We've got nothing**. We've got Social Security that's going to be destroyed if somebody like me doesn't bring money into the country. All these other people want to cut the hell out of it. I'm not going to cut it at all; **I'm going to bring money in**, **and we're going to save it."

At the same time, Trump also demonstrates his power and success (***I don't care. I'm really rich.***) This is the trait characteristic of highly masculine societies as it indicates the achievement ideal (Hofstede 1983: 62). However, from observing audience's response this statement (example 11) is not perceived to be negative. One of the reasons for this can be the stereotype that men are expected to express pride. After framing wealthiness, a sharp contrast described by "owning nothing" is created to generate the emotional implication of anger. It has to be noted that throughout the whole speech, anger is the most frequently employed emotional implication.

It is worth noting that while speaking about his family (example 12), unlike Clinton, Trump mainly expresses his pride towards the members of the family, but, at the same time, doesn't utilize

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[1] The frame is taken from FrameNet database. The project has been in operation at the International Computer Science Institute in Berkeley since 1997 and through the theory of Frame Semantics maps meaning to form in English. https://framenet2.icsi.berkeley.edu/fnReports/data/frameIndex.xml?frame=Beat_opponent

his family as a tool for framing to create an emotional implication of pride or respect in the audience. Moreover, while expressing his own attitude towards his own family, he is very laconic and does not concentrate on family values.

Example 12:

*"That's true. But actually I am. I think I am a nice person. People that know me, like me. Does my family like me? I think so, right. **Look at my family. I'm proud of my family.***

(APPLAUSE)

By the way, speaking of my family, Melania, Barron, Kai, Donnie, Don, Vanessa, Tiffany, Evanka did a great job. Did she do a great job?

(APPLAUSE)

*Great. Jared, Laura and Eric, **I'm very proud of my family**. **They're a great family."***

This can also indicate to another stereotype, specifically, that men are not emotional, which implies that they do not publicly express emotions unlike women. In this case, this stereotype is employed, as the speaker does not use any emotion-related vocabulary, or framing technique to influence the audience emotionally.

Another interesting part from the speech demonstrates how the speaker frames his success and openly expresses his pride concerning what he has achieved (Example 13). This extract clearly serves to demonstrate him as a strong and successful individual. As well as this, the interesting fact here is that he himself explicitly (and not implicitly) demonstrates his pride. Although this behaviour can be accounted as negative, but according to the stereotypical thinking, men are expected to express pride and powerful emotions (see Timmer et al 2003).

Example 13:

*"And after four or five years in Brooklyn, I ventured into Manhattan and did a lot of great deals -- the Grand Hyatt Hotel. I was responsible for the convention center on the west side. I did a lot of great deals, and I did them early and young. **And now I'm building all over the world, and I love what I'm doing.***

But they all said, a lot of the pundits on television, "Well, Donald will never run, and one of the main reasons is he's private and he's probably not as successful as everybody thinks."

*So I said to myself, you know, nobody's ever going to know unless I run, **because I'm really proud of my success. I really am."***

Throughout the speech the speaker repeats the phrase "*nobody can do it better than me*" or uses comparisons (example 14). This phrase is used for framing his strong identity and it represents the trait characteristic of high masculinity rate cultures where excellence: trying to be the best is highly appreciated.

Example 14:

*"I would build a great wall, and **nobody builds walls better than me**, believe me, and I'll build them very inexpensively, I will build a great, great wall on our southern border. And I will have Mexico pay for that wall....*

*.....**Nobody would be tougher on ISIS than Donald Trump**. Nobody.*

*.......**Nobody can do that like me**. Believe me. It will be done on time, on budget, way below cost, way below what anyone ever thought.*

*......But if I get elected president I will bring it back **bigger and better** and **stronger** than ever before, and we will make America great again."*

Overall, it can be claimed that the speaker followed the three- stage system of emotion framing, but rather than communicating various emotions, his focus was to create emotional implications of anger. He portrayed himself as a strong individual and for this, he did not employ a set of moral principles but very straightforwardly outlined some of the milestones of his career and openly appreciated the pride he has for himself without any necessary agreement from the audience. This kind of attitude made the audience respect him as an individual. However, the question remains whether it would be the same if Trump was a female?

4. Conclusion

Having analysed both speeches made by two candidates for presidency Hilary Clinton and Donald Trump, we can single out the similarities between them. The emotion framing system constructed upon social identity theory (Tajfei & Turner 1986) and framing theory (Fillmore 1976) was followed by both speakers. Specifically, both speakers followed the following stages: 1. Positive identity construction; 2. Framing; 3. Emotional implication. The difference, however, lay in the particular strategies employed by the speakers to influence the audience emotionally.

1. **Positive identity construction:** in order to construct positive identity, Clinton emphasised her career paths and demonstrated her achievements. However, she did not openly express her pride in her success and left it to be inferred by the audience. On the other hand, Trump used humor for two

purposes, first to portray himself as a strong individual and secondly, to create a friendly atmosphere and then make the issues under discussion seem sharper. Therefore, employing the system, Trump presents himself as positively distinct from the out-group by emphasising his superiority over his opponents.

2. **Framing**: Both speakers used framing as a strategy. However, Clinton (the female speaker) mainly framed family values, injustice, morals etc. On the other hand, Trump (the male speaker) used the frames of wealthiness, success, and "beat opponent". Differences in framing strategies showed two different cultural traits, namely, the opposition between feminine versus masculine societies. Femininity as the framing strategy for moral values was employed by the female speaker, whereas, the male speaker framed his ideals through outlining traits characteristic to masculine societies.

3. **Emotional implications:** Emotional implications were different for each speaker. The female speaker used framing to reach emotional implications of the lack of fairness, respect. On the other hand, the male speaker used frames and mainly created emotional implications of anger and unfairness.

While discussing gender differences at the stage of emotion framing, it can be claimed that according to these two examples, the female speaker showed more variety of emotions and was concentrated not only on the audience's negative emotional disposition towards out-group members, but also used emotional implications of respect for herself. On the other hand, the male speaker mainly focused on portraying negative and "powerful" emotions like anger, contempt, and pride. Both speakers created negative emotional implications towards out-group members whereas negative emotions were used mainly to imply excellence and greater power over out-group members.

While creating the positive identity of speakers, Clinton revealed characteristics usually employed by high masculine rate societies, such as independence, decisiveness, achievement ideal. These characteristics can be regarded as stereotypically masculine traits. The male speaker, however, did not really emphasise any particular personal traits, but openly expressed powerful emotions, such as pride and the willingness and ability to be better than others.

As a conclusion, we can say that there are number of differences in the way male and female speakers frame their emotions. However, one cannot assume that these differences are universal. For the future analysis, it is important to analyse a bigger corpus of data for more specific answers.

In addition, a more in-depth analysis can also demonstrate the types of semantic frames used by female versus male speakers, consequently providing more information on the framing techniques employed differently by the two genders.

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Natia Zoidze

THE ISSUE OF TIME IN VIRGINIA WOOLF'S THE

WAVES

Abstract

The article explores the issue of time in Virginia Woolf's most experimental novel ''the Waves''. Generally, the issue of time is one of the prominent themes in Virginia Woolf's novels, however this one displays different pattern of it, namely instead of presenting Bergsonian ''Duration'', it shows the difference between the existence of a person and the concept of ''being'' as something beyond time. There are two directions, in which this issue is explored, first is the portrayal of individual versus collective, in which we see Woolf's characters saying that they do not have ''one being'' but rather see themselves as the inheritors of the past and the unities of other beings. The second is the nature of eternity. With regards to this, relevant passage from the novel is further explored. In this extraordinary passage, Virginia Woolf thrives towards the cancellation of the time boundaries and the creation of the whole, eternity-like surrounding. All the characters claim that with this unity they overcome their timely existence and unite with the general pattern of being. In the end, the article assumes that Virginia Woolf's ''the Waves'' is the true fruit of twenty century modernist literature and Woolf successfully manages to portray the spirit of modernistic epoch in its struggle with the time-bound existence.

Key words: Existence, Being, duration, collective, individual, Sein vs dasein;

Introduction

It is well-known fact that twentieth century has been revolutionary in its perception of the world. One of the novelties in this direction was human's perception of time. In contrast to Newtonian time which is self-same and measured by the laws of simple duration, meaning one hour consists of 60 minutes and one minute of 60 seconds, time in 20th century became more subjective and stretched and shrank at the same time.

It is clear that something changed in 20th century and all the disciplines of art reflected it correspondingly. Of course, it has left its trace in the literature too. Actually, it gave birth to the high modernism which cannot be imagined without its shift in the understanding of time. Without the eternity and spatiality perceptions. One of the writers who was concerned with this change was Virginia Woolf. It is regrettable that majority of Woolf's criticism arises either from biographic interests directed at seeing the author or towards exploring feministic sentiments in her works. As Woolf is the author who, like no other, manages to reflect the ''Zeitgeist'' and to offer unique subjectivity at the same time. My article is an attempt to bring her ideas and her insight on the surface.

As Auden notes in his essay ''A Consciousness of Reality'' the originality of Virginia Woolf lies in the mere fact that she is obsessed with the trivial things along with the grand ones. She is the writer who loves not only the triumphant moments of life but also finds tiny little bits of pleasure in her surroundings. Auden offers the citation from ''the waves'': ''There is a square: there is an oblong. The Players take the square and place it upon the oblong. They place it very accurately; they make a perfect dwelling-place. Very little is left outside. The structure is now visible; what is inchoate is here stated. We are not so various or so mean; we have made oblongs and stood them upon squares. This is our triumph; this is our consolation''. This shows that people can create space from the flat simplicity, therefore it is there triumph. The creation of the space is always about finding the time where your being is attached to the world. This novel shows the problem of time very subtly. Woolf started writing the novel in 1927 and wanted to name it ''the moss'', however later on she has changed her mind and the title ''the waves'' was given to the novel in 1931. This was rather a thoughtful change as Woolf really gave a lot of

consideration to the nature of time and wanted to express every little detail of it. The title ''the moss'' was probably altered because of their behavioral pattern as they do not appear when it is light but only when it is dark. This is controversial and not acceptable to the whole pathos of the novel, Woolf struggles to show life in general and also to reflect how humans are connected with each other with their past and with their future. Therefore, the finding of the title ''the Waves'' was the perfect breakthrough, as waves are the parts of the bigger entity, the ocean or the sea. They rhythmically raft to the shore and then they step back again – this alone is a neat pattern of the human existence. The fact that the issue of time is central in the novel is also underlined by the absence of the chapters in it. We see the perspectives from the narrations of ten different characters. There are ten interludes in the book.

In each of the interlude we see the description of the different daytime. It all starts with the morning interlude and then the writer presents the characters and the flashes of their childhood, probably for underlining that the morning is the beginning of the day just like the childhood is the first stage of the life. And it continues like that with the midday and mid-aged characters and then, in the end, we don't have night, just as we do not see how characters grow old. The death is never the ending in the novel, similar to the waves, which never stop and move back and forth eternally, the characters live on too. Only one character, Percival dies, however he still lives on in other characters narrations and we see him throughout the book. The book ends with the exclamation ''O death'', which to my mind outlines ''in my end is my beginning '' pathos.

The novel does not have a central character. It offers six characters, who tell their stories from their perspectives. Woolf steps beyond her loved Bergsonian time portrayal and offers us the pattern in which we can see how past, present and future can be united. Some of the scholars believe that Woolf is indebted from Karl Gustav Jung's ideas about the connections of individual mind with collective subconscious and their coexistence. Indeed, in every corner of the book, in different narrations we see how characters perceive themselves as the parts or unities of the past.

Methods

This research employs a number of methodological approaches. It is a synthesis of extrinsic and intrinsic methods and along with reception theory, textual method is applied. Due to the fact that it is not possible to determine whether Woolf has ever read Bergson's or St Augustine's philosophical works, I have tried to connect their ideas of time to Woolf's characters understanding of it. Through scrutinizing text, I have tried to come to reasonable interpretation of it and displayed the pattern of time, which Woolf suggests throughout the Waves.

Results

Through textual analyses of ''the Waves'' it is visible that two types of time experience can be seen: individual and collective. Individual experience almost always tries to link itself with the elements of eternity (characters see themselves as the parts of the past and the future, not as one defined ''being''). It can also be assumed that ''beyond time existence'' is an important theme for Woolf, as in the most controversial passage of the novel the author tries to create the sense of eternity, express general ''sein;' instead of ''dasein''.

Discussions

It should be noted that there is not a systematic research which would further explore the issue of time and its reflections in Woolf's novels, especially in ''the Waves''. However, it is noteworthy to mention Professor Manana Gelashvili's book ''The Problem of Time in Modernist literature'' in which she examines subjective Bergsonian time in Woolf's novels. I believe that this issue deserves further attention and systematic approach, given the reality that there are numerous researches where Woolf's works are examined from different angles, especially from feminist narration perspectives.

Individual VS collective

Bernard - one of the main characters of the novel says that he constantly sees how people are melted into each other and are surrounded by the mist, creating the unimportant territories. By saying this, he means that being of a human ''into this world'' is an eternal comeback, which repeats already existing pattern of being, its structure and its form. Moreover, through the novel Bernard says that people themselves are stories that they try to tell and tell but never ever succeed: ''Bernard says there is always a story. I am a story; Louis is a story…Among the tortures and devastations of life is this then-our friends are not able to finish their stories''. This probably implies that with just one individual life, nothing ever starts or ends and it is only a little ring of the longer chain. Because of this no one can ever finish the story.

Louis, another character of the novel says: ''I hang suspended with our attachments. We are nowhere''. What does being nowhere refer to? Of course, he has time in mind. He implies that our attachment with the present moment hampers us from fully feeling the past and the future. He believes that he has already lived ''thousand lives'' and if he closes his eyes (while actually being in train) he will be able to realize that he is only a ghost of Louis with the ephemeral nature, one more creature who is going to pass too: ''Human history is defrauded of a moments vision''. Bernard believes that we are not alone, we are not simple and one but complex and many. Another character of the novel Neville also refers the issue of one being, he says that in the world which consists of the present moment why should we single out particular one, why should we discriminate. There are the bells which ring for life, he says. He considers himself to be the poet, he sees how youth passes just like the boats afar and remote trees. He feels melancholy and sadness and he admits that he cannot choose the characteristics which make him - ''the him'', as he sees fluidity and the flux of life. He says it is very useful when someone remembers friends. But this remembrance is also painful for him, as he thinks that a person cannot and should not be reduced and eventually packed in ''one'' being. He looks at the historical building and he says that it is unbearable for him to see the people murmuring and moving inside it, because according to him historical buildings withstand all the centuries and stand still for the eternity. Neville says that when a person reads Byron, he underlines the

phrases or the moments which are somehow close to his personality. This way person can one day be Byron and the other – Tolstoy, meaning that individual changes all the time. The whole chain of its existence is the finding and then denying that finding. In the beginning of the novel we see Neville who says that he conjugated the verbs in past participle. This really explains the above given analyses. Neville and Bernard are quite close in the novel, as they both like poetry. And there is a passage in the novel where Neville hands a rhyme to Bernard. Bernard felt like he has been reduced to one being and when Neville left him, there were lines between them he recalls. We are not as simple as our friend believe us to be, we are complex and many- he says.

In another passage Louis says that he has written his name for twenty-one times. To link this with above given judgment, we could assume that this stands as a demonstrative, self-defying act. He is trying to state his name, by saying it over and over again. He regretfully notes that he is evident and clear, and has packed all his other ''beings'' in one life. He has gone through thousand lives and every day now he digs and buries his being. Louis very well knows that his life is ephemeral and he falls into existential crisis. Just like Bernard says: ''There is no stability in this world, who is to say what meaning there is in anything?... To speak of knowledge is futile. All is experiment and adventure''.

The moment as an eternity

"What might have been and what has been, point to one end, which is always present." This is a citation from T.S Eliot's Burnt Norton. Unlike Woolf, with Eliot, it is quite common to see the mythical time. ''The Waves'' is the novel in which Woolf experiments with mythical time. There is a passage in the novel, which can be seen as the center of the novel to which all the other scenes move to and from which all the rest come out. When Percival, one of the characters of the novel, is about to go to India friends decide to hold the goodbye meeting. They get together in one of the restaurants. This is where we can see Heideggerian famous rift between ''sein'' and ''dasein'', as six different ''dasein'' meet in a restaurant and create one

whole. Bernard headed to the restaurant contemplates about the nature of the moment and he asks himself, what really is the moment, and then answers:

'' What is this moment of time, this particular day in which I found myself caught''. Time has whizzed back an inch or two on its reel, our short progress has been cancelled''. He also says that in reality, humans are naked; it is a lie to cover them with the buttoned clothes. The truth is in their bones and in the silence beneath them. United characters manage to make one whole. All of them with the strength of the shared emotion sink in one moment, turning this moment into eternity. Bernard noted that this strength can be named as the love of Percival, but he also added that this would have been not very accurate description and, in fact, it could have been the narrowing of the true nature of it. Bernard also figuratively explains unity-creation. He says that as they sit around the table, there is a vase in the middle of the table, all six see their perspectives and they make up one whole vase image. The nature of ''seven characters'' is for him the 360-unity, creating the one. When dinner comes to its end every character tries to stop it from ending. Jinny suggests - let's stop for one more minute, Louis begs not to let time and the door tear their unity into pieces. Especially Neville says that beyond this meeting there was happiness, he saw the past centuries disobeying the clock which hang over the fireplace and he asks, will this unity endure this? He is afraid that meetings and departures will destroy them in the end; therefore, they must cancel time and the sound of the clock. In this meeting, Susan sees seven days of the week and Bernard adds that whatever has not yet happened is already in it. What should happen and what is beyond time, we have proved its existence while being together- he says. We have proved that we are not mere slaves or sheep going after the shepherd, we are creators too, and we managed to unite with the numerous connections of the past. When we opened the door not into chaos but in to the world, which we can control with our strength, make it lightened and eternal. From this duration and timely existence, they managed to create the unity of what might have been and has been.

conclusions

It should be noted that there are lot more examples in which characters refer to time and this needs to be examined further, however to conclude the article, we can say that it is visible that Woolf uses eternity vs mortal existence opposition. She suggests that humans can not be bound to only ''one particular'' being in one particular flesh, but they are the parts of broader system and ''eternal being''. They are the constituents of the puzzle, which if assembled correctly can disclose the meaningful picture. It is impossible not to see the extraordinary vision and attitude to time in this novel. It was truly revolutionary in the twentieth century and it still is, as today as never, we can see that humans experience time in a very different manner from what clocks tell us.

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Nazi Iritspukhova

COVID-19: WAR OF METAPHORS
THE COVERAGE OF NOVEL CORONAVIRUS PANDEMIC IN GEORGIAN NEWS REPORTS

Abstract

The paper uses the concepts of metaphor scenarios (Musolff, 2006; 2016) and discourse metaphors (Zinken et al, 2008) to analyze media discourses, specifically those of news reports, about COVID-19 (Novel coronavirus) situation in Georgia. The time span runs from the first confirmed case of COVID-19 in Georgia, i.e. February 26th, till mid-May. The methodology also relies on earlier studies of infections and other diseases such as SARS, avian/bird flu, ZIKA, Foot and Mouth Disease, AID/HIV, cancer, etc. For identifying metaphorical linguistic expressions, the combination of Metaphor Identification Procedure /MIP (Pragglejaz Group, 2007) and its extended version, MIPVU (Steen et al., 2010) was employed.

The revealed metaphors demonstrate that the pandemic in Georgia is mostly framed in terms of the WARFARE, JOURNEY and DISASTER super-scenarios, in Nerlich's terms (Nerlich, 2011). In addition, the data show that the novel coronavirus may itself serve as a good source domain (Lakoff & Johnson, 198/2003; Grady, 1997, Kövecses, 2002; 2010) for political and societal issues: failures of the globalization, fear of foreigners and the future parliamentary election system in Georgia.

Key Words: COVID-19, novel coronavirus, metaphors, metaphor scenarios, disease, discourse metaphors, news reports

1. Introduction

> *Metaphors may create realities for us…*
> *A metaphor may thus be a guide for future actions.*
> *Such actions will, of course, fit the metaphor.*

This will, in turn, reinforce the power of the metaphor to make experience coherent.

In this sense metaphors can be self-prophecies.

Lakoff & Johnson, 1980/2003: 156

Since the time of Aristotle, metaphor has been in the focus of attention by scholars from such disciplines as linguistics, literary studies and philosophy. However, the research on metaphor and its influence on human knowledge has proliferated during the recent decades notably after the publication of seminal works by Lakoff & Johnson (1980) and Ortony (1993), which initiated a paradigm shift in metaphor studies. The emerged contemporary or conceptual metaphor theory (henceforth CMT) proposes that metaphor is not just an aspect of language but a fundamental part of human thought; our conceptual system consists of concepts which structure our everyday lives and the way we define our everyday realities […] Metaphor plays a central role in this construction as our conceptual system is largely metaphorical (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980:1-3). Therefore, metaphors are not only linguistic, but cognitive phenomena; metaphors are not decorative devices of language, but necessary for our thinking, acting and speaking; metaphors are *conceptual devices,* rather than rhetorical ones. As a result, metaphor has gone beyond the realm of linguistics and become a subject of thorough research in social sciences and other disciplines.

There are three components of metaphor: *a source domain* (which is typically *more concrete/tangible and well-delineated*), *a target domain* (which is usually *more abstract and poorly delineated*)*,* and the ontological and epistemic correspondences between the two, which are also known as '*conceptual mappings'* (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980/2003; Lakoff, 1993; Grady, 1997; Kövecses, 2010; Thibodeau, Hendricks & Boroditsky, 2017). For illustration, in the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY the concept of JOURNEY, the source, is mapped onto the concept of LOVE, the target. Such conceptual metaphors can be realized linguistically in the following utterances, such as *Our relationship has reached a cross-road* or *We have come to the end of the road* (Lakoff & Johnson 1980). Thus, it can be inferred that conceptual metaphors are overarching ways of conceptualizing relatively abstract ideas in more concrete form.

Metaphor is a dynamic process: prior knowledge about a source domain plays an active role in helping people construct a representation on a target domain in working memory; thereby shaping how people reason and make inferences about the target domain (Thibodeau, Hendricks,

Boroditsky, 2017: 3). Andreas Musolff introduces the notion of a 'scenario'[1] that organizes metaphorical source concepts into mini-narratives and inherently possesses "a set of assumptions made by competent members of a discourse community about "typical" aspects of a source-situation, for example, its participants and their roles, the "dramatic" storylines and outcomes, and conventional evaluations of whether they count as successful or unsuccessful, normal or abnormal, permissible or illegitimate, etc. " (Musolff, 2006: 27-28). Above all, scenarios have stereotypical status (in Putnam's sense), i.e. they include conventionally required assumptions, which may be revealed by experts to be empirically wrong but are still the default expectations that underline folk-theories held by non-experts (Putnam, 1975: 148, 249-50, quoted in Musolff, 2008: 27). What is truly significant about these metaphorical scenarios is that they enable the speakers to not only apply source to target concepts but to draw on them to build narrative frames for conceptualization and assessment of socio-political issues (ibid. 36).

Metaphors are omnipresent; as Richard pointed "We can't get through three sentences of ordinary fluid discourse without it [metaphor] (Richards, 1936: 94). For this reason, they cannot be dissociated from the activities constituting science (Bono, 2001:215). Weingart & Maasen (1995) regard metaphors to be analytical tools for a robust sociological account of science as a situated social activity. Moreover, the central tenet of their theory is the function of metaphors as "messengers of meaning" and "medium of exchange" among different disciplinary discourses, among different disciplines and cultural domains, and within different ecologies (Bono 1990 quoted in Nerlich et al., 2008: 225), which supports the conclusion that metaphor provides the means for both scientists and especially, non-scientists to understand, think through and talk about complex or abstract concepts in terms of comparatively simple and more concrete information , what as a consequence renders metaphor as a highly useful tool (Gibbs, 1994; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Lakoff, 1993; Lakoff, 1987; Kövecses, 2010; Thibodeau & Boroditsky, 2011; Thibodeau, Hendricks & Boroditsky, 2017; Flusberg, Thibodeau & Matlock, 2018).

From the linguistic viewpoint, metaphors, as claimed by Scheithauer (2007: 79), are also "very efficient: they communicate a lot with minimal linguistic effort, whereas attempts at literal paraphrases are often lengthy, clumsy and graceless".

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[1] Musolff builds the concept of "scenario" on Charles Fillmore's notion of a conceptual "**scene**" as "any kind of coherent segment of human beliefs, actions, experiences or imaginings" that can be associated with an underlying conceptual "**frame**" (Fillmore, 1975, p. 124) as well as on Lakoff's definition of "**scenario**" as a subtype of "idealized cognitive models" (ICMs) that have a comparatively rich ontology (Musolff, 2006: 27)

2. Framing diseases: General Overview

Lakoff & Johnson claimed that 'metaphors […] highlight and make coherent certain aspects of our experience […]; metaphors may create realities for us, especially social realities (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980:156). Essentially, metaphors have profound influences on how we conceptualize and act with respect to important societal issues (Thibodeau & Boroditsky, 2011: 1). In political and social debates, metaphors are primarily ways of both framing the issues and of shaping the ways in which people think about them (Malik, 2020). In recent years, an interesting body of research in cognitive and social studies has been conducted by Zinken, Hellsten and Nerlich and other scholars as a part of the critique of the traditional conceptual metaphor theory. The research focused on *discourse metaphor* which is defined as 'a relatively stable metaphorical projection that functions as a key framing device within a particular discourse over a certain period of time' (Zinken et al., 2008). Unlike conceptual metaphors, which are claimed to be primarily based on more or less universal grounds (*embodiment hypothesis*), these metaphors have a social and cultural history and […] may tie up with and reinforce long traditions of political thought, ideologies or entrenched cultural values (ibid.). By distinguishing between *discourse metaphors-* which frame social assemblages of thought, expression and action, and *conceptual metaphors* –which frame cognitive assemblages of thought, expression and action, the discursive politics of metaphor can be brought into the focus: discourse metaphors have a power to frame and organize shared narratives of politics and can constitute certain views of the world, society and how things work (Nerlich, 2001:116-117; Zinken et al, 2008). They are conceptually grounded but their meaning is also shaped by their use at a given time and in the context of a debate about a certain topic.

The discourses and metaphors used to frame diseases and epidemics have become a prominent subject within linguistics as well as the sociology of health and illness, and studies of such infectious diseases as AIDS, FMD, SARS, avian/bird flu and Zika have shown that disease language and action are closely linked, especially via metaphors, images and narratives, which evoke certain expectations, attitudes, scenarios and ways of acting upon them (Nerlich & Halliday, 2005: 57-8). As a result, the impact of metaphors in particular and social representations in general on thinking, talking and acting in the context of emerging infectious diseases, has been studied extensively and systematically by social scientists and communication scholars following from Susan Sontag's influential work on cancer and tuberculosis (1979) and AIDS (1989) onward with

Ebola in the 1990s (Ungar, 1998; Joffe &Haarhoff , 2002), foot and mouth disease/FMD (Nerlich et al., 2002; Nerlich, 2004), SARS (Washer, 2004; Wallis and Nerlich, 2005), avian/bird flu/influenza (Nerlich and Halliday, 2007), swine flu (Nerlich and Koteyko, 2012), Zika (Nerlich et al, 2018), etc. Based on the results of these studies, it can be concluded that metaphors play an indisputably significant role in how we think and talk health, illness and medicine and they shape how we act, individually and collectively (Nerlich, 2020a). Metaphors can also be used to frame politics intended to manage the disease in question (Zinken et al, 2008: 243). Scientists and policymakers might use certain culturally available and historically entrenched metaphors to frame scientific discoveries or policies (ibid. 244).

As the research demonstrates, framing diseases in terms of the WARFARE scenario has become a common practice nowadays. On the one hand, the war frame is an effective way of grabbing people's attention and focusing it on the target problem; the fear evoked by military metaphors also makes them memorable and enduring (Flusberg, Thibodeau & Matlock, 2018: 12-13). This fear can motivate people to pay attention, change their beliefs, and take action about important social issues. For instance, the language of **war** can help people recognize the threat that diseases pose to public health, and, as a result, lead to increased funding for research on basic scientific questions about the underlying causes of diseases as well as the development of more effective treatments (Hodgkin, 1985; Petsko, 2001; quoted in Flusberg, Thibodeau & Matlock, 2018). On the other hand, the research shows that conceptualizing an emerging disease in terms of *an enemy in war* can have an adverse impact on measures taken to *fight* it. One of the examples is, undoubtedly, the UK response to Foot and Mouth Disease (henceforth, FMD): slaughtering, culling or killing all presumably infected animals, as well as healthy animals from adjoining farms, was seen as the only way to gain control of the disease and, more importantly, to maintain the UK's economically vital status as disease free (Nerlich et al, 2002: 1). This led to the number of exterminated animals reaching almost eight million. Likewise, framing cancer as *an "enemy' in a "war'* which has been found to reduce people's intentions to engage in self-limiting preventative behaviours (e.g. eating less red meat, smoking less, etc.) and to think that it would be harder for cancer patient to come to terms with their situation (Thibodeau, Hendricks, Boroditsky, 2017: 1).

Military thinking concentrates on the physical, sees control as central, and encourages the expenditure of massive resources to achieve dominance (Annas, 1995: 746). They can even arguably make it easier to sacrifice people and their rights (Ross, 1986: 18; quoted in Wallis &

Nerlich, 2005:2631). It is noteworthy, however, that conceptualizing diseases in terms of the WARFARE scenario was not always the case, as maintained by Bono:

'Take, for example, the metaphors of 'balance' and 'warfare' that have characterized different epochs of medical thought in the West. The Hippocratic and Galenic ideals of health as a balance of humours, or active bodily fluids authorized a particular set of relationships between individual bodies, and their external environment, and led to the cultivation of certain regimes of bodily care and control. By contrast, the 'embattled' body of modern germ theory adopts a quite different set of relations to its hostile external environmental and enforces on itself – and on society more generally – a stringent medicalized, socio-political regime'(Bono, 2001: 225).

As has been proven, using the wrong policy framed by the wrong metaphor can have devastating social, economic, psychological and animal welfare consequences. In such contexts, the import of metaphor extends beyond individual cognition, into the realm of society and culture (Zinken, Hellsten & Nerlich, 2008: 243), this proving that metaphors are not only conceptual (as claimed by the traditional theorists of CMT) but also *social* and *cultural devices* (Nerlich et al, 2002: 91). On top of that, framing novel issues in terms of […] certain [...]metaphors, that is as something well known, might [...] prevent us from seeing alternative solutions to a problem (Zinken et al. 2003:21-23) as "how we frame a problem often includes what range of solutions we see as possible (Conrad, 1997: 140 quoted in Zinken et al, 2003).

3. Novel Coronavirus (COVID-19)

Novel Coronavirus, also known as COVID-19, came to the focus of international attention in early January, 2020, after the reports of a viral atypical SARS-like pneumonia outbreak emerged in Wuhan, China. This initial outbreak attracted increased media attention and eventually, led the World Health Organization (henceforth the WHO) to issue an international alert on January, 31. However, its rapid diffusion and the dramatic increase of the number of countries with officially confirmed cases forced the WHO to categorize COVID-19 as a pandemic on March 11, 2020, the first pandemic caused by a coronavirus strain.

Undoubtedly, COVID-19 became a major news story in the world. The WARFARE scenario evoked in relation to the fight against the novel coronavirus was dominant in international community. As it is usually the case, a war starts with *the declaration of war*. In the present situation, the first was the Chinese president Xi Jinping who vowed *to wage a 'people's war' against the COVID-19 epidemic*(https://medium.com/@lseideas/china-and-covid-19-a-shock-to-its-economy-a-metaphor-for-its-development-11b1e31e643c) followed by the UK Prime Minister Boris Johnson who revealed his "battle plan" to kill off the deadly bug in the UK (https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/11086449/army-on-standby-coronavirus-boris-johnson/) and described the crisis related to coronavirus as a "*fight … in which every one of us is directly enlisted*"(https://metro.co.uk/2020/03/24/boris-johnsons-lockdown-statement-watched-26-5-million-coronavirus-crisis-breaks-broadcast-records-12447364/) and the president of France, Emmanuel Macron who in his 20-minute address to people repeated multiple times *"We are at war"* (https://www.politico.eu/article/emmanuel-macron-on-coronavirus-were-at-war/).

Arguably, discourse metaphors related to the WARFARE scenario usually become attractors for cultural commonplaces, cultural myths and salient events of the past (Zinken et al. 2008:245). These metaphorical and cognitive constraints seem to be discursively embedded in a relatively stable reservoir of cultural myths and social representations available in social memory e.g. memories of past wars and past epidemics, or weeds, plagues, and displacements (ibid.), as well as natural or nuclear disasters and socio-political collapses, something that was well captured in one of the headlines of British newspapers: ***Could coronavirus be China's Chernobyl moment? Disaster set to spark COLLAPSE of communist party*** [in this case, the current ruling party in China] (https://www.express.co.uk/news/world/1243359/Coronavirus-latest-news-China-Wuhan-Xi-Jinping-Communist-Party-Chernobyl). The Queen Elizabeth II, in an extremely rare broadcast to the nation, invoked *wartime* spirit, the spirit of World War 2, to *defeat* coronavirus as she told the British public they will overcome the coronavirus outbreak if they stayed resolute in the face of the draconian measures taken to combat the virus (https://www.express.co.uk/news/royal/1265566/queen-elizabeth-II-news-coronavirus-speech-update-royal-family-latest).

Contemporary flu epidemics including the swine flu, otherwise called H1N1 were actively referenced along with the occasional comparisons with SARS (Severe Acute Respiratory

Syndrome) and MERS (Middle East respiratory syndrome) [other viruses related to the coronavirus strain] on a global scale including Georgia.

Other metaphors used to frame the novel coronavirus in the global community are related to the DISASTER scenario, which as studies demonstrate, are mainly used when the management of a disease goes beyond human control (Nerlich & Halliday, 2007: 60): conventionalized metaphorical expressions such as an *epicenter*, *tsunami* (about the cases), *house on fire*, etc. and their novel *elaborations* or *extensions* were actively employed (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980/2003; Lakoff & Turner, 1989; Kövecses, 2010)[2].

4. Methodology and Data

This paper aimed to analyze how Georgian media framed the discourse related to COVID-19 both in terms of the biosecurity issues and management of serious long-term economic repercussions of the stringent measures taken to contain the virus spread in the country.

The study draws on theoretical and methodological tenets from **CMT** (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980/2003; Lakoff, 1987;Lakoff, 1993; Lakoff & Turner, 1989; Grady, 1997; Kövecses, 2010), Andrea Musolff's concept of '**scenario**', **discourse metaphors** (Zinken, Hellsten, Nerlich, 2008) and their social representation and influence as well **as earlier studies on infectious diseases**, such as FMD, MERS, SARS, avian/bird flu, Ebola, Zika, along with cancer, HIV/AID, and tuberculosis.

Different qualitative approaches drawn from corpus linguistics and earlier metaphor studies were experimented with but found to be inadequate as the data was scarce, which may be attributed to the novelty of the pandemic. Therefore, the data come mainly from news reports about the novel coronavirus from one of the major TV channels in Georgia: *Rustavi* 2 and a talk show "გიორგი თარგამაძის ფორმულა" (Giorgi Targamadze's Formula) aired on '*Formula',* February 29th, 2020. The analysis covered all news reports related to the situation in terms of novel coronavirus epidemic situation in Georgia, starting from the first confirmed case of COVID-19, i.e. February 26th, till May 12th, when the outbreak was on the wane and most restrictions were/ were about to be lifted. Overall, **2,348** news reports were thoroughly analysed, out of which **456** accounts (19.42 %) were found to contain metaphorical linguistic expressions related to COVID-19.

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[2] For the full list of metaphors used globally, visit: https://blogs.nottingham.ac.uk/makingsciencepublic/2020/03/17/metaphors-in-the-time-of-coronavirus/

I focused on news reports as they are normally aimed at a wide audience and exert considerable influence on society. Their main purpose is to inform and provide the audience with as accurate information as possible about a particular event without having any of evaluative power. However, evaluation is unavoidable even in this field. Any news report is a complex communicative event that also embodies a *social* context, featuring participants (and their properties) as well as production and reception processes (Dijk, 1988: 1-2). What is more, the media is a space in which political actors "launch their frames"; in this sense, it is a "carrier for the frames of others" (Scheudele, 2004: 403).

The qualitative method standard in linguistic metaphor studies was used with adaptations to deal with the size of the data and the identification of metaphorical linguistic expressions in the texts and their corresponding conceptual metaphors and their analysis in the extended stretches of discourse. For the identification of metaphorical linguistic expressions, **the bottom-up approach,** otherwise called **inductive**, was chosen as this approach implies that no specific conceptual metaphor is presumed, and only at a later stage are mappings derived from the linguistic expressions that have been identified as metaphorically used (Krennmayr, 2013:10-11). A principal advantage of bottom-up analyses is that refraining from presuming conceptual metaphors, in spite of what is suggested by Lakoff & Johnson (1980), reduces the bias towards finding precisely those linguistic expressions that match the preconceived mapping (ibid). The examples of the inductive approach are robust methodology developed by Pragglejaz Group (2007) known as Metaphor Identification Procedure or MIP and later, its refined version, MIPVU established by Gerard Steen along with other scholars of Vrije University (hence VU) including Aletta G. Dorst, Tina Krennmayr, and others (Steen et al, 2010). Both MIP and MIPVU are reliable procedures for identifying linguistic metaphor which prevent the researcher from seeing '(…) concrete manifestations of conceptual metaphors everywhere' (Steen, 2007: 27).

For the present purposes, the combination of MIP and MIPVU was employed. The steps involved in the analysis were as follows (Pragglejaz Group, 2007; Steen et al, 2010:25-26):

1. Read the entire text–discourse to establish a general understanding of the meaning.
2. Determine the lexical units in the text–discourse.
3. (a) For each lexical unit in the text, establish its meaning in context.

   (b) For each lexical unit, determine if it has a more basic contemporary meaning in other contexts than the one in the given context.

(c) If the lexical unit has a more basic current–contemporary meaning in other contexts than the given context, decide whether the contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning but can be understood in comparison with it.

4. If yes, mark the lexical unit as metaphorical.

5. When a word is used indirectly and that use may potentially be explained by some form of cross-domain mapping from a more basic meaning of that word, mark the word as metaphorically used (MRW).

6. When a word is used directly and its use may potentially be explained by some form of cross-domain mapping to a more basic referent or topic in the text, mark the word as direct metaphor (MRW, direct).

7. When words are used for lexico-grammatical substitution, such as third person personal pronouns, or when ellipsis occurs where words may be seen as missing, as in some forms of co-ordination, and when a direct or indirect meaning is conveyed by those substitutions or ellipses that may potentially be explained by some form of cross-domain mapping from a more basic meaning, referent, or topic, insert a code for implicit metaphor (MRW, implicit).

Metaphorical expressions were identified in contexts surrounding the words related to the novel coronavirus (COVID-19, virus, pandemic, infection, challenge, etc.). For the identification of basic meanings of lexical items, Georgian online dictionary was used (available at http://www.ice.ge/liv/liv/ganmartebiti.php).

5. Results and Discussion

Georgian media covered the pandemic with a high degree of interest. The first case of COVID-19 was confirmed on February, 26 followed by the second on February 28 and third the next day. The closure of schools and universities, moving on the distance working and learning, self-isolation the surveillance of travellers and later travel bans were important methods used against the spread of the disease followed by the state of emergency, curfew and lockdown. As the research showed, such conceptualizations of security are linked to a rhetorical contrast between outside which is deemed to be dangerous, and the 'inside' which is locked down tightly, secured and safe (Chilton, 1996).

5.1. Coronavirus as a Target Domain

5.1.1. WARFARE Scenario

Metaphors related to the WARFARE scenario pervaded the discourse about the situation in terms of the novel coronavirus in Georgia both in discussions about the biosecurity (and biosecurity measures) and the aftermath of COVID-19 in terms of the country's economic sustainability. The prominence of their use was seen to have intensified along with the rise of COVID-19 infected patients, i.e. when the threat was more and more immediate to everybody.

The war scenario can be regarded as a super-scenario (Nerlich, 2011:11) that includes other sub-scenarios/mini-narratives which are interrelated and can be connected to other scenarios and form *discursive metaphor clusters* (Koller, 2003). Based on the present research, it can be concluded that Georgian WAR scenario in relation to COVID-19 situation subsumed the following concepts or sub-scenarios which actively interacted:
INVASION, BATTLE, FIGHT, HAND-TO-HAND COMBAT, ATTACK, DEFENCE, ENEMY, KILLER, HEROES, VICTIMS, FRONTLINE, VICTORY, DEFEAT, STRATEGY
Below I elaborate on each of the mini-narrative presenting each of them in square brackets.

The WARFARE scenario is a complex construct based on the basic conceptual metaphors, basic knowledge structures known as image schemas (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, Johnson, 1987) designated as CONTAINER and SOURCE-PATH-GOAL. These schemas activate a reassuringly familiar range of discourses and associated precautions emerged including 'locking down', 'sealing off', and 'closing' disinfecting, etc. In Georgia this scenario (apart from the measures mentioned above) included locking down the infected regions in order not to let the virus travel from the **red (infected) zones** into the **neutral (not/minimally infected) zones**, with the help of the military forces deployed on the borders of these areas. The government and experts did everything to contain the virus spread by isolating the suspects of harbouring the virus, Georgian citizens who returned to the country during this period were subject to the obligatory quarantine; the COVID-19 patients who got infected abroad but revealed the symptoms after their return to Georgia were

described as *imported cases,* i.e. *people who imported or transported the viru*s, or as *the case which is brought from the outside.* This, in its turn, interacts with the JOURNEY scenario evoking a virus on a journey (see below). This scenario is also linked to the image schema of SOURCE-PATH-GOAL and includes the following sub-components (Nerlich, 2011:130; Koteyko, Brown and Crawford, 2008:253-4):

- A trajector that moves
- A source location (the starting point)
- A target or goal, an intended destination of the trajector
- A route from the source to the target
- The actual trajectory of motion
- The position of the trajector at a given time
- The direction of the trajector at that time
- The position of the trajector at a given time
- The actual final location of the trajector, which may or may not be the intended destination

On February 26, COVID-19 arrived in Georgia. On February 27th, Rustavi 2 reported

(1) GEO: კორონავირუსი უკვე *საქართველოშია* (http://rustavi2.ge/ka/news/156542)
['Coronavirus is already *in* Georgia]

thus evoking the sub-scenario of INVASION (WAR); THE ACTUAL FINAL LOCATION (JOURNEY)

Even though the news accounts contained more or less neutral language while reporting on the situation in Georgia, the increase in the number of confirmed cases fueled up an explosion of such metaphorical linguistic expressions as *to fight against the coronavirus a war on coronavirus*, *win/defeat this virus* [FIGHT, VICTORY,DEFEAT(WAR)];

- Rustavi 2 ran a series of headlines entitled conspicuously featuring the military atmosphere: 'Georgia's *22^(nd) day of fight against* the coronavirus'; '*36^(th) day of the fight against* the coronavirus in Georgia'; "The Country is *in the first stage of its fight against* the coronavirus";

- recovered patients were represented as the ones who *defeated the illness* [FIGHT, ENEMY, VICTORY(WAR);], people who died were *defeated by the viru*s or represented as *another victims of the virus* [ENEMY, KILLER, VICTORY, DEFEAT, VICTIM(WAR)];

- hospitals were *mobilized for the aggressive attacks* [STRATEGY, ATTACK, BATTLE, ENEMY(WAR)] from the patient affected by the novel coronavirus and doctors and experts were *the warriors* and *(heroes) on the front line* [FRONTLINE, HEROES (WAR)]*;*

- 'Stay at home' was seen as a method of no alternative during *the fight again*st the COVID-19 and social distance *was the most powerful weapon to defeat* the virus [STRATEGY, BATTLE, FIGHT, DEFENCE, and ENEMY (WAR)].

Each patient affected by the novel coronavirus along with their doctors *waged a war* on the infection [STRATEGY, BATTLE, FIGHT, DEFENCE, ENEMY, VICTORY (WAR)]; at some intervals it was said that *the war was being won*, which is present in the following quote of one of the doctors, working with COVID-19 infected patient who had just recovered from a critical condition:

(2) GEO: *ამ ომში მეტწნაკლებად გავიმარჯვეთ,* ვინაიდან პაციენტი კონტაქტური და ადეკვატური გახდა. შესაძლოა, პაციენტი დღის ბოლომდე მოიხსნას აპარატიდან (http://rustavi2.ge/ka/news/159793):

[*We more or less won this war* because the patient became contact and conscious. The patient may be removed from the ventilator by the end of the day.]

Interestingly, the KILLER scenario, usually considered to be particularly dominant in discussions of the nature of diseases (e.g. as it was with SARS (Wallis & Nerlich, 2005), was

almost minimally used; even when employed, the killing function of the virus was either refuted or described as 'eliminated', e.g.:

(3) GEO: ის, რომ COVID-19 *მკვლელი* არ არის, ამ ქალბატონის მაგალითზე შემიძლია ვთქვა. აზრი იმის შესახებ, რომ კორონავირუსი *მკვლელია,* სიმართლეს არ შეესაბამება (http://rustavi2.ge/ka/news/159793)

[The fact that COVID-19 is not a *killer* can be seen on the example of this woman (a COVID-19 patient) […]. The idea that the novel coronavirus is a *killer* is not true]

(4) GEO: დიდი ხანია, ამ ვირუსის ბუნებათა შესახებ არაფერი მითქვამს, იმიტომ რომ, როგორც კი სამყაროში გაჩნდა ეს ვირუსი, რატომდაც, ყველამ, ვინაიდან ახალი იყო და მაღალი ლეტალობა იყო კაცობრიობაში, *მკვლელი* დავარქვით, მაგრამ ამ ვირუსმა, ამ ფუნქციის ლიკვიდაცია განიცადა (http://web1.rustavi2.ge/ka/news/163030).

[For a long time, I have not said anything about the nature of this virus, because as soon as this virus appeared in the world, for some reason, we all called it *a killer*, due to its novelty and high lethality in humanity, but this virus *has eliminated this function*.]

The marginal role of this metaphor may be attributed to the low mortality rate in Georgia.

The WARFARE scenario became also dominant in Georgian discourse about structuring the management of the pandemic and handling the emerging economic crisis. The military atmosphere was well captured in the following extract from the speech delivered by the Prime Minister of Georgia, Giorgi Gakharia, on April, 1 invoking the sub-scenarios of ENEMY, STRATEGY, BATTLE, FIGHT, and VICTORY (WAR):

(5) GEO: *ეს არის ომი უხილავ მტერთან, რომელშიც არავის აქვს გამარჯვების შანსი* ერთიანობის გარეშე. […] ვირუსთან *ბრძოლაში* მთავრობის *ძირითადი სტრატეგიული და ტაქტიკური ნაბიჯებია მაღალი რანგის პროფესიონალების* მაქსიმალური ჩართულობა და სწრაფი, ეფექტური და დროული მენეჯმენტი. […] ეს არის *ბრძოლა, ომი უხილავ მტერთან,* რომელშიც არც ერთ მთავრობას,

საქართველოზე უფრო ძლიერ სისტემურ ქვეყნებშიც, *გამარჯვების შანსი არ აქვს*, თუ არ გაერთიანდება, ყველა, სახელმწიფო, სამოქალაქო სექტორი, თითოეული მოქალაქე. (http://rustavi2.ge/ka/news/1597934)

[*This is a war with an invisible enemy, in which no one has a chance to win without unity*[…] *the main strategic and tactical steps* of the government *in the fight against the* virus are the maximum involvement of *high-ranking professionals* and *fast, efficient and timely management*. […]This is a *battle*; a *war* with *an invisible enemy*, in which no government, even in more systemic countries than Georgia, *has a chance to win* unless everybody, the state, the civil society, each citizen, is united.]

As it can be seen, in this extract, the WAR frame focuses on the novel coronavirus as the personification of an invisible enemy that needs to be defeated, which proved to be a major rhetorical device for reporting on COVID-19 (and earlier for both SARS and FMD (Nerlich, 2011). The government spoke about *strategy*, *tactics* and being *on a high alert* [STRATEGY, BATTLE, FIGHT, and ENEMY (WAR)]; ready to *engage in hand-to-hand combat* with the virus and its economic consequences by drawing up *a battle plan* to *defend* the people *against the enemy* and establishing *a fight-against-coronavirus* foundation to raise money.

Economy and especially, the currency, **Georgian lari**, which dropped sharply during the period, were metonymically personified as victims of the *strikes* and *blows* from COVID-19 [FIGHT, DEFEAT, VICTIM (WAR)], particularly due to the restrictions imposed to contain the virus spread. For illustration:

(6) GEO: საქართველოში კორონავირუსის პირველი *მსხვერპლი* ლარია.
(http://rustavi2.ge/ka/news/159202)

[The first *victim* of the coronavirus is Georgian Lari]

The tourism sector, which is an increasingly important component of the country's economy, suffered most as the pandemic closed most of the hotels and turned part of them into quarantine spaces, which led to great financial loss and became one of the main targets for *blows* from the novel coronavirus [BATTLE, FIGHT, ENEMY, TARGET, VICTIM (WAR)]:

(7) GEO: "COVID 19"-მა ყველაზე დიდი *დარტყმა* ტურიზმს მიაყენა.

(http://web1.rustavi2.ge/ka/news/162743)

["COVID 19" *dealt the biggest blow* to tourism]

The WARFARE scenario persisted strongly in the media throughout the whole period.

5.1.2. *JOURNEY Scenario*

There were two metaphoric journeys in Georgia: one taken *by the virus* (specifically its *spread*) and another one – *by the country* as a whole (the government, experts and people).

5.1.2.1. *The Virus on a Journey*

In the context of viral spread and viral infection, the JOURNEY scenario was signaled by the use of the discourse metaphors such as THE APPEARANCE OF A VIRUS IS AN INVASION (which is in turn, a part of the WAR scenario and THE SPREAD OF A VIRUS IS A JOURNEY[3].

The JOURNEY scenario initially focused on the spread of COVID-19 via people returning or visiting the country. As it was mentioned above, the virus *arrived in* Georgia on February 26th from Azerbaijan (the first patient entered the country from Azerbaijan), the second and third cases were from Italy. By the end of March the virus got through or, as it was frequently remarked, *was brought* or *imported* (see above) to Georgia from different countries so that

(8)   GEO: *გეოგრაფია საკმაოდ გაფართოვდა შემოტანილი* შემთხვევებით

(http://rustavi2.ge/ka/news/159143)

[*The geography has expanded considerably* in terms of the *imported* cases]

As a result, the virus was spread inside the country and the internal transmission of COVID-19 was detected, what marked the starting point of the virus spread phase in Georgia.

Interestingly, all these caused the outbursts of xenophobia and hatred from the local people towards foreign visitors as well as the Georgian citizens who had just returned to the country,

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[3] such an interplay of different scenarios has been called *the network of scenarios* (Koteyko, Brown and Crawford, 2008:251)

respectively; as an illustration, on March 14th, as explained by the fear of the novel coronavirus, locals in Kutaisi confronted Polish citizens and demanded the head of the family hotel where the tourists were accommodated that he expelled them. Another case happened in Batumi, where the locals disapproved of the decision of the local officials to put Georgians who had just come back under obligatory quarantine in the hotel located in their vicinities.

The prominence of the use of JOURNEY metaphors was seen when COVID-19 spread was about to *reach* a so-called peak phase, e.g.:

(9)   GEO: საქართველოში კორონავირუსის გავრცელება *პიკს* აპრილის ბოლოს *მიაღწევს* (http://rustavi2.ge/ka/news/160723)

[The spread of coronavirus in Georgia *will reach its peak* at the end of April]

At the beginning of May when the peak was considered to be on the wane, the fear related to the second appearance of COVID-19 was still seen by the experts:

(10)   GEO: ახალი კორონავირუსი ამ დრომდე შეუსწავლელია, ამიტომ ის შეიძლება ნებისმიერ დროს *შემოუბრუნდეს ქვეყანას* (http://web1.rustavi2.ge/ka/news/164161)

[The novel coronavirus has not yet been well studied, so it can *return to the country* at any time]

5.1.2.2.   *The Country on a Journey*

The journey of the country was related to the different stages Georgia had to go through during COVID-19. The metaphors used to feature this journey represented an overlap of two image schemas (Lakoff & Turner, 1986): CONTAINER/BOUNDED REGION and SOURCE-PATH-GOAL (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980/2003; Johnson, 1987; Lakoff, 1987). Each phase was conceptualized as a CONTAINER which the country *approached*, *entered*, *went through*, and finally *crossed* or *got over*.

The stages or 'phases' included: containment/delay phase, spread phase, critical phase, peak phase,   and mitigation phase

The linguistic instances of this JOURNEY scenario with the overlapping image schemata are given in the following quotes:

(11) GEO: კორონავირუსის შეჩერების ეტაპიდან *გადავდივართ* გავრცელების

ეტაპზე (http://rustavi2.ge/ka/news/158375)

[From the delay phase we are *moving into* the spread phase]

(12) GEO: ქვეყანა კორონა ვირუსის პიკს *უახლოვდება*

(http://rustavi2.ge/ka/news/161318)

[The country is *approaching* the peak]

(13) GEO:ქვეყანა კორონავირუსის გავრცელების პიკში *შედის*

(http://web1.rustavi2.ge/ka/news/163078)

[The country is *entering* the peak of the coronavirus spread]

(14) GEO:მატება ერთნიშნა ციფრს არ აღემატება, თუ ასე გაგრძელდა, პიკი

გადალახულია (http://web1.rustavi2.ge/ka/news/164114)

[The increase does not exceed the single-digit number, if this continues; the peak is going to be *overcome*]

5.1.3. *Peaks, Plateaus and Zigzags: Landscape Metaphors of the Pandemic*

The pandemic metaphors tried to bring math, modeling and graphs down to earth, such as flatting or crushing the curve (Nerlich, 2020b) which were used worldwide.[4] In Georgia, these metaphors were prevalent when the country *entered* a so-called critical phase and was about to *embark on its journey to the 'peak'*, thus evoking what Brigitte Nerlich in her recent article (published May 6th ,2020) designated as *Landscape Metaphors of the pandemic* (see https://blogs.nottingham.ac.uk/makingsciencepublic/2020/05/06/pandemic-landscapes-peaks-and-tunnels-waves-and-plateaus/) and again the JOURNEY scenario described above, particularly its sub-component CLIMBING A MOUNTAIN. Some of the linguistic instantiation of this network of metaphor scenarios are present in the following quote of one of the epidemiologists who tried to

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[4] see Brigitte Nerlich's blog on the metaphor "Flattening the curve":
https://blogs.nottingham.ac.uk/makingsciencepublic/2020/03/10/flattening-the-curve-to-curb-an-epidemic/

predict the future of this 'peak' [PEAK, PLATEAU, GOING DOWN THE MOUNTAIN, VIRUS ON A JOURNEY (JOURNEY)]:

(15)   GEO: [...] შემდეგ მივაღწევთ *პიკს*, ეს *პიკი* მინდა, რომ იყოს *პლატო* და არა ძალიან *ციცაბო*. შემდეგ ეს *პლატო* გაგრძელდება სავარაუდოდ ორი-სამი კვირა და შემდეგ უნდა *წავიდეს დაღმავალი გზით* ეპიდემია.
(http://web1.rustavi2.ge/ka/news/162980)

[[…] Then, we will *reach the peak*, I want this *peak not to be too steep* but *a plateau*. Then, this *plateau* will probably last for two to three weeks and after that, the epidemic *should go downhill*]

As the epidemic unfolded and the country was '*approaching'* the peak, the main concern of the medical experts and government officials was to have a '*short'* or '*flattened'* peak, *a hill* and not *a mountain* like *Everest,* so as to avoid the healthcare system overload:

(16)   GEO: ჩვენ *პიკი* არ უნდა გვქონდეს *ევერესტის* ტოლი. შეიძლება *პიკი* იყოს *ევერესტი* და იყოს *ბორცვი*. ჩვენთვის მთავარია, *პიკი* იმდენად *დაბრტყელდეს* და იმდენად ცოტა შემთხვევა იყოს *პიკის* დროს, რომ ამან არ მოახდინოს არც ჯანდაცვის სისტემის გადატვირთვა.(http://rustavi2.ge/ka/news/161483)

[We should not have a *peak* equal to *Everest*. The *peak* may be *Everest* and be *a hill*. The most important thing for us is that the *peak* is so *flattened* and there are so few cases during the *peak* that it does not cause any overload of the healthcare system.]

The Minister of Internally Displaced Persons from the Occupied Territories, Labour, Health and Social Affairs of Georgia further exploited the 'math scenario' and introduced a new metaphor '*zigzag'* as a mark of the changeable figures of confirmed cases for each day. For illustration:

(17)   GEO: ჩვენ არ გვაქვს არც *პლატო* და არც *ვაკე*, გვაქვს ***ტეხილი*** და შეგვიძლია შემოვიტანოთ ახალი ტერმინი, რომელიც ყოველ დღეს აღნიშნავს მნიშვნელოვნად განსხვავებულ რიცხვებს (http://web1.rustavi2.ge/ka/news/163572)

[We have neither *a plateau* nor *a plain*, we have ***a zigzag*** and we can introduce a new term that marks significantly different numbers each day]

5.1.4.   DISASTER Scenario

Apart from WAR and JOURNEY, another scenario that was salient in the coverage of COVID-19 was that of the DISASTER. However, in reporting on the situation in Georgia, the corresponding metaphors were used to a lesser degree compared to the two previous scenarios. Metaphors of a storm, an earthquake, flood and fire evoke so-called natural disasters over which scientists and policymakers have arguably no control (Nerlich & Halliday, 2007: 60).By contrast, Georgia was one of those countries where the government and medical experts more or less succeeded in controlling the situation as compared to the rest of the world.

At the beginning, the only metaphor which was sporadically employed by the media and experts was related to the sub-scenario of TSUNAMI, mainly describing the well-preparedness of the government and healthcare system: the conventionalized linguistic expressions, such as: *first/ second wave, to curb the wave* (GEO: პირველი/მეორე ტალღა, ტალღის შეკავება) were used. For illustration:

(18)   GEO: ჩვენ მოვამზადეთ სისტემა იმისათვის, რომ მიგვეღო *პირველი ტალღა* (http://rustavi2.ge/ka/news/158397)

[We have prepared the system for *the first wave*]

(19)   GEO: ჩვენ ეპიდემიის პირველი *ტალღის შეკავება* მოვახერხეთ (http://rustavi2.ge/ka/news/158821)

[We managed to *contain/curb the first wave* of the epidemic]

(20)   GEO: კორონავირუსის *მეორე ტალღამდე* გამოცხადებული საგანგებო მდგომარეობის მოთხოვნები განსაკუთრებით მკაცრი არაა. (http://rustavi2.ge/ka/news/158848)

[The demands of state of emergency declared before *the second wave* of coronavirus are not particularly strict]

However, there was a sudden increase in the use of the DISASTER metaphors in mid-April when the country entered a so-called 'critical phase'. The lexical items included:

(21)   GEO: ვირუსის *ეპიდაფეთქება*

[Engl., Epidemic explosion or epidexplosion, *verbatim*, transl. *outbreak*];

(22)   GEO: *ზვავისებური* გავრცელება

   [Engl., *avalanche*-like spread of the disease, *verbatim*];

(23)   GEO: დადგება მომენტი, *შეწყვეტს* ვირუსი *ბობოქრობას*

   (http://rustavi2.ge/ka/news/161078)

   [Engl.,The moment will come when the virus *stops storming*];

(24)   GEO: როცა *ჩაცხრება ბობოქარი* ვირუსი, მერე ვიქეიფოთ

   (http://web1.rustavi2.ge/ka/news/161569) [Engl., when the *storming* virus *calms down*, then we will party]

This brief upsurge seems to have been triggered by the fact that the handle of the situation went out of experts' control as the number of confirmed cases rose and the epidemiologists were no longer able to trace the source of transmission.

5.2. Coronavirus as a Source Domain

In his recent article in *the Observer*, Kenan Malik (see https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2020/mar/15/like-a-moth-to-a-flame-we-are-drawn-to-metaphors-to-explain-our-world) mentioned that 'The coronavirus is both a physical threat and a metaphor for everything from the failures of globalization to the menace of foreigners'.

Here, as an illustration I show how the novel coronavirus primed the subsequent discourse on the Georgian political system. The samples come from the speech given by a journalist and former politician, Giorgi Targamadze[5], who in his weekly programme (გიორგი თარგამაძის ფორმულა (Giorgi Targamadze's Formula) compared COVID-19 with a different virus which seemed to have infected the Georgian political system. The programme covered two pressing topics circulating in Georgia during February, 2020: first, COVID-19, which was already here, and second, the approaching parliamentary elections, specifically the electoral system, which was the point of

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[5] I would like to offer my huge thank to Giorgi Targamadze who kindly allowed me to publish these extracts from his programme.

contention among the ruling and opposing parties. Having finished talking about the coronavirus, he moved to the topic of yet unreached agreement over the format of coming parliamentary elections and government's failure to keep the promise to hold parliamentary elections under the proportional system instead of the existing two methods, thus yielding a metaphor GEORGIAN POLITICAL SYSTEM IS AN INFECTED ORGANISM[6]:

(25)   GEO: ვირუსზე საუბარი უნდა გავაგრძელო, [...] ოღონდ ამ შემთხვევაში საუბარი არის *ჩვენი პოლიტიკური სისტემის ავადმყოფობაზე.* [...], *თითქოს ყველაფერი ვიცით რა გვჭირს* ამ მხრივ, მთელი ამ წლების განმავლობაში და *მიზეზი* არის ჩვენი პოლიტიკური სიტემის დაუბალანსებლობა. თითქოს *წამალიც საყოველთაოდ ცნობილია* და ამას *არც მსოფლიო ჯანდაცვის ორგანიზაცია* და გაერო არ გვჭირდება, მაგრამ მაინც *ვერ ვშველით* საკუთარ თავს.

[I need to proceed talking about virus. However, in this case I am considering the *sickness* of our political system. For all these years, we are aware of what we are *infected with* and *the reason* for it is the imbalance of our political system. *The medicine* is widely known and we need neither *WHO* nor UNO. Nevertheless, we still can't *help* ourselves.]

In this extract, it is obvious that the host of the programme actively evokes the current frame related to the novel coronavirus and creatively draws parallels between COVID-19 and the virus which infected the Georgian political system:

On the one hand, there is COVID-19 which is relatively unknown (unresearched), for which there is no cure yet, WHO is engaged in the process of handling the situation worldwide, but still, despite the efforts, nobody can manage the disease. On the other hand, there is another virus that infected the Georgian political system: we know almost everything about it, there IS the cure for this virus and it is widely known and has been tested in other countries and on many societies in terms of its efficacy, but still, we can't help ourselves:

(26)   GEO: […] პოლიტიკური პატიმრების არსებობა და სხვა ბევრი მიზეზია, რამაც საარჩევნო სისტემაზე შეთანხმებას ხელი შეიძლება შეუშალოს. თუმცა, პროცესის ყველა პასუხისმგებლიან მოთამაშეს ისიც ესმის, რომ ჩვენი ქვეყნის *პოლიტიკური იმუნიტეტის მდგრადობისთვის* სამართლიან საარჩევნო

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[6] According to the existing conventions, conceptual metaphors are normally typographically rendered in small capital letters.

მოდელზე შეთანხმება სასიცოცხლო მნიშვნელობისაა. ეს ის შემთხვევაა, როცა ყველამ წინასწარ და ნათლად ვიცით, არა მარტო ის თუ რა *ვირუსი ჭირს ქართულ პოლიტიკურ სისტემას,* არამედ ამდენი ხანი ქვეყანას მდგრადი განვითარების საშუალებას რომ არ აძლევს, არამედ, კორონავირუსისგან განსხვავებით, *სამკურნალო წამალიც დიდი ხანია გამოგონილია და არაერთ სხვა ქვეყანასა და საზოგადოებაზე გამოცდილი და მაღალ ეფექტურობაზე შემოწმებული.* [7]

[There are various reasons, among others, the existence of political prisoners that hinder the reaching of an agreement over the election system. However, every player responsible for the process realizes that the agreement over the fair election model is vital for *the sustainability of our* political *immunity*. This is the case when everybody is aware not only of the *virus* Georgian political system *is infected with*, but also that it does not give the opportunity for the country to develop sustainably; unlike with the novel coronavirus, even *the medicine is invented long ago and tested in many countries and on different societies for it*s *high efficacy.*]

From these extracts, it can be concluded that the topic of previous discourse primes Targamadze to further exploit the context and frame a new topic by staying within the same scenario. This is an example of what Kövecses calls contextually based or context-induced metaphors, "a new type of conceptual metaphors which "reveal an aspect of human creativity in conceptualizing of the world" (Kövecses, 2015: 116). The reason that prompted the host to use this metaphor must be the immediate social setting (Kövecses, 2015:109-110): there is a particular social setting (global context-COVID -19 epidemic [the programme was aired on February 29, i.e. before the COVID-19 was categorized as the pandemic], WHO along with almost every country were trying to find/invent a cure and vaccine; local context-the novel coronavirus reached Georgia 4 days before the programme and the government and medical experts were working in tandem to handle the emerged crisis) and there is a particular target domain (Georgian political system and the unclear future of the parliamentary elections) and its meaning that needs to be activated. If the meaning can be activated by means of a metaphorical mapping that fits the actual social setting, the speaker will

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[7] I ignored other metaphors used in this extract as, based on the present purposes, they were of no importance.

prefer to choose that mapping. Simply put, if the actual social setting involves an element that is an instance of an appropriate source domain, speakers are likely to use that source domain (ibid.).

In addition, the selection of this particular scenario (VIRUS, INFECTED ORGANISM) may also be caused by the contextual factors surrounding this discourse (Georgian political system), which can influence the speaker to decide on the particular framing of an issue in the given context as the choice or creation of one particular metaphor over another would be ensure **coherence** within 'the contextual factors functioning as primes' (Kövecses, 2015: 192).

6. Conclusion

To summarize, three major metaphor scenarios/superscenarios were identified to structure the discourse of COVID -19 in Georgia: WARFARE, which has long been seen as prime features of discourses of bioscience and disease (Walliss & Nerlich, 2005: 2637), JOURNEY (including CLIMBING A MOUNTAIN) and DISASTER. The study also showed that the same issue may be metaphorized in various ways. The selection of one of the metaphors instead of another is a social and cultural phenomenon, and it depends on the contexts of the use as well as the purpose of the users (Zinken et al, 2003: 18). Frequently, a network of scenarios was creatively exploited in the news reports, which proved to be an effective tool of rendering them intelligible and newsworthy to the public. Moreover, the novel coronavirus proved to be an effective source domain for already existing or emerging problems in society.

In conclusion, it can be said that the purpose of this study was primarily to show that metaphors are main tools in crossing the disciplinary discourses; they can expand our vision and provide insights denied to more literal thinking. Metaphors are cognitive as well as social phenomena. The research demonstrated that they can directly shape the public policy and lead people to the recognition of the measures taken as correct and sensible. Scenarios provide important narrative and discursive framing devices for journalists, but, as we have seen, also for scientists and policymakers. Metaphors construct, or frame, views of reality, which can be used in policymaking and planning (Koteyko, Brown, And Crawford, 2008: 258-9).

However, it should be noted that the results on which the conclusions are drawn are only symptomatic of this sample, but may serve as an incentive for further research. A further study on the novel coronavirus related metaphors including different mediums (e.g. pictorial metaphors) is

undoubtedly needed to obtain an overall picture of the COVID-19 metaphorization. For the future study, it would be also interesting to research how the COVID-19 infected patients frame the virus as this can be a major contribution to the theory of framing diseases.

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