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HUMOUR AND EMOTIONAL SETTING IN PUBLIC SPEAKING

Abstract

Studying emotion is not an easy task due to a great number of controversial theories and hypotheses about the issue. For instance, James-Lange theory discusses emotion as a result of arousal and a physiological reaction on certain events; (James 1884); Cannon-Bard theory, (Cannon, W. 1987) on the other hand, suggests that emotions are physiological reactions and that emotion and arousal occur simultaneously. Appraisal theories (Moors et al. 2013; Scherer 2009) state that appraisals of situations cause emotional reactions. Other researchers debate on the universality of emotion words and argue about basic emotion terms. (Izard 2007; Wierzbicka, 1986)

This article, however, focuses on humorous elements that speakers utilise to create a certain emotional background in the audience. For this, the data from 5 public speeches taken from Ted.com platform are analysed. In addition, the usage of humour and its role in creating an overall emotional background is also discussed. As an analytical framework, the article employs the framing theory (Minsky 1974; Fillmore 1976) and identifies humour in the clash of non-related frames. Current analysis suggests that speakers use non-related frames to change the meaning of the utterance and therefore result in a humorous effect that in a broader context creates an emotional setting.

Keywords: Framing; Emotion; Humour;

1. Introduction

In the contemporary world, people constantly face situations with implicit messages and experience a need to correctly decode them. This becomes especially hard when an emotional response is to be provided or listeners are influenced emotionally.

Amongst many interesting questions, the following are the ones that attract the attention of researchers: do there exist basic emotions and if so, how can we be sure that they are universal for all languages around the world? Wierzbicka argues that emotion terms constitute a folk taxonomy and therefore they cannot be used as analytical frameworks for research. Hence, if we want to distinguish universal human emotions we have to identify them with the semantic metalanguage that has to be culture-oriented and language-independent. (Wierzbicka 1986:584-585). This discussion implies that semantics of the emotion terms should be analysed by means of primitives that are common in every language and lexical resources. Therefore, when speaking about universal emotions, one should bear in mind that not every culture may have similar concepts for them. Another interesting question concerns societies and cultures. Namely, do they perceive emotional message identically or what role does a culture play in studying emotions and emotional responses? This question concentrates on the anthropological aspects of the issue. Besnier emphasises the importance of cultural differences in emotion conceptualisation and discusses how different societies in different discourses use and express emotions, for example, political discourse uses persuasive language as a moralising element. Some cultures may express emotional processes through somatic metaphors, others understand and express emotions as internal events and do not associate them with physical states. (Besnier 1990:421-423).

In the article, framing theory is used to study how speakers emotionally influence the audience using humorous elements and cultural frames. As Fillmore states, the concept of frame is language independent (Fillmore 1976), thus it perfectly fits the above mentioned two criteria for emotion study introduced by Wierzbicka (1986). Specifically, Wierzbicka believes that emotions have to be identified by culture oriented and language independent metalanguage. However, although Wierzbicka does not define particular emotions through frames, it tries to give insight into the logic behind the speakers' usage of humour as a means of emotional influence on the audience. Humour is analysed by means of the semantic frames theory (Fillmore 1976), it concentrates on the sentence level rather than larger units, whilst the second approach (Minsky 1974) utilized in the article focused on framing greater units, like paragraphs and texts, and was employed to study cultural frames.

2. Methodology

Five recordings from Ted.com platform with a total duration of 72.02 minutes were analysed utilising the frame analysis and Fillmore's semantic frames theory. Entman defines frames as "scattered conceptualisations" used to transfer information from a sentence or a word to consciousness (Entman 1993:51-52). Frame semantics theory is represented by the FrameNet project, an online lexical database for frames based in the International Computer Science Institute in Berkeley since 1997. Its framework was adopted in different countries and similar FrameNet databases were created in Japan, Brazil, Germany, France, etc. In this article, specific phrases, words, and episodes that evoked emotional reactions were marked in the speeches and analysed with the help of the FrameNet database. The emotional reaction was expressed by laughter, applause or other non-verbal expressions. The methodology of frame analysis was also employed to distinguish cultural frames and investigate their importance and role in creating emotional influence on the audience.

While analysing data two different approaches were taken into account. The foundation for one of them was the theory of semantic frames. Humorous utterances were taken out from transcripts for further analysis and using FrameNet database, frames were singled out and checked in the data to see whether any of them revealed subframe relationships. Thus this method concentrated on the sentence level and was more verb-oriented, implying that in the majority of cases verbs were the frame carriers.

The other approach aimed at the analysis of more complex structures than sentences, namely discourses. Minsky's theory (Minsky 1974) was taken as the theoretical framework for this approach. It concentrated on the whole discourse and instead of frame evoking words, examined the overall ideas of the discourses referred to as cultural frames.

The first approach was used to study the usage of humour and to distinguish humorous element in an utterance. Being sentence oriented, this approach was used to study why listeners found humorous messages funny. For example:

Do schools kill creativity?

(https://www.ted.com/talks/ken_robinson_says_schools_kill_creativity/transcript#t-834691)

If my wife is cooking [cooking_creation] a meal at home, which is not often ... thankfully [Judgment_direct_address].

This sentence is humorous because we have the opposition of two non-related frames, cooking_creation frame, and Judgment_direct_address frame. According to the FrameNet database, cooking_creation frame describes food and meal preparation. A Cook creates a Produced_food from (raw) Ingredients. The Heating_instrument and/or the Container may also be specified.
(https://framenet2.icsi.berkeley.edu/fnReports/data/frameIndex.xml?frame=Cooking_creation)

In Judgment_direct_address frame, a Communicator judges the Addressee and then communicates that appraisal directly to the Addressee. The judgment is given for a particular Reason or about a particular Topic.
(https://framenet2.icsi.berkeley.edu/fnReports/data/frameIndex.xml?frame=Judgment_direct_address)

In the example cooking is judged negatively by the speaker, the reason for this being the wife's bad skills in it. This results in laughter because instead of logical continuing of the meaning that wife cooks food and the family enjoys it, we have the change in meaning achieved by employing Judgment_direct_address frame.

The second approach concentrated on the contextual level and is expressed by discussing cultural frames. For this part of the research, the full transcripts of the speeches were taken and analysed to distinguish the main messages the speaker wanted to communicate to the audience. These messages were delivered to the audience through cultural frames. Cultural frames were developed on the basis of the main thematic idea of the speech. For example, in the speech - *Beautiful new words to describe obscure emotion* - the speaker discusses the words and how they acquire meanings. While delivering his message he uses the cultural frame – “Who I am? Where I go? “- that is expressed in the following example:

But in reality, we're all the main characters, and you yourself are an extra in someone else's story.So it made them feel less alone.

(https://www.ted.com/talks/john_koenig_beautiful_new_words_to_describe_obscure_emotions)

The frame is expressed through the idea that if you are important you are never alone. In order to find these cultural frames the main ideas of the speeches were analysed. These ideas can be understood as cultural frames.

2.1 Data collection

Speeches used in the article are available online on Ted.com platform with full transcriptions which makes it easy to extract data for further analysis. The reason for selecting Ted.com speeches is that they were prepared and constructed in advance with the aim to influence listeners emotionally. Consequently, it was interesting to investigate how speakers used humour intentionally and which cultural frames were used to guide listeners to the desired path of emotions.

The following speeches were analysed in the data of the article:

(Last visited: 05/24/2019)

1. Beautiful new words to describe obscure emotions;

(https://www.ted.com/talks/john_koenig_beautiful_new_words_to_describe_obscure_emotions)

2. How great leaders inspire action;

(https://www.ted.com/talks/simon_sinek_how_great_leaders_inspire_action)

3. The hidden power of smiling;

(https://www.ted.com/talks/ron_gutman_the_hidden_power_of_smiling)

4. The power of introverts;

(https://www.ted.com/talks/susan_cain_the_power_of_introverts)

5. Do schools kill creativity;

(https://www.ted.com/talks/ken_robinson_says_schools_kill_creativity)

3. Framing emotion

Frame semantics theory was developed by Charles J. Fillmore and it grew into a FrameNet project – an online lexical resource for English that operates since 1997. Frames can be understood as story fragments which connect a group of words to their meanings. Therefore, all our knowledge is stored in frames and is activated in suitable contexts. (Ruppenhofer, J., Ellsworth, M., Petruck, M. R., Johnson, C. R., & Scheffczyk, J. 2016:7). This online database uses the term "lexical unit" to refer to the word and its meaning. Each lexical unit belongs to a certain frame. Apart from frames, it also distinguishes between the frame elements which are expressed through different roles in the situation. For example, the following sentence is analysed according to the semantic frames theory::

I [*the cook*]**cooked** a dinner [*produced_food*];

The frame- evoking word in this sentence is the verb "cooked" which evokes the *cooking_creation* frame. This common situation involves two roles which are also distinguished in the sentence: the cook and the produced food. These two are referred to as frame elements. (Ruppenhofer, J., Ellsworth, M., Petruck, M. R., Johnson, C. R., & Scheffczyk, J. 2016)

Frames may express semantic relationships. The relationship this article focuses on is that of the subframes, which implies that separate frames (subframes) are related to complex frames via the subframe relations. According to the FrameNet project, for example, *Criminal_process* frame has the following subframes: arrest, arraignment, trial, sentencing, appeal. (Ruppenhofer, J., Ellsworth, M., Petruck, M. R., Johnson, C. R., & Scheffczyk, J. 2016:83-84). In this article, I concentrate on subframe relationships between frames and presume that non-related frames (i.e frames without the subframe relationships with one another) are used by the speakers to introduce humorous elements in their speeches.

Fillmore's semantic frames theory is more concentrated on the sentence level and is definitely verb oriented. This is logical as both the sentence and its meaning are constructed around the verb. However, if we speak about larger units, like paragraphs or discourses, these verb oriented frames may fade away or completely disappear. According to Minsky, the frame of one sentence can become

subsidiary in a larger story-frame. (Minsky, 1974:26) For example, let us take the speech "The hidden power of introverts", discussed below (see Example 1). In one of the humorous utterances, we have the opposition of frames "custom" and "being_detached". These frames are only important on the sentence level to see why this particular sentence is funny. However, in the context of the whole speech, these two frames become less important. There can be a number of frames used in separate sentences, but for the whole paragraph or text, there may be completely different two or three frames. For instance, in the mentioned speech, the main frame that defines the tone and overall meaning is "Who I am, Where I go". However, we don't see this frame throughout every sentence in the speech. Thus the article concentrates not only on semantic frame theory, but also uses Minsky's understanding of frames as bigger units that may carry out the idea of the paragraph or the whole speech.

Using humour in discourse is another interesting issue to investigate the ways speakers manage to influence listeners. Raskin's verbal humour theory focuses on semantic mechanisms of humour and portrays it as an extra-linguistic context of the linguistic unit. (Raskin 1979:325) The major goal of the researcher was to create a theoretical framework that would fit in a humorous context. For this, Raskin used the theory of scripts (also called frames) defined as the structures built in the mind of the speaker, used to describe standard routines and processes. As for the humorous element, it can be understood as the clash of opposite and non-relational frames. The text reveals a humorous element if the represented frames are not related in nature, but at the same time, as Raskin states (Raskin 1979: 332), all frames should be compatible with the text. (Raskin 1979:325) To illustrate this argument, let us take a look at example 2 given down below. It reveals a camping frame, which can be briefly illustrated as follows:

Camping:

=children participate in social and group activities

Subject: [Adults] [Children]

=children learn leadership skills

Activity: Socialising

=Group leaders monitor their achievements and social activities

=children come to camps to meet new

people

Place: Countryside

Time: Summer/Winter

Time: any time

Condition: Face to face

Condition: Alone

Reading activity:

Subject: [Person]

Activity: Reading

= Person reads a book, article etc.

Place: Home, school, café, countryside

Both of these frames can be compatible in the text because the logical frame of the utterance is not violated as both frames have similar elements. However, at the same time they are not related through subframe relationship. To make it clearer let us see what happens if we change the places of frames:

(1) *And I had this idea that **camp** was going to be just like this, (**reading**) but better.-*

(2) *And I had this idea that **reading** was going to be just like this, (**camp**) but better.*

The (1) is the original text the speaker used. He uses the camping frame that is changed in the (2) with a reading frame but, as we can see, both variations can be meaningful and understandable.

Overall, humour unites the speaker and the audience into one emotional setting. Izard argues that “emotion feeling at some level of intensity is always present in consciousness, influencing appraisals and other cognitive and non-cognitive activators of the sequence of emotions felt in the stream of consciousness.” (Izard, 1992:562) Following this argument, it can be claimed that experiencing emotion is subjective and is influenced by the unconscious emotional background of the individual. It is also worth noting that due to the fact that this emotional background depends on consciousness, it

acquires meaning only after some relevant experience that influences the adequacy of the specific emotion. For example, if celebrations, such as birthday parties, are associated with negative memories and experiences, their framing will evoke negative emotions. This suggests that similar situations can result in different emotions not only throughout cultures but also amongst individuals within the culture. In broader contexts, we can speak about the role of the ideas as frames that influence a listener's emotional attitude towards various contexts and situations. These ideas can be culturally implemented in societies and understood as cultural frames. Loseke borrows Jeffrey Alexander's term "symbolic codes" in his article (Loseke 2009:500) and also distinguishes cultural codes that are close to the term "cultural frames" used in this article. In the term "cultural frame" I imply the code of behavior shared by the members of the culture and therefore these non-written "rules" determine our actions and feelings in different contexts. Loseke also argues that cultural ways of experiencing emotions do not determine the subjective nature of emotions and perceives the culture as a tool of a set of resources. Therefore, rhetoric is emotionally persuasive by using symbolic codes and accompanying emotion codes. (Loseke 2009:500-501).

Another debatable issue concerns the belief that there exist basic emotion terms (Johnson-Laird and Oatle 1989:82). While discussing the subjectivity of emotions, it must be remembered that for each representative of a culture, perception of the emotion would depend on the subjective experience, and thus we cannot speak about the universal nature of emotions. Here we do not imply different intensities of emotional experience but look at the problem from the perspective of semantics. According to Wierzbicka (1999:3-4), emotion is connected to cognition and because of human nature, each culture categorises emotions. As well as this, these categorisations are influenced by and depend on the lexical network of the specific language. If categorising emotions is a culturally conditioned process, the role of the cognitive appraisal in the perception of emotion should also be taken into account. If we discuss the issue from this point of view, it will lead to cultural framing, because each person evaluates the situation cognitively, according to his/her own experiences. Nevertheless, one can always discuss the truthfulness of emotions. Lakoff and Johnson state that the human conceptual system is based on metaphors and as the truth is always relevant to the conceptual system, there is no truly objective truth. At some point, truth is always subjective in nature. (Lakoff and Johnson 1980:185). From this

argument, it can also be assumed that similarly, emotions can never be truly objective. Therefore, universal emotions depend on universal ideas that are determined by cultural frames or concepts.

Johnson-Laird and Oatley believe that human emotion depends on a prototype. Members of the same culture employ different prototypes in different contexts. But there is no prototype to express subjective emotions because they are understood as unanalysed primitive experiences. (Johnson-Laird and Oatley 1989:83) This argument about prototypes can be paralleled to frame semantics theory, where instead of prototypes, we speak about frames and their lexical units. Lexical units evoke frames, hence if sadness is a lexical unit, it represents one of the elements of many other units grouped under the frame.

Despite the angle we choose to discuss the problem, whether prototypes or semantic frames, it is important to note the idea that emerges throughout works of a number of linguists (Whorf, Humboldt, Wierzbicka and so on). This is the opinion that language determines the way the world is perceived. Thus, emotion cannot be studied from a psychological standpoint. If emotion is the result of the conceptual idea, then we should also determine the role of culture in it. We can assume that emotions are perceived differently in different cultures. Therefore, lexical units that are used to evoke emotions can be different not only from the point of view of the context but they can also represent culturally different varieties. (Wierzbicka 1999:24-26) This discussion, of course, doesn't mean that we cannot trace universal elements between languages, because there can be found natural elements that are independent of language and culture. As stated by Wierzbicka, in other aspects, for instance, in emotion or value categorisations, huge differences can be observed. (see Wierzbicka and Andor 2009:316)

In the examples given below, the speakers use non-related frames to load the text with a humorous element.

Example N1 (https://www.ted.com/talks/ron_gutman_the_hidden_power_of_smiling)

*In studies conducted in Papua New Guinea, Paul Ekman, the world's most renowned researcher on facial expressions, found that even members of the Fore tribe, who were completely **disconnected***

from Western culture, and also known for their unusual cannibalism rituals, (Laughter) attributed smiles to descriptions of situations the same way you and I would. So from Papua New Guinea to Hollywood, all the way to modern art in Beijing, we smile often and use smiles to express joy and satisfaction.

In this extract, laughter is caused by using the frame of “being_ detached” which is opposed to the frame of “custom”. Laughter is based on the juxtaposition of the images of westerners over the Fore tribe. As soon as this superiority is connected to the “custom” frame, it results in laughter, because it emphasises the opinion concerning the huge difference in cultural development between the two opposed societies. As well as this, the speaker uses another frame – “facial expression” to fully communicate the idea, that although being very different, these tribes are still similar to westerners in their attribution of smile.

Example N2 (https://www.ted.com/talks/susan_cain_the_power_of_introverts)

- When I was nine years old, I went off to summer camp for the first time. And my mother packed me a suitcase full of books, which to me seemed like a perfectly natural thing to do, because in my family, reading was the primary group activity. And this might sound antisocial to you, but for us, it was really just a different way of being social. You have the animal warmth of your family sitting right next to you, but you are also free to go roaming around the adventure land inside your own mind. And I had this idea that camp was going to be just like this, but better. (laughter)

In this example, the speaker uses a number of frames characterizing a certain way of free time activities: reading_activity (reading); social_event (social); Social_interaction_evaluation (animal warmth); self_motion (roaming), and opposes them to the awareness frame (idea) implying the similarity between the two different types of activities, in this case, reading and camp activities. The humorous element arises due to the completely opposite meanings between the two abovementioned ways of spending time.

Through opposing non-relational frames, the meaning of the utterance changes. Based on the clash in different meanings, it results in laughter that can be understood as humorous. In 5 speeches analysed in this article, humour was employed as the means to connect with the audience and to create emotional setting for the main idea of the speech.

Another aspect that the article concentrates on, apart from humour, is the cultural framing which along with humour creates an emotional setting. Therefore, the main ideas that represent cultural frames were singled out. These examples express different concepts than illustrated above, in that they are frames carried out not by one word, but the whole paragraphs and speeches. Unlike semantic frames, this types of frames are not concentrated on sentence level and represent bigger units of the text.

1. Human is the center of the world. *Beautiful new words to describe obscure emotions;*

(https://www.ted.com/talks/john_koenig_beautiful_new_words_to_describe_obscure_emotions)

E.g. Because remember, words are not real. They don't have meaning. We do.

This frame was present in most of the speeches and was used to motivate the audience and bring them to the state of the type of awareness when there is no other true reality rather than the one presented by the speaker. It created the intimacy and made people believe in the words the speaker used as the frame evoked the feeling of usefulness.

2. I am important therefore I am not alone; *Beautiful new words to describe obscure emotions;*

(https://www.ted.com/talks/john_koenig_beautiful_new_words_to_describe_obscure_emotions)

E.g....But in reality, we're all the main characters, and you yourself are an extra in someone else's story.So it made them feel less alone. That's the power of words, to make us feel less alone.

This frame stresses the need in people to be socially useful and important and plays on the themes of self-love and self-acceptance that itself is connected with the feeling of usefulness.

3. Who I am? Where I go? *The power of introverts;*

(https://www.ted.com/talks/susan_cain_the_power_of_introverts)

E.g. I mean: What's your purpose? What's your cause? What's your belief? Why does your organization exist? Why do you get out of bed in the morning? And why should anyone care? As a result, the way we think, we act, the way we communicate is from the outside in, it's obvious. We go from the clearest thing to the fuzziest thing. But the inspired leaders and the inspired organizations -- regardless of their size, regardless of their industry --, all think, act and communicate from the inside out.

What is the purpose of life? By using this frame speakers play on the essence of life and purpose and emotionally influence audience to become more motivated and therefore trustful to the speaker and to the implied message.

4. Do what you believe in; *How great leaders inspire action;*

(https://www.ted.com/talks/simon_sinek_how_great_leaders_inspire_action)

E.g. "I believe, I believe, I believe," he told people. And people who believed what he believed took his cause, and they made it their own, and they told people.

This frame inspires the listeners and plays with different emotions that motivate people for the future actions with the message that everything is possible.

These four ideas represent the main values of the society they have been used for. By using these ideas public speakers managed to deliver the emotional message simultaneously to each and everyone in the audience. This is the mechanism that we also refer to as *cultural framing*. Each culture has its own sets of rules and values and therefore the differences between cultures are represented on different

levels of social life. In order to communicate efficiently, whether it is a humorous message or not, it is vital to know the moral values of the society, to decode frames, audience needs to connect with the speaker to identify his reality with the speaker's and vice versa. But this, of course, doesn't mean that all the emotions are determined by culture. However, when it comes to persuasive communication and rhetoric, it is important to know which cultural frames to use to gradually construct the same reality with your audience.

4. Findings and discussion

The number of occasions of use of humour by the speaker was distributed as follows:

1. Beautiful new words to describe obscure emotions – 8;
2. How great leaders inspire action – 3;
3. The hidden power of smiling – 9;
4. The power of introverts – 9;
5. Why do schools kill creativity – 16;

Humour creates a feeling of enjoyment that is expressed by smiles or laughter. (Beeman, 1999:103) Expressions containing humour were used as a means to overcome the obstacle between the audience and the speaker. Humour defused tension and the speakers and the listeners switched to the same emotional setting. Following the humorous elements, speakers tried to introduce the main points or the problems of the issue covered in the speech. For example: in the speech - Do schools kill creativity? Which has the highest number of laughter compared with the other speeches, we see how the speaker changes the tone of his speech from using humour to communicating the idea and this cycle continues throughout the speech. Take a look at the following extract: From 6:22 to 8:10 the speaker continuously uses humorous elements and then communicates the idea. From observing the audience and the speaker it is visible that the funnier the joke the more sensitive and important it made the issue for the listeners. This was achieved by creating the sharp contrast between humour and its carefree character on the one hand, and the problem itself and its seriousness on the other.

Example 3. Do schools kill creativity

(https://www.ted.com/talks/ken_robinson_says_schools_kill_creativity/transcript)

6:22 *Actually, we lived in a place called Snitterfield, just outside Stratford, which is where Shakespeare's father was born. Are you struck by a new thought? I was. You don't think of Shakespeare having a father, do you? Do you? Because you don't think of Shakespeare being a child, do you? Shakespeare being seven? I never thought of it. I mean, he was seven at some point. He was in somebody's English class, wasn't he?*

06:43 *(Laughter)*

06:50 *How annoying would that be?*

06:52 *(Laughter)*

06:59 *"Must try harder."*

07:01 *(Laughter)*

07:05 *Being sent to bed by his dad, to Shakespeare, "Go to bed, now!" To William Shakespeare. "And put the pencil down!"*

07:11 *(Laughter)*

07:12 *"And stop speaking like that."*

07:13 *(Laughter)*

07:17 *"It's confusing everybody."*

07:18 *(Laughter)*

07:23 *Anyway, we moved from Stratford to Los Angeles, and I just want to say a word about the transition. Actually, my son didn't want to come. I've got two kids; he's 21 now, my daughter's 16. He didn't want to come to Los Angeles. He loved it, but he had a girlfriend in England. This was the love of his life, Sarah. He'd known her for a month.*

07:46 *(Laughter)*

07:47 *Mind you, they'd had their fourth anniversary, because it's a long time when you're 16. He was really upset on the plane. He said, "I'll never find another girl like Sarah." And we were rather pleased about that, frankly –*

07:59 *(Laughter)*

08:07 *because she was the main reason we were leaving the country.*

08:10 *(Laughter)*

08:16 *But something strikes you when you move to America and travel around the world: **every education system on earth has the same hierarchy of subjects. Every one. Doesn't matter where you go.** You'd think it would be otherwise, but it isn't. At the top are mathematics and languages, then the humanities. At the bottom are the arts. Everywhere on earth. And in pretty much every system, too, there's a hierarchy within the arts. Art and music are normally given a higher status in schools than drama and dance. There isn't an education system on the planet that teaches dance every day to children the way we teach them mathematics. Why? Why not? I think this is rather important. I think math is very important, but so is dance. Children dance all the time if they're allowed to, we all do. We all have bodies, don't we? Did I miss a meeting?*

08:59 *(Laughter)*

09:02 *Truthfully, what happens is, as children grow up, we start to educate them progressively from the waist up. And then we focus on their heads. And slightly to one side.*

Apart from creating the emotional setting which implied the higher degree of problem perception, it was manipulated by the speakers by using cultural frames that evoked different emotions depending on the topic of the speech. By using humour, speakers became more of an insider in the large group of people and in the end, both of their realities were merged into one reality that the speaker wanted the listeners to see. To this, we add cultural frames that carried the overall emotional influence on people and resembled the moral values and ethics of a society.

The study of the data reveals that speakers try to influence the audience using humour constructed by non-related frames. The role of using humour was to overcome social boundaries and to become the inner member of the audience community for the purpose to intensify the alertness towards the main issue expressed in the speech. Consider following extracts:

Example 4.

Do schools kill creativity?

(https://www.ted.com/talks/ken_robinson_says_schools_kill_creativity/transcript)

00:02 Good morning. How are you?

00:04 (Audience) Good.

00:06 It's been great, hasn't it? I've been blown away by the whole thing. In fact, I'm leaving.

00:12 (Laughter)

00:18 There have been three themes running through the conference, which are relevant to what I want to talk about. One is the extraordinary evidence of human creativity in all of the presentations that we've had and in all of the people here; just the variety of it and the range of it. The second is that it's put us in a place where we have no idea what's going to happen in terms of the future. No idea how this may play out.

From this example we see how the speaker tries to engage the audience into his speech, by simply asking them a question (*Good morning. How are you?*), followed with a humorous element (*It's been great, hasn't it? I've been blown away by the whole thing. In fact, I'm leaving*) and eventually by the main points of his speech. First it is interesting to discuss how he creates the humorous element.

*I've been **blown away** by the whole thing. In fact, **I'm leaving***– In this case we have two frames. The verb *blown away* evokes *Detonate_explosive* frame and the verb form *leaving* evokes *Departing* frame. These two frames are not related by the subframe relationship. Humour is caused by the change in meaning through using *Departing* frame because in usual cases something that is interesting and

pleasant for the subject doesn't imply leaving the cause of pleasure behind. By creating laughter the speaker reduced the tension between himself and the audience and prepared the ground for the implementation of his main messages throughout the speech. What is the reason behind this sequence? The speaker intentionally creates, as Minsky (1974) calls it, an instantiated frame-pair of humour-seriousness. The reason for this is to create sharp contrast and therefore raise the level of sensitivity towards the issue in the audience.

Example 5.

The power of introverts

(https://www.ted.com/talks/susan_cain_the_power_of_introverts/transcript)

10:14 And groups famously follow the opinions of the most dominant or charismatic person in the room, even though there's zero correlation between being the best talker and having the best ideas -- I mean zero. So –

10:28 (Laughter)

10:30 You might be following the person with the best ideas, but you might not. And do you really want to leave it up to chance? Much better for everybody to go off by themselves, generate their own ideas freed from the distortions of group dynamics, and then come together as a team to talk them through in a well-managed environment and take it from there.

In this example we see the similar case of creating humorous elements and communicating the idea. The humorous element is introduced by the following sentence: there's zero correlation between being the best talker and having the best ideas -- I mean zero. Humour is resulted by the opposition of *performers_and_roles* frame with *Possession* frame. After creating laughter the speaker introduces the main idea of her speech: “*Much better for everybody to go off by themselves, generate their own ideas freed from the distortions of group dynamics, and then come together as a team to talk them through in a well-managed environment and take it from there.*” In this case again we have the instantiated frame-

pair of humour and seriousness with the aim to create emotional setting that will make the audience to be more sensitive towards the issue the speaker wants to communicate.

Example 6.

Beautiful new words to describe obscure emotions

(https://www.ted.com/talks/john_koenig_beautiful_new_words_to_describe_obscure_emotions/transcript)

03:47 And when people ask me, "Are these words real?" I had a variety of answers that I tried out.

Some of them made sense. Some of them didn't. But one of them I tried out was, "Well, a word is real if you want it to be real." The way that this path is real because people wanted it to be there.

04:04 (Laughter)

04:06 It happens on college campuses all the time. It's called a "desire path."

04:09 (Laughter)

04:10 But then I decided, what people are really asking when they're asking if a word is real, they're really asking, "Well, how many brains will this give me access to?" Because I think that's a lot of how we look at language. A word is essentially a key that gets us into certain people's heads. And if it gets us into one brain, it's not really worth it, not really worth knowing. Two brains, eh, it depends on who it is. A million brains, OK, now we're talking. And so a real word is one that gets you access to as many brains as you can. That's what makes it worth knowing.

This example emphasises the way the speaker tries to communicate one of the main ideas of his speech – the meaning of words and possibilities that come with it - after using humorous elements(*The way that this path is real because people wanted it to be there*)created by opposing the *existence* frame with *desiring* frame, with the same purpose that the other two examples did.

5. Conclusions

The aim of this article was to study how speakers create humour for emotional settings in public speaking. The research showed that the humorous element was created by using non-related frames, the frames that do not reveal the subframe relationship. In the FrameNet project, subframe relationship is defined as the semantic interaction between frames, when one frame is more complex and its sequences of states and transitions can be separately described as a frame. (Ruppenhofer, J., Ellsworth, M., Petruck, M. R., Johnson, C. R., & Scheffczyk, J. 2016:83-84)

Public speeches provide great examples of how speakers use language to persuade and influence listeners into a certain way of seeing and perceiving things. The study has shown that humour can be the means of social interaction that prepares the ground for cultural framing and idea constructing.

As it was already mentioned, there is no such state as not experiencing any emotion at all. We are subconsciously always feeling some kind of emotion (Izard 1992). Because of this, public speakers need to first create a common emotional setting that is achieved by using humour. The next stage was connected to cultural framing. Because the listeners are considered to be members of one society, culture for them is the way to find common values. The speaker, therefore, tries to use these common values in order to construct a unified emotional state. As a result, the speaker and the listener share a common reality and mutually decode similar frames with similar meanings. As for the frames, speakers repeatedly used frame-pair of humour and seriousness. Creating contrast between two opposite emotional states made the audience more sensitive towards the issues speakers raised.

For the future study, it would be interesting to examine emotion as a discourse and based on the frame analysis framework, distinguish its social and cultural values specifically in the ways the gender issues emerge in public speaking. In addition, it would be interesting to explore whether there are lexical units that reveal a higher degree of emotional load. Hence, we could also ask questions about separate emotional categories of frames.

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Natia Zoidze

MEMORY AND TIME IN VIRGINIA WOOLF'S "ORLANDO"

Abstract

The paper explores the major theme of Modernistic literature, namely time. The topic is examined through Virginia Woolf's distinguished novel 'Orlando'. The paper aims to show that the novel is unconventional not only due to its revolutionary narrative form but also because of its tremendous interest in time. The main goal is to emphasize the memory and time in the novel and their connection to the twentieth-century views on time.

The key message is that Virginia Woolf creates the hero, Orlando who is given 300 years to live, therefore she challenges the bonds of time by gifting its hero supernatural length of life. Another striking fact which is given attention is that the main hero does not follow the Newtonian, objective time, his existence does not follow the clock time, but rather the psychological time. How does the main hero do it? With the use of memory. Memory in "Orlando" is divided into two branches, voluntary and involuntary, the latter I suggest should be broken down into two independent types. Into outdated past and the moments of being. The main objective of the paper is to conclude that Virginia Woolf's novel Orlando is, in fact, the representation of the ideas spread by Henry Bergson and Michel Serres. They deny the objective time and establish the notion of the subjective, psychological time where there is the duration of the moment and where the present is progressive.

Key Words: Psychological time, Moments of being, Outdated past, Duration.

Introduction

Human is a timely creature and it is not at the same time. Because of this, human always faces the problem of the dual nature of its existence. What is more real: what we are thinking about or what we can touch or see right now?

The establishment of the idea of linearity of time is linked with the invention of the mechanic clock. This in its turn influenced world enormously. In the 20th century, the issue of time fell under the spotlight of every field. Literature was not an exception. XX century writers began to alter the understanding of time, they have defaced the conventional time. It is a well-known fact that literature is always strictly connected to the external factors and therefore social-political trends are always drenched in modest proportions. It will be no exaggeration if we say that XX century expressed itself with the alteration of temporality.

Henry Bergson was one of the pioneers who expressed that physiological time is not a different type of time but it is the different perception of it. Physiological time does not follow the rules of chronology and linearity. It is interested in memory expectations, duration, and the intensity of the emotion, the redemption of reality, freedom of associations. As professor Manana Gelashvili notes in her book “the problem of time in Modernistic literature”, showing so-called “frozen moment” is a method for displaying spatiality by means of rejecting linearity. Astronomical period of time can become immensely big in the minds of human just as one single moment can realize and contain the whole life in itself. T.S Eliot rightly notes that:

“to be conscious is not to be in time” [Burnt Norton];

Probably meaning that time is abolished from the moment human opposes the eternity. Thoughts, feelings, emotions are beyond time, their intensity is not conquered by the tick-tock of the Clock.

This change influenced the way in which novels were narrated, their style shifted from conventional to the escape from conventional. “Time is a means of narration” Professor Manana Gelashvili mentioned the words of Thomas Mann in her book. This quote is relevant to Virginia Woolf as in her novels, time indeed becomes the particular manner of narration.

Memory in Orlando

Woolf is obsessed with one-person story description. All of her novels are developed around a particular character’s life. There are occasions when one character is even divided into several personalities and is seen from different perspectives. (As it happens in “Waves”). “Orlando” is not an exception. It is one hero story and it is an autobiography. As in all literary works, Orlando is built on partly real facts and representation of real people. Woolf never denied this and in fact, in her

diaries, she openly says that the main hero of the book ‘Orlando’ is the prototype of Vita Sackville West:

“... One of these days though I shall sketch here like the grand historical picture, the outlines of all my friends... it might be a way of writing the memories of one’s own times during people’s lifetimes. It might be the most amusing book. The question is how to do it. Vita should be Orlando a young nobleman...it should be truthful but fantastic (Diary, 3, 156-57);

Moreover, Woolf at the beginning of Orlando, notes that the book is dedicated to Vita Sackville West.

Novel is experimental in every aspect: in what is described-the content and in how it is described- the form. The novel is fiction, describing the hero, who was luckily given a huge amount of time to live, in particular, 300 years. This clearly demonstrates that Woolf attacks time.

Although there are numerous autobiographical novels in a literary world, it would be fair if we say that still, Virginia Woolf is the only author, who reveals such an intense interest towards writing the biography. She has written two biographies, none of them conventional. ‘‘The moments of being’’, the depiction of her own life, is the vivid example, of what she thought biography should be. Here she discloses her ideas about seeing people’s lives from different perspectives and the struggle to depict life on the papers. What we read in the ‘‘moments of being’’ is probably the foundation for the novel Orlando, at least we can say that her beliefs on how the person, who is not an objective ‘‘one thing’’, but rather ‘‘rainbow like’’ creature, can be described in words, in a story, in a book, in a novel.

Biography as it is defined by the Cambridge dictionary, is the story of a person, written by another person. Woolf thinks it is impossible to describe a person, no matter how accurate facts, the person on the paper and the real one, can not be the same:

“...on the one hand there is the truth, on the other is personality, And if we think of truth as something of granite-like, solidarity and of personality as something of rainbow-like intangibility and reflect that the aim of biography is to weld these two into one seamless whole, we shall admit that the problem is a stiff one and that we need not wonder if biographers have for the most part failed to solve it’’ (New biography);

Woolf also mentions that it is very questionable who deserves the biography and who does not. In other words, do we have the history of winners, when the majority of the population are not the winners? It is

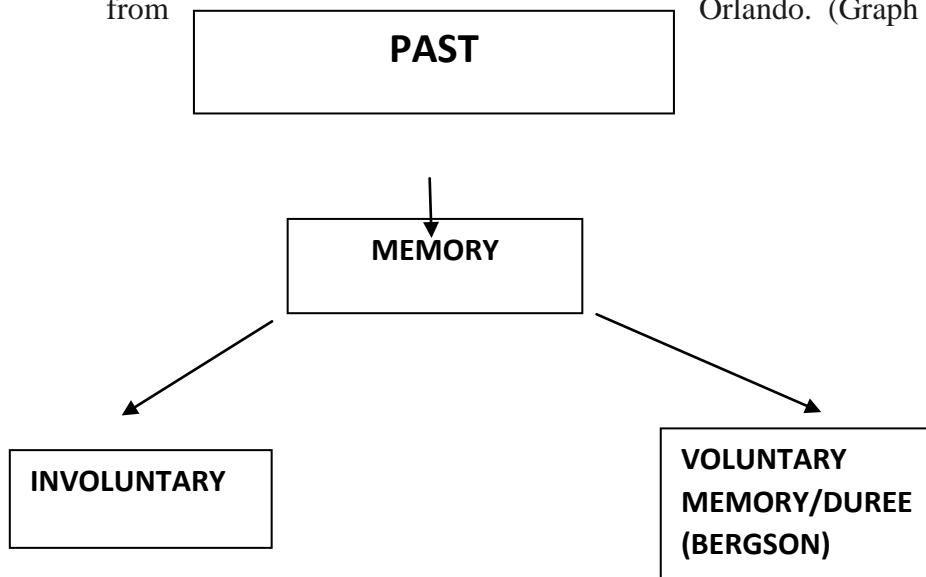
a very sensitive issue, therefore Woolf suggested fictional biography of Orlando, where she discusses her ideas about memory, time and identity.

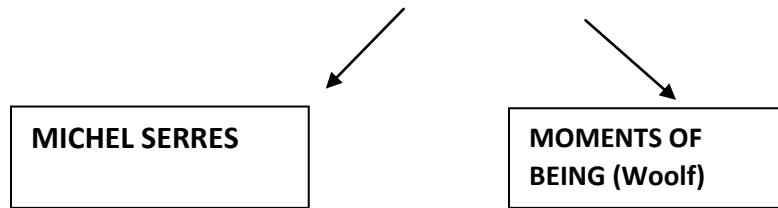
The key message of Virginia Woolf is similar to Henry Bergson's ideas on the time and memory, they both emphasize that memories do not stand hand in hand with the dates they happened in, but vice versa, they appear in front of us, only by means of their emotional intensity.

As I mentioned above the transformation of conventional Biography is one of the main targets for writing "Orlando". Woolf's style is a revolt against both: history and linear development of events. As Maria Di Batista puts it, the novel is a joke on History. The reader only understands this when finishes the book, "Orlando" ends on October 11, 1928. This has a symbolic meaning because, on this date, the book was published. The end of the book is, in fact, its beginning, the day when "Orlando" as a novel has started its life "sui generis".

Time in Orlando

The fact that Orlando is a biography does underline the importance of time past, which according to the novel is a representation of memory collections. I suggest the following division of these memories. They can be split into two major types: involuntary and voluntary memories. Voluntary memory can be linked to Bergsonian *durée* and further broken down in two: one discussed by French philosopher Michel Serres, and another so-called "Moments of being" by Virginia Woolf. Below I will discuss each of these elements separately and connect it to the examples from Orlando. (Graph 1.)





Involuntary memory is a type of memory. In “involuntary autobiographical memories” (Cambridge Press 2009) this phenomenon is described as follows:

“ Fortunately, our memory is not just driven by conscious goals and commitments to remember. Often memories of past events come to mind in a manner that is completely unexpected and involuntary. They come with no preceding decision to remember, with no plans and no commitment. They may suddenly pop up in response to stimuli in our environment or aspects of our current thought. A piece of music accidentally heard on the radio may stir an image of a moment in the past that we feel we have not thought about for years, or at least for a while”.

In Orlando there are passages where we can clearly see the representation of involuntary memory. Moreover, this phenomenon is compared to a seamstress:

“ Memory is the seamstress and a capricious one at that. Memory runs her needle in and out, up and down, hither and thither. We know not what comes next, or what follows after. Thus the most ordinary movement in the world such as sitting down at a table and pulling the inkstand towards once may agitate a thousand odd, disconnected fragments, now bright, now dim, hanging and bobbing and dipping and flaunting...” (Orlando, 72);

From this passage we see that Orlando endures centuries and still remembers the past. He often experiences the flashes of involuntary memory. The events that happen in present, affect her and she recalls the past catastrophes. Namely, during the reign of King James I, while walking through the streets of London, she remembers the harsh winter of 1708-09.

Another example of involuntary memory can be seen in the passage where Orlando is offered a ham. When Orlando tastes ham he experiences the pleasant sensational moment and he sees the image of her beloved Sasha, skiing on the ice, the women she loved so dearly nearly a century ago.

Another type of memory that can be recognized in the novel is intentional, or voluntary memory. I use this term as a synonym for emotional/psychological memory. Human existence in this world is always linked to experiences. This way, we can divide the whole life into segments of different experiences. However, each experience does not have the same value and the human mind only keeps particular ones. French philosopher Henry Bergson in his book "Time and Free will", 1913 explores the process of remembering, he explains that mind mostly pays attention to certain experiences that had high emotional intensity. It opposes the traditional understanding of time, in other words, humans do not experience clock time. Instead, they live by psychological time:

"But Time, unfortunately, though it makes animals and vegetables bloom and fade with amazing punctuality has no such effect upon the mind of man. The mind of man moreover, works with equal strangeness upon the body of time. An hour, once it lodges in the queer element of the human spirit may be stretched to fifty or a hundred times its clock length, on the other hand, an hour may be accurately represented on the timepiece of the mind by one second, this extraordinary discrepancy between time on the clock and time in the mind is less known and deserves a fuller investigation. (Orlando, 1928-72).

Virginia Woolf in the second chapter describes the life of Orlando, she says that he used to leave home being a man of thirty and used to return back a man of fifty-five at least. What nonsense, one might think, but if we think deeper, this is exactly what Bergson implies when he classifies the experiences. Woolf wanted to say that, there were times when Orlando was as joyful as 30 years old one can be and there were times when he felt at 55. At the end of this paragraph, Woolf says:

"Altogether, the task of estimating the length of human life ...is beyond our capacity" (Orlando, 1928-73);

As I mentioned above, psychological time is presented by two forms in Orlando, One resembles Michel Serres outdated past, and the other one is more linked to Woolf's "moments of being". Both of them, to my mind, are representations of Bergsonian *durée*. Now I will examine them separately.

Woolf's special 'moments of being'

In her unpublished autobiographical writings Virginia Woolf discusses that everyday life is formless and most of our time is spend on non-being. What she means under non-being, is the everyday things that require time and effort but are absolutely not important.

“One walks, eats, sees things, deals with what has to be done; the broken vacuum cleaner; ordering dinner; writing orders to Mabel; washing; cooking dinner; bookbinding. When it is a bad day the proportion of non-being is much larger...” (Moments of being)

Woolf says that there are moments in life, which have such a huge impact on our beings that we recall them and return them back on and on. This exceptional moments for her are moments of being.

“...These are three instances of exceptional moments. I often tell them over, or rather they come to the surface unexpectedly.” (Moments of being)

This theme is also reflected in Orlando. Just like in a piece of a classical music, there is a theme, which is one and the same through the work and there is a variation, which is the unique part of the work, the part that is catchy and is best remembered by the audience.

Similar to this, Orlando’s theme is drenched with lots of details that are not even important, but the variation is most of the time the passage from the past, the scene of skating Sasha. Probably because this is Orlando’s moment of being, in this memory, whether it is her or him, Orlando feels the most present.

Outdated past in Orlando

Michel Serres in the second chapter of his dialogue on “Literature, science, philosophy” speaks about time which is outdated. He implies that the past is only transformed into black, empty, already-passed outdated spot, because of our attitude towards it. In reality between what happened and present, there exists progress, and this can be regarded as the birth of a new time. Michel Serres also believes that it is wrong to regard present as the summit out of the chain of events. He opposes the linear understanding of time and the notion of time which is progressive. In his words, it is hard to understand the meaning of self-same time. Serres offers particular time-space, which can be seen in “Orlando”.

For Orlando past is never out-dated, in fact, it is a part of his present existence. In the first chapter, Orlando meets Russian princess Marousha, whom he calls Sasha. There is a scene, where Orlando first saw Sasha, she was skating on the ice, and Orlando could barely distinguish whether it was a man or a woman that enchanted him so much. This lovely scene became the memory that Orlando never abandoned. Not even when he changed sex and became a woman. In the second chapter, heartbroken Orlando leaves for Constantinople, where he goes through lots of different experiences, one morning he awakes and finds himself turned into a woman.

Despite the fact that physically Orlando is transformed from male to female, inside he never abandons himself, in other words, in spite of the change in sex, the memory base remains unaltered.

In the last chapter Woolf almost everywhere demonstrates that time is something that Orlando struggles with. Very often it is mentioned that Orlando tries to ‘sunk beneath the present moment’ (Orlando, 239). Woolf skillfully suggests the passage, in which to connect it with Michael Serres, the present is a progress and is not a summit of Orlando’s life:

‘‘ Omnibus seemed to pile itself upon omnibus and then to jerk itself apart. So the ice blocks had pitched and tossed that day on the Thames... ‘Time has passed over me’ she thought, trying to collect herself.... Nothing is any longer one thing. I take up a handbag and I think of an old bumboat woman frozen in the ice. Someone lights a pink candle and I see a girl in Russian trousers. When I step pit of door-as I do now,’’ here she steps onto the pavement of Oxford Street, ‘what is that I taste? Little herbs. I hear goat bells. I see mountains. Turkey? India? Persia? Her eyes filled with tears.’’.

Conclusions

The paper shows that Virginia Woolf explores memory and time in her novel Orlando. Two types of memory are examined through the novel: voluntary and involuntary memory, and the examples from the novel are linked with the ideas of Philosophers such as Henry Bergson and Michael Serres. We can conclude that Virginia Woolf’s ideas on time and temporality are very similar to the model of ‘‘ duration’’ and ‘‘progressive present’’.

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Nino Kuratishvili

AGGRESSIVE HUMOUR- SOCIAL NORM VIOLATIONS IN STAND-UP COMEDY

Abstract

This research examines the role of aggression in the frame of social norm violations in American stand-up comedy. The article includes jokes from four performances of two top-rated stand-up comedians analysed through the exclusively elaborated criteria that include the concept of ‘face’, ‘target’, frequency of use of sarcastic and ironic utterances and social norm violations. The results of the research show that social norms are extensively violated during stand-up performances, through the use of figurative language or without it in order to perceive the joke successfully.

The results of the present research revealed that violating social norms can have a very positive role in the successful realisation of stand-up humour. It builds a stable face for the comedian by empowering him/ her. The other very crucial function this strategy bears is the process of unintentional affiliation, caused by the act of sharing intimate thoughts and putting trust in the audience.

Keywords: Stand-up, humour, aggression.

Introduction

Humour is a complex social and psychological phenomenon. It is an aspect of social interaction that we are often exposed to. The notion of aggressive humour is not new. Freud (1960) was one of the first scholars who suggested the possible hostile nature of humour. In this study, we are going to discuss aggressive humour in terms of violating social norms and using aggressive figurative resources, such as sarcasm and irony.

Stand-up comedy is a contemporary and well-recognized genre of humour. It is considered to be the “freest form of comedy writing” that is regarded as an “extension of” the person performing (Mendrinós, James, 2004). The improvisation of stand-up is often compared to jazz music (George Carlin, Charlie Rose, 26 March 1996). A comedian's process of writing is compared to the process of songwriting (Woodward, Jenny, 20 Dec. 2012). On the other hand, a comedian's ability to “tighten” their material has been compared to crafting a samurai sword (Louis C.K., Charlie Rose, 7 May 2014).

The stand-up comedy routines are one of the most popular forms of contemporary humour, mainly in the form of television shows or live performances. This genre gives a possibility of realistic interaction between comedians and the audience and enjoys an intimate atmosphere in which one can observe the audience’s reactions, their approval or disapproval. Some recognisable factors are that both comedians and the audience are involved in live interaction and the members of the audience promptly react according to the quality of the performance. The event happens at a specific time and place, and there is spontaneous communicative feedback, e.g., laughs that approve or disapprove the jokes. It makes stand-up comedy a very distinctive type of communication that is not possible to find in other humorous formats. In television comedy series, for instance, “Friends”, “The Nanny” or “The Big-Bang theory”, just to name a few, the linguistic and non-linguistic interaction is neither spontaneous nor natural. The dialogues as well as the scenes, the situations and peoples’ laughs are artificially contrived in scripts; that is, previously planned, altered and edited. All of these reasons have influenced our decision to select the stand-up comedy genre as a valid data source to base this research on. The data of the study includes four performances of two top-rated American comedians. The readers’ attention is not drawn on the pragmatics of humour in this report. Instead, the role of aggression is discussed within the framework of social norm violations in establishing speaker’s face, and building relationships between the speaker and the listener which, in the end serves the effective communication of humour.

1. Theoretical frame of the article

1.1 Verbal aggression

Verbal aggression is defined as the “exchange of messages between two people where at least one of the people is attacking the self-concept of the other person in order to inflict psychological pain” (Infante and Wigley 1986: 67). Rancer and Avtgis (2006) summarize five possible explanations offered by prior scholarship (e.g., Infante and Rancer 1996) for the development of verbal aggressiveness: Disdain, social learning, psychopathology, argumentative skill deficiency, and genetics (i.e., predispositional traits). Specifically, trait verbal aggressiveness is defined as the enduring predisposition of an individual during conflict to verbally attack another person’s self-concept in order to inflict psychological pain (Infante and Wigley 1986). Verbal aggressive messages (the behavioral manifestation of verbal aggressiveness) are presented in the forms of character attacks, competence attacks, insults, maledictions, teasing, ridicule, profanity, and nonverbal emblems (Infante et al. 1990, 1992).

1.2 Aggressive humour

Humour has the power to both disrupt order and to impose order. For instance, joking can both be aggressive and promote rapport (Norrick, 2003). Holmes (2000) asserts that humour can be repressive as well as subversive. Boxer and Cortés-Conde (1997) also show that joking in conversation might take the form of either bonding or biting, and It can be deployed both as a means for superordinates to maintain control, and as a means for subordinates to challenge or subvert authority.

Michael Billig (2005) argues that humour is essential for social life, and that it is in profound ways connected to social order (particularly in the case of ridicule). He claims that laughter is rhetorical and that there is an under-analysed relationship between humour and embarrassment. What is embarrassing is typically humorous, and people do not only laugh with others, but also at others, and take pleasure in breaches in social order. Billig distinguishes between disciplinary humour, which 'mocks those who

break social rules, and thus can be seen to maintain social order', and rebellious humour, which 'mocks social rules, and, in its turn, can be seen to challenge [...] the rules' (Billig, 2005; 202).

These theories show that humour can be the part of aggressive communication and it indeed has certain pragmatic purposes, like socializing, showing attitudes and establishing one's self.

Holmes J. Marra M. *Humor and Leadership Style*. *Humor - International Journal of Humor Research* 19(2):119-138. DOI: 10.1515/HUMOR.2006.006

1.3 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 very different from the meaning that is ostensibly expressed. An ironic statement usually involves the explicit expression of a certain attitude or evaluation, but with indications in the overall speech-situation that the speaker intends a very different, and often opposite, attitude or evaluation.

Irony must not be confused with sarcasm which is directly expressed. Sarcasm expresses a certain meaning in a sharp, bitter, cutting, caustic, or acerbic manner; it is the instrument of indignation, a weapon of offense, whereas irony is one of the vehicles of wit.

1.4 Sarcasm

Attardo (1999) defines sarcasm as an overtly aggressive type of irony, with clearer markers/cues and a clear target (Attardo, 1999: 793). Sarcasm may employ ambivalence (Rockwell, 2006), although it is not necessarily ironic (Partridge, 1969) Most noticeable in spoken word, sarcasm is mainly distinguished by the inflection with which it is spoken (Irony. Dictionary.com) and is largely context-dependent.

Martin (2007) maintains that irony is where the literal meaning is opposite to the intended and sarcasm is aggressive humour that pokes fun. It seems obvious that using both ironic and sarcastic utterances can be significant contributions to aggressive language. Martin also claims that irony is not only used to signify something but also to perform a certain action. Thus, he considers irony not only as a semantic process but also as a pragmatic phenomenon; using irony gives the speaker possibility to express what they think or feel towards what they are saying. It is this „critical edge“, as Hutcheon (1995) calls it, that differentiates irony from such other tropes such as metaphor.

1.5 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”.

1.6 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).

1.7 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.

1.8 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 an 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.

1.9 Stand-up essentials

Stand-up comedy is a contemporary and well-recognized genre of social humour. It is a verbal communication between a single, standing performer saying funny things directly to a live audience. Stand-up comedians deliver humorous stories, jokes, and one-liners, typically called a shtick, routine, or set. It can take an amateur comedian about 10 years to perfect the technique needed to be a professional comedian. (Louis C.K., Charlie Rose, 7 May 2014); As maintained by Seabaugh, being a stand-up comedian is a constant process of learning through failure” (Seabaugh, Julie, 18 March 2014). That means that comedians try to push the limits, they sometimes take serious risks which may result in losing their Face.

“If Something is uncomfortable, go for it” (Sep 29, 2017). Louis C.K.’s 10 rules to success [in stand-up comedy] include 1. Welcome obstacles; 2. Fail to success; 3. Explore the uncomfortable; 4. Enjoy being responsible; 5. Be self-aware (Louis C.K. Sep 29, 2017). As it turns out, comedians’ responsibilities do not end on the stage, their statements are materials for tense public discussions and sometimes are thoroughly neglected.

In stand-up comedy, the feedback of the audience is instant and crucial for the comedian's act. Audiences expect a stand-up comedian to provide four to six laughs per minute (Nevins, Jake, 4 October 2017) and a performer is always under pressure to deliver, especially the first two minutes (Frances-White, Deborah; Shandur, Marsha, 2016). This example of constant pressure is another reason for comedians to be expected to be emotionally strong and steady.

The most obvious characteristic features of stand-up humour are its socially inappropriateness, aggressiveness and impoliteness. The stand-up audience laughs at the things that they would cry about at different occasions. Topics of stand-up jokes are almost unlimited. To make people laugh about such a serious topic as child molestation, for example, is not easy. Accordingly, there must be sets of linguistic and psychological strategies employed in this type of discourse which would help them to exercise control over the audience and avoid massive face damages.

1.10 Social norm violation – empowering one’s self

Norms are essential within societies and groups because they create order (Stamkou, Van Kleef, Homan & Galinsky, 2016). Accordingly, violating norms is disapproved because this can create disorder within the societies and groups (Feldman, 1984; Stamkou et al., 2016).

In some cases, norm violation could result in positive consequences, such as a gain in power or status (Van Kleef, Homan, Finkenauer, Gündemir & Stamkou, 2011; Van Kleef et al. 2012). This means violating social norms indeed can be used strategically by the comedians for certain psychological reasons, such as to gain power over the audience and to establish themselves as authorities.

According to the approach/ inhibition theory of power (Keltner et al., 2003), the powerful are relatively free to behave as they wish. High-power individuals encounter fewer social constraints and live in more resource-rich environments (e.g., money, knowledge, support). This activates their behavioral approach system, which is accompanied by behavioral disinhibition; they appear to act at will without fear of negative consequences. Individuals who feel powerful are more likely to act in goal-congruent ways than those who feel less powerful (Galinsky, Gruenfeld, & Magee, 2003). Powerful individuals are also more likely to take risks (Anderson & Galinsky, 2006), express their emotions (Hecht & LaFrance, 1998), act based on their dispositional inclinations (Chen, Lee-Chai, & Bargh, 2001) and ignore situational pressures (Galinsky et al., 2008).

This scheme must be helpful in detecting the role and share of social norm violations in stand-up discourse. Do comedians actually reveal the signs of empowerment after violating social norms and is it actually noticeable in the audience response?

1.11 Aggression – elevating one’s self

There are a number of definitions of aggression. The earlier ones focus on physical aggression. For instance, May (1972) relates aggression and violence to power. He distinguishes five levels of power: 1. the power to be; 2. the power of self-affirmation – not only to be but to be significant; 3. the power of self-assertion – I demand that you notice me; 4. aggression – taking some of the power of another for oneself; 5. Violence, largely physical. It seems that applying an aggressive narrative to their performance can be a crucial factor for gaining power and superiority over the audience. They may solidify their face by making themselves, respectively, important, noticeable and powerful with the help of the aggression.

Other definitions outstep physical aggression and suggest a broader perspective of the concept. Steinmetz (1977: 19) defined aggression as the intentional use of physical or verbal force to obtain one’s own goal. Steinmetz argued that aggression is based on the intentionality of the act, the success or failure of the act, the instrumental or expressive use of the act, and the legitimacy or illegitimacy of

the act. This definition suggests that aggression can serve as an additional tool for comedians to put their trust in. Aggressive discourse may help them to gain power over their audience and force them to act against their will, e.g. approve comedians' abnormal viewpoints about social norms.

Infante (1987: 158) argues that aggression is embedded within the context of interpersonal communication. He suggests that interpersonal communication demonstrates aggression if it applies force physically and/ or symbolically in order, minimally, to dominate and perhaps damage or, maximally to defeat and perhaps destroy the locus of attack, that may refer to other person's body, material possessions, self-concept, positions or topics of communication or behaviour. As Yule (1996) points out, if a speaker says something that represents a threat to another individual's expectations regarding self-image, it is a Face-threatening Act. Rusieshvili (2006) argues that sarcasm is one of the most powerful ways to threaten someone's face. Javier Contreras Armijo et al. (2011) asserts that sarcasm is the most successful way to make people laugh. Accordingly, applying aggressive humour with the correct use of figurative resources can be the ultimate strategy for successful performance for a comedian.

1.12 Group affiliation

Affiliation is a positive, sometimes intimate personal relationship (Zimbardo, P. & Formica, R. 1963). Under certain conditions, people will prefer and have an affinity for one's in-group over the out-group, or anyone viewed as outside the in-group. This can be expressed in one's evaluation of others, linking, allocation of resources, and many other ways (Aronson, E., Wilson, T. D., Akert, R. D. & Sommers, S. R., 2015).

Affiliation can include concern over establishing, maintaining, or restoring a positive affective relationship with another person or persons. (Byrne, D.; U. Texas, 1 November 1961). As maintained by Tajfel et al. argues that people can form self-preferencing in-groups within a matter of minutes and that such groups can form even on the basis of completely arbitrary and invented discriminatory

characteristics, such as preferences for certain paintings (Tajfel, H.; Billig, M. G.; Bundy, R. P.; Flament, C. (April–June 1971).

Trust, intimacy, loyalty, access to sacred knowledge or truth follow upon secret membership (Simmel, 1950). These theories enable us to think that people can be affiliated on the basis of any type of shared viewpoint. In order for the comedians to gain the affinity of their audience, they have to make them members of their social group. If trust and intimacy are two of the most basic factors of being a member of a particular group, we can suppose, that every moment of releasing a risky [containing violations of social norms] joke can be counted as an act of turning the audience members into a particular comedian's group members - sharing one's skewed viewpoint on a well-established norm creates intimacy and can be a great example of revealing a trustful attitude.

1.13 Audience response

Audience response is a reaction of the receivers after hearing the humorous message, which is the only immediate way that the comedian can test or establish audience's approval or disapproval. According to Atkinson (1984: 21), good public speakers do not only "speak" but they manipulate the audience in order to elicit affiliative responses.

One of the most frequent audience's responses is laughter. According to Jefferson (1985:27-33), there are different forms of laughter such as "huh" or "hah" and is timed accordingly to the talk in progress and the corresponded social situation. He has examined how sometimes laughter is invited by a current speaker by the placing of a laugh particle upon completion of an utterance.

In his study, he found two types of audience's responses. The first response is affiliation which is shown with laughter, applause, cheers, whoops, and whistles. In addition, Atkinson (1984:21-31) claims that audiences not only react with one of the responses. It seems that they are ordered in quite specific ways. For example, applause emerge from laughter to show particular appreciation of the recent material. Other responses such as cheers, whoops, whistles have different characteristics. They are often loud and distinctive.

2. Methodology

The corpus collected for this research comprises four humorous routines that represent the genre known as Stand-up Comedy, namely: 1) Louis C.K. Live at Beacon theatre. One-hour show with the audience of 2500 people as well as TV viewers; 2) Louis C.K. Monologue – SNL. Saturday Night Live (SNL), an American late-night live television variety show broadcasting on National Broadcasting Company (NBC); 3) Bill Burr, “Why Do I Do This”. Recorded in 2008 - Stand-up Special. Published on Oct 25, 2017; 4) Bill Burr, “You People are all the Same” Published on May 7, 2017.

These routines were selected from American comedy shows. The humorous utterance segments were selected from each routine in relation to research purposes. They were later analysed based on the set of criteria and measured by the instruments elaborated for this research.

2.1 Research and Analysis Instruments

The central instrument for this research was the identification of the violation of social norms. Another relevant instrument included in the analysis was decoding ironic and sarcastic utterances as powerful figurative resources of aggressive language.

2.2 Data analysis

The data analysis carried out in this research involved several procedures. These procedures and the criteria were carefully selected based on several theoretical descriptive resources such as, sarcasm, irony, implicature, concept of ‘face’ and punchline. Components were sorted out with this order: the

type of utterance; implicature; apparent speech act; intended speech act; detected social norm violation; the presence of target; the identification of the punchline, implicature, audience reaction.

The initial stage of the research involved the selection of the routines alongside the repeated watching and listening of the television shows downloaded from Youtube. After the transcription process was completed, the next step was to carefully examine every utterance in the routines. All the humorous utterance segments were selected from these four routines and treated as specific data for the present research to the extent that they were regarded as the most representative utterances involved in the expression of aggression and social norm violations.

2.2.1 *Louis C.K. Live at Beacon theatre*

“I was thinking the other day, what if there was a baby who was born... and there's been a lot of fu**ed up babies, there's all kinds of babies born. There's been babies with, you know, that connected at the base to a dog or whatever; there's pity babies with three legs with hands on them; there's been Chinese babies.”

Type of utterance: sarcasm

Implicature: being Chinese is another kind of weirdness.

Apparent speech act: commenting

Intended speech act: mocking

Violated social norm 1: insulting children with different disabilities

Violated social norm 2: insulting Chinese nation

Target: Chinese people

Punchline: “there's been Chinese babies”

Audience reaction: applause; long, interrupting laughter

2.2.2 *Bill Burr, "Why Do I Do This"*

I have no hatred in my heart for gay people, all right? They're cool, they're funny, generally speaking, they're neat, you know? I got a lot of positive things to say about them, you know. [Once they] moved [into] your neighborhood the property value goes up, because they make it fabulous, right? They can't reproduce. So that I'm making more in the way [these] people [are] wonderful for the environment, god bless them."

Type of utterance: sarcasm

Implicature: the only positive thing about gay people is that they can't reproduce.

Apparent speech act: praising

Intended speech act: mocking

Face-threatening act: yes

Target: gay community

Punchline: "wonderful for the environment"

Social norm violation: expressing antipathy towards gay people

Audience reaction: applause, intense laughter

2.2.3 *Louis C.K. Live at Beacon theatre*

"I don't know how I'm gonna tell my kids... how the f**k you compete with that? How do you take a miserable person with no control over their lives (children) and tell them with a straight face: "ah, you can't do drugs, you can't do that, baby, all drugs are a perfect solution for every problem you have right now [...] drugs are so fu**ing good that they'll ruin your life.'"

Violated social norm: referring to drugs positively.

Audience reaction: applause, laughter, screaming.

2.2.4 Louis C.K. Monologue – SNL. Saturday Night Live (SNL),

“Child Molesters are very tenacious people. They love molesting child. It's crazy. It's like their favorite thing. I mean, it's so crazy, because when you consider the risk in being a child molester, speaking not of even the damage you're doing, but the risk-There is no worse life available to a human than being a caught child molester. And yet they still do it. Which from you can only really surmise that it must be really good.“

Violated social norm: joking about child molestation

Audience reaction: booing, long laughter

2.2.5 Pragmatic functions of social norm violations

Racism, as well as sexism and homophobia are the most highly discussed topics over the centuries and expressing such humiliating attitudes publicly is especially condemned by the society. Using racist, sexist and homophobic statements in their discourse, in our opinion, is a signal that comedians are not afraid of being excluded or ashamed. On the contrary, they gain a power as norm violators (Van Kleef, Homan, Finkenauer, Gündemir & Stamkou, 2011; Van Kleef et al. 2012) and get more congruence in achieving their purposes (Galinsky, Gruenfeld, & Magee, 2003). The same effect bears the ignorance of other social duties. As a rule, one is excluded from being a part of a society if being a bad parent or a rude neighbour, but not in this case. Establishing themselves as an authority help comedians ignore situational pressures (Galinsky et al., 2008) and act at will without fear of negative consequences (Galinsky, Gruenfeld, & Magee, 2003).

2.2.6 Use of ironic and sarcastic utterances

Intensive violation of social norms with almost equally intensive use of resources, such as irony and sarcasm is the ultimate indication that comedians choose to be aggressive and mean. They use these

figurative resources in order to strengthen their negative attitude towards a certain topic, e.g. make their discourse more aggressive (Sarcasm is "a sharp, bitter, or cutting expression or remark; a bitter gibe or taunt" (Boxer, D., 2002).

Pragmatic functions (empowerment, superiority) of the aggressive strategy and using irony and sarcasm help them to exert feelings of superiority and power over their audience as it is characteristic for norm violators according to Van Kleef et al. (2012). They create authorities out of themselves during each performance and gain more freedom to express their emotions as Hecht & LaFrance mention while discussing powerful people's behaviours (1998), say anything in any way, as it is characteristic for people in power according to Chen and Lee-Chai (2001) and Van Kleef & Co'te', (2007), and finally ignoring the risks of damaging their face as Galinsky (2008) argues while describing powerful individuals.

2.2.7 Audience reaction

The successful achievement of comedians' purposes is shown by the component, called - 'audience reaction', that shows high level of audience satisfaction and confirms undeniable success of almost every joke (even about such risky one as a child molestation) by high frequency of intense laughter and applause, sometimes with screaming and interruptions. People responded with intense laughter and applause (sometimes with screaming) even on such risky jokes as child molestation, killing children or physically assaulting old people. These results were quite expected to us, taking into consideration presumed pragmatic features of aggressive humour and social norm violations.

2.2.8 Group affiliation

Group affiliation can be another important factor in achieving more freedom and reducing risks of face damage. By sharing their skewed perspectives comedians force the audience to support them as in-group members do, according to Aaronson et al. (2015).

3. Results

Violated social norms included topics: racism, sexism, homophobia; expressing negative/ nihilistic attitude towards the concepts, such as, family, parenthood; ignoring duties, such as being a good citizen, respecting old people/ weaker sex; neglecting parental duties.

Out of 17 utterances selected we detected cases of sarcastic (2) and ironic (1) utterances; cases of face-threatening act in all cases (3) makes obvious the fact that the stand-up comedians selected for this study do intend to express humour by means of face-threatening acts inflicted upon the victim's face.

Cases of booing and laughter combination (1), long, interrupting laughter and applause combination (2); laughter and applause combination; (2); intense laughter and applause combination (3); laughter (3); intense laughter (1); laughter, applause and screaming combination (1); laughter, applause screaming combination (1); intense laughter and applause combination (3) show audience satisfaction.

4. Discussion

4.1 Pragmatic functions of social norm violations

Racism, as well as sexism and homophobia, are the most highly discussed topics over the centuries and expressing such humiliating attitudes publicly is especially condemned by society. Using racist, sexist and homophobic statements in their discourse, in our opinion, is a signal that comedians are not afraid of being ridiculed or condemned. These tools help the comedians to exert feelings of superiority and power over their audience as they are characterised by norm violators, according to Van Kleef et al. (2012). The comedians create authorities out of themselves during each performance and gain more freedom to express their emotions, as claimed by Hecht & LaFrance while discussing powerful people's behaviours (1998). In addition, the comedians express their opinions, get more congruence in achieving their purposes, and finally, ignore the risks of damaging their Face, and situational pressures as

Galinsky et al. (2008) Chen and Lee-Chai (2001) and Van Kleef & Co[^]te[^](2007), (Galinsky, Gruenfeld, & Magee, 2003) asserted while describing powerful individuals.

4.2 Use of ironic and sarcastic utterances

Intensive violation of social norms with almost equally intensive use of resources, such as irony and sarcasm is the ultimate indication that comedians choose to be aggressive and even mean. They use these figurative resources to emphasise their negative attitude towards a certain topic, e.g. make their discourse more aggressive (Sarcasm is a sharp, bitter, or cutting expression or remark; a bitter gibe or taunt (Boxer D., 2002).

Saying ,for example, that gay people are wonderful for the environment (2.4.2) is funnier and a more bitter way of pointing out that they can't reproduce. Comparing Chinese children to children with anomalies (2.4.1) is also more effective way to describe their 'weirdness'.

Pragmatic functions (empowerment, superiority) of the aggressive strategy mentioned above and utilising irony and sarcasm help the comedians to exert feelings of superiority and power over their audience as it is characteristic for norm violators, according to Van Kleef et al. (2012). They create authorities out of themselves during each performance and gain more freedom to express their emotions, as claimed by Hecht & Lafrance while discussing powerful people's behaviours (1998). In addition, the comedians express their opinions like the people in power (Chen and Lee-Chai 2001 and Van Kleef & Co[^]te[^], 2007), and finally, ignore the risks of damaging their Face as Galinsky (2008) argues while describing powerful individuals. It is shown by their selection of topics (racism, homophobia, child molestation, etc.), the ways of communicating them to the audience (sarcasm, irony) and responses they get from the audience (approval).

The joke about child molestation (2.4.4) for example, was publicly condemned in an American talk show "the talk" broadcasting on CBS, yet the audience responded with laughter, applause and cheer which is referred to Atkinson as 'approving' and 'affiliation' (1984:21-31). The racist joke and a joke about drugs were also 'approved' by the audience, without even immediate booing.

4.3 Audience reaction

The successful achievement of comedians' purposes is shown by the component referred to as the "audience reaction", that shows a high level of audience satisfaction and confirms the undeniable success of almost every joke (even about such a risky joke as child molestation) by a high frequency of intense laughter and applause, sometimes even with screaming and interruptions. As revealed by the research, people responded with intense laughter and applause even to such risky jokes as child molestation, killing children or physically assaulting old people. These results were quite expected to us taking into consideration presumed pragmatic features of aggressive humour and social norm violations.

4.4 Group affiliation

Group affiliation can be another important factor in achieving more freedom and reducing risks of Face damage. By sharing their skewed perspectives, comedians force the audience to support them as in-group members do, according to Aaronson et al. (2015).

5. Conclusions

The results of the present research showed that violating social norms do have a positive role in the successful realisation of stand-up humour. It takes part in developing the stability of the comedian's face, which ensures more freedom and reduces risks of Face damage. The study revealed two main pragmatic functions of aggressive humour within the frame of social norm violations. The first one is creating authority by making oneself superior and the other one is group affiliation, that provides one with the undoubtful support from his/ her group members.

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Appendix

“It's boring having kids, you gotta play kid games, you gotta play board games... You go like: “you got six, honey”. And then she goes[counting]: “one [pause], two[pause]” “it's just here, just go here”, that's just too heavy. “[Daddy], I'm learning”, “I know, you're gonna grow up stupid, cuz I'm bored, I can't take it baby, I can't, I can't watch it. I'm bored more than I love you.””

Violated social norm 1: ignorance of parental duties

Violated social norm 2: talking to kids without considering their fragile nature

Audience reaction: applause; long, interrupting laughter

“Sex is such a constant thing we choke. It's not even sex to us [men], it's just p***y. That's what we call it, p***y. It's such a compliment. It's not about girls or chicks, like it wasn't the 50s. There's no guys anywhere in the world saying: “let's go, meet some chicks and kiss them on the mouth and see what happens.” There's none of that: “hmm I sure would like to have a girl and my arm around a girl.” No, it's not, it's just pussy [...] it's not even some people's p***ies, it's just p***y like big pink balloon letters in front of our faces all the time.”

Violated social norm: referring to woman as a sexual object

Audience reaction: intense laughter; applause; screaming

“There is an old lady in my neighborhood [...] and her legs are... her legs are a nightmare! They're just white with green streaks and bones sticking out, and her legs are “ughh” I saw a guy with no legs wheeling by and he was like: “I'd rather just have air down here like I have to look down at that s**t.””

Violated social norm: expressing disgust towards old people

Audience reaction: intense laughter; applause

“I got an argument with this girl the other Day. [Have] You ever met somebody, like, within the first couple of minutes of meeting them, they feel like they can, like, sum you up. Just like: “[do] you now, what your problem is?” And you just have this unbelievable urge just to take her head and just mush it into whatever they're eating.”

Violated social norm: expressing urge to assault a weaker sex/ being impolite

Audience reaction: applause; laughter

“This is what happened, okay? She tried to say I was homophobic. I think this is full of s**t and this is the story. All right, we were in a diner, right? We just got done eating, okay? It came out I was looking down at the ground and when I looked up, there was like these two dudes like hardcore making out, you know, it's like I wasn't fu**ing ready!”

Type of utterance: sarcasm

Implication: gay couple kissing is such an unpleasant picture to see, that one should be ready for it.

Apparent speech act: commenting

Intended speech act: mocking

Face-threatening act: yes

Target: gay community

Punchline: “I wasn't fu**ing ready”

Social norm violation: expressing antipathy towards gay people

Audience reaction: intense laughter; applause; screaming

“One time I was at a swimming pool with my kids, a public pool, and I had my daughter, my six-year-old on my arm like this [showing a manner], she was like clamped on and she's kicking [...] it was so much fun and then she got off and another random child just clamp on it [his arm], like a rat, “get off of me!” “but I love you!” “no, you can't, stop it!” [acting out drowning a child (by him)] [to people] “I think the kid's dead, I don't know”.”

Violated social norm 1: expressing hatred towards children

Violated social norm 2: joking about a crime

Audience reaction: applause, interrupting laughter, screaming

“There's no story [...] honestly, tell a story about Clifford. Make something happen, well, maybe he steps on a policeman and shatters his spine and it's devastating to the community. He hangs on for two months and then dies and there's a whole, you know, funeral with bagpipes and everybody's crying and Clifford gets the death penalty and there's a whole book about his appeal process and how he found Jesus but everybody said it was bulls**t the cops' wife was like: “I want that dog dead!”. And then he goes to the chair and they shave all his red fur off but now he's Clifford the big pink dog and you put him on a big funny electric chair that the town got together and built.”

Violated social norm: giving children literature an inappropriate plot.

Audience reaction: applause, laughter, screaming.

“We saw a kid riding a bicycle down the street. you're never gonna see that s**t again you never see him playing outside. His parents just have him inside now man. they just feeding him and feed them you know, making them fatter and fatter, trying to make them unf**kable.”

Violated social norm: joking about children molestation.

Audience reaction: laughter.

“It's unbelievable, everybody is talking about pedophiles and all that type of stuff. I don't know, maybe that's moral nowadays, it's like easier now because the Internet, you know, cuz back in the day he had to work for it, right, you know you got to get an ice-cream truck. Let's figure out, when the kids got out of school you pick a straggler, you know I just go on the internet just google:

“WWWE Road””

Violated social norm: joking about pedophilia

Audience reaction: laughter

“How does this happen already? I'm 45 already and my as****le just like, my as****le is like the waistband on the old pajama bottoms just loose and ineffectual.”

Violated social norm: talking publicly about extremely intimate and more importantly, inappropriate topics.

Audience reaction: intense laughter

“I actually had the urge to elbow an old lady in the face the other day. No, it's not real I swear to god man. I was going to get off the plane, right? You know the rules when you go to get off the plane it goes row by row by row, right? And this lady's all like: “ooh I'm 90, I get to cut everybody, right? So, she starts waddling around me, you know, I'm competitive, I start boxing up right my luggage, I swear to God, I did this, I'm literally taking up the whole aisle and all of a sudden I just go around and she just starts waddling all around me! “

Violated social norm: expressing urge to assault old people

Audience reaction: laughter

“I don't know how you guys stay Married. How the f**k you do it? I know, you take the happy family photo, it's just sitting there, you know, you never just think of that, just someday, you know, just slam in the garage door in your head putting yourself in a coma for a couple of alone hours.”

Violated social norm: expressing negative attitude towards the concept of family

Audience reaction: laughter; applause

“They're relentless, they never Stop. And there's no reason for them to stop. You know why? Because you can't hit Them. That's what it is. Think about that, there are no physical ramifications for being an as****le when you're a woman.”

Violated social norm: expressing urge to hit a weaker sex

Audience reaction: laughter

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Nino Tevdoradze

LITERARY TEXT AS A TYPE OF DISCOURSE AND AS AN ARTWORK

Abstract

The article aims to focus on a literary text as a type of discourse with a markedly distinct character which is directly connected with its aesthetic nature. It is assumed that the heterogeneous nature of a literary text naturally brings about the need of interdisciplinary approach. As a discourse type it can receive treatment within linguistics, pragmatics and discourse analysis. On the other hand, as a work of art, since it shares the characteristics with other types of art, a literary text naturally falls under the interest of analytical aesthetics. It is emphasized that the recognition of the aesthetic value in literature definitely requires to acknowledge the particular relevance of literary aesthetics and its application to the study of literary discourse. This article introduces, on the one hand, the views of the scholars overtly claiming that literary discourse should be treated in the same terms as any other discourse, and, on the other hand, it discusses the theories supporting the idea of the separate identity of literature. In addition, the article also highlights the views concerning the concept of aesthetic value and promotes the belief that the latter - totally unique - stands apart from any type of value making literature aesthetic in nature.

Keywords: literary discourse; artwork; interdisciplinary approach; aesthetic value.

1. Introduction

This article introduces, on the one hand, the views of the scholars unequivocally claiming that literary discourse should be treated on the same terms as any other discourse. On the other hand, it discusses the theories supporting the idea of the separate identity of literature. Moreover, the article

argues that treating literary text no more than a discourse type leaves neglected its markedly distinct character which is directly connected with its aesthetic nature of an artwork.

The heterogeneous nature of a literary text naturally brings about the need of an interdisciplinary approach. As a discourse type, it can receive treatment within linguistics, pragmatics and discourse analysis, and, as a work of art, since it shares the characteristics with other types of art, analytical aesthetics turns out to be the very discipline which should always be included in the interdisciplinary field of research whenever the problem of its aesthetic nature is at stake.

Hence, the present article applies interdisciplinary methodology to combine the experience amassed by the disciplines studying a literary text as a discourse type – such as linguistics, pragmatics and discourse analysis -with the experience of the discipline taking interest in a literary text as an artwork - such as analytical aesthetics, and, naturally, with the discipline, which has always been concerned with the study of the concept of literature – literary studies. The article argues that the recognition of the aesthetic value in literature definitely requires acknowledging the particular relevance of literary aesthetics and its application to the study of literary discourse.

2. Discussion

In discussing the heterogeneous nature of a literary text, J. Johansen characterizes it as “a highly structured artifact, the product of a craft with a long tradition” ((Johansen 2002: xii) and notes that “its heterogeneity stems from the fact that literary texts are linguistic utterances communicated from an author to a readership at a given time under specific social and cultural condition... thus literary texts should be studied as texts” (Ibid.).

Like any other text, literary text is also produced in the process of communication and for the purpose of communication – it is created by its sender - author – and directed to the receivers – readers. But at the same time, as a work of art, it shares the characteristics with other types of art. However, unlike other types of artwork, literary works exist in a verbal medium. “Literature is not merely language: literature is art”, states S.H. Olsen in his work “The End of Literary Theory” (Olsen 1987: 72). The author characterises the dimensional nature of literary work in the following way:

“Literary work is an expression written or spoken in a language. It is a type of utterance produced by a speaker and presented to a group of receivers at a certain point in time. It consists, like any other utterance, of words and sentences grouped in sequence to form a meaningful message. This linguistic dimension of a literary work is in part a physical dimension. These characters make up the words and sentences in a language which the reader must know if he is to understand the work. The literary work, then, is, on the one hand, a linguistic fact.

On the other hand, literary work is also a work of art. It has aesthetic properties and values which distinguish it from other types of utterance, written or spoken. It is by virtue of these aesthetic properties that the literary work has a special claim on a reader’s attention as one of the great cultural goods, and it is the aesthetic properties which yield the value which makes the reader’s attention to the text worthwhile. The literary work is an aesthetic object or has an aesthetic dimension as well as being a linguistic fact”(Olsen 1978: 5).

However, such kind of view does not always prevail in contemporary scholarly contexts and a central debate among scholars, whether literary text should be treated and theorized as just another type of discourse without any distinctive peculiarities, or as a special kind of entity with a markedly distinct character from other types of communication, still continues.

Since literature uses language as the medium of its expression, linguistic theories and methods of analysis have been successfully applied to literary texts. The understanding of a text as a verbal record of a communicative act brought about the need to study literary text and literary communication within verbal communication in general. Through the influence of speech act theories, notably, philosophical pragmatic theories of J. Searle, J. Austin and P. Grice, literary works have been considered as analogies of utterances produced with the intentions of the writer. It has become a frequent practice to stress the relevance of pragmatics and speech act theories to the study of literary texts (See Pratt 1977). Within a number of theories of these disciplines there is a belief that all texts have “the implication of utterance” (Firth 1957: 226) - fictional dialogues, for example, can be explored in the same way as other naturally occurring dialogues in everyday discourse (see Burton’s study of the drama dialogue - Burton 1980). Many linguists and discourse theorists started to approach literature as a social discourse (see Fowler, 1981; Toolan 1990: 273-277). R. Fowler in the sociolinguistic frame examines how writers use language as long as their linguistic choices reflect and, at the same time, influence the society (see Fowler, 1981; Carter & Simpson 1995 : 10-12). Fowler’s idea about literature as social discourse

presented below reflects the standard view of those theories which hold that literary discourse should be theorized just like any other discourse:

“A written text, or a spoken discourse, is (among other relevant ways of looking at it) the mediation of a set of ideas using forms of expression drawn from one, or more usually, more than one, variety/ies. ‘Literature’ is not a distinct variety; any of the texts which are regarded as ‘literary’ can be analyzed as being built out of one or more varieties just as other texts are. Some of the varieties used in the constitution of a specific ‘literary’ text may tend to occur regularly in some, but not all, ‘other’ literary texts, but they are not restricted to ‘literary’ texts (rhyme and alliteration are found in advertisements); and ‘literary’ texts also draw upon patterns which tend to occur in ‘non-literary’ texts (conversation, news report). This stylistic overlapping and the absence of any necessary and sufficient linguistic criterion is well known though often ignored” (Fowler 1981: 21).

Further, Fowler decidedly proposes that literary discourse as any other type of discourse should be viewed as part of social structure:

“There is a dialectical interrelationship between language and social structure: the varieties of linguistic usage are both products of socioeconomic forces and institutions – reflexes of such factors as power relations, occupational roles, social stratification, etc. – and practices which are instrumental in forming and legitimating these same social forces and institutions. The New Critics and Formalist vehemently denied that ‘literature’ had social determinants and social consequences, but a sociolinguistic theory... will show that all discourse is part of social structure...” (ibid.).

Fabb and Durant also distinctly develop the idea that all forms of discourse operate within the social and political context and literary discourse is no exception (Fabb and Durant 1987:4). They argue that there is no reason to believe that literature can be separated from other kinds of written text:

“Over the last twenty-five years, there have been repeated assaults on the idea that literature can be usefully separated off from other kinds of written text. In the first place, it is difficult to identify any formal properties of literary language which do not also appear in the non-literary language. Secondly, in much modernist literature ‘literary language’ achieves its effects by code-switching between registers, including those of speech, and so embeds - and works largely by contrast with - varieties usually classified as non-literary language. Thirdly, it appears that both traditionally ‘literary’ and ‘non-literary’ kinds of discourse share a common range of properties when considered pragmatically, from the point of view of the kinds of communicative acts they perform” (ibid.: 6).

This pattern of thought, since it promotes the idea of the complete denial of the separate identity of literature, often leads to such an extreme as replacement of literary criticism with discourse theory or linguistic criticism:

M. L. Pratt states that as there is no qualitative difference between poetic and non-poetic discourse, “it is both possible and necessary to develop a unified theory of discourse which allows talking about literature in the same terms we use to talk about all the other things people do with language” (Pratt 1977: vii).

The above-quoted author, R. Fowler, in his book “Linguistic Criticism”, maintains that “Linguistic criticism is an introduction to the critical study of discourse; the chief emphasis is on those works of language hailed as “literary”, but I have tried to make it clear that all texts merit this sort of analysis, and that belief in an exclusive category “literature” or “literary language” is liable to prove a hindrance rather than a help (Fowler 1996: v).

T. Eaglton, a literary scholar, expresses the same idea in the following way: “My own view is that it is most useful to see “literature” a name which people give from time to time for different reasons to certain kinds of writing within a whole field of what Michael Foucault has called “discursive practices”, and that if anything is to be an object of study it is this whole field of practices rather than just those sometimes obscurely labelled “literature” [Eagleton 1983: 205].

According to H. Widdowson, “here the denial of the separate identity of literature is not only implicit in the inverted commas but explicitly stated” (Widdowson 1992: 185). He further explains that what Eaglton is saying is that “literary theory is emphatically not a theory of literature. It is a theory of discourse in general... Literary criticism is linguistic criticism. Its purpose is to examine how ideology is expressed, and control exerted, by means of socially determined discourses... Thus Fairclough’s exercises in what he calls the ‘critical discourse analysis’ of newspaper articles (Fairclough 1989) is...an example of literary theory in practice” (ibid.).

Literary theory has always been preoccupied with both studying the literary work and with the question of what literature is. However, there have been a number of shifts in focus from the beginning of the twentieth century onwards and different schools of literary criticism viewed the concept of literature from different angles.

It was a common practice for Formalism, particularly for Russian Formalism (Roman Jakobson, Viktor Shklovsky, Boris Tomashevsky, etc.) to regard literary works as standing out of the norm because of peculiar language use. Consequently, they believed that a number of formal elements, including rhythm, rhyme, meter, sound, imagery, syntax, etc.) made literature distinguished from other forms of discourse. The concept of “literariness”, first introduced by R. Jacobson, was considered to be the major object of literary science - it was “literariness” what made a given work a literary. “Literariness” was understood in terms of estrangement, i.e., deviation from ordinary language, referred to as “defamiliarization” (the concept first introduced by V. Shklovsky in his famous work “Art as Technique”) and “foregrounding” (a key concept for Prague Linguistic Circle, introduced by a Czech linguist J. Mukarovsky who stated that “the function of poetic language consists of the maximum foregrounding of the utterance”) (Mukarovsky 1964: 19).

New critics (Richards (1929), Brooks (1947), Eliot (1932), etc.) distinguished between the uses of the referential language of science and emotive language of poetry and argued that emotive language was primarily marked by aesthetic function and the aesthetic value was dominant in literature. In drawing a rigid borderline between literary and scientific discourse, Brooks, for example, maintains that poetry unifies and science differentiates: “it is not enough for the poet to analyze his experience as the scientist does, breaking it up into parts, distinguishing part from the part, classifying the various parts. His task is finally to unify experience” (Brooks 194). Influenced by Monroe C. Beardley - a philosopher of aesthetics, new critics try to analyze how the artifact works on the basis of the objective study of the “words of the page” and not the author’s intention or reader’s emotional response.

Both for formalists and new critics, literary work is a self-contained aesthetic object – an autonomous verbal structure and that is where its autonomy lies. In spite of its autonomy, they still believe that it is closely connected with the social world, i.e. never exists absolutely independent of social or historical implications. “You can never draw the line between aesthetic criticism and moral and social criticism; you cannot draw a line between criticism and metaphysics; you start with literary criticism, and however rigorous an aesthete you may be, you are over the frontier into something else sooner or later... I may begin with moral criticism of Shakespeare and pass over into aesthetic criticism, or vice versa” (Eliot 1935: 42). Mukarovsky’s idea presented below may serve a representative example of how autonomy of literature and its aesthetic value was understood:

“The dominance of aesthetic value above all other values, a distinguishing feature of art, is thus something other than external superiority. The influence of aesthetic value is not that it swallows up and represses all remaining values but that it releases every one of them from direct contact with a corresponding life-value. It brings an entire assembly of values contained in the work as a dynamic whole into contact with a total system of those values which form the motive power of the life practice of the perceiving collective. What is the nature and goal of this contact? ... As a rule, the values contained in the artwork are somewhat different, both in their mutual relationships and in the quality of individual values, from the complex system of values which is valid for the collective (Mukarovsky 1964: 88-89)...”Viewed in this light, the autonomy of the artwork and the dominance of the aesthetic function and value within it appear not as destroyers of all contact between the work and reality – natural and social – but as constant stimuli for such contact”(ibid.: 90).

In contrast to new criticism, reader-response criticism centers not on the literary text as an independent verbal structure, but on the process of reading literature, granting the reader the role of a “meaning realizer” and offering co-partnership with creation the meaning of a literary text, hence the concept of aesthetic reception becomes the dominant one (see Fish, S. 1980; Iser 1974). The adherers of this view believe that the aesthetic effects of a literary text can be studied only in the context of aesthetic reception.

Literary poststructuralism removes any distinguishing features of literature from other types of writing. For J.Derrida all types of writing can be read as literature or as non-literature – “any piece of language, oral or written, can be “taken as literature” (Miller 2001:60) and for Roland Barthes, all texts involve undifferentiated writing, “écriture” (Barthes 1977).

Philosophy of art has always been concerned with literature as art. P. Lamarque notes that if literary critics show a “marked reluctance to acknowledge the relevance of aesthetics to literature (Lamarque 2008: 1), philosophical aestheticians “readily accept a place for literature” (ibid. 3). The study of aesthetic characteristics of literature is an important subfield of analytical aesthetics, though it rests its focus on all types of artwork, not specifically on literary artworks and it takes very little or no interest in other text types and textual meaning. It is for this reason that literary texts are usually referred to as “works” or “utterances” within the theories of analytical aesthetics. These theories, influenced by pragmatic theories, treat literary works as utterances with the belief that “the meaning of a work ... is identical to its utterance meaning” (Stecker 2008: 59). P. Lamarque notes that “the emphasis on

conveying and grasping meanings distracts attention from more fundamental issues about what literary works are and what they are valued for. Significantly there is no intention debate about aesthetic description. If we are to pursue the possibility of an aesthetics of literature it will be necessary to move beyond a focus on utterances and their meanings. A radical shift is needed from the picture of an author producing a text, communicating meaning, and inviting understanding, to that of an author creating a work, engaging practice, and inviting appreciation” (Lamarque 2008: 13-14).

3. Conclusions

The considerations about literary text no more than a discourse type, as discussed in a number of theories presented above, indeed distract attention from more “fundamental issues about what literary works are and what they are valued for” (Ibid.), as Lamarque puts it. I cannot but agree that focusing only on “utterances and their meanings” may bring down literary communication to no more than a kind of linguistic communication without any distinctive character, though it does not make me espouse the idea of ignoring the fact that literary text springs from the same origin as any other type of discourse. From this it would follow that there is a need for the conception which will allow us to reconsider the whole existing picture of literary communication and which will play a decisive role in the understanding of many important concepts intimately related with literary text both as a discourse type and as an artwork. I do believe that “cluster conception”, a very recent conception, introduced by a Swedish scholar Anders Pettersson (see Pettersson 2017) allows for such a possibility. In introducing a comprehensive understanding of the nature of the text and textual meaning on the one hand, and the nuanced picture of the mechanism of verbal communication in general, the conception also offers the possibility for a fundamental treatment of many aesthetically relevant issues.

I find it important to take into consideration that if we ignore aesthetic principles in studying a literary text, we shall amputate the most important part of it – the aesthetic value, not reducible to any kind of value, a unique value of literature. Hence, the recognition of this value in relation with the problem that makes literature distinct from other forms of art requires to acknowledge the particular relevance of literary aesthetics and its application to the study of literary discourse.

I do believe that the combination of literary theory not only with linguistics, pragmatics and discourse analysis but also with literary aesthetics will give a fuller and more comprehensive

understanding of many issues concerning the multidimensional nature of a literary text as a type of discourse and as an artwork.

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Sopiko Gvritshvili

PERSUASIVE FEATURES- ARGUMENTATION AND PRACTICE IN THE COURTROOM

Abstract

Language is a powerful tool in communication and people can also use it while persuading other people. This article explores the concept of a general opening statement and the persuasive features accompanying. Employing certain linguistic features, lawyers are able to persuade the judge or the members of the jury to encourage them to view the events and participants in the light favorable for them. In addition, this paper examines the frequency of pronouns, phrases utilized to contrast their opinions with transitional phrases in persuasive argumentation. This also reveals the power of the language and seeks out to answer the following questions: 1. what kinds of pronouns are utilized in opening statements in the courtroom? 2. which other linguistic means are used in this part of the courtroom for persuasive argumentation? Finally, the paper emphasizes the role of the metaphor as an argumentative device and its contribution to achieving the final goal of the trial.

Key words: Persuasion, Perception, Features of language, Opening statements

1. Introduction

Language shapes the way people see the world and the manner they act on a daily basis. Language use and linguistic choices affect people to a varying degree. Use of language has influenced power positions of people and states throughout history as various language policies have been implemented, sometimes forcefully. Language is not only a tool to express

one's point of view, but it is also used to assert power and dominance in various situations. Making linguistic choices, can, therefore, be a political and highly challenging decision.

Language is a complex phenomenon. Its use depends on both the participants of the communicative act and the context. The background of the participants determines the vocabulary employed. Pronunciation and register¹ may change depending on the setting and the participants (O'Grady, Archibald & Katamba, 2011, p. 513). Most people are aware of how easily language can affect first impressions and shape one's views of a person.

Many members of the trial assert that the opening statement is underrated and overlooked part of the trial. The opening statement is one of the most essential components of any trial. It is the first opportunity to present the case to the jury and to shape the jury's perspective of the entire trial. The opening statement is also the first opportunity to present the case to the jury and to establish the kind of credibility that will persuade jurors to trust the testimony and other evidence submitted for their consideration. Therefore, it is considered that a good opening can set a path toward winning the case and the first opportunity to present the case as a cohesive whole. In addition, the opening statement starts this persuasive process.

Proper opening statements are not arguments, although occasionally they are considered as such. Opening statements are supposed to be limited to informing the jury of the facts the lawyers intend to prove. The temptation to argue about legal standards, make inferences, and speak in broad terms about justice and truth may be almost irresistible at times.

In the work by Charles Becton and Terri Stein, the function of the opening statement² is determined as follows: Empirical studies conclude that after hearing opening statements, 65 to 80 percent of jurors not only make up their minds about the case but in addition, in the course of the trial, they do not change their minds. Jurors do not makeup minds throughout opening statements before they have heard any evidence. This piece of incorrect information is usually attributed to the research of the University of Chicago Jury Project, but no actual source is ever cited, and all that the Chicago Jury Project found was that the real decision is often made before

¹ O'Grady et al. (2011) have defined register as '[a] set of linguistic structures that is associated with a particular speech situation; it may carry an association with a particular style' (p. 646) and style as '[t]he level of formality associated with a linguistic structure or a set of structures classified along a continuum between most informal to most formal'

² William L. Burke, Ronald L. Poulson, and Michael J, p.24

the deliberation begins. Most jurors reach a tentative decision at the end of the trial, after closing arguments, and most verdicts reflect the majority's tentative decision.³

2. The concept of opening statements

The opening statement is thus well established as a part of the opposing system, that it is the most likely to rise to the amount of a right. Opening statements can be defined in the following way:

“The practice of permitting attorneys to make opening statements is a practice long accepted as established and traditional in jury trials. It has the practical purpose of directing the attention of the jurors to the nuances of the proposed evidence in such a way as to make the usual piecemeal presentation of testimony more understandable as it is received”. (KASSIN & LAWRENCE S. WRIGHTSMAN, (1988).

The present research reveals that the opening statement does more than simply preview the story of the trial: it addresses the broader questions of the nature of society and the social order; stories must be told in a way that appeals to different juries, organizing evidence and choosing the ‘theme’ that emphasizes the principal point of their argument.

Some scholars define the "opening statement" differently. According to Bergman and Berman-Barret (2003), the opening statement is the first opportunity to outline the evidence planned to be offered to the judge or jury. Johnson (Johnson 2011, p.87-89) explains that the opening statement is the first opportunity to persuasively communicate with the jury without interruption.

Studies focus on particular linguistic technique or stylistic device in a particular case, thereby offering only a partial mapping of the genre. In addition, since these studies focus on the propositional and expository mode of presentation in order to achieve the transactional goal of winning the case, the role of interaction in the opening statement is merely suggestive and downplayed. To present a more comprehensive picture, this study will bring to the forefront the interactive aspects of the opening statement in a group of trials. In the

³ HARRY KALVEN & HANS ZEISEL, THE AMERICAN JURY 488–89 (1966)

present study, the opening statement is conceptualized as involving ‘fictive’ interaction (Pascual, 2002).

3. Data and methodology

3.1. Research materials

The data consist of the following transcripts (*Defendant Pleads Guilty in Vending Machine Business Opportunity Case United States v. Kevin M. Marks, District Court Orders PharMedium Compounding Pharmacy and Two Executives to Comply with Drug Safety Standards United States*) of the cases in American courtrooms and direct observation on the 4 trials (2 cases of Civil and 2 Criminal cases, 2019 where the opening statements are delivered for Civil and Criminal laws. American transcripts were given by the Department of Forensic Linguistics at Chicago State University and I personally attended the trials in Georgia and recorded them in order to explore the utilization of specific linguistic features. The comparative study of statements of the trials of the two above-mentioned countries made by prosecutors and defense counsels was conducted. In addition, it was interesting to explore what kinds of elements can be considered as persuasive features and whether they are linguistic or not.

With the effective structure, the opening statement provides the jury with important information. Furthermore, one of the most frequently used stylistic devices; Metaphor also appears in the context of persuasion. It helps to focus on the idea and make new semantic connections. The judge or jury link the rest of the argument back to the metaphor, and this makes it a lot easier for them to understand the argument. This makes statements much more persuasive.

To present a more comprehensive picture, this study will bring to the forefront the interactive aspects of the opening statement as used in certain trials. In particular, while the opening statement involves the lawyer as the author of the discourse, she/he responds to the anticipated doubts or challenges from the jury and the opposing side. In doing so, the lawyer

strategically structures the opening statement in a conversational frame, using a range of dialogic resources as an integral part of the genre.

4. Findings

As mentioned above, pronouns can contribute to the authoritativeness of the lawyers or judges, as they serve to emphasize previous claims, their roles in the creation of the discourse, and their identity outside of the courtroom. The overall frequency of interactive features (personal pronouns, 1st-2nd sing-plural forms, questions) reveals that they are an integral part of the opening statements, and are found in all opening statements (see Table 1). Pronouns (217 instances per 10,000 words) clearly predominate in the sessions of the trials. Within this category, second-person pronouns stand out. It can be explained in the following way: usage of second-person pronouns requires a certain sensitivity of judgment on the part of the speaker and, develops interpersonal meanings and might be associated with respect and formality in its appropriate public setting for both - Georgian and American trials.

This overt linguistic device displays the lawyers' pragmatic awareness to bring in the reader. At the same time, the lawyers frequently used the first-person singular pronouns (99 per 10,000 words) to project their role in the creation of the fictive dialogue. First-person plural form pronouns were also used to include the reader into the same group as the lawyers, or exclude them from that group.

Table 1. Frequency of interactive devices according to their semantic categories.

Features	Occurrences	per 10,000 words
Pronouns (total)	2000	17
1st person	200	2
1st person pl.	90	8
2nd person	300	10
Questions	100	1

A leading question is the one in which the attorney asks the question and suggests the answer, thereby crossing the line between attorney questions and witness answers. Such questions, were sometimes used (10,000 words and 8 per 10,000 words, respectively). From initial observation, it appears that the lawyers built a relationship through many types of speech acts, such as requests (1a), greetings (1b), and apologies (1c).

- a. *Could you give me leave now to observe ... b.I have the honor to attend you as Council for this prosecution. c. I am sorry to call back to your recollection ...*

Attendance on the trials with analyzing of the U.S transcripts present that first-person singular and plural, as well as second-person pronouns, engage the lawyers, judges or jurors in the creation of a fictive dialogue. Second-person pronouns are used to include the jurors as experiencers during the trial. The pronouns tend to occur with the verbs denoting mental activities. However, in reality, the lawyers do not actually possess such knowledge of the jurors' experiential and mental states.

2a. if you think he did not go round purposely and deliberately... the prisoner acted under the impression of the rage that that occasioned, then I think you cannot carry it any further...

2b. Audience, you see this letter orders the answer to be directed to him, You observe farther, that this letter gives great hints of something to be told very much to the advantage ... you see too, a great secrecy is to be imposed on the very person, whom, if guilty, it concerned only to keep it so.

In (2a), the lawyer used pronouns to anticipate and respond to a doubt that the jurors may have, while in (2b), the lawyer took the juror's mental state for granted.

- o *You observe farther, you see too*

These forms serve to represent the jurors as agents who willingly accept the lawyers' arguments or rebuttals as true. By using the second-person pronouns, the lawyers reminded the jurors that all the events at the trial took place for the benefit of the public, and thus the jurors should decide on the outcome of the case accordingly. Mostly occurring in the request for the verdict phase, this technique foregrounds the responsibility the jurors had because of their position, as (3a) shows.

3a. The law has called upon you to make so many victims to public justice; you and I have nothing to do with that ...

Second-person pronouns help relate the jurors' experience inside the courtroom to their experiences outside of it. References to outside contexts serve to highlight the similarities between what is happening in the trial and another experience that the jurors may be more familiar with and be able to connect to.

As it was revealed, expressions of 'as I *tell/have told you*' primarily served to make a new claim that the lawyer's previous account stood uncontested. This may have an impact on the construction of a coherent representation in the jurors' memory. Second, first-person singular pronouns foreground the role of the speaker in the creation of the discourse and were used to help organize the propositional information in the opening statement. The lawyer announced the discourse goals (4a) and managed topic change:

(4) a. I forgot to mention ... that at the spot was found not only a part of her ear...

b. Gentlemen, this is all the observation I shall make: I shall proceed now only to state what evidence has appeared with respect to the prisoner's motives for this act.

Using this pronoun, the speaker can align herself into one group or community that may or may not exist in the real world (Zupnik, 1994), thereby constructing a shared identity.

As a result, listeners will not question the speaker's argument and will accept that the speaker is genuinely speaking on their behalf. As to the opening statement based on observation of both Georgian and American trials gives the features that first-person plural pronouns are used in the following ways:

- First, they were used when the lawyers referenced themselves and other legal professionals as a group of specialists in legal matters, possessing the knowledge and evidence pertaining to the case.
- Second, the lawyers used first-person plural pronouns to construct a single homogeneous unit, presenting the narrative as if they and the jurors shared the same knowledge
- Third, the lawyers used first-person plural pronouns to draw upon communally held social values, thereby including social members outside of the courtroom.

The second person pronouns are mainly used for asking questions and addressing the listener. Some of the lawyers' questions, which are given below, were expository in nature, functioning to introduce a topic and providing textual scaffolding for the discourse to follow. The lawyers first introduced an issue, and then turned it into a question, to demonstrate their argument. This strategy makes the opening statement fictively interactive in two ways. First, the question–answer pattern can split the speaker into two communicators: the questioner and, in most cases, the answerer. Second, expository questions serve as an organizing device that provides text continuity (5a).

5a. did anybody escape from the house. Did anybody run out upon the alarm? Nobody: Was any body found in the house with any weapon of offence? Nobody. Upon the stairs; when they came in there she was. Did she give any account of any person coming in? No, but there she stand.

In (5a), the lawyer progressed in his narrative by means of a chain of questions, together with corresponding answers.

5b. it may be asked, if this is the description of the libel, why is it brought forward into the view of the public?

*JUSTICE ALITO⁴ :1 But in this case, **isn't it the case -- isn't it true** that the*

2 state court and the bankruptcy court held that

3 Taggart had returned to the fray –

*4 MR. GEYSER: They -- and that would –5 **therefore there would not have been a -- a 6***
violation of the discharge?

*7 MR. GEYSER: **If those courts were***

*8 **correct, but they were wrong.** Both the state*

9 court was reversed by the state appellate court

⁴ Case 18-489, Taggart versus Lorenzen. The Supreme Court of the USA

10 and the bankruptcy court was reversed by the

11 federal district court.

12 And I don't think it's enough the fact

13 that they had some judicial decision maker say that conduct was permitted.

14The question is did it actually violate the code?

15 Unfortunately, no, not for this case.

In (5b), and the following transcript a question and an answer were given to pre-empt the jurors' doubt. Attention to a particular aspect of the discourse can be achieved through questions and answers.

4.1. Georgian Cases

In the reality of Georgian trial system, specific speech acts (mostly greeting and apologies) are less common, courtroom language is more straightforward and it presents the theoretical part from the accepted Code such as give in 6a example.

6a. სასამართლო სხდომას გახსნილად ვაცხადებ, იხილება ქალაქ თბილისის მთავარი სამართველოდან შემოსული ადმინისტრაციული სამართალდარღვევის ოქმი და მასალები, მოქალაქე გ.ვ-ს მიმართ ადმინისტრაციული სახდელის დადების თაობაზე, სამართალდარღვევა გათვალისწინებულია ადმინისტრაციული სამართალ დარღვევათა კოდექსის 173-ე მუხლით, მდივანს ვთხოვთ მოგვახსენოს ვინ არის გამოცხადებული... ვთხოვთ ხელი მოაწეროთ გაფრთხილების ხელწერილს

In the light of recent events in Georgian court, the concept of opening statement is not well established in Georgian judicial process, and, without introduction of the opening statements, trial can be continued its whole path. For this reason, pragmatic nature is not fully revealed in Georgian court.

Observations on four Georgian trials (*2 cases of Civil and 2 Criminal cases, 2019*) showed that judges and lawyers employ personal pronouns, several speech acts, such as greetings, questions, and commands, as well as attitude markers. The opening statement is not separated, in contrast to US courtroom, and it is the part of essential discussion of the case for the Georgian trials. In this role, the lawyers addressed the judges or jurors directly or indirectly by anticipating their doubt and responding to it through the pronoun *you*, included themselves through the pronoun *I*, and established a sense of a shared identity or common ground through the pronoun *we*.

Below, there are the most frequently phrases used by lawyers in persuasive argumentation at the selected for this research Georgian and American trials and prosecutors. Some expressions such as **Phrases to Contrast Points** (*On the other hand, nevertheless, despite, in spite of, yet, conversely, instead, by the same token*) were used which deviated from an accurate definition of negligence. The main purpose of those terms is to make emotional appeals for sympathy for your own client, or antipathy toward the adverse party. However, you are able to discuss facts that have emotional content. These tendencies revealed in all above-mentioned cases.

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More details can be found during the observation of those mentioned countries and throughout this paper it would be valuable for the study if frequently transition signals/phrases were grouped along with the pattern of the words in the opening statements for both Georgian and American courts. They are integral part of the whole process in order to show whole picture of the case. As expected it is a way to guide audience from one thought to the next. Thus, the cases of the trials were compared with each other and revealed the most frequently used transitional phrases during the speech delivered by lawyers, judges and prosecutors.

Table 2. Most frequently used phrases for Persuasive Argumentation in the selected speeches.

Phrases to Illustrate Point	Phrases to Introduce Example	Phrases to Make Suggestions	Phrases to Transition Between Inform.	Phrases to Contrast Points	Phrases to conclusions
For instance for example, specifically, in particular namely, such as like	For example, thus as an example, the instance of, in other words, to illustrate	To this end keeping this in mind, for this purpose, therefore	Also, furthermore, additionally, besides that equally important, similarly, likewise, as result, otherwise, however	On the other hand, nevertheless, despite, in spite of, yet conversely, instead, by the same token	With this in mind, a result of, because of this, for this reason, so, due to since, finally, in short.

Careful attention should be paid to the quantity of employed transitional signals during the opening statements by lawyers, judges, and prosecutors and while presenting the opening statements. For clarity, the numbers of them were different in civil and criminal laws in Georgian and American trials, so study urged us to split the following table into two cases, Civil or Criminal law, and the numbers are given separately for G/A courts. We have obtained accurate data for both types of courts in each country. Specifically, the analysis of the data with the help of counting has revealed that the most commonly employed transitional signals for persuasion are the above-mentioned phrases, which reflect the frequency of their employment by the speakers during the

trials. The study examined the semantic prosodies of these phrases used to describe the invisible channel of communication between the participants. In particular, while the opening statement involves the lawyer as the creator of the discourse, she responds to the doubts or challenges from the jury and the opposing side. In doing so, she/he strategically structures the opening statement in a conversational frame, using a range of dialogic resources as an integral part in the 100,000-word opening statements of trial. Interestingly, civil law both for Georgian and American trials use the least amount of contrasting phrases (95). However, not surprisingly, expressions for a consequence or resulting reach the highest score (250). In the case of Criminal Law, the highest number of transitional signals (140) are revealed in using the word, accordingly'' and the explanation of this can be the following one: it may be defined as a dimension that includes features which refer to the ways speakers present themselves and showing or conveying their judgments, opinions, and commitments, acknowledging their uncertainties and including them as discourse participants. Since there is no complete consensus about the categories of stance expressions, the table that has been suggested by the study clearly overlap.

Table 3. Quantity of the most frequently used transitional signals on the selected trials

Transitional signals	CIVIL LAW G/A cases	CRIMINAL LAW C/A cases	GEORGIAN/AMERICAN (Separated)	
I am certain	80	100	25/55	45/55
დარწმუნებული ვარ				
Obviously	147	155	55/92	55/100

ცხადია				
Regardless მიუხედავად	112	85	45/67	35/50
Although თუმცა	95	88	40/55	35/53
Consequently შედეგად	250	120	100/150	50/70
Accordingly შესაბამისად	180	140	88/92	53/87

The lawyers considered that conveying their attitudes about the crime and the defendant was also critical in the opening statement and it is used for pragmatic purposes. This was wholly presented in the U.S transcripts of the trials when the lawyer repeated his defendant's speech during the presenting of opening statements. Further, in the case, the lawyer introduced his defendant's following sentence in a different way:

Defendant:., I told him to leave me alone, that I was tired''.

Lawyer:., She told him to leave her 'tranquil', that she was tired''. The lawyer managed to interpret the first clause pragmatically, by changing the 'tranquil' for, alone'. The questioner must maintain control of the answers so as to present a particular argument to suit his/her case. On this level, during the observation, selected Georgian trials did not reveal any interesting aspects; however, Georgian and American trials were coincided with pragmatic signification. Based on this, they identify three broad types of interrogatives:

1. Yes/No questions – elicit ‘affirmation or rejection’ offered in form of a yes or no answer.
2. Wh-questions elicit a “reply supplying g an item of information”
3. Alternative questions elicit a reply in which “one of two or more options provided in the question” is picked as an answer.

5. DISCUSSION

Paying attention to the purpose of using language in the opening statements, it becomes persuasive or powerful if the opening statements can present several key elements so that they can be effectively delivered in the courtroom. For instance, military terminology can be used, including both official nomenclature and simpler phraseology (e.g., “junior enlisted,” as opposed to “lower enlisted,” and “weapon,” as opposed to “gun”). They do not use law enforcement jargon because it is not straightforwardly perceived.

Moreover, the opening statement can be persuasive with the use of such persuasive device as Metaphor. Metaphors help to understand and explain complicated situations by creating analogies. In order to be effective, the opening statement should be outlined in well-structured elements. The important argumentative device help to express one side of a concept and obscure others. Furthermore, some legal expressions were strongly singled out which can be named as metaphors in law. , Metaphors in law are to be narrowly watched, for though starting as devices to liberate thought, they end often by enslaving it’. (Winter, 2008)

Legal concepts are most often than not abstract, as are certain aspects of our social reality and abstract concepts cannot be expressed in literal language, therefore figurative language in legal discourse is inevitable.

Furthermore, comparative research on the examples of Georgian and American cases showed that legal expressions often carry metaphors that are no longer perceived as stylistic devices but are part of the legal language as a system and they are the most common usage metaphorical expressions for both countries. Therefore, legal concepts are most often than not abstract, as are certain aspects of our social reality and abstract

concepts cannot be expressed in literal language, therefore figurative language in legal discourse is inevitable.

Furthermore, comparative research on the examples of Georgian and American cases showed that legal expressions often carry metaphors that are no longer perceived as stylistic devices but are part of the legal language as a system and they are the most common usage metaphorical expressions for both countries, thus:

“Break the contract”, there are “binding agreements” and “ripening of obligations”, whereas court proceedings are viewed as a war with a “defendant” who either “wins” or “loses”.

One of the example from the American court where the metaphor is used as perceive device in the opening statement is the following one:

*„ To stand before you now and address you in what is called opening Statement. Now, the opening statement is not opening argument, but it is just **That, opening statement. If you have had occasion to go to a movie, you Know that there is something called the previews of coming attractions, and That is supposed to be -- it is supposed to be a guide, a roadmap, if you will, What we expect the evidence to show. As an officer of this court and in the Course of my remarks this morning and maybe this afternoon, I would expect to tell you, as honestly and as forthrightly as I can, what I expect the Evidence to be. As the court has so appropriately indicated, what I say is not Evidence. It's just to aid you and guide you.**”*

This sentence reveals that at the beginning of his opening statement Lawyer Johnnie did not want to lose his jury’s attention to listen to him. It meant that he wanted to grab the jury’s attention. Therefore, he used the word movie as a metaphor to refer to his opening statement. At that moment, with the use of this word he tried to inform the jury by making an implicit comparison that he designated his opening statement as “a movie” which has the previews of coming attractions, something appealing for him. With the use of this metaphor, it means

that he also attempted to convince the jury that his opening statement is supposed to be a “guide” and for the jury to make a decision his statements mentioned below. He attempted to convince the jury that in his opening statement there would be evidence for the basis of making a decision.

Amongst the Georgian cases, several metaphorical phrases can be singled out during the opening statements: For the Georgian cases, some metaphorical phrases can be singled out during the opening statements:

„მამაკაცსა და ქალს შორის შედგა ევროპული ურთიერთობა”, „ჩრდილოეთის ირმის რქები დაადგა ცოლმა ქმარს”, „მართლმსაჯულების სასწორი”, „კონფლიქტის მკურნალი”, „მიზნები სასურველი ქონებაა”, თქვენი მოქმედება გზის დასასრულია”, თქვენ ვერ გაუწევთ წინააღდეგობას ქარის ქროლვას”.⁵

As a result, it should be taken into consideration such important elements for communication with others as given in a sentence “Who says what in which channel to whom with what effects?” Thus, Metaphor allows speakers to manipulate the information by presenting it in a very specific way, as changing the source domain allows the way in which the information is presented to be changed. Metaphor allows speakers to manipulate the co-speaker(s) and the listener(s) by influencing their perception of a given reality.

6. CONCLUSION

Since language is a powerful tool for communication, people can use it for various purposes. One of them is for persuasion. In the courtroom of Georgia and America, for example, through the opening statement, the lawyers use language to persuade the jury that their client is right and should win the case. For this fact, the lawyers have to pay better attention to how they can use their language persuasively or powerfully with the usage of pronouns. In the courtroom, in order to be persuasive in the trial opening statement, it is important for the

⁵ For English:

"European Relations Between Men and Women", " His Wife embrace North Deer Horns ", "Judiciary Scale", "Counselor Treatment", „Purposes are Desired Possessions”, „The End of Action is the End of the Path”, „Resist the winds of change”.

lawyers to take some elements or factors considered here as persuasive features into their account such as concrete transitional phrases for argumentation. Contrastingly, together with these sections, their opening statements must contain the theme of the case and damages that are delivered in persuasive language with the use of such persuasive devices as a metaphor. Therefore, the speaker must be thinking quite logically if she knows how to manage other people's perceptions...

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**MULTIMODAL, FILMIC METAPHORS AND THEIR INTERPRETATION PROCESS IN
SILENT FILMS**

Abstract

This paper explores the decoding process of a multimodal metaphor in silent films and discusses the results of ignoring the linguistic characteristics of the context. In addition, the conceptual and linguistic basis of a filmic metaphor is examined and the emphasis is put on the background knowledge and an emotional mood of a decoder. The data-based analysis and survey as well as the comparative method were used to analyse the findings of the research.

The aims of the paper are as follows:

1. To show the significance of the imagination, background knowledge and emotional mood of a decoder during the interpretation process of a filmic metaphor.
2. To reveal the consequences of ignoring the connection of the filmic metaphor and its linguistic context due to the importance of verbal metaphor and its conceptual significance.
3. To explore the character of the metaphor usage in Georgian (Republic) and American films considering the fact that the filmic metaphor either reveals or lacks its formal characteristics.
4. To define multimodal metaphor and its non-verbal characteristics;
5. Whittock's definition of a filmic metaphor and its isolation from the verbal conception; the theory of Uznadze discussing the role of emotional mood while decoding a metaphor, the suggestions of Roland Barthes concerning the varieties of narration.

The empirical data of this paper embrace the relevant examples from Georgian (Republic) and American films.

Keywords: *multimodal metaphor, filmic metaphor, decoding filmic metaphor, decoder's background knowledge, Narration.*

1. Introduction

The theoretical basis for this paper combines the linguistic and cinematographic approaches in order to identify the function of multimodal metaphors in both fields. Consequently, the overall aim of this paper is to observe the transformation process of multimodal metaphor from the written text into the film and the specificity of decoding of filmic metaphors, which are taken from silent. The findings of the study are analysed using the methods of data-based analysis, survey, and critical analysis. The survey was done through Facebook. A specially designed questionnaire and examples (brought from films) were used to as the empirical data of the study.

Despite technological development, silent cinema continues to exist as a genre in the 21st century and helps the director to express his/her views and still maintains its popularity.

Silent cinema is characterized by the employment of the multimodal metaphor as it includes both- dynamic pictures and the written text.

According to Whittock's theory, filmic metaphor is different from other types of metaphor (Whittock, 1990). Whittock claims to differentiate theoretical and functional sides of filmic metaphors. The basic aim of Whittock was to single out the cinematographic function of the metaphor that includes both, rhetoric and imaginary functions. Therefore, the integration process of an individual metaphor from a written text into a visual picture underlines its creative significance. Whittock suggests that the structural analysis of a filmic metaphor depends on its romantic and creative basis. Therefore, his metaphoric analysis of filmic metaphor is closer to the classical narrative cinema. While discussing the theory of film, Whittock draws our attention to the fact that cinematographic metaphor is the manifestation of consciousness and rationalism. He excludes the possibility of surrealistic or unconscious characteristics of filmic metaphors. Moreover, Whittock claims that the decoding process of the metaphor is a result of an analysis of given facts. Here we have to mention that while discussing the above-mentioned theory, the author does not include the background knowledge and emotional state of the decoder. Whittock reveals the tendency to avoid linguistic connections while discussing a filmic metaphor. Therefore, the following questions arise:

1. Can the metaphor be decoded avoiding its linguistic characteristics?
2. What is the tendency of the above-mentioned process in silent films?
3. What is the role of silent films in the development of a filmic metaphor?

Montage as a cinematographic tool was first used in the USSR. The perception process of the filmic metaphor consists of the following phases: 1. Superimposition; 2. Verbal image; 3. Montage; 4. Cinematography.

Superimposition is the process when one object replaces another so that both of them are visible for the audience. However, we have to mention that nowadays superimposition is considered to be an anomaly in cinematography. Superimposition unites two elements (belonging to two different categories) in the same space. Superimposition in silent films used to be done in the film camera and required huge professionalism of a photographer. However, the invention of optical printer made it possible to produce superimposition at laboratories. Consequently this type of metaphor started to disappear from films.

The verbal image, on the other hand, is based on linguistic, stylistic expressions i.e.: metaphor, cliché, proverb, etc. It was manifested visually and was frequently used in the USSR cinematography. Stylistic devices including metaphors frequently appeared in the following types of media: art samples, posters, puppet shows. Nevertheless, despite their frequent usage, members of society still lacked the educational background to decode them properly.

The montage was considered as a necessary tool to express the concept of a film more accurately. It included two different objects set in separated special conditions and resulted in parallel associations in the audience.

Thus it became obvious that cinematography lacked expressive features which hampered the effective perception process. As a result, the basic focus was made on the surface of an image and objects were generally set in the same mode. Consequently, montage started to create more realistic images in films.

This study investigates multimodal/filmic metaphors and their interpretation process in Georgian and American silent cinema. The examples brought from American and Georgian films (made during the Soviet regime in Georgia) are discussed.

2. Narration in the written text and in the film

Creative work consists of codes and signs. A written text includes lexis, syntax, punctuation, illustrations and written signs. A film, on the other hand, consists of illustrative signs, gestures, oral speech, music, and cultural codes taking into account the lifestyle, time and location of its contemporary society.

Instead of syntax and punctuation, the film employs pause represented through pictures or performances. While the written text includes signs, the film consists of codes. Here we have to mention that a story in the written text is retold by an author while the director visualizes it. A film shows a story that is in motion and based on words that appear in a particular text. The text, on the other hand, uses another method while delivering the meaning to the reader. However, the common characteristic of the written text and the film is that they both tend to retell a story.

The narration in film is significantly based on the plot. As words are the most difficult barriers concerning the transformation into the film narration, the basic aim of the director is to escape the influence of the authentic written text.

Ronald Barthes underlines the importance of the narrative function (Barthes, & Duisit, Lionel, 1975). The distributional and integrational functions of narration are also worth analyzing in order to examine the process of visual narration more accurately. More specifically, the distributional function in the film occurs when some units correspond to other units on the same level. The distributional function in a film, for instance, would be running after the umbrella as this correlates to the moment of catching it (Section 5, example 3, “Umbrella”). On the other hand, the integrational function correlates certain units to other units at a higher level. An example of an integrational function would be the demonstration of wings that creates an expectation in the narrative concerning the moment when the actors start to fly (Section 5, example 1, “The Kid”).

In addition, for Barthes, some narratives are extremely functional while others are basically indexical. More specifically, he claims that functional narratives in films are mostly based on the written text, while indexical narratives demonstrate some psychological factors, atmosphere, performance, etc. Films based on folk tales, for instance, are specifically functional whereas silent films are mostly indexical (Barthes, & Duisit, Lionel, 1975).

3. Metaphor in the film

Whitlock takes a risk when he suggests turning a metaphor of the written text into a metonymy. It could lead to conceptual and perceptual disorder. Here it is worth differentiating the nature of a metonymy from a metaphor. Metonymy is the use of a term that has got close conceptual connection to the referred object. A metaphor, on the contrary, directly refers to an object or an

action to which it is not literally applicable. For further discussion, we can analyze a particular example of the research (Section 5, example 1, “The Kid”). The caption: “dreamland” appears at the beginning of the particular episode following the scene where actors find out that they have got wings. Here the words dreamland or wings do not necessarily mean a better place or Paradise. Quite on the contrary, dreamland and wings are the manifestations of the director’s ironic intention to emphasize the fact that paradise is hardly possible to exist on the Earth. Consequently, turning the given metaphor “dreamland” into a visual metonymy would lead an audience to misinterpretation as there is no connection to the literal meaning of the word and its particular concept.

The same tendency is revealed in structuralists’ frameworks although Whittock himself makes tries to dissociate himself from them (Whittock, 1990).

Whittock gives a wide definition of cinematographic metaphor and claims that it includes the following additional figures: comparison and hyperbole. Moreover, he puts emphasis on the fundamental principles of cinematographic metaphor and underlines the importance of creativity in language as well as in the film.

Recognizing the difference between film and language, Whittock suggests that film does not belong to the obvious grammatical category but rather includes its own regulations and combinations. Films demonstrate the combinations of moving images, sound, music, and language. In addition, the film includes several modes (visuals, spoken language, written language, sound, gesture, etc.), therefore we can define it as a multimodal medium. Due to the specific nature of the film, it mostly demonstrates multimodal metaphors (whose target and source are in different modes). What is more, the basic manifestation of a film as a sign system is its image that builds up portraits of audio-visual elements and shares the features of reflexive, real objects.

It is significantly important to take into consideration the internal (implied comparison) and external (interpretational) connections of a filmic metaphor during the decoding process. Here the audience plays a vitally important role. It must be ready to decode particular filmic metaphor correctly. The represented metaphor itself must be created in the manner to avoid some concept-related misunderstanding. In particular, the specific example of the research (Section 5, example 2, “Musicians”) is worth analyzing. In the given picture we can see that the performers are leaving the scene. More specifically, “Musicians” was Kobakhidze’s final work as an independent director. Therefore the internal significance of the filmic metaphor is to demonstrate the director’s intention to create a farewell scene for his audience. The audience, on the other hand, must have some

external (in this case: informative) readiness to interpret particular metaphor precisely. More specifically the audience must have some information about the director's biography so that to decode the given metaphor correctly.

Furthermore, an interesting metaphor can be considered to appear via the interaction of literary and figurative modes that are transformed into the cinematography and reflect the reality. It is important to note that inaccurate use of metaphors and destruction of the above-mentioned combinations lead to the incorrect decoding outcome.

4. Methodology

The study focuses on the examination of multimodal/filmic metaphors, their functions, and specific characteristics during the decoding process.

In his work: 'Non-verbal and multimodal metaphor in cognitivist framework' Forceville claims the following: 1. The theory of conceptual metaphor does not imply the existence of only the verbal metaphor; 2. Metaphor is more knowledge-based, therefore its major function cannot be based on verbal manifestations of a language only (Forceville, 2006).

According to the above-mentioned theory, Forceville claims that metaphor can exist not only in a language (as a verbal metaphor) but in any other creative work, art, gestures, and film as well. Some further studies concerning non-verbal metaphor approve the theory. While monomodal metaphor represents source domain and target in the same mode, multimodal metaphor refers to their various types of models. Forceville differentiates the following models: 1. Illustrative or visual model; 2. Oral or sound model; 3. Olfactory model; 4. Taste model; 5. Tactile model. The given models manifest the following 9 signs: 1. Illustrative signs; 2. Written signs; 3. Verbal signs; 4. Gestures; 5. Sounds; 6. Music; 7. Olfactory; 8. Tactile (Forceville, 2006; 2009).

Moreover, in order to analyse the image of a film, Whittock suggests using basic principles of filmic metaphors and provides the classification of their forms as follows:

1. **Precise comparison** (epiphany)- two elements (including their two similar characteristics) are juxtaposed to create a metaphor;
2. **Proved identity**- an object that reflects totally different object is called an anomaly;
3. **Replacement**- lost object is replaced with some external digestive expressions and examples;

4. **Diaphor-** diaphor demonstrates its contiguity in time and space and represents new type of connection between two objects that are not based on previous similarities or combinations. In order to give more precise interpretation of particular diaphor audience must be ready for a genre, style and the manner of performing;
5. **Metonymy-** metonymy vanishes particular aspects of objects and creates their existing or contextual connections to reality;
6. **Synecdoche-** similar to the metonymy, synecdoche appears in the combination of other tropes. It creates more difficult type of metaphor. Synecdoche is perceivable more than contextual;
7. **Object correlative-** object correlative occurs when particular object is associated with the characteristics of another object or given events. It is defined as a subtype of contextual metonymy;
8. **Anomaly** (hyperbole, caricature)- is deliberately created form of an anomaly with some further expectations;
9. **Replacement** – occurs after particular object replaces the expected element and has an impact on previous or existing connections in a film.
10. **Melody** (parallelism) - creates such unexpected or formal parallels as: rhyme, rhythm, grammar, etc. Sudden loud music, for instance, in Charlie Chaplin's film ("The Kid") is the demonstration of coming threat.

The examples of filmic and multimodal metaphors in the study are brought from Georgian and American silent films. Specific survey was done on social networking site such as Facebook to examine the interpretation process of multimodal-filmic metaphor more fundamentally. The aim of the survey was to discuss the interpretation process of multimodal/filmic metaphors in practice. Moreover, it would be interesting to examine the decoding process (of multimodal/filmic metaphor) of those people who are not linguists or philologists. The survey aimed to investigate the influence of emotional or educational background during metaphor decoding process. Consequently it was significantly important that some respondents were not influenced by their educational background. The questionnaire (including the examples from films analysed below) was used to collect the empirical data for the study. Overall 25 respondents participated in the survey (age: 20-35, 9 males, 16 females). Here we have to mention that only three of the respondents were philologists and

acknowledged metaphor as a linguistic phenomenon. The questionnaire included the following questions:

Question 1: What is your profession?

Question 2: What is your interpretation of „wings“ in episode 1?

Question 3: What type of person do you consider yourself - emotional or rational?

Question 4: What is your interpretation of the final scene of “Musicians”?

Question 5: Does the umbrella bring defensive emotions to you or can it be associated with the process of following one’s dream?

According to the results of the survey all of the respondents (25 altogether), 15 respondents considered themselves to be rational personalities whereas 10 respondents thought to be more emotional than rational. Moreover, all of the respondents interpreted wings as the symbol of an angel (example 1, The Kid). This could be explained with the fact that all of the respondents are from Christian countries. Moreover, the demonstrated wings are characterized by Christianity more.

According to the results of the survey all of the respondents, it turned out that 15 respondents considered themselves to be rational personalities whereas 10 respondents thought to be more emotional than rational people. Moreover, all of the respondents interpreted "wings" as the symbol of an angel (example 1, The Kid). This could be explained with the fact that all of the respondents are from Christian countries. Moreover, the demonstrated wings are characterized by Christianity more. Below the given examples make a clear difference between the appearance of Christian and Muslim angels. It is worth mentioning that only three of the respondents could decode the filmic metaphor (example 2, “Musicians”) precisely as they had some information about the director’s biography. In addition, rational respondents interpreted umbrella (example 3, “Umbrella) as a protective mechanism. On the contrary, umbrella was associated with the dream for those respondents who did not consider themselves as rational.

5. Results and Discussion

The findings of the study aim to underline the significance of the background knowledge, skill and emotional mood of the decoder during the interpretation process of filmic metaphor. It is also obvious that there is strong connection between filmic metaphor and its linguistic context.

For further analysis, cardinal and catalyst functions of a sign should be mentioned in order to investigate its transformation process from written text into a film. The cardinal function of a sign can be defined as the perception of meaning in a written text. Cardinal and catalyst functions can be transformed into a film as follows: the basic event of a written text could be changed in film i.e. happy ending instead of a dramatic one. Catalyst functions underline small events (i.e. a dinner could play the basic role in a plot) and give an important function to the written text.

Thus as cardinal and catalyst functions are not drastically connected to the written text, their linguistic-related audio-visual transformation is possible.

Although it is clear that a metaphor can be transformed from the written text into the film and thus become visual, in frequent cases we might face some misunderstandings during the decoding process. A question arises: is it possible to separate a filmic metaphor from its conceptual connection?

Example (1)



The given example provides some solutions to the above-mentioned question. The example is brought from the silent cinema film: “The Kid”. In the picture we can see the main character (acted by Charlie Chaplin) who wakes up in a kind of dreamland. The character finds out that people have become kind and they have got wings, just like angels. Here wings can be decoded as a multimodal visual metaphor of an angel. First of all, large, white wings are mostly associated with angels who live in Paradise. On the other hand, the audience can read a caption: “Dreamland” before the picture appears on the screen. The caption might be decoded as the Paradise (source domain). In addition, if we define the conceptual meaning of the word Paradise, we will agree that it is a better

place to live. We must still take into account the fact that the decoding process depends on the educational background and the belief of a decoder. Wings, on the other hand, are representation of the visual metaphor that functions as as a target domain. Therefore, in order to decode wings precisely in the given example, we should base ourselves on the biblical allusion. As well as this, successful decoding process of the filmic metaphor depends on the educational background, context, social register, age, etc. of a decoder. Moreover, the main plot of a film should be taken into account to decode a filmic metaphor precisely. In particular, the basic line of the film (“The Kid”) is the burlesque of the main character’s drama who is continually meeting his misfortune. In addition, it is worth mentioning that dreamland and paradise appear only in the dream of the main character. Therefore the director must have put an emphasis on the fact that perfect and totally peaceful reality does not exist. Thus without taking into account the main plot of a film, filmic metaphor could be misinterpreted. Therefore the interpretation process of given metaphors (dreamland, wings) embodies in the phases of conceptual connection of the caption (dreamland) to the visual picture (wings); their biblical allusions, taking into account the main plot of the film.

Another example is brought from the Georgian film: “Musicians” directed by Mikheil Kobakhidze.

Example (2)



The given picture demonstrates the finale of a film. At first glance, it appears as if the actors in the picture are just dancing or performing. In reality, the performers are leaving the scene to demonstrate the secret intention of the director.

Without knowing some information from the biography of the film director, it is hardly possible to decode the given example correctly. Mikheil Kobakhidze was an independent director and managed to express his own viewpoints through his films. The reason he chose silent cinema as a

genre could be hidden in its specific characteristics. Silent films provide limitless space and more opportunities to survive censorship. Nevertheless, Mikheil Kobakhidze could not survive the Soviet Union regime and he was forbidden to work as a director as his films were considered to be rebellious. Knowing that never again he would be able to work as an independent director, Mikheil Kobakhidze decided to create this farewell scene. Taking into account the brief description of this episode from the director's biography, it becomes easier to understand that the performers are leaving the scene, probably, forever.

In this case, without taking into consideration the background information about the director, it is hardly possible to decode the given filmic metaphor properly. Therefore, we should take into account the importance of the background knowledge of a decoder otherwise the proper interpretation process will fail. The above-mentioned example has shown that without particular background knowledge the filmic metaphor could be misunderstood or ignored by the audience. Thus, if we ignore the director's gesture, the general idea and intention of the film will be lost.

Importance of multimodal, filmic metaphors for Georgian directors and audience is worth mentioning as well. In order to survive the Soviet Union censorship, secretly hidden filmic metaphor was the only way left for directors of the period. That way they could express their opinions and establish or maintain some connection to the audience. Therefore we can claim that filmic metaphor serves a kind of bridge built between the Georgian society and directors and encouraged both parties to maintain their free spirit and cultural identity.

In addition, according to the findings of the study, we can claim that the decoding process of multimodal/filmic metaphor is based on the emotional background of a decoder.

In his work: "Theory of Attitude and Set and The Psychology of Set" (Uznadze, 1940) Dimitri Uznadze defines the attitude as an individual's condition of readiness to act in a particular way. The attitude is vastly triggered by an individual's demands. Attitude and emotion are the catalysts of creativity. Uznadze suggests that any type of behavior is a result of the previous mood. Emotion an universal, unconscious psychic mechanism. There is no coping mechanism to control it.

Example (3)



The following example is brought from the film “Umbrella” (director: Mikheil Kobakhidze).

A young couple (a man and a woman) start to run after an umbrella in an effort to catch it. This simple task turns out to be quite challenging. The survey employed in this study has shown that the given filmic metaphor (umbrella) can be decoded based on various interpretations. Taking into consideration the results of the survey we can claim that particular interpretation of the metaphor depends on the emotional background of a decoder. Particularly, the umbrella by rational decoders can be perceived as a protective mechanism as its basic function is to protect against rain or sunlight. Thus rational decoders’ interpretation is mostly influenced by their own experience as they are focused on the functional usage of the umbrella. On the contrary, the umbrella can be associated with the process of following the dream. Several respondents of the survey perceived umbrella as dream that is so hard to follow and make true.

Therefore, it is obvious that during the decoding process of multimodal and filmic (target domain and source domain in different modes) metaphors, rational decoders pay more attention to real facts, whereas emotional decoders rely on their own emotions and beliefs.

Therefore, without taking into account the emotional background of the decoder, the message will not be decoded properly (source domain will not be directed to target domain) that will result in miscommunication. Thus the finding of the study suggests that proper decoding process of multimodal/filmic metaphor is highly based on the emotional background of a decoder.

6. Conclusions

The study has discussed multimodal, filmic metaphors and their interpretation process in silent films. The basic aim of the investigation is to show the significance of the imagination, background and emotional knowledge of a decoder during the interpretation process of a filmic metaphor. The research discusses the connection between filmic metaphor and its linguistic context. In addition, conceptual significance of multimodal metaphor was investigated. Several examples were analysed (brought from Georgian and American films) in order to find out the usage and interpretation process of multimodal/filmic metaphors. Based on the findings of the research, we can claim the following:

1. The interpretation process of multimodal/filmic metaphor is based on the cultural, religious, educational, and emotional background of a decoder;
2. The interpretation process of multimodal/filmic metaphor is sometimes based on the emotional attitude of a decoder;
3. The interpretation process of filmic metaphor is based on the personality (rational, dreamer, imaginative, etc.) of a decoder;
4. Multimodal/filmic metaphor should be created and manifested in the manner and readiness of an audience must be taken into account;
5. Precise interpretation of multimodal/filmic metaphor will fail without the readiness of an audience;

The findings of the research have shown the importance of proper usage of multimodal/filmic metaphors and their precise interpretation so that the communication between a director and an audience to be successful.

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Tatiana Vepkhvadze

**SPATIO-TEMPORAL CONCEPTUAL MODELS AND NARRATIVE TEMPORALITY IN
“THE SOUND AND FURY”**

From temporal-spatial ambiguity to clarity through linguistic analysis

Abstract

This research deals with William Faulkner’s representation of time and space in “The Sound and The Fury” from cognitive-linguistic perspective. Our research suggests that temporal-spatial analysis of “The Sound and The Fury” is the key milestone for understanding the fiction. In spite of the vast body of scholarship associated with William Faulkner’s work, few studies suggest detailed evaluation of Faulkner’s view of time and space. It’s worth mentioning that studies regarding thematic relevance of time in Faulkner’s fiction are more common than from the perspectives of linguistics. The analysis leads to the conclusion that temporal and spatial relationships are essential to our understanding of Faulkner’s narrative as they go beyond the specification of a date and a location. Our method of analysis involves the exploration of time and space in “The Sound and The Fury” based on Genette’s temporal models “order”, “duration”, and “frequency” and on spatial elements of bodily experience in cognitive theory utilizing *image schema (Source-Path-Goal)* based on which, the decryption of abstract words is associated with taking emotional journey comprehending metaphors through many sensory modalities.

Keywords: flashbacks, temporal patterns, order, duration, frequency, image schema, grief as a journey

Introduction

This research deals with William Faulkner’s representation of time and space in “The Sound and The Fury” from cognitive-linguistic perspective. Time and space have always played an important role in Faulkner’s fiction and are very often the subject of criticism due to the temporal-spatial ambiguity the

author applies. The most complicated text in this sense is considered “The Sound and The Fury.” We claim that temporal patterns in “The Sound and The Fury” are set against the reader’s temporal experience of the text as the author’s narrative mode is out of chronological order operated by “disjunctions and effacements” inherent for the stream of consciousness and postmodern narrative. Before taking the analysis of the “Sound and the Fury” let us make clear that we are concerned here with temporal spatial analysis of the text. In what follows, we review key concepts of temporality in narrative, as well as research on narrative representations of space in the text.

Methodology

Our method of analysis involves the exploration of time and space in “The Sound and The Fury,” (1) firstly based on Genette’s temporal models “order”, “duration”, and “frequency.”

(2) and secondly on spatial elements of bodily experience in cognitive theory; to be more specific, in order to visualize the main content and core concepts of “The Sound and The Fury,” we rely on the theories of cognitive linguists, *particularly Johnson’s path* according to which we conceive of plot as a metaphorical network of path, which either “converge or diverge of goals which are either reached or blocked” (R.Gibbs 2006). More literally, their image of a work can involve the paths of the protagonists around their world, bringing together time and space to shape a plot.

The above mentioned spatial-temporal patterns enable us to have an access to the actions and emotions of the characters, foreground certain events and reduce the status of others. Moreover, they bring new evidence and insight to received wisdom. Temporal-spatial patterns help us to dig deep and transfer the author’s & characters’ thoughts, sensations and emotions from a different scope, also bring new evidence and insight to received wisdom.

Not to go afield, a few words about the text. “The Sound and the Fury” is Faulkner’s fourth novel, the novel is divided into four parts, each told by a different narrator. Despite the fact that there are a lot of essays and research on the Sound and the Fury, used temporal structure in the novel still attracts the researchers’ attention and remains the subject of discussion. Spatial temporal analyses of “the Sound and the Fury” are more than background elements in the narrative; they are part of its fabric, affecting our basic understanding of a narrative text.

We are particularly interested in the first and second section of the text, since is where the issue of temporality is most in evidence. The first section is told from the point of view of Benjy Compson, a thirty-three-year old idiot. Reading this part is profoundly difficult, because Benjy is mentally handicapped and has no concept of time or place, sensory stimuli in the present bring him back to another time and place in the past. Most of his memories concern his sister, Caddy, who is in some ways the central character in the novel. Key memories regarding Caddy include a time when she uses perfume, loses her virginity, and Caddy's/her wedding. Benjy also recalls his name change, (from Maury to Benjamin) his brother Quentin's suicide and the day of his castration.

The second section of the text is narrated by Quentin, Benji's brother. Unlike Benji, Quentin doesn't need time or place-sensory stimuli to go to another time and place in the past he is just trapped by time, unable to move beyond his memories in the past. Quentin's section is longer, more obscure and more packed with images and fragmented ideas than Benji's. Based on the fact that Quentin's mind works more quickly than Benji's, the shifts in time in this section are much more frequent. Quentin has run several memories together in the course of a minute, unlike Benji, whose mind calls up one scene at a time.

Instruments

In the first part, the research is aimed to discuss the temporal relationships between "story" and "discourse" based on Genette's suggestions: "order," "duration," and "frequency." (1) The first relates to the order of events; (2) the second concerns how long events or scenes last; (3) and the third concerns how often an event occurs.

In the second part of our research, we will discuss the subjective attitudes and emotions of the characters, the physical and psychological point of view of different protagonists that can be considered as an important structuring device. The author uses the first-person narration in Benji's section that assumes the participant role within the fictional context and so adopts a subjective perspective on the events. In Quentin's and Benji's section, we follow **paths** around the narrative world with no protagonist present.

Thus, the research presents main content and core concepts of "The Sound and The Fury" based on the

theories of cognitive linguists, particularly *Johnson's path*; according to cognitive linguists, we conceive of plot as a metaphorical network of path. The metaphor that we have identified throughout the novel for the *path* is *grief*.

We suggest that the perception of grief in the “The Sound and The Fury” is expressed by the destruction of Compson’s family, the fatal destiny of a disabled person, the author’s emphasis on immorality and severity of the society.

We strengthen our arguments by identifying novel’s key themes: innocence, death, grief, sin, immorality which reveal themselves naturally in terms of images and symbols like muddy drawers, perfume, water, shadow and honeysuckle.

Our method of analysis involves the exploration of the leading theme in the text with *image schema (Source-Path-Goal)* based on which, the decryption of abstract words is associated with taking emotional journey comprehending metaphors through many sensory modalities. Thus, we conceive of *grief* in the “The Sound and The Fury” as a journey: (1) *moving from a source*, (2) *along a path*, (3) toward a particular destination (*goal*) within the affective space associated with grief.

Based on the notion of *grief as a journey*, the analysis leads to the conclusion that the characters in the novel conceive of emotional experience like grief in terms of bodily actions “performed upon concrete entities and spaces.” The given analysis enables us to read Faulkner from a different scope. The research brings new evidence and insight to received wisdom.

Linguistic Analysis

We have already mentioned that we rely on the theories of cognitive linguists, *particularly on Johnson's path* according to which, we conceive of plot as a metaphorical network of path. Cognitive linguists use *image schema (Source- Path-Goal)* in order to decode the metaphor. The decryption of metaphor in “The Sound and The Fury” is associated with taking emotional journey, that means that we comprehend an abstract word or idea through many sensory modalities, kinesthetically. Accordingly, we conceive of grief in the “The Sound and The Fury” as a journey, *grief as a journey* forms a coherent scenario of the grief that is strengthened by the author’s narrative mode.

To encode the meaning of grief, we use an image schema Source-Path-Goal suggested by cognitive linguists in the following way:

- (1) **moving from a source** (source is grief from where the characters unconsciously try to escape)
- (2) **along a path** (path is Compson's life with a lot of misfortunes, characters try hard to overcome the obstacles)
- (3) **Goal** -toward a particular destination within the affective space associated with grief. (and final destination, after going through many obstacles in the first and second section, is oblivion and death. **Benjy, Quentin and Caddy** can't deal with the pain and the past of Compson's family).

And how are the characters trying to deal with grief being lost in the dark tunnel of grief and moving forward to the other side?

A few words describing approaches to time in the narrative

With the help of Genette's temporal patterns, we identified the main messages of the narrator which he delivers through the repetition and spacing. Genette's temporal patterns enable us to foreground certain events and have an access to emotions of the characters, it will also help us to prove how ***grief as a journey*** is expressed in "the Sound and the Fury," and how do the characters try to get over the obstacles they encounter on their life path.

Theorists posit two basic temporalities of narrative which are generally referred to as "story" and "discourse." The essential distinction here is between the "story" as the basic sequence of events that can be abstracted from any narrative telling and the "discourse" as the presentation and reception of these events in linguistic form, in other words, the act of writing resulting in the written text and the act of reading that text. Genette suggests three main areas in which temporal relationships between story and discourse can produce interesting effects. The first relates to the order of events; the second concerns how long events or scenes last; and the third concerns how often an event occurs. They are known respectively as "order", "duration," and "frequency."

Analysis of the text based on Genette's Narrative Discourse

Order

To begin with the ***order***, all reading is a combination of memory and anticipation. Our focus on

whatever moment in the text we have reached will invariably be colored by our memory of what has gone before and our anticipation of what is to come. The order in which events are presented in the text is therefore crucial to our temporal experience of narrative. In some narratives, events are told strictly in the order in which they occur. But they may also be told out of order, as in Benji's and Quentin's case. Many narrative texts employ flashbacks, analepsis in Genette's terms, in order to fill in the past history of protagonists while avoiding a lengthy introduction or in order to reveal new facts.

And how can we explain the use of flashbacks in Benji's section?

Let's begin with the author's narrative mode, we suggest the stylistic analysis of the first section. A writer applies a stream of consciousness technique where a reader reveals the character's unspoken thoughts and feelings without having recourse to dialogue or description. In order to emphasize mental aberration represented in Benji's and Quentin's section, the author uses internal analepsis that is a flashback to an earlier point in the narrative. So it means that Benji Compson recounts via flashbacks the earliest events in the novel. Benji's present and past memory is measured between 1898 when he turns three and April 7, 1928 his thirty-third birthday. Faulkner identifies April Seventh, 1928 as the narrative present. As Benji has no concept of time or place, sensory stimuli in the present bring him back to another time and place in the past. Faulkner utilizes organic use of punctuation to indicate the shift of time, so flashbacks are expressed in italics. The italics signal to the reader that there is a shift in time, which is usually sudden.

We will show an example of flashback from the text

1. "My poor baby." mother said. She let me go. "You and Versh take good care of him, honey." "Yessum." Caddy said. We went out Caddy said, "You needn" go, Versh. I'll keep him for a while." He went on and we stopped in the hall an Caddy knelt and put her arms around me and her cold bright face against mine. She smelled like trees. "You aren't a poor boy. Are you. Are you. You have got your Caddy. Haven't you got your Caddy."

2. *Can't you shut up that moaning and slobbering, Luster said. Ain't you shamed of yourself, making all this racket. We passed the carriage house, where the carriage was. It had a new wheel.*

3. “Git in, now, and set still until your maw come.” Dilsey said. She shoved me into the carriage. T.P. held the reins. “Clare I don’t see how come Jason wont get a new surrey.” Dilsey said. “This thing going to fall to pieces under you all some day. Look at them wheels.

In the given example, different episodes are told one after another without any coherent link between them, sensory stimuli in the present bring Benji back to another time and place in the past, instantly and without warning, except for a change in a typeface from Roman to italic.

In this passage, we can get some sense of the time by noting who is taking care of Benji. Three black servants look after him at different times: Versh when Benji is a small child, T.P. when Benji is approximately 15 years old, and Luster in the present when Benji is 33. As there are different episodes in the example, they refer to different times. In the first one, Benji is with his family members in the house; mother expresses sympathy for Benji and calls him “my poor baby.” Caddy is trying to correct her mother’s mistake explaining that he is not a “poor boy”. Caddy’s warm rudimentary speech reminds Benji of Luster’s scolding and memory image appears instantly. The last episode is also thematically different from the previous ones.

Throughout the first segment of Benji’s section, Luster interrupts Benji’s memory by speaking to him often in response to Benji’s own bellowing. Based on the fact that Benji can’t speak and he is the narrator of the first section, we have an access to the plot of the story through his perceptions and feelings. Almost in all flashbacks, we can spot a direct presentation of utterances that put emphasis on folks’ attitude toward Benji and makes it a leading theme of the story.

If we dig deeper, we can spot that Benji’s memories are more focused on his perceptions and emotions than on the past events. They are the key to comprehending the flood of chaotically unrelated sensations. Understanding of his memories depends on the depths rather than on the present moment and we can say that they are more meaningful than past-oriented. We have identified 53 time shifts in Benji’s section. The technique of shifting from one of Benji’s remembered time zones to another without warning or transition of any sort, constitutes Faulkner’s strategy for showing how Benji remains innocent of the abstraction of passing time.

And what role does the author play in the text?

As it is presented, he plays none. The author disappears entirely, there are no commentaries, no stage direction from him. The very absence of narratorial intervention has significant effects on the reader that positions him in Benjy's consciousness.

Duration

The second temporal position in Genette's model is duration.

The treatment of duration is an important way of foregrounding certain events and reducing the status of others. If an episode is narrated in great detail, this leads us to assume that it is of some significance. Variations in duration can be used to show which scenes are the most important. A scene which is narrated briefly will usually be considered less important than a scene which it takes many pages to narrate. Or scene which is narrated more than once may show a narrator's obsession or it may reveal different views of the same events by different characters.

Throughout Benjy's and Quentin's section, we see the blows fall on the Compson's family - Grandmother dies, Mr Compson dies, Caddy gets pregnant and must be married off, Quentin commits suicide, Benjy is castrated to neutralize his sexual urges. Despite the serious of misfortunes that happened in Compson's family, we can claim that section one has Benji as the centre of the thing, Faulkner in the name of Benjy tells us about the fatal destiny of a disabled person and severity of the society toward him.

If we dig deeper into reading, we can reveal that depiction of dissolution of Banjy's life takes up the biggest space, though it is retold in nonchronological order. Faulkner partitions Benjy's memories into time levels in different episodes. The elements of fluidity and incoherence are emphasized by the frequent interruption of one idea by another that reveals Benjy's mental deficiency.

In the first segment of the text, there is a lot of direct presentation of utterances, especially in flashbacks that emphasize servants' and family members' negative attitude toward Benjy. The following events such as Benji's name change and Benji's castration continue the coherent scenario of Benjy's tragedy. The scenes showing how people treat Benji are followed by the dialogues regarding name change, characters give a different interpretation to this fact as they are more meaningful than a mentally retarded person's name change. Variation in duration expressed with repetition, develops the

main idea of the text, it enables us to transcribe a character's thoughts and sensations without the author's intervention. The fragmented scenes regarding Benjy intensify reader's anticipation of what is to come, it alerts a reader with a sense of impending doom that leads him to the culmination of the story - Benjy's castration.

Benji experiences the greatest distress in the novel's present moment, this is the reason why he spends his longest time, as measured in textual space, in a single time level, in 1898 when he was three years old and Caddy was with him.

To sum up, based on the analysis above, we can conclude that Benjy's torture is one of the major themes for Faulkner. Accordingly, Benjy's narrative reflects the fatal destiny of a disabled person, merciless of human beings and the cruelty of the society.

Frequency

The third temporal pattern in Genette's model is frequency. The number of times an event is narrated can influence the reader's interpretation of a narrative. Repetition involves more than one occurrence at the level of discourse of a single story event. Repetition can also be used to portray more than one view of events in modernist stream-of-consciousness novel.

The stream of consciousness technique or interior monologue is widely used in Benjy's and Quentin's section. Faulkner's handling of stream of consciousness technique allows the narrator to shape a particular version of the character's consciousness in terms of images, which need not be actual words or thoughts as the character expressed them. Faulkner in "The Sound and The Fury" presents symbols as substitutes for rationally formulated ideas. We have identified the symbols that signify many things for Benjy and Quentin, one of them is water-the most important symbol in both sections. For Benjy and Quentin, water is never simply water but it is a symbol of purification and death.

Smell is the most important sensory stimuli for Benji, he associates his sister Caddy with trees and purity. Caddy grows up and loses her innocence, therefore she loses the smell of the tree. When Caddy uses the perfume, kisses a boy and loses virginity, she washes herself in order to please Benjy. She washes the perfume off, after kissing her boyfriend, she washes out her mouth with soap. Quentin, in his section recalls that on the night Caddy lost virginity, Benjy drags her into the bathroom so she can wash herself. In this way, Benjy tries to save caddy and himself from decay.

So water in Benjy's section is the symbol of purification, Caddy tries to wash away the sins, but she can't, as to a greater extent it doesn't only refer to Caddy and Benjy but to Compson's family on the whole. As Caddy says "there is a curse on their family, it's not their fault." Caddy finally surrendered - she loses the smell of the tree and Benjy loses Caddy.

The idea of impurity is widely spread in the text and reflects the future of family members. Benjy, Caddy and Quentin try to avert the disastrous fate that Compson's blood seems to bring. The concept of sin and survival still continues in Quentin's section. The dialogues between Quentin and Caddy, father and Quentin predict the disastrous future of the characters.

In the last part of our research, we are trying to explain how the *grief as a journey* is reflected in the text. Benjy's, Quentin's and Caddy's life paths are full of misery without the light on the other side. In both sections, we can see the attempt of the main characters to get over the spiritual doomsday of Compson's family, there is struggle between sin and purity, morality and immorality, attempt to survive and wash away the sins. Being lost in the dark tunnel of grief, they are trying to move forward to the other side, but it turns out difficult to deal with it, as they can't escape from the family curse. Quentin, in one of the dialogues with his father tries to take all responsibilities for Caddy's actions when he tells his father that had incest with his sister, Quentin tries to inflate Caddy's virginity into something crucial and by taking responsibility on his shoulders get rid of the family curse that follows them. Quentin was struck by his father's indifference and dismissive comments he says in effect, "you will get over it, there are more serious things in life than the loss of virginity. Quentin doesn't want to "get over it". The last remembered conversation with Mr. Compson explains one of the motivations of Quentin's suicide.

In Quentin's section the chance for the family to survive after going through many obstacles is narrowed, the appearance of death symbols in this section is a proof of it. Water- the symbol of purification in Benjy's section is transformed into the symbol of death. Quentin's obsession with shadows, water and time is imbued with a sense of impending disaster, spiritual doomsday of Compson's family and fatal destiny of their children.

On the basis of the above discussion, we can conclude that the repetition of the events or scenes in different configurations has a dramatic impact on the reader. The symbols as substitutes for rationally formulated ideas in Benjy's and Quentin's sections are repeated so frequently that they come to

dominate not only Benjy's or Quentin's consciousness but the reader's also.

Conclusion

In the research, we have analysed the first and second section of "The Sound and The Fury" from cognitive-linguistic perspective. We have identified the main content and core concepts of the text based on Johnson's path according to which we perceive plot as a metaphorical network of path and based on Genette's temporal patterns: order, duration and frequency.

We conceive of grief in the "The Sound and The Fury" as a journey, and encode the meaning of it with an image schema *Source-Path-Goal*.

We claim that in the first and second section, characters experience grief as a journey that shadows their life, during their life path they try to overcome the obstacles, purify from their sins and survive but they can't deal with it, as Sartre says, "time is frozen in these sections and there is no future ahead." Benjy and Quentin can't accept the reality of their existence; unfortunately the final destination of their life path is oblivious and death.

With the help of Genette's temporal patterns, we have explored time and space in the text and identified the main messages of the narrator through the repetition and spacing in the following way:

(1) Order

Benji's and Quentin's sections are told out of order, the narrative line is fragmented into nonchronological segments. The author uses internal analepsis in order to fill in the past history of protagonists and emphasize mental aberration represented in Benji's and Quentin's section. The shift of time is expressed in italics, used stylistic device helps the author completely disappear from the text.

(2) Duration

We have revealed that despite the fragmented scenes regarding Benjy, depiction of dissolution of Banji's life takes up the biggest space, though it is retold in nonchronological order. Used stylistic device develops the main idea of the text.

(3) Frequency

We claim that the repetition of the events or scenes in different configurations has a dramatic impact on the reader. The major themes are expressed with symbols and they are used so frequently that influence the reader's interpretation of a narrative.

Overall, Genettes temporal models enabled us to foreground certain events and gain an access to the actions and emotions of the characters, also helped us to prove how grief as a journey is expressed in "the Sound and the Fury."

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Teona Samkharadze

SEMANTIC ANALYSIS OF WOOD SYMBOL IN GERMANIC AND GEORGIAN MYTHOLOGY

Abstract

The present paper aims at identifying parallel motifs between Kartvelian and Germanic mythologies. For this, main similar and different characteristics in myths of both cultures are explored as an empirical material. It is maintained that according to the data analysis Propp's mythology of fairy tales and Levi Strauss's theory of the myth seem appropriate for analysis. On the basis of these mythological models the symbol of the world tree as a universal mythological notion is compared and contrasted in Kartvelian and Germanic mythologies. Distinctive versions of the world tree are presented according to their functions such as Life tree, fertility tree etc.

Thus, Myth as a unique and universal model represents a mythological tree as an essential symbol. Common traditions associated with the world tree are compared and contrasted that leads us to a conclusion that tree is a universal symbol in both mythologies with lots of common characteristics like planting tree, tree as a symbol of life etc.

Keywords: Yggdrasil, Tree of life, planting tree, oak, structuralism

Introduction

Mythological analysis is definitely a difficult task. The study of mythological universal symbols was based on the two major Germanic and Georgian mythological analysis of world mythology. We studied the opinion of several researchers like Vladimir Propp and Levi Strauss who put a lot of effort

in mythology as a science. The novelty presented in this work is discussion mythological symbols in their linguistic and semantic sense.

1. The theory by Propp

1.1 The morphology of a fairy tale

According to Vladimir Propp there were 31 structural elements “functions” (e.g Absentation, interdiction, violation, reconnaissance, delivery, trickery etc) within Russian fairy tales. These functions occurred in a specific, ascending order. This type of structural analysis of folklore is referred to as syntagmatic. The sequence of events on the syntagmatic level became a basis for Levi Stauss to present a paradigmatic level of the myth. Levi-strauss sought to uncover a narrative’s underlying pattern, regardless of its linear, superficial syntagm, and his structure is usually rendered as a binary opposition structure.) Myth as a unity is adapted from a fairy-tale structure as a whole. **(Propp, 1884)**

1.2 Sturcturalism as a theory.

As for myth's structural approach, Levi-Strauss is a representative of structuralism. In his article Levy-Strauss argued that "myth is usually operated by opposition and seeks to gradually eliminate it through mediation," and that "myth is aimed at creating a logical model to solve confrontation." Levi-Strauss has remained faithful to this definition of myth and mythological thinking. The fourth (last book) of mythology, in the chapter titled "Binary Operations," myth topics are discussed and it is considered that any theme, regardless its diversity should be carried out under Binary Operations as such operations represent specification of meanings which were created by the nature and allow functioning of language and thought " (Propp, 1984 , Simek 1993, Strauss 1995)

The combination of two models (Prop and Levi Strauss) led us to work on a new model how the tree is represented as a mythological symbol in both Germanic and Georgian mythologies. Tree as an example of a core mythological model can be categorized syntagmatically and paradigmatically as follows:

Syntagmatic
Different Kinds of

			trees
Paradigmatic Link between symbols	Identical symbols in both cultures		Oak
Tree as a life continuation	Tree as a strength of household	Tree as a symbol of rebirth/revival	Ash

My model of the tree is based on the syntagmatic and paradigmatic interrelation of the symbolic meaning associated with the particular species of the tree. While comparing and analyzing the material, it was obvious that the widely spread kinds of trees were oak and ash. Oak in both mythologies symbolizes revival and strength. Thor's magic hammer was made of wood and with its magic power he was able to defeat lots of enemies. On the other hand, in Georgian mythology an oak is described as a symbol of strength that can endure pain, struggle and still stay strong and powerful. Syntagmatically, it is worth noting that ash is a relevant tree in Germanic mythology as well as in Georgian. Yggdrasil is an ash tree. According to myths, it is a foundation of the whole world. It is an essence of life too. An ash tree at a paradigmatic level is depicted as a symbol of the household. In Norway, Planting ash trees in their yards demonstrates its importance as strength of the household. In Georgia If the ash is grown in the household, it is a sign of some problems in the family and it is necessary to make some changes e.g A birth of a child. It is logically associated with the strength of the household and a life continuation as well.

Thus, observing the symbolic portrait of the tree syntagmatically and paradigmatically demonstrates the connection between the symbolic connotations certain trees may have. Furthermore, at the paradigmatic level, the symbols that are analyzed in the article, illustrate the common features and characteristics in both cultures. Tree as a whole is presented as a mythological model including the functions of certain species of trees and specifications such as the strength of the household, life revival, etc.

2. Tree as a symbol

2.1 Definition of a tree

On the background of discussion of general form and content theory of myth, we considered to represent the specific aspect of the general formula, for example, tree as a mythological symbol in Germanic and Georgian mythologies. In the dictionary of Herder's symbols, the tree is defined as the symbol of mother, as well as the symbol of spiritual and intellectual development, the symbol of death and rebirth. According to Carl Jung, the tree is a symbol of integration and of the principles of male and female and equality: "A tree is one of the best examples of a motif that often appears in dreams (and elsewhere) and that can have an incredible variety of meanings. It might symbolize evolution, physical growth, or psychological maturation; death (Christ's crucifixion on the tree); it might be a phallic symbol; it might be a great deal more. And such other common dream motifs as the cross or the lingam can also have a vast array of symbolic meanings..." (Surguladze. 1986)

2.2. Theoretical research of the world tree in Germanic mythology

Let us briefly consider what the meaning of the tree is in Germanic mythology. The so-called Yggdrasil is a tree of life that stands in the middle of Asgard. Asgard is a place where the gods exist. Its branches reach to the nine worlds. Yggdrasil has very deep roots. Its deepest root is in the place of the gods. Near this root, there is URD well in front of which gods gather every day. Yggdrasil - the name itself in the Norwegian language means the horse of Odin. The word "drasil" means horse, while "ygg" presents one of the names of Odin. Edda explains that Odin sacrificed himself by hanging on the tree. Scientists' theories are different in relation to the Yggdrasil. According to one of the theories, the full name of Yggdrasil is an ash tree, i.e., "askr yggdrasils" which means a world tree. (Simek. 1993)

As for the written sources where Yggdrasil is mentioned, we can claim that one of the written sources is the poetic Edda. In the second stanza of the poetic Edda, Volva tells the poem to Odin, in which Volva remembers the old time, recalls the nine worlds, the Yggdrasil tree, when Yggdrasil appears. Yggdrasil tree is recalled as a glorious tree with glorious measure. ("Glorious tree of measure, under the ground")

In the poem Havamal, 137th strophe, Odin describes how he sacrifices himself to a tree and hangs himself on it.

„I know that I hung on a windy tree
nine long nights,
wounded with a spear, dedicated to Odin,
myself to myself,
on that tree of which no man knows
from where its roots run“ .

In the Douglas Holmes's research about the traditions of the tree, there was an important tradition like planting a family tree in the middle of the yard. According to him, this tradition relates to the Viking period and myths about the world tree. Caring for a family tree is a kind of expression of respect for our ancestors.

Variations of Yggdrasil or world trees are revealed in Norwegian and Swedish languages, mythology and traditions Tree of Life, Family Tree, etc. There are relevant terms, such as "Tuntre" in Norwegian and „Vårdträd“ in Swedish as micro-cosmic elements of the world. These terms contain much information about the importance of tree planting in the family yard. There are myths, according to which the place of planting of these sacred trees was the place where the pagans paid venerated to the Norwegian gods.

While visiting the Norwegian Public Museum in 2004, Holmes tried to find out if there was a tradition of tree planting again. Many did not know about the tradition, but he found a worker who used to restore old buildings and he had information about family tree tradition. Interested researcher asked about the tradition to the museum gardener. According to the gardener's answer, he concluded that this tradition is still maintained in several Norwegian districts. **(Holmes, 2002)**

2.3 Theoretical research of a tree as a symbol in Georgian mythology

In parallel to Germanic mythology the purpose of family tree in Georgian mythology should be noted. There are many varieties of sacred wood symbols in Georgia. All types, or varieties of this

symbol, have some intensity and exposure to different aspects of sacral tree symbolism. In myth-poetic consciousness of Georgians (as well as many people), human life cycle is often related to certain aspects of wood symbolism. One of the findings of this union was the tradition of the last century, concerning the rule of tree planting in the name of a new born baby. The tree planted on the child's name was mostly a walnut tree (although it was possible to have other species of trees such as *Fraxinus* and others). Growing this tree was directly associated with the baby's luck. Before the tree planting in the name of the newborn, a special ritual was preceded which is widely remembered in Western Georgia and is known as Nerch's prayer(Angel's Prayer) 'Nerch' can be identified as home angel in English.(Kiknadze,1999)

It is also noteworthy that the tree in the mountain of Georgia with its vast aspect, despite the Christian faith, is quite strongly remained, but, of course, as customs and traditional rituals. It should be mentioned that planting and maintenance of wooden trees in the ancient shrines was considered to be more important ritual than animal sacrifices. "Such sacred trees were called" Khemkhivani "- the fertility tree which is a symbol of mythological tree that gives life and that is why they were planted near the icon (Kiknadze,1995, Elashvili 2008)

As we can see, the world tree is distinguished by many common and distinctive characteristics in both mythologies. It is interesting to consider the values of sacred trees according to two cultures. In Germanic mythology, ASH is the world tree which represents a symbol of life, death and reincarnation. It is associated with sea power, love, protection, health,well-being. „Oak, Ash and Thorn were called the 'Fairy Triad': Where they grow together it is said that fairies live...!“ Yggdrasil means the ash tree (Simek. 1993, Propp 1984)

3. Common and distinctive characteristics

3.1 Ash Tree

As we can see, the world tree is distinguished by many common and distinctive characteristics in both mythologies. It is interesting to consider the values of sacred trees according to varieties. In German mythology, ASH is the world tree which represents a symbol of life, death and reincarnation. It is

associated with sea power, love, protection, health,well-being. „Oak, Ash and Thorn were called the 'Fairy Triad': Where they grow together it is said that fairies live...!“ (Simek. 1993, Propp,1984)

In Georgia the ash tree was honoured in the past. Zurab Kiknadze in his stories (Andrezebi) tells us about "Crossfeeding" (Appearing ash in the household). According to the legend, ash tree grows in household (frequently, a snake might appear in the household) which means that the son of god is the patron of household and the family should leave the house. This area becomes a sacred place. Below there is one of the versions of this story, according to the narrative (the legend is related to the creation of Gudani cross): “The cross was in one village. In the household of one of Kavkazauri the ash tree was grown. Kavkazauri cut it, but the other day the ash grew again. Kavkazauri cut it again. On the third day a snake appeared near the ash. Kavkazauri cut the tree and killed the snake too. Hence to this, we assume that the story about the symbol of ash in the household was widespread in the mountains of Georgia. Also, its appearance again after cutting may imply that the place became sacred and it should have been just for the son of the god, not for ordinary humans.(Kiknadze 1999)

3.2 The oak tree

The oak tree represented in the Germanic mythology is mainly related to God Thor who is the god of the thunder and the sky, the oldest son of Odin. Thor was a defender of people against goliaths, dwarves, demons, and other evil forces. Thor had a magic hammer, which was made of oak by dwarves. This hammer had a magic power to stop the storm. Thor could pour the divine fire from heaven. Because of the size of oak trees, it was thought that the tree was most attracted to lightning and thunder. Some researchers will link the oak to Thor, as he is a god of thunder. The information about Thor and its wooden hammer is given in poetic Edda where the dead Volva tells Odin the story of his death and his struggle against reptiles. As he was defeated, the sky was red, the stars disappeared but another universe was created in the water, everything became green and flourished and with his magical hammer, his sons would live longer. Therefore, the wooden hammer was given the function of renewal and rebirth. In German mythology the oak is the symbol of life continuance and strength.

God bless you midge to oak

Have Easter and Christmas, midge to oak

[Lazare Mchedlishvili, village Saro 1962]

According to Makvala Kotchlamazashvili's article "Mumli Mukhasao", trees were worshipped. The trace of faith related to the wooden culture is preserved in Georgian folklore. The song "Mumli Mukhasa" ("Mamli Mukhasa"/ in English: Midge to Oak) has been sung along with dances in Meskheti-Javakheti, Adjara, Kakheti and was the appraisal of the dead and the resurrected spirit of oak. (Surguladze, 1986)

4. Results

As the results of theoretical research of Germanic and Georgian mythologies show there are following common characteristics in both cultures:

4.1 The tradition of tree planting

The tradition of tree planting is a common tradition of Germanic-Georgian mythology on the family name. There are different myths concerning the tree planting. This can be a tree planted in the name of a newborn child that is connected with fate or luck, or a tree planted in honour of decedent's succession on the grave, and a tree planted in the yard of the house as a symbol of strength and firmness of the family.

4.2 The tree as a symbol of household

In both cultures the tree was a symbol of the household. This is evident in both Germanic and Georgian mythology. Even tradition of tree planting is still observed both in Scandinavian countries and in Georgia. In Georgian mythology we encounter a lot of stories about how Ash is grown in household.

4.3 Tree as a symbol of life continuance.

In German mythology, the term "Tree of Life" and its related myth (about 3 goddesses) indicate that the tree is a symbol of life continuance in German mythology. Many literary monuments, such as Poetic Edda confirms this symbol. Of course this is similar to the Georgian myths. The symbol of the continuance of life is represented with Oak in Georgian mythology. (For example, the history of creation of Svetitskhoveli)

4.4 Oak as a symbol of strength

Oak as a symbol of strength is identified in Germanic and Georgian mythologies. Thor's oak hammer as well as the oak as a symbol of strength in Georgian mythology (Kochlamazashvili, 1962)

5. Conclusion

The tree of life as a common symbol is represented by ash in German mythology. Yggdrasil is an ash tree and holds the whole world. Even in Georgian mythology, if the family members die after growing the Ash tree, the child as a sacred creature shall survive. In addition, because of the survival of the baby, Ash is perceived as a symbol of life continuation.

Thus, in conclusion, we can say that the myth as a model, unity of uniqueness and universality in the topic discussed by us can be implemented as one of the novelties based of semantic analysis of a tree symbol. The meaning of planting tree and its association with new-born baby in both cultures, oak tree as a symbol of strength and life continuation, tree as a strength of the household semantically connects core universal symbols by which the entire Germanic and Georgian mythologies are represented as a structure. It is like a chain in which without one symbol, the others lose their importance as well. That is why Levi Strauss argued about mythology as a whole structure. This sample is simply adapted to the myths in the context of the tree in both cultures.

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Tinatin Dadianidze

BREAKING GENDER AND GAY STEREOTYPES IN GEORGIAN SOCIETY

(on the Example of the Georgian Gay Discourse)

Abstract

Gender has always been a popular field of investigation in the 21st century. It has been studied from different perspectives and points of view. A number of works in language and sexuality have revealed diverse linguistic features, deviating from traditional linguistic expectations both at lexical (e.g. Rodgers 1972) and discourse levels (e.g. Leap 1996).

This paper discusses several characteristics of speech discourse of Georgian gay males based on the experiment designed by the author. While answering the questions of an open-ended questionnaire, focus-groups of Georgian gay men discussed neutral topics as well as issues connected with the stereotypical perception of gender roles in society.

Georgia is a traditional, conservative, Orthodox country. These factors play a great role in the formation of stereotypes in society and heteronormative stereotypes associated with gender roles are highly popular. Sexual minorities represent vulnerable groups in Georgia, [ჯალაღანია; 2016]. Accordingly, there is little space left for them to reveal their speech characteristics and show their attitudes towards certain issues.

This research has revealed speech patterns and linguistic strategies utilized by Georgian gay males which confront heteronormative stereotypes widely spread throughout the country. During the research, members of the gay community expressed themselves through the strategies employed in their community but considered uncommon in the wider society, e.g. using relative pronouns indicated the opposite gender as well as metaphors creating a certain discrepancy in the discourse from the stereotypical heteronormative perceptions..

Keywords: *Sociolinguistics, Gay community, Stereotypes.*

1. Introduction

The stereotype is a widely spread word and denotes a complex concept. The diversity and the impact of the stereotypes on a specific society should be taken into account while conducting research concerning this concept.

The word "stereotype" comes from the French word "stéréotype". On the other hand, this word-form is believed to have derived from the Greek στερεός (stereos), τύπος (typos), and finally, it is considered to be a combination of words "solid" and "type". (Liddell, Scott, Greek-English Lexicon). Nowadays the word "stereotype" is used when a specific image, topic or issue is interpreted and defined as a superficial, simple, inaccurate concept or belief. The stereotype is largely associated with the public opinion which lacks in precision, does not denote a scientifically proven fact or does not match individual situations or specific theories. (Cardwell, Mike; 1999).

People are usually able to follow explicit stereotypes accepted by society. However, in certain cases, they might fail to do so. On the other hand, implicit stereotypes exist in the human subconscious and cannot be controlled by people. Sometimes people may not even be aware of the fact that they are under the influence of stereotypes. This can lead a person to partiality as people with an implicit stereotypical point of view tend to characterize theories or people as unity and judge people according to their general belief [Judd, Charles M.; Park, Bernadette; 1993].

Terms like "stereotype", "prejudice", and "discrimination" are related to each other. The stereotype creates prejudice and expectations about specific facts or things which means that people feel comfortable to follow the public opinion acceptable within the community. Confronting their ideas with something unacceptable or new makes people leave their comfort zones and start thinking critically. Though stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination denote different concepts, they might cause a chain reaction or behavior in the society [Operario; Fiske; 2003]. Despite negative effects, stereotypes can still help understand and categorize the world. They can simplify and systematize a huge amount of data. [Tajfel; 1981]. Moreover, according to modern studies, stereotypes appear to be true and accurate only in some cases. [Lee; Crawford; Rubinstein; 2015]. For example, the stereotype about gay people and their linguistic markers, specifically, concerning gay men employing feminine speech markers can appear true in the case of some individuals. However, it cannot be assumed that all gay people are characterized by this specific manner as there is ample evidence that masculine speech style may also be utilized within the gay community. Some people might be under a strong influence of stereotypes, adopt attitudes and use speech markers

subconsciously to identify themselves as part of a certain community. Accordingly, it can be claimed that people may practice stereotypical attitudes towards stereotypes.

2. Gay stereotypes

Social psychologist Henri Tajfel highlighted the main social functions of stereotypes, one of which is that people tend to assess and criticize people from a different community or culture. Social stereotypes become more aggressive when there is a conflict between social groups. Stereotypes might change as a result of political and social changes. [Tajfel; 1981]. We should also take into consideration the fact of self-stereotyping when an individual adopts stereotypes unconsciously and follows them as rules. In some cases, the negative stereotype can lead a person or members of a group to low self-esteem and even depression [Cox; Abramson; Devine; Hollon; 2012]. [Sinclair; Huntsinger; 2006].

Gay stereotypes, as well as LGBT stereotypes, are superficial and generalized, though a common understanding of the society is based on the formulation of general concepts and ideas which basically derive from sexuality and gender. [R.McCrady; J. Mccrady1976]. Gay stereotypes which involve gay speech, manners and behavior are widely spread not only in some cultures and communities but also throughout the world. When stereotypes about certain issues become global, questions arise concerning how similar stereotypes can be spread effectively all around the world. When it comes to spreading information, the media plays a big role. A stereotyped gay man's behavior is discussed from many points of view in society, characteristics of gay men are often associated with those employed with stereotypical heterosexual women, and members of the gay community can be depicted as possessing a feminine nature, behavior, manner, and style. ["Chrysler TV ad criticized for using gay stereotypes". The Advocate. 2006-04-07].

The modern sociolinguistic approach to gay men is based on the identification of features of gay speech or gay accents, as well as on discourse analysis and its semantics. The researchers argue that gay men's speech and phonological features differed from other people's speech at lexical (Rodgers 1972) Phonetic (Crist 1997) and discourse (Leap 1996) levels. Leap notes that gay men may reveal the specific speech aspects which may not be possible to describe as a necessary marker for gay speech. Code-switching which involves changing one's discourse at syntactic or phonological levels is widely used in gay speech. Existence of code-switching in gay discourse proves that the above-

mentioned theory about linguistic diversity of homosexual speech is adequate. (Podesva, Roberts, Campbell-Kibler; 2001). Leap does not deny the uniqueness of the conversation of homosexuals but encourages researchers to rely on more data in discourse analysis (social, cultural and other facts) rather than focus only on linguistics. (Leap 1999)

3. Research methodology of discourse analysis

The modern sociolinguistic approach to gay men is based on the identification of features of gay speech or gay accents, as well as its discourse analysis and its semantics. A number of books, articles, and dissertations are written based on discourse and gender analysis. The methodology employed is so varied that at times, it becomes difficult to identify basic methods to conduct gender and language discourse analysis. Due to the diverse process in gender research, the phenomenon of discourse, which has always been a strong basis for language and gender research, is becoming the main driving force of this field.

Mary Bucholtz offers qualitative methods of discourse analysis [Butcholtz: 2003]. As well as this, gender discourse research employs a number of methodological approaches some of which are listed below:

1. An anthropological tradition focused on cultural practice;
2. A sociological tradition that emphasizes a social action;
3. A critical tradition concentrated on texts;
4. An anthropological tradition which discusses the historical trajectory of discourse.

According to the diversity and depth of the sociolinguistic research, the approaches mentioned above widen the research sphere, unlike critical discourse analysis that only focuses on text and linguistic features of discourse. The diverse approaches, along with critical discourse, in terms of language and sexuality provides fundamental and informative results whose analysis demands the involvement of not only linguistics but also anthropology, sociology, and culture.

4. Important Findings Concerning Gay Discourse Analysis

Numerous research in sociolinguistics revealed interesting characteristics of gay speech. In terms of historical trajectory, an important example is Polari which was a homosexual coded language during the 1960s in England [Richardson, 2005]. In modern linguistics, the gay lisp was considered to be a significant marker for the gay speech which involved stabilization of consonants, hyper-

articulation of /s/ and high-frequency of speech and long duration of vowels. [Munson et al., 2006, p. 216]. According to Benjamin Munson's research "The acoustic and perceptual bases of judgments of women and men's sexual orientation from read speech", the phenomenon of a stereotypical gay lisp is not a speech pathology and it is not fully replicated from the feminine speech. [Munson et al., 2006] The fact is that gay people selectively use feminine speech patterns and some other features that are adopted during their lifetime. [Munson et al., 2006, p. 216.] However, there is no scientific evidence that there exist specifically established gay speech markers since, in the process of such research, individual cultural, social and psychological factors should also be considered.

Soon after Robin Lakoff created her famous work named "Language and woman's place" in 1975 [Lakoff; 1975], numerous scholars started investigating male and female genders and highlighting their linguistic markers. In 2004 Mary Bucholtz published commentaries on Robin Lakoff's research: "Language and woman's place". [Bucholtz, Mary (2004) [1975]. "Editor's introduction" to "Language and woman's place: text and commentaries.] In 2006 Walt Wolfram and Natalie Schilling-Estes published their work "American English: dialects and variation" which involved findings not only concerning the diversity of American English but also gender-based differences. [Walt; Schilling-Estes; 2006]. Another important publication about gender is authored by Jennifer Coates. In her book "Women, Men, and Language", she describes different approaches to gender throughout history; [Coates; 2016]. As a result of this research describing the female style of speaking, numerous markers were revealed, which included empty adjectives, super-polite forms, indirect requests, diminutive forms, etc.

4. Georgian Gay Discourse Analysis

In order to demonstrate the characteristic features of gay speech in Georgia, a special questionnaire was composed, which consisted of open-ended questions regarding the personal experiences of the respondents and their perception of several topics regarding the gender issues.

Patterns identified as feminine are diverse and are provided by different scholars. For instance, Deborah Tannen in her studies about "Language and culture", highlights the fields of interests while investigating speech. Scholars tend to show interest focus on specific fields of language. For instance, one of the popular studies involves speech variety connected with a different gender. Another important issue that scholars investigate is the social norm that plays a great role in the

production and use of gendered language (Tannen;2006). Society categorizes people according to stereotypical views that include stereotypes characterizing female speech, more specifically phonological patterns that are usually used by women, for example, high pitched voice and a special manner of articulation of vowels. (Tannen;2006).

Linguistics strategies revealed during this research, break widely spread heteronormative stereotypes. The term “heteronormativity” is a belief about a heterosexual norm which maintains that heterosexual relationship should be established between opposite sexes. It also involves views about sex, gender, sexuality and excludes the idea of non-standard ways of self-expression. This theory generates stereotypes within some communities that believe that feminine speech strategies are used only by females whereas male speech features are employed only by the representatives of the male gender. (Harris 2018).

The questionnaire consisted of several parts. It started with neutral topics about colors, weather, food, hobbies, which generated small talk. e.g. What is your favorite color? What kind of weather do you like? What is your favorite food? What is your hobby? Another set of questions involved general gender-oriented themes concerning the qualities of a man and a woman e.g. What qualities should a woman possess? What qualities should a man possess?

Topics about neutral questions, chosen by me as a researcher, were selected for different reasons: Firstly, they helped to create a pleasant atmosphere amongst the interviewees and encouraged them to express themselves freely. Secondly, they helped to explore the interviewees' answers to the questions and decide whether they had stereotypical attitudes toward the specific subject or not.

10 focus groups with 20 gay men (20-25 years old) were interviewed using a questionnaire. The focus groups included Georgian gay members of LGBTQI association “Temida”. The discussion and verbal interactions were recorded.

Quantitative analysis of the research showed that among 20 respondents only 5 was characterized by simple standardized markers of masculine speech (deep, husky voice, low pitch sounds), while 15 gay males revealed some stereotypical feminine discourse markers (high pitch voice, slower and stretched speech)

At the beginning of the conversation, when the neutral questions were asked, respondents discussed general topics such as weather, colors, music, food, etc. Interestingly, gay men tended to use Georgian words namely, sister, woman, girl, დაო, ქალო, გოგო (dao, kalo, gogo) while addressing each other.

Like the English language, diminutive forms in Georgian are also associated with the speech of female individuals. However, these forms were used by gay males during the conversation, words – ფერუკა, ცუნაფუნა (peruka, tsknapuna) which expresses the diminutive form of the words denoting color and tiny, were constantly vocalized by respondents. Apart from phonology, interviewees tended to choose colors like pink and purple typically associated with the female gender. These two characteristics- usage of diminutive forms and a choice of colors unusual for a male, break stereotypes referring to males and enable us to search for answers not only in stereotypical views accepted in the society, but also in the diverse perception of each person.

The analysis revealed not only specific words but also sentences that carry important semantic meaning and show the attitude of gay men to gender stereotypes widely spread in society. Interestingly, the respondent's ironic comment on the question is:

-"Nick: Sister, do you like cooking? Whether you get married or not depends on the answer" (Respondents laugh).

ნიკა: დაო შენ გიყვარს საჭმლის კეთება? ეხლა ამ პასუხზეა დამოკიდებული გათხოვდები თუ არა (რესპოდენტები იცინიან).

It is obvious that irony in this context is directed against the stereotype which obliges a woman to be a perfect housewife and have good culinary skills if she wants a happy marriage. It is impossible to overlook the fact that stereotyped woman's skills, which have a negative connotation and present a standardized view of a woman, have become a subject of irony between gay males. Moreover, Nick adjusted this role to another gay male and used the word – გათხოვება – "get married" while referring to a man. Interestingly, in the Georgian language, the word გათხოვდები (you will get married) refers only to women, while another phrase is used to refer to a man getting married – ცოლის მოყვანა. Even in case of teasing and irony Georgian gay men don't tend to adjust the role of women as it still seems to be insulting, even for the purpose of joke and laughter.

Another example of adjusting the opposite gender role and name was revealed in discourse:

"Nick: What qualities should a man possess generally?

Gio: Qualities like I have, but boys don't like girls like me. " (Laughter)

(ნიკა: -როგორი თვისებები უნდა ქონდეს კაცს?

გიო: -როგორი და ჩემნაირი, მარა ჩემნაირი გოგოები კაცებს არ მოსწონთ) (იცინიან).

Despite the fact that at the beginning of interview Gio identified himself as a gay male individual, he still uses the word "girls" (გოგოები) during the conversation, in order to identify

himself as a stereotypical feminine gay man. This type of self-identification which involves mixed gender roles, serves to express irony towards feminine gay stereotypes. In the same way, the respondent expresses ironic attitude toward strictly defined markers of masculine behavior in society that obligate men to follow standardized masculine behavior.

Mocking masculinity and its characteristics within the gay community is a frequent practice. See the extract from the dialogue:

-What kind of squirrels (i.e. boys) do you like, boys who work with spuds and spades? (Respondents laugh). შენ როგორი ციყვები მოგწონს, თობზე და ბარზე ნამუშევარი ბიჭები?" (იცინიან).

The masculinity of men promotes heteronormative beliefs. Within the heterosexual community, it is mostly idealized by the society, therefore it is less likely to build an ironic attitude and is considered as a necessary marker for men. In contrast, the respondent refers to the male with the word "squirrel". Connotation of the word "squirrel" creates an emotional association of a weak person, while in the same sentence, a masculine man is compared to an individual involved in agricultural or farming activities – "boys who work with spuds and spades". By creating a binary opposition of the metaphorical contrast of "weak" and "strong", both describing masculinity, the respondent revealed an uncommon and exceptional perception of the male gender concept, confronting the stereotypical view that identifies masculinity as strength and machoness.

The loyal and supportive attitude of gay men towards women and their rights should also be taken into consideration. Gay men believed that women should be stronger to cope with the pressure of society, which is directed towards them and teaches them how to live. Answers to the question: "-What kind of characteristics should women have?" were as follows:

-A woman should be as she wants to be; women should be free, neither her family nor children or her job must lead her to lose herself. („ქალი უნდა იყოს ისეთი, როგორც თვითონ უნდა რომ იყოს“; „ქალი უნდა იყოს თავისი თავის უფალი, არც ოჯახი, არც შვილები, არც სამსახური არ უნდა ახდენდეს გავლენას რომ ამ ქალმა საკუთარ თავზე უარი თქვას...“)

All respondents believed that a woman should be independent and free from negative gender roles which society imposes and obliges her to adopt against her will.

Based on the examples mentioned above, we can conclude that the analysis of gay men's discourse breaks the heterogenic stereotypes that are widely spread in our male-dominated society.

5. Conclusions

The overall aim of this research was to reveal the general linguistic characteristics of gay male speech in order to specify the reliability of stereotypes about gay male speech markers. Another goal of the research was to clarify gay male attitude on general topics and standardized issues, in order to make an observation and conclude to what extent the gay community falls together with heteronormative stereotypes. The final intention of the research was the identification of gay male attitude and perception towards stereotypical and standardized roles practiced in society.

According to stereotypes widely spread in Georgian culture, utilization of feminine speech strategies is considered to be the gay speech marker while masculine speech is always associated with heteronormativity. The quantitative analysis of gay speech revealed that 15 out of 20 gay males had stereotypically distinguished feminine speech with high pitch voice and slow and stretched speech. On the other hand, 5 gay males produced their speech in a stereotypical masculine manner, such as deep husky voice and low pitch sounds. The employment of the words denoting feminine content such as girl (გოგო, gogo) sister(დანა, dana) as well as feminine phonological features was demonstrated by the participants, although some of the respondents did not use these markers. Based on community perception, characteristics of individuals cannot be generalized and considered as a common norm. A stereotype may be real, but it is important to take into account the identity and uniqueness of each individual before drawing conclusions about them.

LGBT community, including the gay community, is one of the vulnerable groups in Georgia, they often become victims of oppression [ჯალაღანია; 2016], thus in a safe environment, gay males clearly express the opinions about the public restrictions and have an ironical attitude towards stereotypes. As heteronormativity is a popular theory in Georgia, there are a number of stereotypes concerning the issue. The questionnaire which was created for this research encouraged speakers to talk about general issues, such as favorite colors, cooking, etc. The unusual choice of colors as well as adjusting opposite sex roles have proved that members of the gay community involved in interviews are not self-stereotyped according to the expectations of society. Georgian gay males refer to male individuals by metaphors which have controversial meanings (in this case, the juxtaposition of weak and strong features was used) Accordingly, they accept the fact that the word "male" can mean strength as well as weakness.

In order to discover the non-stereotypical attitude demonstrated by a gay man, questions connected to men and women general characteristics were given to the respondents. The fact that

gay men have demonstrated a supportive attitude towards women in the discourse, reflects their high sensitivity and awareness of the matter, towards the women.

In conclusion, it can be claimed that the Georgian Gay Discourse breaks stereotypes of the heteronormative society. The usage of gender-specific words, adjusting opposite sex roles, expressing sensitivity about gender issues highlight the diversity of each individual.

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COLOR IDIOMS AND THEIR GEORGIAN EQUIVALENTS

Abstract

The subject of the present article is color idioms in English, their classification based on semantic transparency, stability of form, connotation and the ability to be translated into Georgian. In regard to translation, special attention is paid to the transfer of images contained in the original idioms into the target language. Considering the specific character of idioms, particularly color idioms, different methods of translation have been suggested including finding the exact or close equivalents of transparent, universal idioms. Other strategies used with more opaque expressions are finding the expressions whose constituent parts are in some way associated with the colors mentioned in the original expressions. Paraphrasing, replacing color idioms with textually/dynamically equivalent expressions having the same value and function in Georgian, and calquing are other possible methods.

Key words: color idioms, semantic transparency, universal idioms, translation strategies.

Introduction

1. Definition

In Longman Dictionary of Language Teaching and Applied Linguistics, the term idiom is defined simply as “an expression which functions as a single unit and whose meaning cannot be worked out from its separate parts. Other definitions provided by different scholars sound quite similar:

- “An idiom can be defined as a number of words which, when taken together, have a different meaning from the individual meanings of each word”; (Seidl&McMordie 1988: 12–13);
- “Two or more words together that, as a unit, have a special meaning that is different from the literal meaning of the words separately” (Brenner 2003: 4–5);

- Idioms are “frozen patterns of language which allow little or no variation in form and often carry meanings which cannot be deduced from their individual components” (Baker 1992: 63).

2. *Classification*

Idioms are considered as more vivid and effective than conventional, non-idiomatic expressions. There have been several attempts to categorize them, for instance, Fernando, distinguishes three sub-classes: pure idioms are non-literal, containing the words used figuratively; semi-idioms are made up from literal and non-literal parts, while literal idioms are transparent because they can be interpreted based on the meanings of their parts. (Strakšiene 2009: 14). Similar classification employing different terms is based on the degree of compositionality and semantic transparency. According to their compositionality, idioms can be non-compositional, partially compositional, and fully compositional. In non-compositional idioms, no relations between the idiom’s constituents and the idiom’s meaning can be discerned, while such relationship to some extent exists in partially compositional idioms, and the meaning of fully compositional idioms can be inferred from their constituent parts. (Glucksberg 2001: 73).

Kvetko classifies idioms based on their fixedness or stability. He distinguishes unchangeable idioms, which are completely fixed and cannot undergo any modifications (e.g. once in a blue moon, red tape), and changeable idioms allowing certain variations, e.g. a skeleton in the closet (American English) – a skeleton in the cupboard (British English) (Kvetko 2009: 104–105).

2. Data Collection and Analysis

2.1. Color idioms

Idioms are used a lot by native speakers, while for those studying English as a second language they can be rather confusing. However, since it is impossible to avoid them, learners of English face the need to be familiar with the meaning and usage of English idioms, which are very many. Idioms add color to the English speech and writing, and this is even more true for the expressions associated with different colors. Hence, since it is impossible to cover all the idioms in one paper, I have confined my research to color expressions. Below is given the list of 90 idioms with different colors mentioned in them. Each of them is accompanied with a definition and examples.

- 1. See the colour of someone's money - To prove that someone has enough money for something**
 - The antiques dealer wouldn't let me touch the items until he saw the colour of my money.
- 2. Chase rainbows - When someone tries to get or achieve something that is difficult or impossible**
 - My brother doesn't think realistically. He just chases rainbows all the time.
- 3. With flying colors - To complete something with great distinction, and excellent results**
 - I didn't think she would do so well in the final exam, but she passed it with flying colors!
- 4. To paint in bright/dark colors - To describe something in a flattering or unflattering way**
 - John was struggling financially after moving home, but he painted everything in the brightest colors, and made it look like he was absolutely fine!
- 5. To be kept in the dark - Keeping a secret from someone, shielding the truth**
 - He kept everyone in the dark about the true extent of his illness.
- 6. Black and white - To judge everything as either one way or the other, good or bad.**
 - Our boss always thinks that everything is straightforward, but he doesn't realize that this whole situation is not as **black and white** as he thinks!
- 7. Put something down in black and white - To write or have something written down on paper for confirmation or evidence**
 - I don't understand why you don't believe me! Look, it's written here in black and white!
- 8. Black and blue - Used to describe something that is badly bruised**
 - John's face was **black and blue** after the boxing match.
- 9. Black eye - A bruise near one's eye**
 - Fred came home with a horrible **black eye** today, but he won't tell us what happened!
- 10. Black out - Either darken by putting out or dimming the lights, or to lose consciousness.**
 - We had a huge **black out** here last night, the whole town was out of power for about 7 hours!
- 11. Black market -A term used for places where goods are illegally bought and sold for a profit.**
 - Jerry used to sell cigarettes from South America on the **black market**!
- 12. Blacklist someone -To write someone's name on a list if they break any rules, and ban them from having the opportunity to take part again**

- “I was in a lot of debt a while ago, and was unable to pay it all back, so I’ve been **blacklisted**. I’m not allowed to get a mortgage in my own name.
- 13. Pot calling the kettle black** - when the person who criticizes someone else is as guilty as that person She kept telling me that I shouldn’t do that, but that’s like the **pot calling the kettle black**, as she does it herself too!
- 14. Blackmail someone** - To extort or take money from someone by using their secrets against them and threatening to reveal it to others
- He has been **blackmailing me** for months with some photos that I didn’t know he had.
- 15. In someone’s black books** -To be in disgrace or in disfavor with someone
- After that argument yesterday, he will be **in a lot of people’s black books** for quite some time!
- 16. Black tie event/affair** - a formal event where male guests wear black bow ties with tuxedos or dinner jackets
- The award’s ceremony will be a **black tie event**, so I’ll have to buy a smart suit.
- 17. Black sheep** - a person who is the ‘odd one out’ of a group, and doesn’t fit in with others. This could also be used to talk about someone who is a disgrace or embarrassment to their group.
- I have always been the **black sheep** in my family, I have a completely different personality to all of them, and we don’t even look the same!
- 18. In the black** - Meaning successful or profitable
- Their company has been **in the black** ever since the new CEO took over, and changed it all around!
- 19. Pitch black** - Another term for somewhere that is very dark, and you are unable to see anything
- I was afraid to go downstairs, the whole house was **pitch black**, and very quiet.
- 20. Out of the blue** - to appear out of nowhere without any warning.
- You won’t believe it but Sarah called me **out of the blue** yesterday, and told me she’s coming to visit! How unexpected!
- 21. Blue pencil** -To censor something, or limit the information that is shared
- The reports about how soldiers were being treated abroad had been **blue-penciled** by the authorities.
- 22. A blue-eyed boy** - A critical description of a boy or young man who is always picked for special favors by someone in a position of higher authority.

- He is such a **blue-eyed boy!** I don't like that the manager always treats him as if he is special, it is not fair on the rest of us!
- 23. A bolt from the blue** -When some unexpected bad news is received
 - It was a complete **bolt from the blue** for us, we had no idea that they were having problems, let alone getting divorced!
- 24. Blue blood** - Used to describe someone from a noble, aristocratic or wealthy family
 - Many of the **blue bloods** in our town were invited to the royal wedding.
- 25. Blue ribbon** - To be of superior quality or distinction, the best of a group
 - A **blue ribbon** panel of experts were invited to investigate the extraordinary remains.
- 26. Feel blue** - When someone looks or feels depressed or discontented
 - What's that the matter with you today? **You seem really blue.** Is there something you'd like to talk about?
- 27. Blue in the face** - To try really hard to win someone's agreement, but usually end unsuccessfully
 - I kept trying to convince him that it was a good idea until I was **blue in the face**, but he's so stubborn, he just kept disagreeing with me!
- 28. Once in a blue moon** - To occur extremely rarely, or only once in a lifetime
 - My sister is working in Africa, she hardly ever has the time to call us. My parents only hear from her **once in a blue moon.**
- 29. Blue collar** - Used to describe men used as laborers, or factory workers
 - The got rid of a lot of the **blue-collar** workers during the recession.
- 30. To be green** - Used to describe someone who is immature, or inexperienced
 - **He can be rather green** sometimes. I don't think he's ready to be promoted to a higher position yet.
- 31. Green with envy** - Used to describe someone who is extremely jealous, full of envy
 - When we were children, my older brother always used to get **green with envy** if my dad bought something for me and not for him.
- 32. Give someone the green light** - When someone receives permission to go ahead with something
 - **We have been given the green the light** by the Marketing Executive to go ahead with the new advertising campaign.

33. Grass is always greener on the other side - Used to describe a place that is far away, and better than, where you are now, or another person's situation that is very different from your own

- He realized that **the grass is always greener on the other side** when he saw that his new job wasn't perfect, and had its own problems too.

34. Green thumb/green finger - Used to describe someone with a talent for gardening, having the ability to make plants grow

- This garden used to look so beautiful when my mum lived here. She definitely had a **green thumb**. I wish I did too!

35. A golden opportunity - An opportunity that may never present itself again

- Think carefully about what you're going to do, this is a **golden opportunity**, and you don't want to mess it up!

36. A golden handshake - A large sum of money that is paid to a retiring manager or director, or to a redundant worker

- The company Chairman received a **huge golden handshake** when he retired.

37. Golden boy - The term given to a young man idolized for a great skill, usually in sport.

- By many of his fans, Wayne Rooney is seen as the **golden boy** of his football team.

38. The golden rule – the most important rule or principle to remember when one something.

- Always keep an eye on your opponent. **It is the golden rule.**

39. 57. See pink elephants - When someone sees things that are not really there, because they are in their imagination

- Anyone who hears his story thinks **he sees pink elephants**. It's just such a far-fetched story, and very hard to believe.

40. In the pink of something - Meaning in very good health

- My grandmother looked ever so well when I saw her, **she was in the pink of condition.**

41. To be shown the red card - This derives from football terminology, and means to be dismissed from your job

- The company Accountant **was shown the red card**, after they found out he was using company money for personal gain.

42. To be in the red - To have an overdraft, be in debt to your bank, or owe an institution some money

- I've got three credit card bills to pay off at the moment. **I hate being in the red!**

43. To be out of the red - To be out of debt

- **Our company is finally out of the red now.** We've managed to pay back our loan, and now we're making profit!

44. A red flag - A signal that something is not working properly or correctly

- The fallen trees along the road raised **a red flag** for the safety inspectors.

45. Beet red - Also used to describe dark red, usually the colour of a face (derives from beetroot)

- I could see my son up on the stage, his little face was **beet red!**

46. Red hot - Something new and exciting, creating much demand

- The new video game is **red-hot**. Some fans have been waiting outside stores for days, to get a hold of them!

47. Red herring - An unimportant matter that misleads everyone and draws attention away from the main subject

- Unfortunately that witness was just **a red herring**. She had no justification to her story, and it was a waste of valuable time.

48. Catch someone red-handed - To catch someone in the act of committing a crime

- He kept lying to me about where he was going in the evenings, so yesterday I followed him and **caught him red-handed**. He was with another woman!

49. Red in the face - To become embarrassed

- I went **red in the face** when the teacher told me off in front of everyone for arriving late!

50. Red-eye - A journey that leaves late at night and arrives early in the morning

- We had to catch the **red-eye** flight last night, and I'm completely **exhausted** now.

51. Red-letter day - A day that is memorable because of some important event

- The day I graduated was **a red-letter day** for my mum, she still talks about it today!

52. To look through rose-colored/tinted spectacles/glasses - When someone sees things in an overly flattering or over-optimistic light

- Sarah doesn't understand what it's like for us. She has always **seen everything through rose-tinted glasses** because her parents spoilt her so much when she was young!

53. To see red - To react with uncontrollable rage against someone or something

- John **saw red** when he heard someone shouting at his mother.

54. Red tape - The term used for bureaucratic delay, or excessive formalities, and attention to rules and regulations, often resulting in injustice to the ordinary citizen

- I just want to start my own business, but the amount of **red tape** involved is so frustrating, that it almost makes me want to give up!

55. To see the red light - To recognize approaching danger. The red light is referred to as a danger signal

- When I had a minor heart attack last year, **I saw the red light** and realized that I had to quit smoking, and improve my health.

56. Paint the town red - To go out and have a really good time at a party

- I've managed to get a babysitter for this weekend. Let's go and **paint the town red!**

57. Roll out the red carpet - To greet a person with great respect, and give them a big, warm welcome

- When Barack Obama came to visit our school, we **rolled out the red carpet** for him.

58. Red-carpet treatment - (Similar to the one above) To receive special or royal treatment, and be received with a big, warm welcome

- My aunt always gives us the **red-carpet treatment** when we go to visit her.

59. The silver screen - A term for the cinema

- Do you fancy going to watch that movie on **the silver screen** tonight?

60. Born with a silver spoon in one's mouth - Meaning born into a rich family

- I don't think Kelly has ever had a job. She was **born with a silver spoon** in her mouth.

61. To be given something on a silver plate/platter - When something is offered to someone wholeheartedly (in a metaphorical sense)

- **I offered my heart to him on a silver platter**, and he turned it down.

62. As white as a sheet - When someone is in a state of great fear or anxiety

- Harold are you alright? You're **as white as a sheet**, what's the matter?

63. Raise a white flag - This indicates that one has accepted defeat and surrenders to the other party

- There was such a heated debate going on in the conference room, they wouldn't back down! **I just raised my white flag** in the end.

64. Whitewash something - To cover up or gloss over faults or wrongdoings

- The government was accused of trying **to whitewash the scandal** over charity pay-outs.

65. White elephant - A term used for a useless possession, something that is of no use

- My mum bought a new CD player for me, but it's a **white elephant**. I don't need it, I don't even have any CDs!

66. White as a ghost - Used to describe someone who is very pale because of pain, fear, shock or illness

- I didn't think the movie was that scary, but my sister was **as white as a ghost!**

67. A white lie - A 'harmless' lie told in order to be polite and avoid hurting someone's feelings

- I just wanted to get out of work so I told my boss a **little white lie**, and said I had a doctor's appointment.

68. White collar - A term used for office workers that traditionally wear white shirts with a collar.

- We have a lot of vacancies for **white-collar** workers, but hardly anyone is applying for them!

69. Yellow-bellied - Someone who is seen as a coward or extremely timid

- There is no point in asking him what to do. He is a **yellow-bellied coward**, and won't stand up for what is right!

70. A yellow streak - Someone who has cowardice in their character

- He has always had a **big yellow streak** running down his back, don't expect him to change now!

3. Methodology

Based on the above material an experiment was carried out to classify the listed color idioms according to their compositionality. The experiment involved 30 upper-intermediate (B2) level Georgian learners of English, who were given the colour idioms with the accompanying examples (the context) but no definitions. Their task was to write the meanings of all the idioms.

4. Findings and Results

As the results of the experiment were summed up, the color idioms were divided into three groups according to the correct answers provided by the most students. Hence we got a table given below:

Compositional idioms	Partially compositional idioms	Non-compositional idioms
Chase rainbows	See the colour of someone's money	With flying colors
To be kept in the dark	Out of the blue	Black out

To paint in bright/dark colors	Blacklist someone	Blackmail someone
Black and white	Black sheep	In the black
Put something down in black and white	Black and blue	Blue pencil
Pot calling the kettle black	Men/boys in blue	Blue ribbon
Black eye	A blue-eyed boy	Feel blue
Black tie event/affair	Blue collar	Once in a blue moon
Pitch black	White collar	Green thumb/green finger
Black market	Blue in the face	A golden handshake
In someone's black books	A grey area	See pink elephants
A bolt from the blue	Red hot	To be in the red
Blue blood	To be green	To be out of the red
Give someone the green light / get the green light	Catch someone red-handed	Red herring
Grass is always greener on the other side	Red-eye	To see red
Green with envy	To see the red light	Red tape
A golden opportunity	A red flag	Paint the town red
Golden boy	Whitewash something	Roll out the red carpet
A golden rule		Red-carpet treatment
To be shown the red card		Born with a silver spoon in one's mouth
Beet red		White elephant
Red in the face		Yellow-bellied
Red-letter day		A yellow streak
To look through rose-colored/tinted spectacles/glasses		
The silver screen		
To be given something on a		

silver plate/platter		
As white as a sheet, white as a ghost		
Raise a white flag		
A white lie		

Through analysis of the three groups it becomes obvious that the idioms contained in the first group are quite transparent as the words from which they are made up are used in their literal meaning. An important factor which accounts for their being fully compositional is their universal character, which also makes them much easier to translate than partially compositional and non-compositional idioms. Hence, finding their equivalents in other languages, in this case in Georgian, does not require much effort. For example, to put something down in black and white - შავით თეთრზე; black as night, pitch black - კუპრივით შავი; black market - შავი ბაზარი; blue blood - ცისფერი სისხლი; beet red, red in the face - სახე აჭარხლებული; A bolt from the blue – მეხი მოწმენდილ ცაზე; A golden rule - ოქროს წესი; look through rose-colored/tinted spectacles/glasses - ცხოვრებისთვის ვარდისფერი სათვალით ყურება; the silver screen - ცისფერი ეკრანი; to be given something on a silver plate/platter - ხონჩით მირთმევა; Give someone the green light / get the green light - მწვანე შუქის ანთება; as white as a sheet, white as a ghost - მიტკალივით თეთრი/გაფითრებული; a white lie - უწყინარი ტყუილი etc.

As for the color idioms belonging to the remaining two groups, it is more difficult to guess their meanings, find their equivalents and translate them into Georgian. Unlike the compositional color idioms, in their translations it is often impossible to preserve the images contained in the original expressions, e.g. see the colour of someone's money – დარწმუნდე იმაში, რომ (ვიღაცას) ფული ნამდვილად აქვს; a black sheep - ოჯახის ან ჯგუფის შემარცხვენელი წევრი; to catch someone red-handed - დანაშაულზე წასწრება; a blue-eyed boy - ფავორიტი; a golden handshake - ვინმესთვის თანხის გადახდა, რათა მან დატოვოს სამსახური; red-carpet treatment - საზეიმო

მიღება; to see red - ძალიან გაბრაზება; red tape - ბიუროკრატია; red herring - თვალის ასახვევი მანევრი; see pink elephants - სიმთვრალისგან ჰალუცინაციების ქონა; a white elephant - რამე ძალიან ძვირად ღირებული, რასაც პრაქტიკული სარგებელი არ მოაქვს; yellow-bellied - მშიშარა; a yellow streak - მხდალობის, ან გამცემლობისკენ მიდრეკილება.

It is also noteworthy, that unlike the compositional idioms, most of the partially compositional, and especially, non-compositional idioms are difficult to interpret without getting familiar with their etymology. Below is given the history of several expressions:

To do something **once in a blue moon** is to do it very rarely, e.g. “That company puts on a good performance only once in a blue moon.” The phrase refers to the appearance of a second full moon within a calendar month, which actually happens about every thirty-two months.

The idiom “**with flying colors**” originated with the practice of victorious ships flying flags, or “colors,” from their masthead as they sailed back into port, announcing their victory. To be flying the colors meant the ship had won.

The expression “**in the red**” derives from the practice of using red ink to denote debt or losses on financial balance sheets. Likewise, businesses that are financially solvent are described as “**in the black**”.

As a result of the analysis it becomes clear that the idioms involving the same colors can have different connotative meanings and can be associated with very different ideas. As an example we can classify the meanings of the following “red color” expressions: “roll out/put out a red carpet”, “red-carpet treatment”, “to be out of the red”, “red-letter day”, “paint the town red”, “red hot” have positive connotation, while “red rag to the bull”, “red tape”, “to see red”, “a red flag”, “to see the red light”, “on red alert”, “red herring, ” “to be shown the red card”, “to be in the red”, “not to have a red cent” (have no money at all), “red in the face”, “red as a beetroot/ beet red”, “catch someone red-handed”, “red-eye” have negative meaning.

A close analysis of color idioms makes it clear that the universal (mostly compositional) idioms, like “red rag to the bull” (ხარისთვის წითელი ნაჭრის აფრიალება), red in the face (წამოწითლებული, დარცხენილი), to be shown the red card (წითელი ბარათის ჩვენება, გადატანითი მნიშვნელობით სამსახურიდან განთავისუფლება), in someone’s black books (შავ სიაში), raise a white flag (თეთრი დროშის აღმართვა, დანებება, კაპიტულაცია), paint in dark colors (მუქ ფერებში დახატვა), black and blue (სულმთლად დაღურჯებული) etc. are easier to translate as they are more transparent than others and have counterparts in the target language. So, such idioms are transferred to another language as the expressions bearing the same images, while the translations of other idioms cannot be expected to be metaphoric. However, sometimes it is still possible to find the equivalents that may not necessarily contain the color words, but the words associated with particular colors. That would be the best solution, as the loss of “colors” would be compensated in this way. For example, „გაცეცხლება“ (in Georgian ცეცხლი means “fire”) would be a good translation of “to see red;” “black out” could be translated as “დაბნელება“, „გონების დაბნელება“, „to be green” could be translated as მწვანე, but to avoid ambiguity (associations with ecology) “ჯერ კიდევ მწვანე“ would be better. The Georgian expression closest to “chasing rainbows” is probably “ღრუბლებში ფრენა“, which literally means flying in clouds and figuratively refers to someone constantly pursuing unrealistic goals.

Unfortunately, equivalents like the above mentioned ones are not always available and quite often the translator has to resort to the methods of paraphrase, e.g. “to catch someone red-handed” is translated as დანაშაულზე წასწრება, ნივთმტკიცებით დაკავება, so it is impossible to preserve the images of the original expression. A golden handshake is translated as პენსიაზე გასვლისას ან შტატის გაუქმებისას კომპენსაციის სახით გადახდილი თანხა. In the Georgian translation of a “black sheep” the metaphor is lost, while it is preserved in the Russian паршивая овца.

Some English color idioms have equivalents in Georgian – these are idiomatic expressions with similar meaning, although due to different images they may cause different associations. For instance, the expressions “Pot calling the kettle black” can be replaced by the Georgian saying საკუთარ თვალში

დირეს ვერ ხედავს და სხვის თვალში კი ბეწვსაც ამჩნევსო. “Born with a silver spoon in one’s mouth” could be translated as ქუდბედიანი დაბადება. However, in such cases care should be taken to avoid the expressions containing specific Georgian realities reflecting the Georgian culture and mentality. The substitutes of color idioms have to be universal. On the other hand, aphorisms from Georgian authors’ works used as the equivalents of English expressions are sure to sound ridiculous. It is also noteworthy to maintain the connotation and style of the expressions in question.

Another method of translating color idioms is calquing or loan translation. Instead of paraphrasing the translator could create calques like ოქროს შესაძლებლობა (“golden opportunity”), ლურჯსაყელოიანი/თეთრსაყელოიანი მუშაკი („blue collar” and “white collar”), and ცისფერთვალეზა ბიჭი/გოგონა (blue-eyed boy/girl (უფროსის ფავორიტის მნიშვნელობით) etc. When using calques, if the literal translations of original expressions do not sound clear enough, it is a good idea to resort to footnotes.

5. Conclusions

Research of the English idiomatic expressions associated with different colors has disclosed the differences between them based on different features like semantic compositionality, stability, connotation and translatability. Like other idiomatic expressions, color idioms are divided into fully compositional, partially compositional and non-compositional. The meaning of fully compositional idioms can be inferred from the meanings of its constituent words, so most of them can be understood and translated literally. The idioms belonging to that group are mainly universal and the more universal an expression is, the easier it is to translate. Since idioms are metaphoric, image-bearing expressions, it is important to maintain the images contained in them in translation. This is not difficult in case of fully compositional color idioms, but images are practically always lost when translating partially compositional and non-compositional idioms. replacing them with the idiomatic expressions, which in the target language have similar value and function; and calquing.

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Mari Khukhunaishvili

INTERCONNECTIONS BETWEEN IDENTITY CO-CONSTRUCTION AND IMPOLITENESS IN AMERICAN FAMILY DISCOURSE

Abstract

Based on the principles of Discursive, i.e. Genre approach to Im/politeness, under which both identity construction and impoliteness assessments are inextricably linked to particular genre conventions, the aim of this paper is to observe interconnections between identity co-construction and impoliteness in American family discourse. Studying family discourse is important not only from the point of identity co-construction and human socialization but also due to the fact that the conflicts and strategies detected in verbal interaction in the family setting are found in wider society. The research is grounded on the study of the verbal interaction in American pseudo-documentary TV series "Modern Family". The sequences in the data include verbal interaction between judgmental, hot-tempered, loud Jay Pritchett - the oldest member of the family- and other family members. This article provides a close analysis of linguistic resources used by Jay to construct his local identities and looks at the role of impoliteness in the process of identity co-construction within the family discourse. The theoretical basis for the research combines the Socio-constructivist approaches to identity construction, and Discursive, i.e. Genre approach to the study of Im/politeness.

Keywords: *Identity, impoliteness, family discourse.*

1. Introduction

Theoretical basis for the present research combines the Socio-constructivist approaches to identity construction (Anton and Peterson, 2003; Joseph, 2004; Bucholtz and Hall, 2005; De Fina et al., 2006), which view identity as a discursive practice, socially constructed, not product, but a process and

discursive, i.e. genre approach to the study of Im/politeness (Garcés-Conejos Blitvich, 2010), under which both identity construction and impoliteness assessments are linked to particular genre conventions. The aim of this paper is to observe interconnections between identity co-construction and impoliteness in American family discourse; and to test Garcés-Conejos Blitvich's (2009, 2010) thesis that impoliteness assessments may ensue when identities and positions that speakers claim for themselves are not verified by their interlocutors; when there is a mismatch between the social, generic, norms of the interaction and the participants' background and expectations, i.e. experiential norms; and when the speaker violates the (pre)genre established limits about what is acceptable as a normal course of events. The study was conducted on the basis of American pseudo-documentary TV series "Modern Family".

"Modern Family" is an American television mockumentary family sitcom created by Christopher Lloyd and Steven Levitan. The two premised the idea of the TV series on the stories of their own "modern families". As the name suggests, this family symbolizes a present-day American family, and episodes are humorously based on situations which many families experience in real life. The show presents the everyday lives of the Pritchett-Dunphy-Tucker clan, living in suburban Los Angeles, and interrelated through the oldest member of the family Jay Pritchett, his daughter Claire and his son Mitchell. Consider the list of all the family members: The Pritchetts' "step-" family- Jay Pritchett, his Colombian wife Gloria Delgado Pritchett, Gloria's son from previous marriage Manuel "Manny" Delgado, and Jay and Gloria's son Fulgencio Joseph "Joe"; The Dunphies' nuclear family- Jay's daughter Claire Pritchett Dunphy, her husband Phil Dunphy, and their children Hailey, Alex and Luke Dunphies; The Tuckers' same-sex family- Jay's son Mitchell Pritchett, his partner Cameron Tucker, and their daughter Lily Tucker-Pritchett. "These three families are unique unto themselves, and together they give us an honest and often hilarious look into the sometimes warm, sometimes twisted, embrace of the modern family" ("About Modern Family", n.d.). The sequences in the data include verbal interaction between judgmental, hot-tempered, loud Jay Pritchett and other family members.

First aired on ABC (American Broadcasting Company) on September 23, 2009, "Modern Family" was an instant hit. During 2010-2011 it was the highest rated scripted show in the 18-49 demographic, and the third highest rated overall sitcom behind "The Big Bang Theory" and "Two and a Half Man" (Gorman, 2011). The show has been nominated for and won many awards, including Primetime Emmy

Awards and Golden Globe Award for Best Television Series- Musical or Comedy (“It was a big night for big names at Golden Globes”, 2012).

2. Building up Identities

In Socio-constructivist terms (Anton and Peterson 2003; Joseph 2004; Bucholtz and Hall 2005; De Fina et al. 2006), identity is viewed not as an individual’s innate characteristic, but as something that is subject to construction, contextualization and negotiation processes. In other words, an individual cannot construct their own identity autonomously, but they need other individuals, i.e. social environment and specific contexts, i.e. local- genre based-interactional occasions in order to carry out identity work. Through discursive practice within a particular cultural, social and historical context, individuals perform/enact, verify, challenge, resist and contest each other’s claimed identities. Following Burke and Stets (2009), identity verification is a fundamental part of identity operation. Hence, an individual’s interpersonal/social relations stand as a crucial part of the process of identity co-construction (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999). According to Joseph (2004: 81), identity belongs equally to both parties- the one who claims it, and the one who interprets it.

Anton and Peterson (2003) relate identity construction to subject positions, which they define as our particular viewpoint on the world based on our individual experiences and knowledge. They distinguish between subject positions that individuals claim for themselves, self-asserted, and those that are ascribed to them by others, other-asserted. Through the subject positions, people claim epistemic privilege (i.e. disqualifying others’ opinions, and claiming to have a better or correct one) or epistemic qualification (i.e. accepting multiple viewpoints to claim equal validity of their own positions).

In order for any particular identity to be recognizable, the repetition of its performance is essential. This does not exclude the possibility of change, i.e. each performance may incorporate new elements (Garcés-Conejos Blitvich, 2013).

3. Impoliteness Assessments

A discursive, i.e. Genre approach to Im/politeness is based on genre notions provided by Swales (1990) and Fairclough (2003). Special importance has been given to the following statement: “particular representations (discourses) may be enacted in particular ways of Acting and Relating (genres), and inculcated in particular ways of Identifying (styles)” (Fairclough 2003: 29). According to Genre approach, both identity and impoliteness are co-constructed within culturally recognized genres, at the level of style.

Swales (1990:58) presents the following definition of Genre: “A class of communicative events, the members of which share some set of communicative purposes. These purposes [...] constitute the rationale for the genre. This rationale shapes the schematic structure of the discourse and influences and constrains the choice of content and style...”.

As it is commonly accepted, the purpose of a family discourse community is love, help, guidance, respect, providing moral, economic, educational, etc. support and insight. Even though the family is considered to be an environment in which face-threatening behaviour is expected to some extent with the intention of achieving a higher purpose (Culpeper, 2008), there are boundaries indicating what kind of behaviour can be considered off limits, i.e. interpreted as impolite. Although these boundaries are not always clearly drawn. As Garcés-Conejos Blitvich (2013) states it, “those limits are not absolute, but often fuzzy, and always situated, co-constructed and negotiated at the level of style”.

Following Garcés-Conejos Blitvich (2010, 2013), impoliteness interpretations may ensue when: (i) identities and positioning that speakers are trying to construct are not verified by their interlocutors; (ii) when there is a mismatch between the social, generic, norms of the interaction and the participants’ background and expectations, i.e. experiential norms; (iii) when the face-threatening behaviour goes beyond the genre-established limits of what is acceptable as the normal course of events.

4. Methodology

The study draws on the examination of the verbal interaction in American pseudo-documentary TV series "Modern Family". From the corpus of 100 episodes, interactional sequences in which

impoliteness was detected, have been transcribed and analyzed using a qualitative, discourse-analytic method since identity construction centrally entails discursive work (Georgakopoulou, 2007). The sequences in the data include verbal interaction between judgmental, hot-tempered, loud Jay Pritchett - the oldest member of the family- and other members. Applying the dual, top-down and bottom-up approach, a number of patterns of identity co-construction in relation to impoliteness have been identified, such as non-verification of others' claimed identities/positionings by the speaker, and violating the (pre)genre established norms/constraints of interaction. Analytic framework for the research combines the Socio-constructivist approaches to identity construction (Anton and Peterson, 2003; Joseph, 2004; Bucholtz and Hall, 2005; De Fina et al., 2006), and Discursive, i.e. Genre approach to the study of Im/politeness (Garcés-Conejos Blitvich 2010), which claims that genre notions, as understood by Fairclough (2003), can provide an overarching unit of analysis that integrates both top-down and bottom-up analysis of im/politeness. Based on the same (Discursive/Genre) approach, both identity construction and impoliteness assessments are inextricably linked to norms associated with particular genre practices. More precisely, the genre itself being both social and cognitive, and individual and social (Miller, 1984; Unger, 2006) provides top-down norms/expectations, i.e. predictive theoretical basis, which can be recognized by analysts, but these norms are always co-constructed at the level of style/identification. The analyst also needs to make sure that his/her assessment coincides with participants' positionings (Haugh, 2007, 2009). Therefore, integrating a bottom-up approach is essential, as it would accommodate the emergence of im/politeness phenomena as constructed in interaction.

Following Joseph's (2004) claim: "If identity, face, stance or politeness are to be investigated empirically, it must be in terms not of the speaker's intentions, which are impervious to observation, but of hearers' interpretations, which are open to observation, questioning, cross-checking, and other methodological reassurances". In all the cases throughout this study, when assessing a particular behaviour as impolite, a bottom-up (discursive, emergent) and a top-down (theory-based) approach has been deployed in order to make sure that the analyst's assessments coincide with the participants' interpretations of a given behavior as impolite.

5. Results and Discussion

The findings of the study of interconnections between identity co-construction and impoliteness in American family discourse on the example of the verbal interaction in American TV series “Modern Family”, are discussed in this sub-chapter in terms of one of the most distinctive local identity categories (Bucholtz and Hall 2005: 592) throughout the corpus, labeled in the present study as: Mr. Tough Talk, Mr. Straight Shooter; Mr. King of Mockery, which involves the interaction between the oldest member of the family- judgmental, hot-tempered, loud Jay Pritchett- and other family members.

Frequent strategies deployed by Jay throughout the corpus involved self-asserted claims to epistemic privilege, authority and the quality for himself to be honest, caring, fun dad/grandad/husband; Presenting subjective opinion as fact; and Mockery. As a result, a number of different behaviors, such as distress, explicit verbal/non-verbal disagreements were triggered, as demonstrated in the examples below. (Transcription conventions are presented in an Appendix).

(1) Example

(Cameron “Cam” [C] and Mitchell “Mitch” [M]- a gay couple; Claire [Cl]- Mitch’s sister; Jay [J]- Mitch and Claire’s father). After being a couple for five years, Cam [C] and Mitch [M] have adopted a baby girl from Vietnam. The extract below describes the scene in which they invited Mitch’s family over to share their big news with them.

MCU-J	J	1	<i>SO HOW WAS YOUR <u>TRIP</u>?</i>
MS-M,	M	2	<i>It was good(.)it was good actually(.) but about that</i>
looking		3	<i>I(.)I have something that I need to tell you guys (2)</i>
nervous		4	<i>We didn't just go to Vietnam for pleasure (.)</i>
		5	<i>We (2) KINDA HAVE SOME <u>BIG NEWS</u> (looks excited)</i>
LS-J	J	6	<i>Oh <u>God</u> (.) if Cam comes out here with <u>boobs</u> (.)</i>
		7	<i>I'm <u>leaving</u></i>
LS-Cl	Cl	8	<i>Dad? (looks embarrassed)</i>
			[...]

CU-M M 12 *Anyway (2) so about a year ago (.) Cam and I sort have*

 13 *feeling this longing (.) you know for something more like (2)*

 14 *maybe a baby?*

LS-J J 15 *Whoa (.) that's a bad idea*

MCU-M,
looking
worried M 16 *What do you mean(.) bad idea?*

MLS-J J 17 *Well(.) kids need a mother (.) I mean (.)*

 18 *if you two guys are bored get a DOG (smiling sarcastically)*

CU-M M 19 *OK we're not bored (.) dad*

 [...]

CU-CI CI 22 *I think what dad is trying to say is that (.) Mitchell*

CU-M,
smiling
ironically 23 *you're a little uptight (.) kids bring chaos (.) and*

CU-CI 24 *you don't handle well*

 M 25 *That's not what dad's saying (.) that's what you're saying (.)*

 26 *And it's insulting in a whole different way*

 [...]

Dramatic music playing loudly, C enters holding a baby MLS-Family

MS-Family, M 35 *We've adopted a baby (.) Her name is Lilly*

CI looking
excited

CU-C, C 36 *Exciting?*
looking
excited

MS-J, [...]
looking
astonished

MS-J J 44 *EXCUSE me (.) Okay (.) I know that I said I thought*
45 *this was a bad idea (.) But (2) What do I know?*
46 *I mean (.) It's not like I wrote the book on fatherhood (.)*
47 *I'm trying whole my life to get it right*
48 *I'm still screwing up*
[...]
52 *Anyway (.) I'm happy for ya*

In this example we can see that when Mitch announces that they have some big news (line 5), before even letting him say what the news is, Jay directly contributes with an interjection indicating disapproval – *Oh God* (line 6). Note the emphasis on God, implying his negative expectations, and resorts straight to using stereotypical knowledge about Cam: *If Cam comes out there with boobs (.) I'm leaving* (lines 6-7), inferring that as far as Cam is gay, he would necessarily desire to look like a woman (other-asserted subject position). Claire seems to be embarrassed for her father's remark: *Dad?* (line 8). Claire's reaction indicates that Jay's straightforward formulation of his judgement can be considered to be a deviation from the genre sanctioned norms and expectations.

Mitch's introductory speech before making a big statement: *Anyway (.) so about a year ago (.) Cam and I sort have feeling this longing for something more like (.) maybe a baby?* (lines 12, 13, 14)- is followed by Jay's strictly negative evaluation, which he begins with an interjection: Whoa (line 15) bearing negative connotation in this context; preceding the forthcoming disagreement: *that's a bad idea*

(line 15)- without anyone asking for his opinion. After this he goes on to support his position with an argument: *Well(.) kids need a mother (.) I mean (.) if you two guys are bored get a DOG (.)* (lines 17-18). Here he begins with a discourse marker *Well*, followed by his reason, which he states as a fact, and sarcastic advice for the couple to get a dog rather than a baby. In this extract Jay implicitly self-asserts epistemic privilege by presenting his subjective opinion as fact: *Whoa that's a bad idea* (line 15). By doing this, he claims to be someone entitled to have a final word and tell others what a better or correct action/decision is. His performance also demonstrates claims for himself to be brutally honest. He does this in a way that does not verify Mitch and Cam's claimed identity/positioning as a responsible couple who is capable of raising a baby. This leads to distress which unfolds in Mitch's explicit assessment of the behaviour as *insulting* (line 26). Finally, when the couple reveal their big secret, and once they have already adopted a baby, Jay apologizes to them: *EXCUSE me (.) Okay (.) I know that I said I thought this was a bad idea (.) But (2) What do I know?* (lines 44-45). Note the stress on I in *What do I know*-through which Jay disqualifies his own claim for epistemic privilege and reaffirms Mitch's and Cam's claimed identities/positionings, resulting in a peaceful resolution of the disagreement.

(2) Example

MCU-L	P	1	<i><u>My son</u> has been riding his <u>sister's</u> old bike</i>
MCU- P and Cl	Cl	2	<i><u>Until</u> he's <u>responsible</u> enough to take care of his <u>own</u> bike</i>
talking to the camera		3	<i>Look (.) he spilled a soda on my computer (.)</i>
		4	<i>He ruined our digital camera (.)</i>
		5	<i>taking pictures of himself [underwater</i>
	P	6	<i>[It's a <u>girl's</u> bike</i>
CU-P		7	<i>I'm <u>all</u> for teaching him a lesson (.) But I worry about the</i>
CU-P and Cl		8	<i><u>ridicule</u> he might get from some loud-mouth <u>bully</u></i>
MS-J and L. L. J	J	9	<i>(horn honks) (laughing) heeey (.) Nice bike <u>Sally?</u></i>
looking angry.			

P-looking upset

MS-Cl, P and L Cl 10 *Dad?*

MCU-J looking J 11 *Come on (.) He looks like little Bo Peep on that thing.*
annoyed

MS-P, Cl and L P 12 *Actually (.) not for long (.)*

13 *He's getting a new bike this afternoon*

L 14 *I am?*

P 15 *Mm-hmm*

L looks excited; Cl 16 *He is?*

J's facial
expression-

“Mr. Know it
all”

Here Jay's involvement commences with another frequent technique in the corpus- mockery. By calling his grandson a girl's name, because of riding a girl's bike, Jay questions his essential identity as a boy, which generally is a sensitive issue for boys. Luke's facial expression demonstrates his anger and distress for this comment (other-asserted subject position). Claire's reaction- *Dad?* (line 10)- serves as an indicator that this kind of conduct is not a normal course of events and is a deviation from norms and expectations within the given discourse practice. Jay gets slightly angry about Claire's reaction, and turns to using rudeness disclaimer- *come on(.)* (line 11), followed by another face-threat towards Luke- further teasing him by comparing him with a “Little Bo-Peep”, who is a girl from an old English nursery rhyme- *He looks like little Bo Peep on that thing* (line 11). By doing this Jay strives to support his position as an honest and caring Grandpa/Dad, who wants his grandson to have a boy's bike and look like a boy. Phil looks worried, and with the intention of protecting his son and verifying his essential identity, he spontaneously decides to buy him a new bike, which is against their initial agreement. By this, Phil verifies Jay's claimed subject position/identity as someone of authority, who is empowered to dictate other members of the family what a better or necessary action or decision is,

most importantly, doing this through mockery. Note paralinguistic features- Jay's facial expression and a gesturing as a response to Phil's on-the-spot decision. The sequence is cut off at this point, therefore ending with an emphasis on the "I know better" attitude of *Mr. Tough Talk, Mr. Straight Shooter, Mr. King of mockery*.

(3) Example

MCU-J G 1 *Manny's father is taking him for a couple of days to Disneyland*
and

G talking 2 *So we're gonna go (.) to the wine country*
to

the J 3 *We're gonna drink some WINE (2.) eat some good food (2.)*
camera

4 *You know (.) we would do something like this a lot more often*

5 *If it wasn't for (.) you know (.) Manny*

G 6 *It's good (.) He keeps us grounded*

CU-J and J 7 *Yeah (2.) Like fog at an airport*

G

G with a

confused

smile

Here Jay's theatrical comparison of Manny with fog contributes to humour- Manny keeps the couple grounded *Like fog at an airport* (line 7). Judging by Gloria's facial expression, who looks confused, we can conclude that Jay's behaviour was not an expected course of interaction for her, i.e. it was against her experiential norms. Jay again self-asserts a subject position of someone of authority, *Mr. Straight Shooter, Mr. King of Mockery*, who is entitled to make jokes without bearing others' feelings in mind, and crossing the genre established limits of what is acceptable as the normal course of events. He tacitly justifies his behaviour by his feature of being roughly honest- *You know (.) we would do*

something like this a lot more often If it wasn't for (.) you know (.) Manny (lines 4-5). This kind of conduct leads to distress expressed in non-verbal feature- Gloria's facial expression, who is confused, as it was a joke, and leaves her husband's self-asserted subject position unchallenged.

(4) Example

MS-C, J, M and C. J sipping	C	1	<i>It's a French-Canadian delicacy called <u>poutine</u></i>
wine,			
glances over the dish	Cl	2	<i>Mm</i>
	J	3	<i>Well it looks like <u>vomit</u> so</i>
Cl looks shocked (in disbelief)		4	<i>I'm not <<u>pou</u>>ting it in my mouth</i>
with her eyes widened; M drops			
the fork noisily on the plate-J			
looks at him surprised. C looks			
offended, takes the dish away			
immediately			

In this example Jay uses a discourse marker “well”, followed by his straightforward negative evaluation of the dish- *Well it looks like vomit* (line 3)- which is a statement of his subjective opinion as fact. Note the added stress on the evaluative element- *vomit*- one of the worst possible assessments of a dish; and witty wordplay on its name: *I'm not <pou>ting it in my mouth* (line 4)- pronounced emphatically at slow speech rate. By this behaviour, Jay self-asserts a subject position of someone entitled to judge and mock others and deliver his “honest” opinions in a disrespectful, offensive, viciously rude manner. He resists Cam's claimed subject position/identity as a good cook. Note the paralinguistic emphasis on the facial shock, distress and frustration of his interlocutors, demonstrating that Jay crossed the genre-established limits of what is acceptable as the normal course of events, and his conduct is interpreted as impolite.

6. Conclusions

The aim of this research was to study interconnections between identity co-construction and impoliteness in American family discourse on the example of the verbal interaction in American TV series “Modern Family”; and to test Garcés-Conejos Blitvich’s (2009, 2010) thesis that impoliteness assessments may ensue when identities and positions that speakers claim for themselves are not verified by their interlocutors; when there is a mismatch between the social, generic, norms of the interaction and the participants’ background and expectations, i.e. experiential norms; and when the speaker violates the (pre)genre established limits about what is acceptable as a normal course of events. A bottom-up and top-down approach has been adopted in order to detect locally, discursively emergent patterns of impoliteness, and analyze them within a theoretical framework- Genre approach to impoliteness. Close analysis of the interactional sequences resulted in the identification of a number of patterns of identity co-construction in relation to impoliteness, such as non-verification of others’ claimed identities/positionings by the speaker, and violating the (pre)genre established norms/constraints of interaction. Impoliteness was revealed at the lexico-grammatical level and interactionally, based on metapragmatic comments (Eelen, 2001). Findings have been discussed in terms of one of the most distinctive local identity categories throughout the corpus, labeled in the present study as: Mr. Tough Talk, Mr. Straight Shooter; Mr. King of Mockery, which involved the interaction between the oldest member of the family- judgmental, hot-tempered, loud Jay Pritchett, and other family members. Through the above-mentioned local identity categories, the character (Jay) strove to support his identity as an honest, caring, authoritative, fun head of the family. Frequent strategies deployed by him throughout the corpus were a mockery and self-asserted claims to epistemic privilege, authority and demonstration of power. Most importantly, Jay’s local identity categories were co-constructed in a manner that did not verify others’ claimed identities and positions. This was interpreted as impolite by his interlocutors, which means that impoliteness and identity have been found to be interconnected in the interactional sequences throughout the corpus (Garcés-Conejos Blitvich’s, 2009). As a result, a number of different behaviours were triggered such as distress (examples 1, 2, 3, 4) and explicit verbal/non-verbal disagreements (examples 1, 2, 3, 4). Findings of the research within a specific genre- family discourse- confirmed Garcés-Conejos Blitvich’s (2009, 2010)

thesis that impoliteness assessments may ensue when identities and positions that speakers claim for themselves are not verified by their interlocutors; when there is a mismatch between the social, generic, norms of the interaction and the participants' background and expectations, i.e. experiential norms; and when the speaker violates the (pre)genre establish limits about what is acceptable as a normal course of events.

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Appendix

Transcription conventions (from Lorenzo-Dus, 2009)

CU / MCU close up / medium-close up camera shot

MS / MLS medium shot / medium-long range camera shot

LS long range camera angle

word marked stress

WORD increased volume

(.) short pause

(2.0) longer pause, in seconds

(laugh) paralinguistic / non-verbal features of communication

? rising intonation

[overlapping conversation (interruptions)

(xxx) inaudible speech

- word or syllable abruptly cut-off

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Natalia Koroshinadze

IIMPOLITENESS IN POLITICAL DEBATES BY GEORGIAN POLITICAL LEADERS

Abstract

The main goal of this ongoing research is to identify the ways, both linguistic (verbal) and supralinguistic (non-verbal) utilised by Georgian female political leaders when building up their identities in the process of TV debates. For this, the research relies on two theoretical sources: a genre-specific approach to political debate shows and the role of impoliteness in the process of construing the identity of the leader.

Key words: *Politicians, female leaders, debates, face attack, (im-)politeness*

INTRODUCTION

The fact that female politicians frequently employ masculine politeness strategies when conducting political debates has already been stated (Rusieshvili-Cartledge, 2017).

In addition, as shown by another research (Totibadze, 2016), female political leaders employ masculine metaphors as frequently as their male counterparts. The reason for this is considered to be the desire to impress their followers and persuade them that female leaders are as strong as their male counterparts.

The main goal of this ongoing research is to identify the ways, both linguistic (verbal) and supralinguistic (non-verbal) utilised by Georgian female political leaders when building up their identities in the process of TV debates. For this, the research relies on two theoretical sources: a genre-specific approach to political debate shows and the role of impoliteness in the process of construing the identity of the leader. Another research question is to discuss whether shows on Georgian TV which are dedicated to political debates reveal genre specifics and, following the approach practised by Blitvich (Blitvich, 2009) to single out their characteristic features.

It is known that the post-Brown and Levinson approach to (im)politeness, which is referred to as “contestable” (Harris, 2007), or “post-modern” (Tekourafi, 2005) differs from the original theory (Brown and Levinson, 1987) in several aspects. Firstly, it considers (im)politeness as a form of social practice which has to be contested and in which participants of the discourse make assessments concerning what is polite or impolite (Harris, 2007; Eelen, 2001; Watts, 2003; Mills, 2003). Secondly, (im)politeness is looked upon as not enacted, within discourse (Culpeper, Bousefield and Wichmann (2003); Culpeper (2005).

Another concept of (im) politeness is frequently associated with is that of intentionality/unintentionality. According to Culpeper (Culpeper, 2005) “impoliteness comes about when (1) the speaker communicates face-attack intentionally and (2) the hearer perceives and/or constructs behavior as intentionally face-attacking, or a combination”. (1) And (2) (Culpeper, 2005: 38). In addition to this, there is still no final agreement about which term would be the most appropriate to characterize intentionally offensive utterances (Bluefield, 2010).

On the other hand, Blitvich (Blitvich, 2010) maintains that the genre approach to the analysis of impoliteness can be used as the theoretical foundation for the exploration of intergroup, polylogic, mediated communication. According to this approach, following Fairclough (Fairclough, 2013), the genre is understood as a real locus of relational work. In addition, impoliteness is claimed to be the driving force behind one of the institutional genres, news interviews and is referred to as “news as confrontation”, whose communicative goal is to reaffirm a view of the world. (Bitvich, 2010)

It should also be mentioned that one of the central concepts of the politeness theory, “face” is frequently seen as intentionally and discursively constructed and emerging in interaction (Airedale, 2006; Terkourafi, 2008). Furthermore, assessments of (im)politeness can be connected to the notion of identity, as well as the notion of face. The individual face is connected with I-identity and social face stems from we-identity (Blitvich, 2010: 59) and impoliteness may ensue when the identities and positioning that speakers are trying to construct are not verified by their interlocutors.

Genre Characteristics of Political Debates

The fact that hosts and participants of political shows on TV engage themselves in a certain type of verbal performance has been attracting considerable attention. For instance, while discussing forms of conversational violence in political TV debates, Luginbuhl defines an act of conversational violence as a drastic restriction of the individual's conversational rights which may affect the speaker's conversational efficiency. In addition, the author distinguishes between two types of conversational violence: structural and personal. According to the author, in the case of structural conversational violence, "restriction of the speaker's rights is legitimised by the existence of conversational rights and options associated with the conversational role" (whereas in the case of personal conversational violence, the speaker clearly exceeds their conversational rights and obligations (Luginbuhl, 2007:13). Recent studies (Stubbe et al, 2000; Rusieshvili-Cartledge, 2017) agree that together with gender, interactional styles may also be influenced by "an intricate web of factors such as nation, culture, ethnicity, social class, and age as well as contextual norms and power differences between the participants" (Ladegaard, 2012). Following the same direction, having studied the speech of Hong Kong female leaders, Lindergaard (2012) concludes that they are also keen to use normatively masculine speech style. The same is confirmed by Totibadze (2016), who compared the speeches of two British female and two male Prime Ministers from the point of view of employment of gendered metaphors, and revealed that female politicians, like their male counterparts, also use masculine metaphors more frequently as feminine metaphors.

While exploring the genre of news interviews "news as confrontation" Blitvich discusses the function of impoliteness in cases of intergroup, polylogic, mediated communication (Blitvich 2009: 83-84). Furthermore, Blitvich argues that impoliteness is the driving force behind the "new" news interviews and singles out the features of this genre. Specifically, it is maintained that at the level of the relationship between interviewee and interviewer, impoliteness manifests itself both at the lexico-grammatical level and interactionally (Blitvich 2009: 84) and is employed to create rapport between the politicians and the overhearing audience. This research has revealed that the political debates on Georgian TVchannels can also be considered to be the "political debates as open confrontation", as they follow the characteristic features singled out by Blitvich discussing the genre specifics of the "news as confrontation".

The Data and Methodology

The data for this research were extracted from the shows broadcast on the Georgia TV channels: First Channel, Rustavi 2, TVPirveli and Imedi TV. The research described in this article is based on the relevant empirical data taken from several sources: materials of parliamentary (2016) and presidential elections in Georgia (2018) in the format of debates in political talk shows transmitted on both governmental and oppositional channels (altogether six hours of transcribed speeches). In this article, extracts with one of the female leaders taking part in debates, were analysed.

The methodological framework of this article, as described above, is based on the approach which connects impoliteness, face and identity (Garcés-Conejos Blitvich, 2009; 2010; 2013; amongst others). In this context, identity is defined as a social positioning of self and other built by both parties of the communicative act - the constructor and the interlocutor (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005; Joseph, 2004). The extracts were analysed based on the following criteria: 1. what can be the genre characteristics of TV-debates on Georgian TV? 2. What is the function of impoliteness and how is it connected with the process of construing identity of the political leader? Particular attention was paid to the employment of masculine strategies by the female leaders.

The data were analysed at two levels-linguistic and para-linguistic (gestures and prosodic features).

Extract 1

This extract is taken from the show “Arena” on the public Channel 1. It is led by a professional journalist whose function is to moderate the show and to make sure that each of the participants is allotted equal time. Another characteristic feature of this genre of show is that the debaters are selected, invited and agreed on by the prospective candidates of the debates themselves; The move of the show is as follows: each of the candidates has one minute to present themselves and then is given two minutes for each question initiated by the journalist or the opposing candidate(s). Therefore, both the moderator and the participants have equal rights to ask questions. The final part of the show includes one more interesting move, specifically, that debates finish by the candidates addressing their voters (i.e overheard audience) about their plans concerning their political activities.

In the following extract, the female leader A debates with two male colleagues from two opposing parties.

1. *A: During all this pre-election period, none of [you] have ever asked*
2. *questions to each other. It seems to me that they have questions only for me.*
3. *I am interested what makes you different. Are you two parties or one?*
4. *When I asked to invite two representatives of two parties, both of you just burst into here.*
5. *I find it strange that these two men have been teaching me how to be polite*
6. *for two months and the listener knows this well too*
7. *But I will emphasize this that both of these parties used the most offensive words*
8. *they found in the Georgian language against me.*
9. *If I refer to them otherwise than “they” it will not be offensive for them.*

In this extract the female political candidate for presidency debates with her two male opponents (leaders of two opposition parties). As a whole, during the show, she tries to convince the overhearing audience that she is a European leader fighting against the candidates who come from the Soviet era. In this particular extract, she starts her question time by attacking and therefore, not verifying her opponents' identities as fair and independent leaders. Specifically, in line 1 she tries to accuse the opponents of asking only her questions and moreover, she emphasises the fact that she asked for opponents from two political parties and instead she got politicians from one and the same party. This is a direct face-attack on the opponents who used to be members of one ruling party, which later split into two parties., As well as this, by asking this question (line 3 and 4) Speaker A attacks both the politically independent party identity of her opponents and their positive face. In addition, as was mentioned above, this flow of thought is initiated by the question (lines 1-2) when she protests against the fact that neither of the opponents had any questions for each other but both of them attacked her. From this point of view, she presents herself as a victim, attacked by two rivals from one and the same background.

Next, Speaker A (line 4) makes the claim of the sameness of the opponents even stronger. Next, she directly attacks the opponents by referring to them as “bursting” (shemovardit) into the studio (this word in Georgian implicates violence, entering by force, breaking in). This feeling is further strengthened by a referring to the opponents as “two men” and by the pronoun “they”, instead of using their names and honorifics, which would be appropriate to the situation (lines 5-9) and,

despite the sanctioned impoliteness, accepted by this genre of interviews, will be considered to be impolite.

These verbal means are further strengthened by non-verbal means of communication. Specifically, speaker A refuses to maintain eye-contact and generally tends to discard the opponents. She either looks down, into the camera or beyond it. This can also be considered to be a face attack to the opponent's positive, social group identity of independent and worthy leaders.

This feeling is heightened by lines 4-5 in which the opponents are accused of telling lies to the population. Therefore, Speaker A does not verify positive identities of her opponents and tries to attack them using every opportunity. All of these strategies can be considered to be a constitutive part of political debates, which is characterised by strategic, sanctioned impoliteness employed as a strategy aiming at establishing rapport with the followers and meeting their demands and expectations. By selecting the questions and verbal-non-verbal means of interaction, Speaker A "works" for her followers and communicates her stance to them. Although impoliteness is sanctioned in this genre of political shows, it still arises when the limits are violated and therefore, it is not neutralised.

Below there are extracts from the same show: (Speaker A. is the female candidate for the presidency and Speaker B is a member of an opposition party).

Extract 2

Speaker A: *[Addresses one of her co-debaters]*

1. *It must have been difficult for you to read and understand my brochure.*
2. *While working [abroad] I worked in NATO, in NATO's*
3. *"shtab kvartira" (Headquarters in Russian) (looks at one of the candidates meaningfully and smiles).*

In extract N2, A refers to the Russian word (shtab kvartira) which had been used by one of the male counterparts earlier. By doing so, Speaker A directly refers to the background of her opponent associated with Russia and directly ridicules him, damaging his positive identity as a democratic, independent leader. The similar face-attack is performed in the extract below:

1. *A. I will answer this funny question*

2. B. *It is not funny, kalbatono A*
3. A: *I find it funny. (Smiles).*

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The research issues this article addresses are the following: (a) linguistic and extra-linguistic means used while attacking the face of the opponent and responding to them, (b) reasons behind the face-attack and their connection to gender and genre specifics (c) consistency in using “feminine” or “masculine” styles in debates. “Extra-linguistic means” in this case are prosodic strategies employed by the speakers (pitch of the voice, tempo, intonation patterns and so on) which add contextual hints to the stretch of the discourse as well as their facial expressions and gestures. Luginbuhl states that in political discourse acts used in everyday conversation are transformed into the staged acts of conversational violence performed as part of the political role (Luginbuhl, 2007). In this way, Speaker A constructs her positive identity at the expense of non-verifying her opponents’ positive identities and therefore damaging their face and assigning them only negative identities. This is necessary for her to convince her voters she is as strong as her male counterparts.

Generally, Georgian political debates/ shows can be considered to be one of the places (besides street demonstrations and manifestations) where systematic impoliteness in the form of ritualistic, sanctioned face attack is practised and participants of the debates pursue “staged” conversational violence to persuade the electorate to vote for them. In order to be successful, political leaders have to convince the voters that they are sound enough and strong enough to fulfill their expectations and keep their pre-election promises. In this respect, it can be argued that the female political leaders in Georgia face more acute challenges than their male counterparts.

Being women, they need more verbal and non-verbal efforts to persuade the prospective voters that they are capable of acting as a leader. In order to build up and secure this image, the female leaders repeatedly employ “masculine” conversational strategies and choose systematic impoliteness and conversational violence while debating with their opponents: hence, one of the leader’s comment (“I am not going to have a debate with weak women”)(Rusieshvili-Cartledge, 2017). As the data of this research have shown, while performing the face attack by committing conversational violence,

Georgian female leaders address the individual as well as group face of the opponent. While doing so, they employ direct and indirect accusations, criticism, contempt, irony, and sarcasm manifested by (a) lexical means loaded with negative connotation though within the frames of political correctness, (b) expressive means (irony, metaphors, etc). Extra-linguistic means include interruption of turn-taking in the debate, aggressive tones, gestures, ironic facial expressions, and sarcastic smiles.

Mediated political debates on Georgian TV channels can also be considered to be cases of open confrontation with sanctioned impoliteness which is employed as a constitutive of the genre to create the rapport between the politician and the overhearing audience.

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