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Creating a Safe and Stress-free Environment when Using Extracurricular Activities in Second Language Teaching

ABSTRACT

Using different methods and strategies in the process of a second language learning is considered as the most effective way to achieve maximum results. There is a wide variety of information about extracurricular activities, ways and methods of their implementation in academic sources. They mainly discuss their types, implementation methods and impact on students' outcomes and success. The presented paper is focused on exploring, on the one hand, the students' attitudes towards extracurricular activities and the ways it is possible to create a safe environment in the process of their use while integrating them into the formal environment of second language learning. The theoretical framework of the research is based on the approaches and classifications presented in the academic sources. As part of the research, our oown approaches have also been developed. The research is based on classroom observation, questionnaire analysis and analysis of academic sources. The paper identifies and classifies the elements and characteristics that create a safe and stress-free learning environment for learners when using extracurricular activities. To achieve this goal, it was necessary to classify ECA activities to identify student preferences. The questionnaire is presented in the form of a Google form. Learners have learned a second language at different stages of their lives and in different institutions. Their current level of language proficiency is also different. To achieve the research goal, the paper will answer the following research questions: 1. What types (intensity, form, and content) of extracurricular activities do students find lessstressful? 2. What is the role of teachers in employing extracurricular activities to create a stress-free environment? 3. How can students contribute to creating a stress-free environment by using extracurricular activities? 4. When is participation in extracurricular activities less stressful? As a result of the conducted research, it was revealed that students feel safe and stress-free when:

- Participation in extracurricular activities is not compulsory, but they have a choice whether to participate in them or not.
- When the extracurricular activity is not reflected in the evaluation and both the teacher and the students understand that it is an aid in the way of language progress.

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- When they have clear instructions about the activity. • When the activity is not organized only for strong (or rarely weak)students.
- When the teacher considers the students' initiatives and adjusts them to her/his pedagogical goals.
- When the cultural and social experience of learners is taken into consideration when organizingactivities.
- The paper presents practical recommendations that will help teachers in planning and conducting activities.

Key-words: *Extracuricullar activities; The role of the teacher; Student's contribution; Safe environment.*

Introduction

Using different methods and strategies in the process of a second language learning is considered as the most effective way to achieve maximum results.

There is a wide variety of information about extracurricular activities, ways and methods of their implementation in academic sources. They mainly discuss their types, implementation methods and impact on students outcomes and success.

The presented paper is focused on studying, on the one hand, what are the students' attitudes towards extracurricular activities and in what ways it is possible to create a safe environment in the process of their use while integrating them into the formal environment of second language learning.

The theoretical framework of the research is based on the approaches and classifications presented in the academic sources. As part of the research, own approaches have also been developed.

The research is based on classroom observation, questionnaire analysis and analysis of academic sources. The paper identifies and classifies the elements and characteristics that create a safe and stress-free learning environment for learners when using extracurricular activities. To achieve this goal, it was necessary to classify ECA activities to identify student preferences. The questionnaire is presented in the form of a Google form. Learners have learned a second language at different stages of their lives and in different institutions. Their current level of language proficiency is also different.

To achieve the research goal, the paper will answer the following research questions:

1. What types (intensity, form, and content) of extracurricular activities do students find less stressful?

2. What is the role of teachers in using extracurricular activities to create a stress-free environment?

3. How can students contribute to creating a stress-free environment by using extracurricular

activities?

4. When is participation in extracurricular activities less stressful?

As a result of the conducted research, it was revealed that students feel safe and stress-free when:

1. Participation in extracurricular activities is not compulsory, but they have a choice whether to participate in it or not.

2. When the extracurricular activity is not reflected in the evaluation and both the teacher and the students understand that it is an aid in the way of language progress.

3. When they have clear instructions about the activity.

4. When the activity is not organized only for strong (or rarely weak) students.

5. When the teacher considers the students' initiatives and adjusts them to her/his pedagogical goals.

6. When the cultural and social experience of learners is taken into consideration when organizing activities.

The paper presents practical recommendations that will help teachers in planning and conducting activities.

In the process of learning a second language, it is generally accepted that a variety of methods and strategies is the most effective way to achieve maximum results.

The use of extracurricular activities in the educational process has a long history (originates in ancient Greece) and its use in the educational process is considered effective. For example, Marsh believes that their use has a significant positive impact on student achievement (Marsh, 1992, p. 553).

In general, in the scientific literature there is a wide variety of literature on extracurricular activities, ways of conducting them, and methods, which mainly discuss their types, ways of conducting them, and their impact on student results and success.

The presented paper is focused on studying, on the one hand, what are the students' attitudes towards extracurricular activities and in what ways it is possible to create a safe environment in the process of their use while integrating them into the formal environment of language learning.

Through classroom observations, questionnaires, and analysis of academic sources, the study identifies and classifies those elements and characteristics that create a safe and stress-free learning environment for students using extracurricular activities. To achieve this goal, it was necessary to classify EC activities to reveal student preferences. 141 Georgian speaking participantns participated in survey. Learners have learned a second language at different stages of life and in different institutions. Their current level of language proficiency is also different (from A1 to C2) .The theoretical framework of the research is based on the approaches and classifications from the literature and also offers individual approaches developed within the framework of the research.

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To achieve the set goal, the following research questions will be answered in the paper:

1. What types (intensity, form, and content) of extracurricular activities do students find less stressful?

2. What is the role of teachers in using extracurricular activities to create a stress-free environment?

3. How can students contribute to creating a stress-free environment by using extracurricular activities?

4. When is participation in extracurricular activities less stressful?

Literature review

The term Extracurricular Activities appeared at the end of the 19th century, but in fact their inclusion in the educational process began much earlier. In particular, in the ancient world, some of its forms, such as debates, drama, competitions, circles organized according to interests, were already used to support the traditional education system (McKown, 1952).

The definition of ECA in relation to second language learning belongs to Campbell. According to this definition, these are learner activities that usually take place outside the standard curriculum of educational institutions and are related to the creation of the target country's cultural and learning environment in the learner's country. (Campbell, 1973).

In the scientific literature, points of view about the positive role of extracurricular activities in the process of learning a second language are expressed.

According to Dornoy, extracurricular activities allow students to develop abilities that typically cannot be developed in traditional education settings (Donroe, 2020).

Language learners who participate in extracurricular activities benefit both academically and socially. According to research, their language skills improve as they use the language with students from different backgrounds. Also, socializing with peers allows them to adapt to the school environment and develop a positive attitude towards school (Brenda, 2022).

According to Anna Reva, involvement in extracurricular activities in the language learning process is important from a cross-cultural perspective, also from the point of view of comparing cultures. It provides a comprehensive picture of ECA and defines its role in language acquisition (Reva, 2012).

It should also be noted that approaches to ECAs are not homoginious. For example, in her 2003 dissertation, Elena Stakanova points out that these activities now "distract students from their learning responsibilities and are unnecessary (Stakanova, 2003).

In relation to the extracurricular issue, it is relevant to discuss the issue of Anxiety.

The issue of whether anxiety interferes with language learning has long been of interest to scientists, language teachers, and language learners themselves. It is intuitive that anxiety would interfere with the learning and/or use of a second language (L2). The concept of anxiety itself is multifaceted and psychologists have distinguished many types of anxiety, however in the context of a second language it is essential to consider the identified anxiety specific to this context, which some people experience when learning a language and/or using an L2, usually referred to as language anxiety or foreign language anxiety (FLA). , this anxiety is categorized as situation-specific anxiety, similar to other familiar manifestations of anxiety such as stage or test anxiety (Elaine & Horwitz, 2010, pp. 154-167).

English language learners often experience stress, nervousness and anxiety when learning to speak (Hashemi, 2011).

Some newcomer students feel intimidated when communicating with students who speak the dominant language. Building a community of practice to counter the marginalization of adolescent language learners (Martin-Beltrán et al., 2019).

According to the research of Ornelas, high school students felt apprehensive when participating in ECA, because they did not feel confident enough to communicate with their peers and the teacher. Students consider it preferable to participate in such events when they feel comfortable speaking in English, or when the person responsible for the course (teacher) speaks in their native language (Brenda, 2022).

According to the literature, it is possible to use A dual-task approach to reduce foreign language anxiety (FLA) in second language learning, which means reducing the negative effects of anxiety and using its positive effects (Tran & Moni, 2013)._

According to Meeta Nellaham, humor is one of the important factors in creating a stress-free and social environment in the classroom. The inclusion of humor in the teaching process makes the lesson comfortable and manageable. Humor should be related to the material you covered in class (Nihalani, 2012).

In his study, Jung notes that Hadley, Terrell, and Rardin believe that students must experience some amount of stress in order to be motivated to learn. According to them, if students' anxiety levels are so low that you don't challenge them, there will be little or no language progress (Young, 1992).

When organizing extracurricular activities and determining their functions, you should focus on several factors in order to accurately determine the purpose of including them in the educational process when planning them. one of them Informative gef. As we know, any form of learning is based on a fundamental element: the gap between what the student already knows and what he is learning

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(that is, what he does not know). This area is called the 'information gap' (Garside, 2021).

In the same context, it is important to discuss the concepts of Lev Vygotsky and Krashen.

The zone of proximal development (ZPD) is a core construct of Lev Vygotsky's theory of learning and development. The zone of proximal development (ZPD) is defined as the space between what a student can do without help and what he can do with adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers (Vygotsky, 1978).

According to Krashen's theory, learners acquire language when they learn something about that language that contains structures slightly above their current level of language proficiency ((i + 1). This happens through extralinguistic information (Krashen, 2011).

Another opinion of Krashen is directly related to the question of our research, according to which the teacher should focus on a communication code that is understandable to the learner. During the silent period, under pressure from the teacher, when students are asked to use the language, they use the structures of their native languages and translate them into the second language. In this case, communication may take place, but there is no progress in the second language (Krashen, 1985).

The connection between ZPD and second language acquisition can be found in other researchers's works as well. One of them is discussed here: learning is a social process, so collaboration is an important element of productive work in ZPD. The author draws on Vygotsky's theory that we learn through dialogic interaction with other people. During this process, students need appropriate guidance, modeling and support, which is made possible through collaboration and interaction with teachers and peers. At this time, teacher support (Scaffolding1) becomes the leading element (Billings & Walqui, 2021)

Oates and Hawley, in their 1983 paper, suggest inviting a local native speaker to lead extracurricular activities. According to them, the inclusion of native speakers is especially important when preparing and organizing meetings, video interviews, role-playing games, interviews, evenings, skits, newspapers, individual presentations and weekends in a second language (Oates & Hawley, 1983).

Having defined the role of ECA activities and its function in educational activities, we need to focus on its types. In the scientific literature, several groups of extracurricular activities can be disnguished.

Andreeva in 1958 divided the ECA into the following groups:

1. 1. Academic and general interest circles (clubs), which were an important part of the Soviet education system in general

2. 2. Mass events (poetry and song performance competition in a foreign language, themed evenings and events; performances in a foreign language; holding conferences in a foreign language and debates and meetings in a foreign language.

3. 3. Individual extracurricular activities included: preparing a conference presentation, preparing a report, etc. in foreign language.

4.   Another type of ECAs is correspondence with students from other countries, which could be both individual (the student had a pen-friend) and mass - students keep correspondence between their circle and a group of students in another country with similar interests.

5. Language clubs - were a combination of the extracurricular activities listed above (Reva, 2012). In his work, Dyachenko divides ECA activities into the following 4 types:

1) Competitions

2) mass media (school radio and newspaper...)

3) cultural (celebration of holidays and other events, trips to museums and exhibition halls...)

4) political (debates, focus groups, discussions).

The same author distinguishes between individual ECA events, group (small number of participants) and mass (large groups) (Dyachenko, 1989).

In her research, Anna Reva mentions the following types of activities: games/competition, theme parties, holiday celebrations, and a modern variant of pen friende - online friends from other countries, working on projects, Skype and video conferences. The researcher points out that there are contextual differences in terms of their realization (Reva, 2012).

When creating activities, it is important to consider that these activities are

(a) Meaningful: They allow students to speak English (second language) based on the needs of the activity.

(b) Realistic: must match the student's acquired experience and knowledge in order to understand what is being asked of them. They must be

(c) Purposeful: Students should be given a purpose so that they understand why they are doing the activity and understand that it is relevant to their needs (Ahsani, 2007).

Results and Interpretation

At the first stage, based on our own teaching experience and taking into account the views in the literature, we developed our classification, which is divided into 4 groups and corresponding subgroups:

a) Periodicity of activities

1. Permanent activities that are carried out once or twice a week throughout the academic year.

2. Episodic activities (once or twice a semester).

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b) Activities according to the form:

1. Individual non-classroom activities (permanent or episodic, the teacher makes the decision taking into account the educational needs and interests of the students): reciting a poem; song Creating a story, etc. Sh. in the target language.

2. Group non-classroom activities: they are permanent in nature and mainly take the form of clubs: literature club, translation club, film club, music lovers' club, membership of the editorial board of a newspaper or magazine or journalism, participation in the preparation of a website, etc.

3. Mass extracurricular activities are episodic. In them, we combined the following types of activities: Olympiads, festive events, competitions and tours, in which not only narrow groups, but also representatives of a wider audience participate (it can be planned within the framework of the entire institution or in collaboration with other institutions).c) Extracurricular activities by content:

1. Sports

2. Circles based on common interests (language club/book club, translation club...)

3. Mass media (magazine/newspaper/social media activities...)

4. Creative (celebrations/theatre)

5. Cultural (excursions/restaurant visit/cooking class)

6. Socio-political (debates, discussions).

d) activities according to organization

1. Individually organized/self-organized by the student - Pen friend, online games with more than one player, group chats with peers...

2. Organized by the teacher

Such a classification will help teachers to structure activities according to their pedagogical goals and objectives in the process of organizing and planning activities.

As for the information obtained as a result of the GOOGL Format survey, it is of the following type:

141 Georgian-speaking respondents of both genders, whose minimum age was 18, took part in the survey. 64.3% of them were female and 35.7% - male. Language proficiency level from A1 to C2. In the case of having more than one language, they would on the language they considered to be the priority when filling out the questionnaire. The following picture emerged:

72.1% of respondents belong to the age group of 18-25 years; 2.1% - 26 -35.5% - 36- 45 years group.   46-55 age group represents 17.1 %, 56-65 – 3.6%, and 66 and above – 3.6 %.

24.8% studied the language for less than 5 years; From 5 to 10 years – 45.5%. From 11 to 15 years – 18.4%, more than 15 years – 11.3%.

At this stage, the level of proficiency in the second language of respondents is represented by the following percentages: A1 -2.9%; A2 – 5.8%; B1 14.5%; B2- 50 %; C1- 22.5%; C2 -4.3%.

The majority of respondents studied the language in various institutions, namely a) only at school(10.6%) , b) at school and in language courses/with a tutor (39%), c) only in language course/with tutor (7.1%). d) at school and university (9.2 %); e) at school, language courses/

with the tutor and at the university (33.3%). F) Only at the university – 0.7%

The study revealed that 39.1 percent of students rate participation in ECAs with the minimum stress assessment score, and only 2.9 percent rate participation in these activities as stressful with the highest score. However, it is important to emphasize that 31.2 percent of the respondents rate the participation in the ECA with 3 points out of the maximum 5 points, which can also be considered a rather high stress factor.

87.7% of survey participants believe that extracurricular activities helped them to overcome the anxiety associated with learning a second language. According to them (46.1%), participation in ECA was interesting for all ages.

According to the same study, students find it less stressful to participate in group and mass EC activities than in individual ones.

Most of the respondents (65.2 %) prefer activities that are regularly held during the academic year (once or twice a week) and preferebly organized by the teacher (54.5%). This can be explained by the fact that in Soviet and post-Soviet Georgia, the teacher is the planner of the lesson process and her/his role is quite dominant. Perhaps, in this case, this factor is the determinant of the received answer.

As for events organized by content, the majority of respondents consider participation in clubs (language/book clubs) – 38.7%, creative (celebrations/theater) – 35.5%   and cultural (excursions/visiting a restaurant/cooking classes)- 48.3%, sport – 44.1% events less stressful.

An important factor in interpreting these data is that the considerable number of respondents belong to the age group who were educated in Soviet schools, or are students of teachers from this age groups.   EC activities were often used in the Soviet educational environment and are part of the educational experience that teachers use in their teaching repertoire. At the same time, it should be noted that it was during the period of training of representatives of 46-55 years old that a kind of "thaw" period began, when textbooks of Western standards, which also used these types of activities, became relatively more widespread in the teaching of foreign languages, and, naturally, , this also played a role.

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Respondents consider it relatively stressful to engage in mass media (magazines/newspapers/social networks) and socio-political (debates, discussions) activities.

As for debates and discussions, the cause of stress may be anxiety associated with speaking in a foreign language.

Considering other data of the research, it is less stressful for the respondents when the teacher takes into account the students' initiatives and organizes their own pedagogical tasks, they have more opportunities to share, are involved in the planning process. If the teacher takes these factors into account, offers interesting and relevant content and activity form to their interests, stress levels will most likely be reduced.

Additionally, students have been found to experience less stress when:

• Participation was not compulsory and students made their own decisions whether to participate in them or not. (62.5%),

• When the activity score did not affect the final grade (54.1%)

• When students participated in planning of activities (44.2%)

• When learners knew exactly what to do (66.7%)

• When all students could participate (55.6%)

• When their language proficiency was taken into account (58.3%)

• When we had enough time to prepare the activity (63%)

• When the activity did not contradict their cultural experience and social norms (64.9%)

• When humor was involved (74.2%)

• When both the instructor and fellow students were "tolerant" of mistakes (67.3%)

• When they were satisfied with their performance (70.8%)

• All participants knew the language at the same level (62%).

Conclusions and Recommendations

As the survey shows, respondents indicate that of activities have a great potential in terms of overcoming anxiety when learning a second language and their use will have a positive impact on students. As a result of the survey, we can assume that the inclusion of these types of activities will play an important role thanks to the emotional comfort of students and the positive results obtained from it.

Based on the respondents' answers it turned out that students find it less stressful to work in clubs and thematic groups organized by the teacher, events and cultural activities of a mass nature.

For students, participation in these activities should fulfill the function of filling the information

board. It should be based on the Krashen + 1 principle, it should contain a certain challenge that will help to learn new information.

As for the role of the teacher, she/ he should create a free, empathic environment, adjust her/his pedagogical tasks to the interests and needs of students. At the same time, during such activities, it is important not to evaluate by marks, but to concentrate on its benefits.

The role of learners is also important. They should share their experiences with each other, be empathetic and tolerant towards others and be involved in the process of creating and planning activities, not shying away from expressing their wishes and preferences.

When both teachers and students understand the role of these activities, when the material is challenging but doable, the goals of the activities are realistic, and the student understands their benefits, participation becomes less stressful.

The recommendations below are based, on the one hand, on the results of interviews with language learners, and on the other hand, on our many years of teaching experience. To create a safe and stress-free environment, it is effective to use the following approaches to integrating extracurricular activities into the formal language learning environment:

1. When organizing an activity, determine the roles of the participants in advance and take into account the wishes and interests of the students as much as possible. Give precise and clear instructions about the activity.

2. Do not include extracurricular activities in the assessment, but make it clear to both you and the students that they contribute to language progress.

3. The activity should not be organized only for strong (or weak) students, but all students should participate in it.

4. Create an environment in which students feel free.

5. In addition to interests and desires, the teacher should take into account the abilities of the participants, in particular, the level of knowledge of the target language.

6. Activity tasks should be formulated in such a way that they are challenging but, at the same time, non-stressful, so that students are more likely to be able to cope with the task and feel satisfied after completing the task.

7. The following is related to the previous recommendation - the material studied in the class should be used in extracurricular activities as well, the activity should be based on the studied material, providing the possibility of using it in different, non-standard, communication situations close to natural.

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8. The task should be fun, non-routine. Chances are that if an activity is done well by the students, the teacher will be tempted to repeat it. It should be noted that any frequently repeated activity becomes boring.

9. In addition to taking into account the level of language proficiency, it is important to take into account the background culture of the learners. The teacher should take into account that some types of activities may conflict with the norms and experiences of the learner's native culture. However, of course, this should not limit the teacher to suggest the norms and rules of the target culture, it is just that in this case it is important to carry out the previous work of the correctly selected activity.

10. In addition to the teacher, it is possible for the learners to participate in the preparation and organization of the activity, including, for example, senior students who study in language teaching programs.

11. Humor is an important factor in creating a stress-free classroom environment. However, it should be noted that students do not perceive humor as irony, sarcasm or mockery. One of the ways to avoid this is for the teacher to involve herself/ himself in extracurricular humorous activities. For example, ask students to make you a character in some humorous text and change the text to match the teacher (change age, appearance, gender, etc.). In addition, it is effective to arrange quizzes and answer mistakes with humor.

12. Informative Gap - In order not to cause disappointment to the learners, consider the informative gap and plan the activity in such a way that the students can discover and acquire new knowledge within the activity, but plan the activity in such a way that it is realistic for the students to overcome it, so that they do not lose motivation. (use + 1 approach).

13. When planning activities, it is important to take into account the age characteristics and interests of students.

14. The difficulty of an activity does not determine its quality. On the contrary, the simpler and relatively easy to achieve the result, the more motivation of learners increases.

15. Consider the resources you will need ECA. Use existing resources, and in some cases you may even create your own ones together with students (make costumes, buy ingredients together for a cooking class, create themed quiz question banks, etc.). Make the process of creating resources an educational activity.

16. Even if the extracurricular activity is not graded, make feedback and verbal evaluation and discussion a necessary part of the activity. It is also effective to involve fellow students in the evaluation process.

17. Consider the time. The time for extracurricular activities should be limited, learners should know the exact schedule and also that they will have to work within a limited time. However, the allotted time should be determined in such a way that it does not become a source of stress for them. In this case, we will have to take into account many factors - the number of participants, age, level of language knowledge, information gap, whether the activity is physical, cognitive or a combination of both, etc.

18. For the organization of some activities (for example, excursion, field work, cooking class) it may be necessary to provide material support from the educational institution. So, before planning the activity, take care of the financial side.

19. Pay less attention to mistakes that students may make;

20. Ask the audience what activity and format they prefer.

21. Do not make participation in extracurricular activities compulsory, but choose them in such a way that the students want to participate in them.

22. Create an empathetic and tolerant environment.

23. It is important that ECA do not reduce students' attention to Curricular activities (E. Stakanova sees this danger in her research). ((Стаканова Е. В. (2003. 107)). Thus, a good balance between curricular and extra curricular activities is an important factor in organizing the learning process. For example, it is possible to conduct EC activities after the completion of the topic/unit. In any case, the learner should be sure, that the process of acquiring academic knowledge is not damaged by these activities, but it is strengthened.

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Exploring University Instructors' Perceptions of Poetry as a Catalyst for Cultural Learning in Language Education

ABSTRACT

Problem Statement: This research addresses the gap in understanding the perceptions and challenges of university language instructors regarding the integration of poetry as a tool for enhancing intercultural understanding within language education.

Purpose: This study aims to uncover the perceptions of university instructors on the potential of poetry to serve as a bridge between linguistic competence and cultural competence. By exploring their beliefs, experiences, and challenges in incorporating poetry into language lessons, the study seeks to illuminate the pedagogical opportunities and obstacles that arise.

Research Methods: The research methodology employed in this study aligns with a qualitative approach, which seeks to delve into the complex perceptions and experiences of university language instructors concerning the integration of poetry as a facilitator of intercultural understanding within language education.

Semi-structured interviews, a cornerstone of qualitative research, have been selected as the primary data collection technique. Through these interviews, language instructors are provided with an open yet focused platform to articulate their insights, beliefs, challenges, and experiences related to the incorporation of poetry in language instruction. Upon the completion of the interview phase, the gathered data will undergo a rigorous process of content analysis. Content analysis is a systematic and iterative method that involves the identification, coding, and categorization of themes and patterns present within the transcribed interview data. By meticulously examining the textual content, significant themes will be extracted, allowing for a comprehensive exploration of instructors' perceptions, motivations, apprehensions, and strategies regarding the use of poetry for intercultural understanding. This analysis process will enable the researchers to uncover both explicit and implicit insights within the data, revealing the intricate nuances of the instructors' viewpoints.

Main Results: The findings will shed light on how poetry can effectively be integrated into language instruction and provide a nuanced understanding of instructors' motivations and apprehensions.

The implications of this research extend to both theoretical and practical dimensions of language education.

1. Introduction

As the world continuously becomes more interconnected and diverse, having the ability to mind and appreciate different cultures is essential. In this sense, poetry, with its profound potential to comprise cultural aspects, emotions, and linguistic boundaries, serves as an artistic medium for increasing cultural awareness and competence (Hişmanoğlu, 2005). Thanks to its multidimensional perspectives, poetry can contribute to enhancing cross-cultural understanding, empathy, and communication.

At its core, intercultural competence refers to communicating with people from different cultural backgrounds. Its scope ranges from linguistic proficiency to a deep understanding of cultural norms, values, and perspectives. In this vein, poetry plays a unique role in conveying cultural insights and facilitates intercultural engagement. Since poems consist of cultural references, idioms, and metaphors that reflect the ethos of a particular society, learners can get a deep understanding of nuances and insights from various cultures by being exposed to a variety of poems (Khan, 2020).

One of the remarkable aspects of poetry is its distinctive feature offering a window into the psyche of a culture. Learners can get access to a culture's history, beliefs, and emotions by engaging in poems (Lazar, 1996). The more learners engage with lines of poems, the more they will get accustomed to a culture's background. The relationship between intercultural competence and poetry is not restricted to literary exploration alone; it also encompasses language acquisition (Duff & Maley, 2007). Learners can acquire various linguistic structures, idioms, and contexts through delving into lines of poems. Moreover, poetry also allows learners to observe the connection between the language structure and emotions (Stickling et al, 2011). They can engage with the joys, sorrows, and aspirations of diverse individuals from various cultures. Therefore, integrating poems from diverse cultures into language classrooms might open up a space for dialogue, exploration, and reflection. Learners might develop different perspectives and cultural awareness by analyzing poems and this might lead them to develop a deeper understanding of their own culture as well as those of others (Proitsaki, 2019).

However, there are some challenges learners might face throughout the process (Davis, 2008). Poems are imbued with elusive and cultural nuances that cannot be realized by learners at first sight. Nevertheless, these challenges also present opportunities for collaborative learning, encouraging learners to share their views and interpretations. In this regard, the aim of this study is to reveal the perceptions of university instructors on the potential of poetry to serve as a bridge between cultural competence and linguistic competence.

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2. Literature review

Literature has long been rejected as a portion of language instructing technique (Carter, 2007) after the Grammar-Translation Method. It is ordinarily seen as an aesthetic vein of study that has no part in improving language learning practice. According to Hişmanoğlu (2005) among language teachers, there has been a discussion about how, when, where, and why literature ought to be combined in ESL/EFL educational modules. According to Collie and Slater (1990), there are four fundamental factors that lead a language instructor to utilize literature within the classroom. These are essential authentic material, cultural enhancement, language improvement, and individual involvement. Hişmanoğlu (2005) includes to these four fundamental reasons, universality, non-triviality, individual relevance, diversity, concern, economy, and suggestive control and uncertainty are a few other factors requiring the utilization of literature as an effective resource within the classroom setting. On the other hand, Stern (1991) states that literature offers potential benefits of a high order for English as a second language. Linguistically, literature can offer assistance to learners in enhancing their vocabulary and consolidating four language abilities. In spite of the fact that poetry can have such value as a portion of increasing literacy abilities and language improvement, the stress is that the other possible advantages are ignored, which affects the way in which poems are utilized within the classroom. To illustrate, Ofsted (2007) report comments that poetry is sometimes utilized 'primarily [as] an educating instrument for language improvement instead of a tool for investigating experience.'

Poetry has long been a crucial topic among authors since it is a crucial component of literature. According to Paz (1999), poetry and revolution are not incompatible because they represent two sides of the same action. Hirshfield (1997) mentions that poetry provides fresh perspectives and new insights into the spiritual, sentimental, and moral worlds. Additionally, Proitsaki (2019) asserts that it may improve the study of the English language and Anglophone cultures in a wide range of aspects besides the demanding analyses of verse in regards to aesthetics because of its concision and open-endedness.

Regarding the use of poetry to improve intercultural understanding, Hanauer (2001) claimed that by assigning poetry reading projects, learners became aware of the cultural differences between their own and the second-language culture of the poems so as to comprehend the potential meanings and applications of the words. It reveals the link between studying poetry and intercultural understanding. It investigates learners' cultural sensitivity.

One of the best and most potent cultural transmitters is poetry. Poetry contains many cultural components that are difficult to adapt into other languages, such as references, terminology, idioms, and tone (Sage, 1987).

Khan (2020) claims that a poem is frequently filled with literary methods by its pure nature. Therefore, introducing pupils to figurative language in a language classroom through the use of poetry is an excellent approach. With such information, students would be fluent in spoken, written, and understanding language. Poetry engages students' both reception and expression, acting as a catalyst in the improvement of learners' language abilities; the author continues, acting not just as an example of language but also as a medium to enhance language abilities, like listening, speaking, reading, and writing.

In terms of advantages of poetry in education, Obediat (1997) alleges that literature assists learners in learning a native-like ability in English, share their thoughts in effective English, understand the characteristics of contemporary English, discover how the English linguistic structure is utilized for interactions, observe how idiomatic phrases are used, communicate accurately, and get more competent in English, as well as become innovative, critical, and logical learners.

As for writing skills, Proitsaki (2019) suggests that studying a poem is an excellent place to start when writing creatively. According to Moore (2002), the utilization of poetic units, forming rhyme and rhythmical structures in writing processes enables students of English to participate actively in their language learning and achieve success. Poems may also be utilized to help learners improve their abilities to write by having them translate, report, or revise the poem (Alber-Morgan et al, 2007). Poems expose students to innovative sentence structure, a number of formats, and creative methods to connect ideas (Riverol, 1991).

In terms of oral skills, Mulatsih (2018) observed that poetry, due to its character as a dynamic substance, may be used to assist students not only with speaking skills but also with their teaching abilities, particularly when it comes to transferring information. According to Hadaway et al. (2001), the regular practice of reciting different poems in poetry can help students improve their ability to talk. Aydinoglu (2013) combined poetry with vocabulary instruction. Poems could be used as the subject matter to help students expand their vocabulary.

According to Hedge (2000), poetry serves as realistic reading material and may be utilized to improve reading comprehension. While deepening their minds and creating respect for various languages, it forces them to modify their reading methods and perform them in order to deal with the special aspects of verse (Nasr, 2001).

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Related to the opportunities of poetry in education and relationships among cultures, numerous benefits are associated with poetry's value as an extensive source of language data (Duff & Maley, 2007), including poems' capacity to increase vocabulary (Lazar, 1996), promote comprehension of grammar (Kırkgöz, 2008), enhance word pronunciation, and perform linguistic abilities and types (Tomlinson, 1986). Additionally, poetry fosters literary appreciation by raising intercultural understanding (Lazar, 1996), enhancing expressive talents (Iida, 2016), and fostering social relationships among learners (Chanmann-Taylor et al., 2016). Poems can help students get more personally involved in language learning and find a platform to communicate their views within a greater human context (Hess, 2003). Poetry is therefore seen to facilitate the promotion of cultural and linguistic understanding (Hanauer, 2001).

Saraç (2003) outlines the benefits of utilizing poetry in language instruction. The study explains that literature contributes to educational achievements by providing possibilities for focusing on new utilization of syntax, grammatical structures, textual organization, and vocabulary, in addition to contributing to the development of aesthetics among students. Accordingly, poems are a suitable resource for providing supplemental materials for vocabulary, grammar, as well as translation (Khatib et al., 2012). According to Hişmanoğlu (2005), it also introduces students to literary tools in a very natural way. A poem also forces students to use their linguistic abilities to interpret the material. Cahnmann-Taylor et al. (2017) add that benefits like self-expression and hybridized identities, creating a crucial postmodern voice, and critically and elaborately analyzing one's native culture and language.

Teachers can use poetry as a real-world text to practice phonetics, phonemic understanding, and language acquisition techniques including rhyme, word sets, and alliteration. With language that is relevant to their interests and levels of learning, poems offer pupils an easier framework in which to develop these abilities (Stickling et al., 2011). Furthermore, Khan (2020) points out that a poem may serve as a useful tool to introduce rhythm, intonation, stress, and meter. A poem's constant repetition makes it possible for children to learn these linguistic patterns.

Regarding challenges, Davis (2008) noted common challenges to the use of the arts in traditional education, including limited time and resources, issues with appropriate evaluations of learning, the level of artistic preparation of all educators, and the notion that the arts are still accessible in informal environments and are thus not required in traditional schools. Proitsaki (2019) also criticizes conflicts over the price of slim volumes and inquiries into the rationale for replacing great novels with poems. Even worse, learners were rarely excited about studying

poetry. As a solution, Haraldsson (2011) discovered that educators who engage with poems utilize appropriate films and recordings of poetry readings in order to connect poetry to the lives of learners. Another solution, according to Gönen (2018), is that studying poetry helps educators transform their negative opinions into positive ones and become more conscious of the benefits of including poetry in language instruction.

Hişmanolu (2005) asserts that works of literature like novels, plays, poems, etc. assist students in comprehending how communication functions in different societies. Even though the story of a book, play, or piece of poetry is fiction, it offers a rich and vivid framework in which characters from various socioeconomic and geographic origins can be represented. A reader can learn about the viewpoints of the characters in these works of literature as well as their ideas, emotions, habits, customs, and belongings as well as what they purchase, hold dear, worry, and appreciate, as well as how they interact with one another in various contexts. Lastly, Nasr (2001) points out that literature gives learners the chance to grow tolerant of others by introducing them to common human experiences via the history of a specific country.

3. Method

The aim of the present study is to uncover the viewpoints of university instructors regarding the potential of poetry as a catalyst between cultural and linguistic competence. In today's globalized educational landscape, where cultural awareness is paramount, exploring the intersection of cultural and linguistic proficiency becomes crucial. Understanding how poetry, as a linguistic form intricately intertwined with cultural expression, can serve as a facilitator in this context is of paramount importance. In this regard, a qualitative research design was adopted to pursue the goal of the study. Qualitative research, as defined by Creswell (2012), is characterized by a rigorous and systematic process aimed at understanding complex phenomena through in-depth exploration of individual perspectives, experiences, and context. This methodology is particularly apt in our pursuit, as it allows for an in-depth exploration of the intricate connections between cultural understanding and linguistic proficiency.

3.1. Data Collection

To ensure rich insights into the issue under investigation, semi-structured interviews were conducted with participants. Semi-structured interviews provide an invaluable means of delving into the nuanced perceptions and experiences of instructors (Cresswell, 2012). By allowing for open-ended questions, participants were granted the space to articulate their perspectives

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comprehensively, without the constraints of predefined response categories (McMillan & Schumacher, 2014). Therefore, the researchers asked five open-ended questions to participants, recorded their responses, and transcribed them for analysis.

3.2. Participants

A purposive sampling strategy was employed to select participants, ensuring a diverse representation of instructors from various linguistic and cultural backgrounds. This approach enables us to capture a broad spectrum of experiences and perspectives, thus enhancing the depth and breadth of the insights garnered (McMillan & Schumacher, 2014). The participants of the present study comprised five university instructors from different state universities in Türkiye. The instructors' teaching experience ranges from 5 to 20 years at universities. Among participants, there are one professor, one assistant professor, two lecturers, and one research assistant.

3.3. Data Analysis

The researchers analyzed the gathered data through content analysis. All responses given to the interview questions were transcribed and analyzed in-depth by forming codes, categories, and themes to distill patterns and meanings from the collected data.

4. Results

Following the content analysis of the interview questions, the researchers formed several themes for each question. The responses to the interview questions were analyzed qualitatively by grouping similar responses into categories and then illustrating them in tables. The first question and related themes are given in Table 1. below.

Question 1: Could you share your experiences of integrating poetry into language instruction? What prompted you to use poetry as a tool for teaching culture, and what goals did you aim to achieve?

Table 1.

Experiences and Aims in Using Poetry in Language Classrooms

Themes
More motivated students
Cultural enrichment via poetry
Authentic Material
Interesting Context
Enjoyable teaching environment
Enhancing students' abilities

*P=Participant

Table 1 shows the goals of educators in using poetry in their classes. Researchers thematized information gathered from participants as more motivated students, cultural enrichment via poetry, authentic material, interesting context, enjoyable teaching environment, and enhancing students' abilities. With regards to aims, P2 mentioned that "My main aim was to introduce students to some authentic material so that they could be more motivated to learn a foreign language, the experience turned out to be a really good one although students found it a bit challenging at the beginning of the instruction." In the same vein, P4 asserted that "By reading the poetry of a certain country, one can be introduced to history, art, values, and lifestyle of that culture. Therefore, to make the students more familiar with English culture, we can incorporate English poetry into our courses. My primary aim for teaching poetry was to enhance students' ability to read literary forms and thereby appreciate art."

Question 2: In your opinion, what unique attributes of poetry make it an effective medium for teaching cultural nuances in language education?

Table 2.

Unique Attributes of Poetry

Themes
Representation of the target culture
Memorable poems
Revealing Cultural Artifacts
Intensity and poetic license
Emotional effect of poetry

*P=Participant

Table 2 indicates unique attributes of poetry to make it an effective medium for teaching cultural nuances in language education. Researchers created themes related to participants'

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responses as the representation of the target culture, memorable poems, revealing cultural artifacts, intensity, and poetic license, and emotional effect of poetry. Regarding the unique attributes of poetry, P4 focuses on the emotional effect of poetry by asserting that "The poetry touches human soul in a universal way. It does not matter whether it is written in your native or second language. In some ways, it is like music, affecting and moving people with different sets of emotions." In terms of representation of the target culture and memorable poems, P1 put forward that "An important benefit poetry brings to the classroom is the representation of the target culture through the expression of mindset and lifestyle. Besides, various linguistic devices make poems memorable, in this way, poems provide set phrases for students to remember easily and even use as a template for further production."

Question 3: Can you share any personal anecdotes or reflections on memorable instances where poetry significantly impacted students' cultural understanding or perspectives?

Table 3.

Personal Anecdotes and Reflections of Participants

Themes
Metaphors and similes
Shakespeare's impact on a student
Acting out the scenes in the poem

*P=Participant

Table 3 shows personal anecdotes or reflections of educators after using poetry in their classes. Researchers thematized participants' responses as metaphors and similes, Shakespeare's impact on a student and acting out the scenes in the poem. Regarding acting out the scenes in the poem, P4 maintained that:

> In 2013, I was teaching 19th Century British Literature. The poems I included in the syllabus were mostly romantic poems talking about nature, love and childhood. To make the lesson more enjoyable for students, I had them act out the scenes in the poems. For example, in the poem "Porplehia's Lover" the obsessed lover (poet) ends up strangling the woman with her own hair. I would be the poet and choose one of the students to be Porphelia. Similarly, for the poem "Lady of Shallot" I would choose one student to act as Lady of Shallot while we read the poem aloud. Many years later, students from that class and I became friends on social media. I was surprised to notice that they had nicknames as Lady of Shallot, Porphelia, Ophelia and so on. They texted

me that they never forgot about the poems. Through poetry, they were able to understand some cultural differences such as knights, ladies, and dukes.

Shakespeare's impact on a student was another anecdotes of educator in terms of using poetry to as a catalyst for cultural learning in language education. To illustrate, P2 stated that "One of the students stated that he hated Shakespeare as he found him hard to understand as a learner of foreign language. But later, he began to sympathize with Shakespeare and his unique poetry since it provided him many ways to analyze a text and learn through it."

Question 4: What challenges or barriers have you encountered when incorporating poetry into language lessons? How have you addressed these challenges, and what strategies have proven effective?

Table 4.

Challenges of Using Poetry and Solutions

Challenges	Solutions
Matching poems with linguistic needs	Recording poems
Translation of the poem	Pre-study and contextual research
Matching levels of students with poems	Time management and resourceful students
Time-consuming and the course syllabus	Be aware of the differences between poem and prose
Deciding on follow-up activities	Arouse students' attention

*P=Participant

Table 4 indicates challenges of using poetry and related solutions of participants. Researchers thematized information gathered from participants as matching poems with linguistic needs, translation of the poem, matching levels of students with poems, time-consuming and the course syllabus, and deciding on follow-up activities for challenges and recording poems, pre-study and contextual research, time management and resourceful students, be aware of the differences between poem and prose and arouse students' attention for solutions. Most of the participants had problems related to matching levels of students with poems. For example, P2 stated that "The content of the poem was a bit difficult to understand

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for a group of B2 learners" and in the same vein P5 noted that "It is not an easy job to choose the best poetry in terms of the language level of students and culture." P2 found a solution to this problem by asserting that "I made the group to study unfamiliar words before reading the poem and search through the web for the cultural and historical background of the text, which helped them comprehend the content more easily." According to participants, another challenge is translation of the poem and P4 highlighted that "Turkish students mostly have difficulty in understanding the thematic forms such as rhyming and meters. They tend to look up the Turkish translation of the poem, which obviously does not make the same affect and they even sometimes ask "Why do British poems do not rhyme?". I answer them saying that it actually rhymes in English but not in the meaning in Turkish." As a solution for time-consuming and course syllabus, P3 remarked that "In classes with smart students we could overcome these problems easily."

Question 5 : What recommendations or insights would you offer to fellow educators who are interested in incorporating poetry into their language instruction for cultural learning? Are there any best practices you would suggest?

Table 5.

Recommendations of Participants

Themes
Finding appropriately leveled poems
Pre-class study and background information
Being aware of students' capacity
Learning by experience

*P=Participant

Table 5 shows several recommendations of participants to other educators who are interested in incorporating poetry into their language instruction for cultural learning. Researchers created themes related to participants' responses as finding appropriately leveled poems, pre-class study and background information, being aware of students' capacity, and learning by experience. To illustrate, related to finding appropriately leveled poems, P1 mentioned that "Finding a poem at an appropriate level is significant. If it is too difficult, the students might be discouraged." In terms of pre-class study, P2 indicated that "An hour of pre-class study would be great for the students to break the ice when they first see the poem. Before

reading the poem, it could be better to talk about cultural and historical background of the text and poet. Highlighting unfamiliar words or puns – if any- may also be useful for a good practice." With regards to being aware of students' capacity, P3 asserted that "Don't let it turn into a mechanical process! Do it according to the intellectual capacity of your students." P4 focused on learning by experience and noted that "I would firstly suggest that there is no better way to teach something than living it. So, students can read the poems as a passionate lover or a wounded soldier to experience the real emotion narrated in the poem."

5. Discussion

The results of the study have revealed that the integration of poetry in language instruction is beneficial even though there has been a neglect of literature in this field (Carter, 2007). Moreover, it has been seen that instructors have successfully integrated poetry into language teaching, citing motivations such as providing material, cultural enrichment, and creating an engaging learning environment. The findings also show that poetry serves as a medium for teaching cultural nuances due to its ability to represent the target culture, reveal cultural artifacts, and create a memorable learning experience. Another highlighted point in this study is the impact of poetry on cultural understanding. In parallel with the studies of Hişmanoğlu (2005), Hess (2003), and Hanauer, (2001), the findings of this study support claim that poetry is a medium of cultural transmission by showcasing instances where students experienced transformative learning through poems. Additionally, the importance of experiential learning through poetry has been emphasized both in literature (Hanauer, 2001; Proitsaki, 2019; Sage, 1987) and in the results; instructors highlighted the value of immersing oneself in the emotions and experiences in the poem which leads to a deeper understanding of the cultural and linguistic aspects embedded in the text. As for the challenges in incorporating poetry into language teaching, the study's results come up with valuable insights into how instructors should address these challenges, including pre-study, contextual research, arousing students' attention, providing background information, and being aware of students' capacity. In short, the integration of poetry into the language teaching and learning process seems to be advantageous in terms of enhancing intercultural competence, improving language proficiency, and fostering a deeper appreciation of literature and cultural diversity.

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6. Conclusion

The present study delves into the perceptions of university instructors regarding the potential of poetry as a catalyst for cultural learning in language education. Through a qualitative research design, insights were gathered from five experienced instructors from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds. The findings reveal several key themes that highlight the multifaceted benefits and challenges associated with integrating poetry into language instruction. In conclusion, this study provides valuable insights into the potential of poetry as a catalyst for cultural learning in language education. The findings underscore the multifaceted benefits of using poetry in language classrooms, from enhancing cultural awareness to fostering a more engaging learning environment. By addressing challenges and adopting best practices, educators can harness the power of poetry to promote intercultural competence and enrich the language learning experience. This research contributes to the growing body of literature advocating for the integration of literature, and specifically poetry, as a vital component of language education in today's interconnected and diverse world.

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Numerals in Georgian Sign Language (GESL)

ABSTRACT

Georgian sign language (GESL) is a language of Deaf and Hard of Hearing (DHH) people in Georgia. Their number is around 2 500. I regret to say that Deaf education needs a significant improvement, as there is no preschool and no relevant manuals for Deaf children. Like many other DHH worldwide, local DHH people are bilinguals – having two native languages: GESL and spoken Georgian. Thus, they expect to have the bilingual education in schools.

Most of the numerical data in sign languages lexically coincides with the corresponding material of other languages, and this makes communication very easy. Actually, this fact makes the mathematical language universal. Numerals are among the most widely documented linguistic structures.

The difference between the counting systems of spoken Georgian and GESL must be carefully taken into account while teaching cardinal and then ordinal numerals to Deaf children in Georgia. The main difference between spoken and sign languages in teaching/learning numerals is the following: speaking children have to associate figures with words, while Deaf children should operate with three concepts for numbers: words, figures and signs.

We tested the level of knowledge of numerals among DHH children in Tbilisi school 203 for Deaf and in Tbilisi mainstream school 64, with inclusive education program. The results proved that for teaching process of numerals, the most important things are correct translation process, bilingual teaching of three-dimensional system of numerals, and explaining the affixes that produce numerals. With successful process, local Deaf children will be able to produce the correct signs for any type of numerals, also, to read and understand the figures written in words.

Keywords: Georgian Sign Language, GESL, numerals, sign languages, morphology

Introduction

Georgian sign language (GESL) is a language of Deaf and Hard of Hearing (DHH) people in Georgia. Their number is around 2 500. In Georgia, there are three schools for Deaf children in Tbilisi, Kutaisi and Batumi. However, in accordance with inclusive education law, some Deaf children study at mainstream schools. I regret to say that Deaf education needs a significant improvement, as there is no preschool and no relevant manuals for Deaf children. This is a reason that the local Deaf community is less educated and they depend on their administration very much, inheritably from the Soviet period. Thus, there is an urgent need to improve the educational system for the local DHH. It is noteworthy, that the presented paper is the first academic paper in the field of education of Georgian Deaf community.

Method

The method of the presented paper is descriptive and comparative. I revealed the system of numerals in GESL comparing them to the similar data for other sign languages.

I used the method of elicitation to test the level of knowledge of numerals among DHH children.

Tbilisi school 203 is a Deaf school, and I selected this school for the experimental testing. The teacher of GESL gave the Deaf children the written figures (two-digit, three-digit and four-digit) and asked them to write these figures in words, then to show the signs corresponding these figures. The second part of the test was the opposite task – to write the figures corresponding the same type (two- to four-digit) complex figures written in words, and to sign these figures.

In Deaf school, we tested 9 schoolchildren of both gender (4 boys and 5 girls) of the same age – 12-13 years old. The same type testing was hold at Tbilisi mainstream school 64, where Deaf children study according the law about inclusive education. 12 children (8 male and 4 female) of the same age (12-13 years old) were tested with the help of their GESL teacher. We changed the names of the tested children in both schools in order to have this process anonymous with full protection of confidentiality. In accordance with international ethic norms, the parents of these children signed informed consent documents giving us the rights to use the obtained material for scientific purposes.

Theory

A numerical noun in all languages is a morphological denoting the number, order or part. Accordingly, numerals can be cardinal, ordinal or fractional/distributive. GESL repeats the universal approach of languages to number. Almost all sign languages use expected combinations of fingers to represent a number, and it concerns to cardinal numerals. In many sign languages, numerals up to 10 almost look the same. Most of the numerical data in sign languages lexically coincides with the corresponding material of other languages, and this makes communication very easy. Actually, this fact makes the mathematical language universal.

Across spoken languages, numerals are among the most widely documented linguistic structures.

Both in individual languages and in typological surveys of various sizes, there is a wealth of available data on numeral systems in spoken languages, and it is noteworthy, that numeral systems also are well investigated in many sign languages. In both modality of languages –

spoken and sign, typological or comparative studies that discuss numerals include works such as Hurford (1975, 1987); Comrie (1997, 2005); Greenberg (1978); Barriga (1998); Chinchor (1982); Fuentes et al. (2010); Gil (2005); Hanke (2010); Meir et al. (2010); Zeshan (2013), and others.

Sign languages have pentagram systems, a number is transmitted with the fingers of the hand and this is the most convenient system, while many spoken languages use decimal system or system of twenty – as spoken Georgian. Actually, in spoken languages the four most common number system types are:

- Decimal number system (Base 10)
- Binary number system (Base 2)
- Octal number system (Base 8)
- Hexadecimal number system (Base 16)

This difference between the counting systems of spoken Georgian and GESL must be carefully taken into account while teaching cardinal numerals to Deaf children in Georgia.

In GESL, like many other sign languages, for the cardinal numbers (counting numbers) one

through five, the palm is in, facing the signer. For the numbers six through nine, the palm is out - facing outward from the signer's perspective and the second hand adds the fingers to five with in- oriented palm (Makharoblidze 2012) as we can see in the example (*seven*) on figure 1 below.

The main difference between spoken and sign languages in teaching/learning numerals is the following: speaking children have to associate figures with words, while Deaf children should operate with three concepts for numbers: words, figures and signs.

The numerals and figures must be explained to Deaf children in connection with words: as it is shown below:

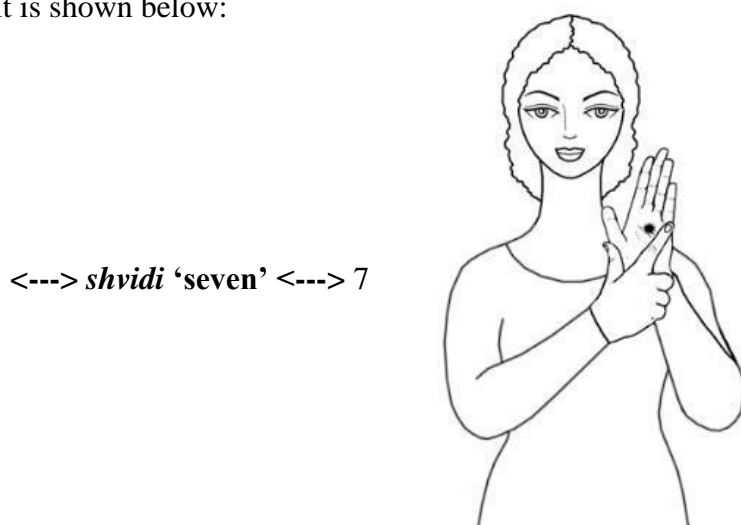**<--->** *shvidi* **'seven'** **<--->** 7

Fig.1. Seven (Makharoblidze 2015).

Each number must be given with this three-dimensional model (word-figure-sign), in order to meet the demands of bilingual teaching; otherwise, Deaf children will not understand the numbers written in words.

After learning the cardinal numerals (words-figures-signs), the ordinal numerals can be explained with the same three-dimensional model. In GESL, ordinal numbers use the affix of order, as we can see in the example below:
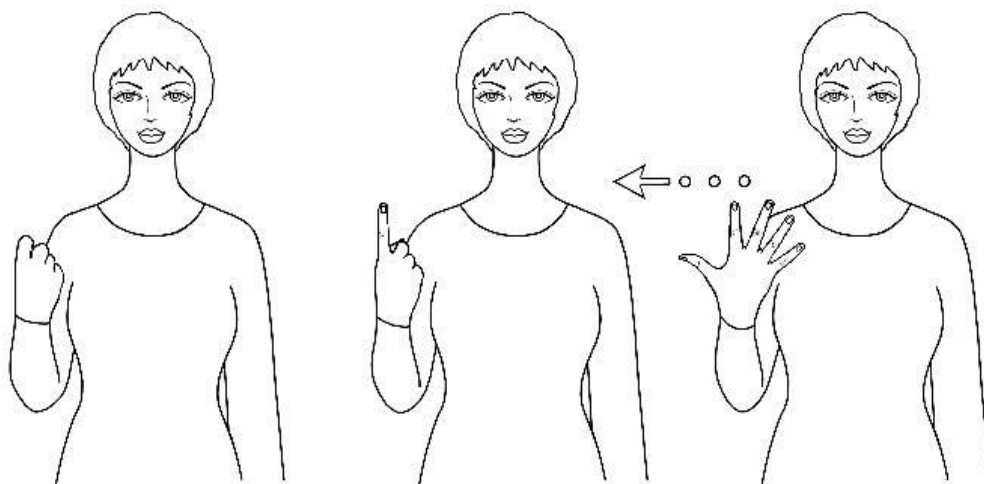
Fig.2. The eleventh (Makharoblidze 2015).

The first two graphics on Figure 2 show number 11 – eleven, and the third graphic is the affix of order. This affix is added to cardinal numbers to produce the ordinal numerals. However, the ordinal numbers from one up to five are produced without this affix, by left-right fast movement of the sign expressing the number. However, there is another affix (Fig.3), which is alternatively used for these ordinal numerals.
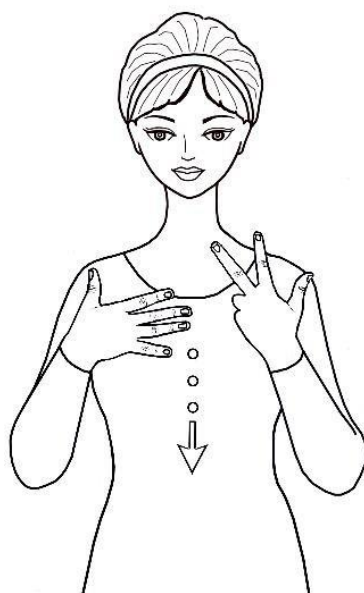
Fig. 3. The third (Makharoblidze 2015).

In Figure 3, we can see the two-handed asymmetric sign. The right hand shows three fingers corresponding the figure three, and the left hand displays the order. If we look carefully, we can see that these two affixes of order, that are in the signs *the third* (Fig. 3) and *the eleventh* (Fig. 2), do not differ much. The difference is in directions of fingers and hand movement, while handshape and meaning are the same. On Figure 2, the fingers are pointing up, and the hand

moves aside, while on Figure 3, the fingers are pointing left, and the hand goes down. These affixes have the same handshape, same type of palm-orientation and partially the same

movement – vibration of fingers. These phonological properties and the same semantical content show that these affixes are similar or in the other words, they are the two versions of the same affix.

The interesting case is numeral incorporation. In sign languages such as Hong Kong Sign Language (HKSL) and American Sign Language (ASL) numerals can be incorporated into nouns. Numeral-incorporated signs involve some sort of simultaneity of the base (noun) and the numeral. Usually, numeral incorporation can work with time-lexical units. GESL has very

limited examples of such incorporation. Numeral incorporation can work with the following ASL signs from one through nine (from one through five in a few categories): MINUTE, HOUR, DAY, WEEK, MONTH, O'CLOCK, and so on. Numeral incorporation in Georgian is possible only for showing the age until five, for example, putting two fingers on teeth means 'two years old'. Another numeral incorporation in GESL occurs with the category of MUNITE, also up to five. This incorporation is displayed via movement – with rapid closing the extended fingers.

It is important to outline, that like many other DHH worldwide, local DHH people are bilinguals – having two native languages: GESL and spoken Georgian. Thus, they expect to have the bilingual education in schools.

Results

We see form the results, that the Deaf schoolchildren do not understand the written figures in words if they learn only figures and signs. Only using the tree-dimensional model word-sign-figure is a correct bilingual approach for teaching/learning process of numerals. In this case. Deaf children are able to recognize the figures written in words, and to produce the correct signs. Of course, the Deaf children at ordinary schools are not able to sign the figures, if they do not study GESL. The twentieth system of spoken Georgian is also frustrating for Deaf schoolchildren.

When Deaf children do not study the affix system of GESL numerals, they usually face the problem in producing the correct signs for different figures, as they do not understand the system.

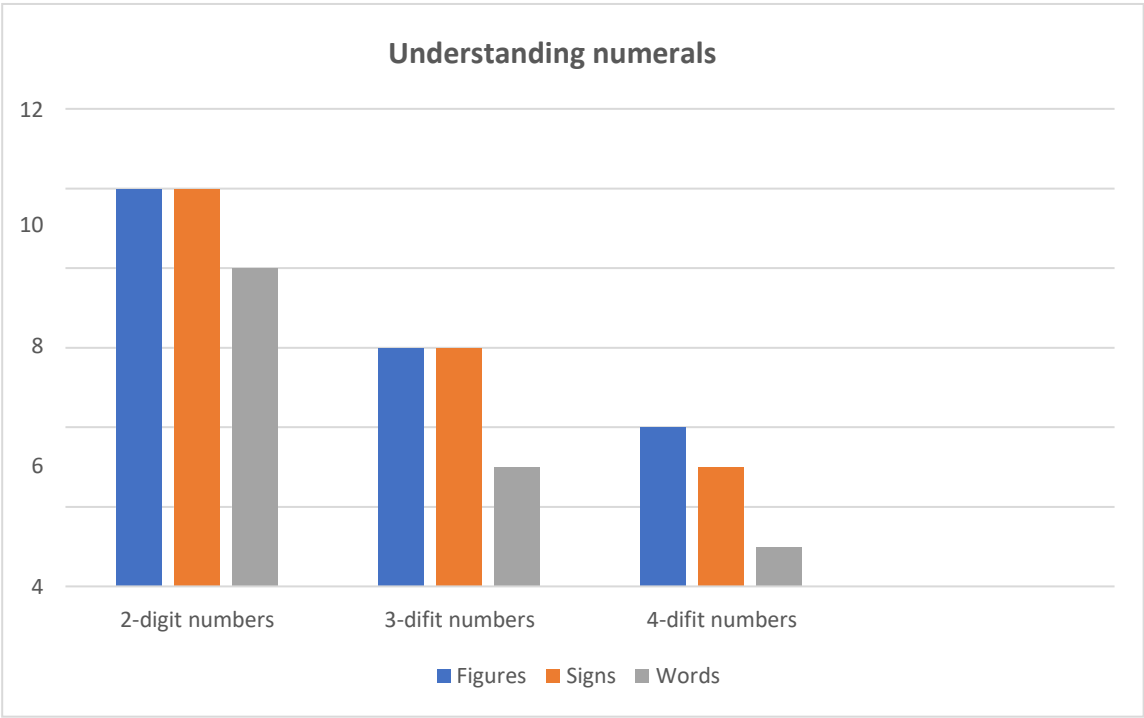The details of the results of our testing are displayed below, in Chart 1 and 2.

Chart 1. Testing at School 64.

These testing results from Chart 1. can be compared with the results from Deaf school:
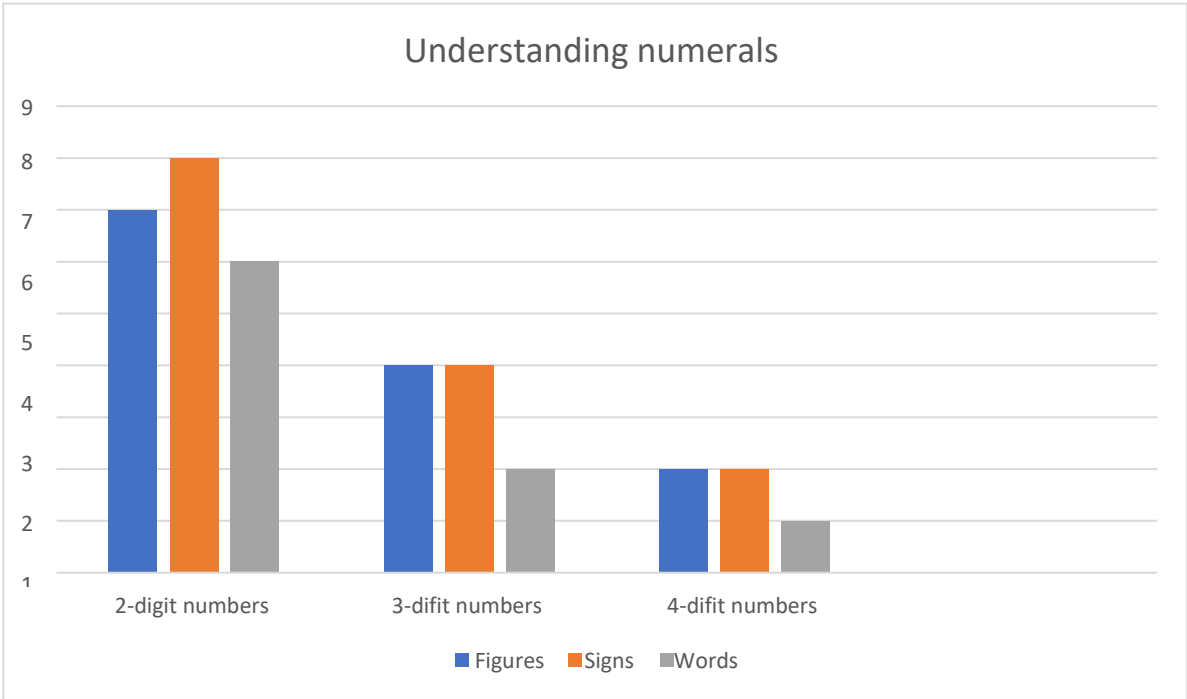

Chart 2. Testing at School 203.

As we can see from the results of the experimental testing, Deaf children at Deaf school have better understanding of signs, but connection of these numeral concepts with corresponding words is very poor. In School 64, children also miss the understanding of this tree-level concept

and we face the problem with 3- and 4-digit numbers. It is clear that the bigger numbers are more problematic for children.

Discussion

Deaf children at mainstream schools are facing various problems. In such schools, they do not receive the bilingual education, except very rare exclusion cases. It is noteworthy, that visual channel must be activated for such teaching/learning process, although some other children in the same class may have a need to actualize audio channel, and it will be challenging to meet these opposite demands in one space, at the same time. In regards with teaching process of numerals, the most important things are correct translation process and bilingual teaching of

three-dimensional system of numerals. The Deaf children in mainstream schools usually cannot sign the figures, as they do not learn GESL at ordinary schools. Lack of knowledge of GESL is a problem in communication with the other Deaf children. I should mention that Tbilisi school 64 is the best example for such type of inclusive study, because in this school DHH children are

mostly with cochlear implant. Thus, they are able to hear and to understand the explanations, and besides, there are special classes for such schoolchildren, and they learn GESL as well.

In Deaf schools, the problem with teaching numerals is different. In these schools, less attention is given to the verbal corresponding units (words) for numerals. Thus, if Deaf children do not learn the system of numerals with the above-mentioned three-dimensional model, then they cannot understand verbally written figures. The system of numerals in GESL must be taught via explaining its affix system as well. This will help Deaf children to produce the correct signs for any type of numerals.

Conclusion(s)

Deaf education needs a significant improvement. Georgian Deaf schools can share the experiences of the best Deaf schools from Europe and United states. However, the specific of GESL and spoken Georgian must be taken into account in such teaching process, and it means

that the local scientific and methodical approaches elaborated for local Deaf bilinguals must be included in school programs. Namely, concerning teaching the numerals to local Deaf children, the revealed lexical and grammatical system of numerals must be properly explained using the above-mentioned three-dimensional model.

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How to teach compositional aspect on verbal-aspect languages data: biaspectuality in Bulgarian and Greek

ABSTRACT

Compositional aspect (CA) is a well-known phenomenon in general linguistics but its essence is, on the one hand, misconceptualized and, on the other, absent in all major grammars of CA-languages, including English. This paper deals with CA as found peripherally in Bulgarian and Greek, two languages that have verbal aspect (VA) and are also hybrid ones, featuring a regular aspect system in verbs as lexical entries and a definite article (no indefinite). The definite-indefinite-zero article pattern plays a major role for effectuating aspect in CA-languages such as English but the definite article in hybrid languages like Bulgarian and Greek also plays such a role in certain specific semantico-syntactic conditions. The regularity is demonstrated here mainly on the basis of a specific type of sentences – with biaspectual verbs and three situation-participant NPs. As CA exists in VA-languages too, albeit peripherally, the thesis here is that it needs to be covered in larger Bulgarian and Greek grammars (academic, comprehensive) and taught at higher levels of learners' language knowledge or acquisition – to students seeking language proficiency, to future language teachers, translators/interpreters, other applied and theoretical linguists. The analysis and the conclusions in the paper could also lead the way to solving certain important theoretical issues: how must CA in VA-languages without articles be analyzed? Exactly how must CA be incorporated in grammars and textbooks and taught? Grammars of VA-languages without articles such as the Slavic ones, Georgian, etc. ought to contain chapters describing the major systems involved in the aspect mechanism: the aspectual and the aspecto-temporal system, the nominal determination system, etc. Especially in need of better explanation and understanding are the way definiteness and indefiniteness, genericity, specificity and similar values are effectuated in languages with no articles – something that has been attempted many times in linguistics but never received a convincing description.

Key words: *compositional and verbal aspect, perfectivity and imperfectivity, biaspectuality, definite/indefinite/zero article, Bulgarian and Greek grammar*

1. Introduction

In the history of linguistics it has repeatedly been maintained that there is something across languages around the world called aspect, that it is located in verbs and that its function is to

distinguish between perfective and imperfective situations. This paper will show that this is not a very good description, although, indeed, VA, i.e., the presence in a language of perfective and imperfective verbs, exercises the function of contrasting perfectivity and imperfectivity. Actually, it stands to reason to refute the statement above. Why? Because if aspect in verbs in some languages serves to contrast perfectivity and imperfectivity, it begs the question what exactly happens in those languages in which there are no perfective and imperfective verbs. Are these languages fully incapable of contrasting perfectivity and imperfectivity? This paper is to provide a better answer to the question.

1.1. What is aspect?

Aspect is the effectuation in and across languages of the perfective-imperfective distinction, whereby perfectivity is a temporally bounded Vendlerian situation (Vendler, 1957) with an initial point and an end-point. Apart from that, perfectivity is a situation brought to a natural end, and the natural end is interpreted in broad and very different pragmatic terms, as an inherent result of the situation on the arrival at the end-point. Imperfectivity, conversely, is a temporally non-bounded situation, whether or not an initial and/or an end-point are present or subsumed in it (on perfectivity vs imperfectivity, see Kabakčiev, 2019, 202).

1.2. Verbal vis-à-vis compositional aspect

Until the 1970s it was widely accepted in linguistics that aspect is a grammatical category found almost exclusively in the Slavic languages, where it is realized by verbs as lexical entries. However, in 1971 a universal language phenomenon was discovered on Dutch and English data by Henk Verkuyl, a Dutch linguist and logician (Verkuyl, 1972). It was later called CA – by other researchers. The finder of CA continued to work on the phenomenon, and in Verkuyl (1993) he explained it even more precisely, in terms of two aspectual schemata, a perfective and an imperfective one, observed in languages that do not feature VA. Verkuyl's epochal discovery of CA enabled generalizations to be developed and sophisticated later, in numerous aspectological publications by other researchers, culminating into an understanding that aspect is a *universal feature found across all natural languages*, albeit in various disguises.

The phenomenon of CA is primarily found in languages prototypically featuring CA (i.e., CA-languages), such as English, Dutch, Finnish, Albanian – among European ones. Conversely, VA-languages feature perfective aspect in verbs, usually as lexical entries – as, e.g., in the Slavic languages, whereby perfectivity is a bounded situation with an achieved telos

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(an accomplishment or an achievement in Vendler's 1957 classification) and imperfectivity is a non-bounded situation (Vendlerian state or activity).

Perfectivity in both Verkuyl's theoretical model and in the theoretical framework adopted here is marked by the simultaneous presence of so-called plus-values in both verb and NPs in the sentence/clause, whereby +ADD-TO is a feature in the verb (also called telic), and +SQA ("specified quantity of A", also termed quantified or bounded) is a feature of NPs. Imperfectivity is marked by the presence of at least one so-called (by Verkuyl) leak: either a -ADD-TO (atelic) feature in the verb or a -SQA (non-quantified/non-bounded quantity of A) feature in at least one NP; for detail concerning the two schemata, see Verkuyl (1993; 2022). As an illustration of the two schemata on English material, consider the sentences (1) below. The first one contains no leak/leaks and perfectivity is explicated. The other three contain at least one leak, and imperfectivity is explicated:

(1)   a.   The tourist visited the pub [perfective, no leak]

     b. The tourist visited pubs$_{LEAK}$ [imperfective, leak in *pubs*]

     c. Tourists$_{LEAK}$ visited pubs$_{LEAK}$ [imperfective, two leaks, in *tourists* and *pubs*]

     d. The tourist hated$_{LEAK}$ this pub [imperfective, leak in *hated*]

Thus, in Verkuyl's aspectual schemata, valid for CA-languages, the perfective aspect is marked through the simultaneous presence of so-called plus-values in both the verb and the NPs in the sentence, viz., +ADD-TO in the verb and +SQA in NPs. The value +SQA, boundedness, is encoded in NPs through quantifiers – among them articles, other determiners, demonstrative adjectives or pronouns, possessive adjectives, personal pronouns, etc. It is especially noteworthy that -SQA, non-boundedness, is encoded in the language system by a single marker, the so-called zero article, i.e., lack of an article (*a* or *the*). "Zero article" actually means lack of a quantifier and it thus approximates the meaning of the term "bare NP". Imperfective aspect is encoded through the presence in a sentence/clause of at least one leak: either a -ADD-TO feature in the verb or a -SQA feature in at least one NP. As an illustration of Verkuyl's schemata, while sentence (1a) above has no leak(s) and perfectivity is explicated, each of the other three sentences (1b,c,d) contains at least one leak and imperfectivity is explicated.

All this boils down to a crystal-clear interplay between sentence components. Unfortunately, there are differences between the interpretations of this interplay among the different aspectologists. Verkuyl (2022) calls the interaction between verb and NP referents at the sentence level "feature algebra". Kabakčiev (1984; 2000; 2019), Dimitrova and Kabakčiev (2021) interpret the interaction between verb and NP referents as an interplay between temporal

entities. A similar position – of NP referents viewed as temporal entities, is maintained by Vounchev (2007, 86–87) in his analysis of Greek and Bulgarian aspectological data. Bulatović (2020, 405) subscribes to a similar understanding, recognizing as an interplay "the role of different verbal and nominal groups in signalling perfectivity or imperfectivity" – though for Bulatović this is not necessarily an interplay between temporal entities.

A truly absurd and lamentable state of affairs is observed today in all academic and comprehensive grammars of English, along with the grammars of all other CA-languages. It consists in the total absence of any kind of explanation what CA is, how it is realized through the article-aspect interplay, etc., despite the fact that CA was discovered in linguistics more than five decades ago (Verkuyl, 1972) and recognized as an extremely important phenomenon, and then described much more fully in the following years and decades in hundreds of aspectological publications. In another paper on CA, Bulatović heaps harsh – but otherwise fully convincing and justified – criticism on all English grammars and the system of English language teaching worldwide: "[CA] *is not described in grammars of English, not mentioned in English coursebooks, and not taught in schools and colleges*" (Bulatović, 2022, 500-501). Furthermore, Bulatović (2022, 503) maintains a thesis similar to the one upheld here, viz., that "it is the [±boundedness] role of articles that is primary, and their [±definiteness] role is secondary".

2. Problem statement

As already pointed out above, aspect in CA-languages is realized as a very complex interplay of grammatical, semantic and other values (pragmatic) within sentence components: the verb, NPs. Adverbials must also be added here, but this issue will be skipped, for lack of space. In this interplay the article performs an extremely significant role with its omnipresence. This role can be seen in the sentences above and will also be shown and explained further below. Conversely, in VA-languages, such as almost all the Slavic ones, Georgian, etc., having no articles (no definite article and no indefinite article), aspect (perfectivity and imperfectivity) is directly realized by the verb. In the huge majority of cases, verbs in these languages, being either perfective or imperfective as lexical entries, directly encode (denote, signify, mark, express) perfectivity or imperfectivity – by themselves. But there is also a third group of verbs in these languages – biaspectual ones (sometimes called anaspectual). They are ambivalent between perfectivity and imperfectivity and can explicate either value through the compositional mechanism, see below.

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Thus, when analyzing languages which feature both VA and a definite article, such as Bulgarian and Greek, it begs the question exactly what role is performed by the definite article and exactly how it interferes with the explication of aspect in those cases when aspect is not directly encoded by the verb in a sentence/clause. Different types of cases are observed when aspect is not directly encoded, but in this paper the investigation will be on the employment of biaspectual verbs – in Bulgarian and Greek.

3. Purpose of the study

CA also exists in VA-languages, but peripherally – something to be further explained below on Bulgarian and Greek data. Bulgarian was first reported as a VA-language (Slavic) featuring CA by Kabakčiev (1984, 649), see examples of CA explication in Bulgarian in sentences like (2) below. Structurally these sentences correspond to the English examples (1) above, containing one and the same biaspectual verb associated with two situation-participant NPs. Aspect is realized not through the verb (because it is aspectually ambivalent) but as a complex interplay between the features of the referents of the relevant situation-participant NPs and the verb – that is, in compositional terms:

(2)   a.   Tehnitsite remontiraha$_{\text{BİASP}}$ peralnyata [no leak, prototypically perfective]

        'The technicians repaired the washing machine'

    b.   Tehnitsite remontiraha$_{\text{BİASP}}$ peralni$_{\text{LEAK}}$ [one leak, imperfective]

        'The technicians repaired washing machines'

    c.   Tehnitsi$_{\text{LEAK}}$ remontiraha$_{\text{BİASP}}$ peralni$_{\text{LEAK}}$ [two leaks, imperfective]

        'Technicians repaired washing machines'

A sentence such as (2a) is prototypically perfective because it has no leak and the referents of the NPs *tehnitsite* 'the technicians' and *peralnyata* 'the washing machine' are bounded (see again the description of Verkuyl's perfective schema above). Conversely, (2b) and (2c) are prototypically imperfective sentences because of the presence of a leak/leaks in NP/NPs. In simpler everyday terms, the first sentence describes a one-off situation, a single act, in which a bounded group of technicians repair successfully a washing machine, and the situation is perfective. This is a bounded situation with a reached telos – the washing machine is functional again; in Vendler's classification this is called an accomplishment. In (2b) and (2c) either the referent of the syntactic object *peralni* 'washing machines' or the referents of both subject and object undergo a change vis-à-vis (2a): from boundedness, an accomplishment, a single act, to non-boundedness – indefinite iterativity, of the relevant entity (NP-encoded). And it fully stands

to reason that if the referent of a syntactic subject or object is an indefinitely iterative (recurring) entity, the verb referent itself will be an indefinitely iterative entity, recurring. Or, in other words, roughly phrased, sentences such as (2b) and (2c) are imperfective.

Note that the compositional explication of aspect is also clearly seen in the English translations of the sentences in (2). For further detail on Verkuyl's two schemata, see Verkuyl (1972; 1993; 2022). Greek sentences with biaspectual verbs demonstrating the compositional explication of aspect will also be given and explained – below.

4. Research method

The main method followed in this paper is an approach described in Dimitrova (2021). It is not the inductive one typical of mainstream grammatical descriptions of languages but is deductive: initially defining broad universal language notions and then seeking the realization of these universal notions in different languages.

Mainstream linguistic analyses and standard grammatical descriptions in most cases proceed in a rather different manner. In the case of verbal aspect, it is taken for granted that there are certain languages (for example, the Slavic ones) that demonstrate verbal aspect through their verb lexicons. It is common knowledge that in most cases a perfective verb in these languages will contain a perfectivizing prefix and will be contrasted to a simple imperfective verb, without a prefix. Of course, there exist other formal ways in the Slavic languages for contrasting perfective and imperfective verbs, but these will be ignored here, for lack of space. In the traditional inductive approach, a particular language is chosen as the object of investigation of an already observed phenomenon, for example, perfectivity. Observations are then made as to what formal devices are present in this language that encode the previously identified grammatical category (e.g., aspect) or grammeme (e.g., perfectivity): morphological, periphrastic, semantico-syntactic, etc. These devices are then formally described, classified and inventorized, and generalizations and conclusions are made as to the patterns and paradigms formed by these structural devices in the relevant language (or languages).

This is not a wrong approach, of course. The features of aspect-related language components *must* be described in formal and semantic terms. But this approach is one-sided and dramatically misses the opportunity to find out what it is that makes natural languages develop (in diachrony) or maintain (in synchrony) aspect – or other grammatical categories for that matter. Traditional mainstream linguistic analyses and standard grammatical descriptions, instead of trying to formulate questions about the reasons for the existence of verbal aspect –

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as in the Slavic languages or Georgian, as well as the reasons for the non-existence of verbal aspect in other languages, exclusively concern themselves with the devices as described above and their formal features (e.g., prefixes, infixes, suffixes) for the effectuation of aspect in VA-languages. Some extremely important questions that are never (or almost never) asked in traditional linguistic analyses are, for example, the following: (i) why do many languages have articles (definite, indefinite, zero) but many other languages do not have articles? (ii) why do native speakers of languages without articles *not suffer* from the lack of articles? (iii) why do many languages have perfect verb forms (*have* or *be* auxiliary plus a past participle)?; (iv) why do native speakers of languages without perfect verb forms *not suffer* at all from their absence?

The deductive approach dramatically overcomes the insufficiencies of the inductive approach – related to the isolated nature of the observations made on formal grammatical devices. For example: many observations on aspect in Bulgarian do not hold for observations made on Serbian or Russian – that are otherwise Slavic languages too. The deductive approach, conversely, concerns itself with the formulation of broad concepts related to language and language structure in general, which allows making predictions and conclusions for huge numbers of languages, even for all languages. To give an example in this vein, let us have the concept of perfectivity properly formulated. It is a bounded situation (Vendlerian) on the time axis – with a reached telos, whereby the reached telos is described in general terms related to human knowledge – that is, in pragmatic terms, not semantic ones. After the formulation of perfectivity in this way, it becomes easier to find its realization – not in one or two languages but in many or even all around the world.

Inter alia, although Verkuyl did not announce the use of a deductive approach, he actually used one to make the epochal discovery of CA. What Verkuyl did was the formulation of a broad concept of the distinction between perfectivity and imperfectivity. He then asked himself the question: what is it in languages such as the Germanic ones that ultimately effectuates perfectivity and imperfectivity? Or, phrased otherwise, what are the formal or other (lexico-semantic, semantico-syntactic, semantic, grammatical, etc.) means in languages such as Dutch and English that underlie the explication/signalling of perfectivity and imperfectivity? As already shown in the analysis of sentences like (1) above, there *are* such devices in languages like Dutch and English (i.e., in CA-languages), and it is clear that these devices constitute a system that is mind-boggling in its complexity, involving various lexico-semantic, semantico-syntactic, semantic, grammatical and other elements.

Another important aspect of the more specific approach, a deductive one, adopted in this work, is that in the analysis of the language data that matches the criteria of the universal notions initially constructed, analyzed and counterposed one to another are grammatical vs non-grammatical sentences, as per Chomsky's theoretical framework. This provides the opportunity for the features of the grammatical sentences to be described much more fully and correctly.

5. Language data analysis – in cases of biaspectuality

The analysis of the regularities of the phenomenon of aspect across languages, and of biaspectuality in particular, will be made primarily on data from Modern Bulgarian and Modern Greek, using English as a metalanguage, but some necessary comparisons with VA-languages will also be made.

5.1. Analyses of biaspectuality on Bulgarian data

As shown elsewhere, Kabakčiev (2020, 119-120), the regularity demonstrated in (1) above with biaspectual verbs can be observed in many other Bulgarian sentences. See (3a-d) below, containing not one or two situation-participant NPs but three – if the NP in the prepositional phrase *ot blizkata reka* 'from the nearby river' is reinterpreted as a situation-participant NP (which is possible). In other words, the phenomenon of CA can easily be seen to exist not only in English, a CA-language, but also – very clearly, albeit peripherally – in VA-languages, in this case Bulgarian:

(3)   a. Dvama planinari konvoiraha$_{BiASP}$ konya da pie ot blizkata reka [no leak, prototypically perfective]

'Two mountaineers convoyed the horse to drink from the nearby river'

b. Planinari$_{LEAK}$ konvoiraha$_{BiASP}$ konya da pie ot blizkata reka [one leak, imperfective]
'Mountaineers convoyed the horse to drink from the nearby river'

c. Dvama planinari konvoiraha$_{BiASP}$ kone$_{LEAK}$ da piyat ot blizkata reka [one leak, imperfective]

'Two mountaineers convoyed horses to drink from the nearby river'

d. Dvama planinari konvoiraha$_{BiASP}$ konya da pie ot blizki reki$_{LEAK}$ [one leak, imperfective]

'Two mountaineers convoyed the horse to drink from nearby rivers'

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The first sentence (3a) is prototypically perfective for the following reasons. It contains a biaspectual verb ambivalent between perfectivity and imperfectivity and three quantified (bounded) NPs, and thus it belongs to Verkuyl's perfective schema; the situation is understood as perfective, a Vendlerian accomplishment. Sentences (3c) and (3d) are imperfective, understood as implicating indefinite iterativity, non-boundedness, and hence imperfectivity, for the following reasons. First, *kone* 'horses' in (3c) explicates a non-bounded series of horses on the time axis with no known beginning and no known end, taken by two mountaineers to drink water from the nearby river. If a non-bounded series of horses – with no definite beginning and no definite end on the time axis, is taken to drink water from somewhere, then the situation itself, mainly contained in the meaning of the verb, is non-bounded or, in other words, imperfective. Second, in (3d), similarly, if a horse is taken by two mountaineers to nearby rivers, and these rivers form a series on the time axis with no definite beginning and no definite end, then, again, the situation itself, synthesized in the meaning of the verb, is non-bounded, imperfective.

Note, however, that sentences of this kind, with three situation-participant NPs and a biaspectual verb, are, first, difficult to find in real-world texts and, second, not easy to construct so as to reveal the aspectual regularity. And, third, some or most of them are susceptible to various pragmatic interpretations that may change the aspectual readings. Thus, for example, (3b) could in certain cases be read not as imperfective but as perfective, with a "silent" quantifier *some* (Bulgarian *edni* 'some') in the subject *planinari* 'mountaineers'. Of course, the prototypical, primary interpretation of sentence (3b) is the imperfective one – and this aspectual meaning is realized when the referent of *planinari* 'mountaineers' is understood as a non-bounded temporal entity, a series of mountaineers on the time axis one after the other, with no definite beginning and no definite end, bringing the horse to water. The indefinite iterativity (recurrence) of the referent of *planinari* 'mountaineers' is mapped onto the referent of the biaspectual verb *konvoiraha* 'convoyed' and the verb is understood as explicating imperfectivity.

Despite being rare in real-world texts and difficult to construct, these sentences are extremely important in grammatical terms, because they point to a language feature which is clearly universal: aspect is as much an attribute of the verb in a sentence (the attribute being either grammaticalized or only explicated) as "an all-pervading and perpetual process of mapping temporal features between elements of the sentence, especially between referents of verbs and of nominals that are participants in situations" (Kabakčiev, 2019, 212).

Sentences with biaspectual verbs and two or three situation-participant NPs – like (3), exist in Greek as well but in certain more specific conditions (Dimitrova and Kabakčiev, 2021); Greek sentences of this type will be discussed below. Biaspectual verbs *are* allowed in Greek in, for example, infinitival constructions and future-tense verb forms. But, unlike in Bulgarian, they are *not* allowed in past tense verb forms, because Greek preterits (aorists and imperfects) obligatorily receive aspectual marking: aorists are always perfective, imperfects always imperfective. In Bulgarian this is not the case. Perfective and imperfective verbs in Bulgarian freely combine separately with aorist and imperfect verb forms.

For the sake of the discussion here, two English sentences with three situation-participant NPs will now be constructed to demonstrate the two opposite ends of a perfective-imperfective continuum in Bulgarian – from imperfectivity to perfectivity, see the examples in (5) further below. The two English sentences (4a) and (4b) here have the same verb form *will sponsor*: unmarked for aspect and ambivalent between perfectivity and imperfectivity outside of a sentence or context. The first sentence has no Verkuylian leak and hence explicates perfectivity – (4a). The second one, (4b), has leaks in all the NPs and explicates imperfectivity:

(4)   a.   The businessman will sponsor$_{BIASP}$ the concert of the young virtuoso [no leak, prototypically perfective]

         b.   Businessmen$_{LEAK}$ will sponsor$_{BIASP}$ concerts$_{LEAK}$ of young virtuosi$_{LEAK}$ [three leaks, imperfective]

In the first case, (4a), the referents of the three situation-participant NPs constitute temporally bounded entities. There is one agent, a kinetic entity appearing once on the time axis to perform the task of sponsoring the young virtuoso for one concert, i.e., for one complete event, perfective, on the time axis. The second case, (4b), demonstrates something completely different: a non-bounded (unknown, unspecified) number of businessmen located one after the other on the time axis are to sponsor a non-bounded number of concerts (i.e., events on the time axis), performed by a non-bounded number of young virtuosi. Note that the virtuosi are also located on the time axis one after the other – and are not located together simultaneously in the same physical place.

After the example of these two basic English sentences (4a, b), let us now construct a larger set of Bulgarian sentences, (5), but this time in the past tense, which is possible in Bulgarian – though not in Greek. The Bulgarian sentences (5) demonstrate even much more clearly and exhaustively aspect as an interplay at the sentence level between the referent of the verb and the referents of situation-participant NPs. They also show the extremely important and

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interesting transition from imperfectivity in sentences with one or two or three Verkuylian leaks (i.e., NPs unaccompanied by an article or some other quantifier) to perfectivity in the last sentence – (5f), with no leak in any of the three NPs:

(5)   a. Biznesmeni$_{LEAK}$ sponsoriraha$_{BiASP}$ kontserti$_{LEAK}$ na mladi virtuozi$_{LEAK}$ [three leaks, imperfective]

'Businessmen sponsored concerts of young virtuosi'

b. Biznesmeni$_{LEAK}$ sponsoriraha$_{BiASP}$ kontserti$_{LEAK}$ na mladiya virtuoz [two leaks, imperfective]

'Businessmen sponsored concerts of the young virtuoso'

c. Dvama biznesmeni sponsoriraha$_{BiASP}$ kontserti$_{LEAK}$ na mladi virtuozi$_{LEAK}$ [two leaks, imperfective]

'Two businessmen sponsored concerts of young virtuosi'

d. Dvama biznesmeni sponsoriraha$_{BiASP}$ kontserti$_{LEAK}$ na mladiya virtuoz [one leak, imperfective]

'Two businessmen sponsored concerts of the young virtuoso'

e. Biznesmeni$_{LEAK}$ sponsoriraha$_{BiASP}$ kontsertite na mladiya virtuoz [one leak, imperfective]

'Businessmen sponsored the concerts of the young virtuoso'

f. Dvama biznesmeni sponsoriraha$_{BiASP}$ kontserta na mladiya virtuoz [no leak, perfective]

'Two businessmen sponsored the concert of the young virtuoso'

Note also that in the imperfectivity-perfectivity continuum in this group of sentences, the first sentence features three leaks in the three NPs. The leaks are then reduced to two, and then to one, still triggering imperfectivity. Finally, when no leak occurs, as in (5f), the relevant sentence is perfective.

The analysis of the temporal properties of the NP referents in (5) are identical or at least similar to the analysis of the sentences in (2) and (3) above. In the case of three situation-participant NPs as in (5), the temporal non-boundedness and indefinite iterativity in each of them trigger non-boundedness and indefinite iterativity (non-bounded recurrence) in the verb referent: the biaspectual verb form *sponsoriraha* 'sponsored' is coerced from aspectual ambivalence to imperfectivity. When the number of leaks drops from three to two, as in (5b), the sentence becomes somewhat more susceptible to a perfective reading. The NPs *biznesmeni* 'businessmen' and *kontserti* 'concerts' in (5b) could be interpreted as each containing a silent

quantifier *edni* 'some/several', and in such a case the aspectual interpretation of the sentence would be perfective, despite the bare NPs *biznesmeni* and *kontserti* – i.e., in violation of Verkuyl's imperfective schema. However, such an interpretation would be a secondary one, non-prototypical and fully dependent on the implied presence of a quantifier. In (5e), the likelihood of having a perfective interpretation in the sentence is again higher, because the presence of a silent quantifier *edni* 'some/several' can even more easily be subsumed in such a sentence, containing only one non-bounded NP. Still, again, the perfective interpretation would be a secondary one, non-prototypical and entirely dependent on an implied quantifier.

Finally, within the imperfectivity-perfectivity continuum, sentence (5f) most easily lends itself to a perfective interpretation, because very clearly this sentence is about a one-off act, a completed one, bounded, with an achieved telos, despite the aspectually ambivalent (biaspectual) verb form. This is mainly effectuated by the presence of a definite article, a quantifier, in each of the NPs: *biznesmenat* 'the businessman', *kontserta* 'the concert', *mladiya virtuoz* 'the young virtuoso'. What does the definite article do? It assigns to the referent of the relevant NP the status of a one-off entity, a single kinetic one, temporally bounded, with a definite beginning and a definite end on the time axis. The three referents of situation participant NPs map their temporal boundedness onto the referent of the verb, and the verb starts to be interpreted as explicating perfectivity.

5.2. Some analyses of biaspectuality on other Slavic languages data: Serbian, Russian

Let us consider what will happen if we transfer (translate) two of the Bulgarian sentences in (5), namely (5a) and (5f), into Slavic languages with no article: Serbian, Russian. The Bulgarian sentence (5a) will normally, according to the standard rules of translation, be equal to Serbian (6a) and Russian (6b), respectively:

(5)   a. Biznesmeni$_{LEAK}$ sponsoriraha$_{BiASP}$ kontserti$_{LEAK}$ na mladi virtuozi$_{LEAK}$ [Bulgarian; three leaks, imperfective]

       'Businessmen sponsored concerts of young virtuosi'

(6)   a. Biznismeni su sponzorisali$_{BIASP}$ koncerte mladih virtuoza [Serbian]

       'Businessmen sponsored concerts of young virtuosi'

      b. Biznesmeny sponsirovali$_{BIASP}$ kontserty iunyh virtuozov [Russian]

       'Businessmen sponsored concerts of young virtuosi'

Also, the Bulgarian perfective sentence (5f), in which perfectivity is explicated in CA terms, undoubtedly corresponds to Serbian (7a) and Russian (7b), respectively:

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(5)　　f. Dvama biznesmeni sponsoriraha$_{BiASP}$ kontserta na mladiya virtuoz [no leak, perfective]

　　　　　'Two businessmen sponsored the concert of the young virtuoso'

(7)　　a. Dva biznismena su sponzorisali $_{BIASP}$ koncert mladog virtuoza

　　　　Two businessmen　are　sponsored　concert　of young virtuoso

　　　　'Two businessman sponsored a/the concert of a/the young virtuoso'

　　　b. Dva biznesmena sponsirovali　$_{BIASP}$　kontsert yunogo virtuoza

　　　　Two　businessmen sponsored　concert　of young virtuoso

　　　　'Two businessmen sponsored a/the concert of a/the young virtuoso'

Note that in both Serbian and Russian the verbs for *sponsor* are truly biaspectual, just like in Bulgarian – and this could imply that aspect in the Serbian and the Russian sentences might be explicated in compositional terms.

Can it? Not really! Hence the absence of notation about leaks in the Serbian and the Russian sentences. Let us first discuss the Serbian and Russian sentences expected to be imperfective. If Bulgarian (5a) can indeed be characterized as imperfective, imperfectivity being explicated in CA terms, can the equivalent Serbian sentence (6a) and the equivalent Russian sentence (6b) be characterized as imperfective too? No, they cannot. Why? Because the Serbian and Russian NPs corresponding to (English) *businessmen*, *concerts* and *young virtuosi* are marked *neither* for non-boundedness, *nor* for boundedness, due to the lack of articles in Serbian and Russian. Thus a question that must immediately spring to mind is: what happened with the definite articles in the equivalent Bulgarian sentence and its English translation? Why did they disappear in the translation into Serbian and Russian? And as it is a fact that they disappeared – and they will always disappear in similar cases – it begs the question: what is it that exercises or must exercise in Serbian and Russian the functions of the definite article present in the relevant sentences in Bulgarian and English? Linguistics today has no convincing answer to this extremely significant question. Future studies will be expected to propose a solution.

And now let us consider the two sentences in (7) corresponding in translation terms to Bulgarian (5f). Bulgarian (5f) is characterized as perfective, perfectivity explicated in CA terms. But can the supposedly semantically equivalent sentences – Serbian (7a) and Russian (7b), be characterized as perfective ones? Not necessarily. Why? Because the lack of quantification in the two Serbian and Russian NPs that stand for *concert* and *young virtuoso* and correspond to the Bulgarian sentence (5f) makes it hard for the hearer to interpret these NPs as quantified. Hence, although perfectivity cannot be ruled out in (7a, b), these sentences cannot

obligatorily be read as temporally bounded, and cannot be interpreted as capable of transferring temporal boundedness onto the referent of the aspectually ambivalent verb.

Now, to return to the very significant question whether CA explication in cases like (6) and (7) in Slavic languages like Serbian or Russian is possible, the answer appears negative. In languages with no articles, sentences with three situation-participant NPs and a verb that is aspectually ambivalent must generally be characterized as *insusceptible or not fully susceptible to CA explication*. This is because the NPs in such sentences – Serbian (6a), (7a) and Russian (6b), (7b) – are not marked for boundedness through articles or other determiners/quantifiers, and are also not marked for non-boundedness through the absence of articles and/or other determiners or quantifiers, respectively. Conversely, in Bulgarian and English they *are* marked so – and also in Greek, see below.

5.3. Analyses of biaspectuality on Greek data

The regularity described above on Bulgarian data can be demonstrated on Greek data too. Articles are absent in almost all Slavic languages but present in the grammatical structures of Bulgarian and Greek, hence an article-aspect interplay can be assumed to play a key role there for aspect effectuation. A recent publication with an analysis of Greek sentences with biaspectual future verb forms and three situation-participant NPs (Dimitrova & Kabakčiev, 2021, 193) shows that this type of sentences is really capable of demonstrating the distinction between quantified and non-quantified NP elements, including the article-aspect interplay, just like in English and Bulgarian. Analyzed in the publication above are four Greek sentences with three situation-participant NPs and an identical biaspectual verb. The first sentence, (8a), with no leak, is perfective. The other sentences, each with a Verkuylian leak, are imperfective:

(8)   a. O valé tha parkárei$_{\text{BIASP}}$ to aftokínitó mas ston kontinó chóro státhmefsis [no leak, prototypically perfective]

'The valet will park our car in the parking lot nearby'

b. O valé tha parkárei$_{\text{BIASP}}$ aftokínita$_{\text{LEAK}}$ ston kontinó chóro státhmefsis [one leak, imperfective]

'The valet will park cars in the parking lot nearby'

c. O valé tha parkárei$_{\text{BIASP}}$ to aftokínitó mas se kontinoús chórous státhmefsis$_{\text{LEAK}}$ [one leak, imperfective]

'The valet will park our car in nearby parking lots'

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d. Valédes_LEAK tha parkároun_BIASP to aftokínitó mas ston kontinó chóro státhmefsis [one leak, imperfective]

'Valets will park our car in the nearby parking lot'

The analysis shows that the explication of aspect (perfectivity or imperfectivity) in such Greek sentences with an aspectually ambivalent verb mainly rests on the temporal features of the situation-participant NP referents. In the perfective sentence (8a) there are three situation-participant NPs, each of which represents a single instance in time of the relevant entity: a valet is expected to appear once, the speakers' car is expected to appear once, the parking lot is expected to appear once, and the valet is expected to park the car in the parking lot – once. It is worth noting here that the first linguist to subscribe to the understanding of situation-participant NP referents as temporal entities (Kabakčiev, 1984; 2000) is a Hellenist who analyzed Greek and Bulgarian data, Vounchev (2007, 86–87).

Now consider sentence (8b). The same valet appears to be here again but he is expected not to park the speakers' car once but to park cars – probably many cars, many times. Is this situation similar to the one in (8a)? Not at all! First, this is not a single instance in time of a valet, these are many instances in time of a valet – and, furthermore, these instances are a non-bounded number of appearances of a valet. Furthermore, does *the valet* here refer to the same valet? Not necessarily! It could be the same person but it could also be a designation in the singular of different individuals performing the duty of a valet. Second, in (8b) we do not know where the entity *cars* begins and we do not know where this entity ends. Put otherwise, *cars* here refers to a process of recurrence of cars or a car being driven into a car park, and not to a group of cars as physical objects standing at the same place initially and then driven into a car park together. In aspectology this recurrence of cars is normally described as "indefinite iterativity".

Third, consider *the parking lot* in (8b). Is this a single instance in time of a parking lot as a physical object? No! In contrast to (8a), where *the parking lot* refers to a single instance in time of the physical object "parking lot", here *the parking lot* is a recurrent entity just like the valet is a recurrent image of a/the valet. To sum up, the referents of the three NPs in sentence (8a), which is perfective, are completely different in their temporal configurations from the temporal configurations of the referents of the three NPs in sentence (8b), which is imperfective. It is also important to note that obviously there is mapping of temporal values within the separate sentences. For example, in a simplified picture of the separate mapping processes in the two sentences, while in (8a) there is a single instantiation of time of the entities *the valet*, *our car*

and *the parking lot*, in sentence (8b) the indefinite iterativity (recurrence) feature of *cars* is mapped back onto the referent of the verb *parked* and the verb is thus coerced into signalling imperfectivity – which in this case is non-bounded iterativity (recurrence). But the mapping process does not terminate here. The feature "recurrence" of *cars* and of *parked* is mapped even farther back, onto the referent of *the valet*, which, too, acquires the feature non-bounded recurrence. Or, phrased in pedestrian terms, here we do not have a valet doing something once as in (8a), we have a valet performing recurring acts of parking a car.

In a similar way, the indefinite iterativity (non-boundedness) feature, effectuated through a bare NP (a zero article) in *parking lots* and *valets* in (8c) and (8d), respectively, triggers recurrence (indefinite iterativity) in the referent of the verb *parked*, and this recurrence (indefinite iterativity) feature is then mapped onto the remaining NP components – *our car* and *the valet* in (8c), and *our car* and *the parking lot* in (8d).

The explanation of the temporal features of the referents of the situation-participant NPs in (8a-d) in the publication quoted above allows constructing similar sentences with the same (relatively) large number of situation-participant NPs – three, whereby each situation-participant NP is capable of changing the aspectual value of the sentence from perfective to imperfective by what should be called de-quantification. Here is a similar set of Greek sentences, (9a-f) – constructed examples with the biaspectual verb *servíro* 'serve', in which the temporal features of the referents of the verb and the situation-participant NPs are mapped onto each other in different ways:

(9)   a. O idioktítis tis tavérnas tha servírei$_{BIASP}$ ston tourísta éna topikó piáto [no leak, prototypically perfective]

'The taverna owner will serve the tourist a local dish'

b. O idioktítis tis tavérnas tha servírei$_{BIASP}$ stous touristes$_{LEAK}$ éna topikó piáto [one leak, imperfective]

'The taverna owner will serve tourists a local dish'

c. Idioktítes tavérnas$_{LEAK}$ stin periochí tha servíroun$_{BIASP}$ stous touristes éna topikó piáto [one leak, imperfective]

'Taverna owners in the area will serve the tourists a local dish'

d. Oi idioktítes tis tavérnas stin periochí tha servíroun$_{BIASP}$ stous touristes$_{LEAK}$ éna topikó piáto [one leak, imperfective]

'The taverna owners in the area will serve tourists a local dish'

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e. Idioktítes tavérnas_LEAK stin periochí tha servíroun_BIASP stous touristes_LEAK éna topikó piáto [two leaks, imperfective]

'Taverna owners in the area will serve tourists a local dish'

f. Idioktítes tavérnas_LEAK stin periochí tha servíroun_BIASP stous touristes_LEAK topiká piáta_LEAK [three leaks, imperfective]

'Taverna owners in the area will serve tourists local dishes'

The first sentence (9a) has no Verkuylian leak and is hence perfective. The continuum here is in the opposite direction: from perfectivity to imperfectivity. The other sentences are imperfective, with leaks, each leak triggering non-bounded iterativity in the referent of the verb.

However, it must be emphasized now that Greek is structurally different from the Slavic languages in one specific respect: the number of biaspectual verbs in Greek seems to be lower. Also worth noting is that they are rarely mentioned in the literature. Tarpomanova (2013, 191) lists only three such verbs: *parkáro* 'park', *riskáro* 'risk', *aréso* 'like'. Markou (2022) provides no example of a biaspectual verb in Greek and describes biaspectuals as primarily borrowings from other languages. She maintains that the Greek system uses all possible means to integrate them and to adapt them to the domestic model (Markou, 2022, 11). This probably means that a potentially biaspectual borrowing in Greek is expected to be quickly processed by the grammatical system and provided with a perfective correspondence, whereby the original verb will preserve for itself the imperfective value only. To what extent this happens or not, is unclear.[1] In another publication, Markou (2019, 54) describes aspect in Greek as "a domain characterized by theoretical contradictions and terminological imprecision".

To sum up, Greek biaspectual verbs appear to be not too many and, with the literature generally silent on the issue, it is difficult to make a judgement as to their prevalence. Consider some more examples of Greek sentences with a biaspectual verb – *blokáro* 'block', in the future (10a, b) and in the present perfect, in (11a, b), further below.

(10)a. I ergatikí apergía tha blokárei_BIASP tis diapragmatéfseis [no leak, perfective]

'The labor strike will block the negotiations'

b. Ergatikés apergíes_LEAK tha blokároun_BIASP tis diapragmatéfseis [one leak, imperfective]

'Labor strikes will block the negotiations'

Sentence (10a) will normally be read as perfective, as the referents of both subject and object are bounded (+SQA) and each refers to a single occurrence in time, hence a perfective

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[1] To the authors of this paper.

situation arises: a one-off participation of a particular group of workers in a single act (single industrial action) of blocking a single occurrence (instance) of negotiations. The temporal boundedness, encoded by the definite article, of the referent of the subject, and the temporal boundedness of the referent of the object, again encoded by the definite article, are mapped onto the referent of the aspectually ambivalent verb *tha blokárei* 'will block', coercing it from aspectual ambivalence into perfectivity (a Vendlerian accomplishment). But even without this analysis of the temporal values of the referents of the subject and the object, sentence (10a) clearly explicates perfectivity to the Greek native speaker, i.e., it signals boundedness on the time axis: a single completed act (industrial action) with an achieved telos, i.e., a pragmatic result. And if someone would like to question the temporal boundedness of the referents of subject and object in (10a) and its mapping onto the referent of the verb, let us consider sentence (10b). It features a non-bounded subject, non-boundedness marked by the zero article. This non-boundedness which represents, more precisely, non-bounded iterativity, is mapped onto the referent of the verb, forcing it from aspectual ambivalence (due to the biaspectuality) into imperfectivity (non-bounded iterativity). The non-boundedness is also mapped onto the referent of the object *tis diapragmatéfseis* 'the negotiations'. We now have *not* a single round of negotiations, as in (10a), but a non-bounded series of negotiations – unsuccessful because of the repeated (with no definite beginning and no definite end) labor strikes.

Now let us continue the analysis of CA explication with Greek sentences with present perfect verb forms. The Greek perfect is a perfective form by all standard grammatical definitions, it is used with perfective verbs only – barring minor exceptions of a technical nature, as in this case, with a biaspectual verb:

(11) a. I ergatikí apergía échei blokárei$_{PERFECTBIASP}$ aftés tis diapragmatéfseis [no leak, perfective]

'The labor strike has blocked the negotiations'

b. Ergatikés apergíes$_{LEAK}$ échoun blokárei$_{PERFECTBIASP}$ diapragmatéfseis$_{LEAK}$ [two leaks, imperfective]

'Labor strikes have blocked negotiations'

These two sentences represent a state of affairs different from the standard one, which treats the perfect as a perfective form. Despite the biaspectual verb, sentence (11a) explicates perfectivity due to the temporal boundedness of *i ergatikí apergía* 'the labour strike' and *tis diapragmatéfseis* 'the negotiations' – the boundedness marked through quantifiers. This temporal boundedness is then mapped onto the referent of the biaspectual verb. Conversely,

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(11b) explicates imperfectivity, due to the non-boundedness of *ergatikí apergía* 'labor strikes' and *diapragmatéfseis* 'negotiations'.[2] As argued by Dimitrova (2021), although the standard descriptions of Greek characterize the perfect as perfective, allowing perfective verbs only, actually the present perfect cannot be regarded as a truly perfective grammeme. Why? Because there are many cases with present perfects in which a nominally perfective verb is in fact coerced into signalling imperfectivity, indefinite iterativity, as in Dimitrova's examples (12a) and (12b):

(12)   a. I kóri mou den échei diavásei$_{PERFECTBIASP}$ poté kítrines efimerídes$_{LEAK}$

'My daughter has never read yellow newspapers'

b. Aftó to paidí den échei akoúsei$_{PERFECTBIASP}$ poté klasikí mousikí$_{LEAK}$

'This child has never listened to classical music'

The actual range (prevalence) of such cases (12a, b) in the language system can be established in well-targeted studies, using statistical methods. But these examples here certainly show that the Greek perfect, despite the obligatory use of perfective verbs in it, can by no means be described as a perfective grammeme – because it is capable of effectuating imperfectivity, systematically.

The sentences in (10), (11) and (12) demonstrate the complexity of the CA mechanism, with so many factors involved. For example, in this case definiteness and grammatical singularity and plurality are intertwined, and they also show how difficult it is to analyze these factors. But note also that the sentences in (10), (11) and (12), although more complex and intricate than some other, are nevertheless susceptible to a precise analysis.

So far in this paper only sentences with verbs that are aspectually ambivalent have been constructed and analyzed. Let us now do something different, viz., construct and then analyze two sentences with two situation participants in each and a verb that is aspectually marked – as perfective, in (13a), and as imperfective, in (13b). Put otherwise, this is a case of aspect effectuation in VA terms. In order to provide a more authentic example of imperfectivity corresponding to (13b), an appropriately matching sentence was extracted from the Internet to be used here, (13c):

(13)   a. O Próedros diélyse$_{AORIST}$ ti Voulí

'The President dissolved the Parliament'

b. O Próedros diélye$_{IMPERFECT}$ ti Voulí

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[2] According to Vasilis Symeonidis, a linguist and native speaker of Greek (personal communication), sentence (11b) with the two bare NPs does sound acceptable in certain contexts, although it is otherwise less common.

'The President was dissolving/dissolved repeatedly the Parliament'

c. Meteíche sta kyvernitiká symvoúlia, diélye_{IMPERFECT} ti Voulí kai prokírytte eklogés: schimátize ypiresiakés kyverníseis, ...

'He participated in the government councils, dissolved the Parliament and called elections; he formed caretaker governments, ...'

In contrast to all the previous sentences, in which aspect is effectuated in CA terms, the mapping here is in exactly the opposite direction: from the verb onto the NPs. The aorist (perfective) verb form *diélyse* 'dissolved [once]' in (13a) serves to map its boundedness onto the two NP referents *o Próedros* 'the President' and *ti Voulí* 'the Parliament', in the sense that each NP referent covers a single instance in time of the relevant entity – that can otherwise also be regarded as a material, physical object. Compare now the NPs *o Próedros* 'the President' and *ti Voulí* 'the Parliament' in (13b), which, in the non-progressive meaning of the verb form, refer *not* to single instances in time of two supposedly physical entities ("President" and "Parliament") but to indefinitely recurring, i.e., non-bounded in time, instances of the entities "President" and "Parliament". The idea that entities that are otherwise normally thought of as material, physical by the native speaker can also be regarded in language as constituting temporal stages (also called slices) of these entities in the minds of speaker and hearer has a long history in linguistics, dating back to Quine (1960) and Carlson (1977/1980).

Thus the analysis here – and earlier elsewhere (Kabakčiev, 2000; 2019) – of sentences with aspectually encoded verbs unconditionally refute Jakobson's (1957) previously acclaimed thesis that aspect is a grammatically category that has nothing to do with the participants in the situations. Precisely on the contrary, the grammatically encoded aspect value of a verb in a sentence/clause governs the temporal range of the participant(s) in a Vendlerian situation. This thesis was initially launched a long time ago (Kabakčiev, 1984) and later sophisticated (Kabakčiev, 2000; 2019). It was corroborated for the first time by Vounchev (2007, 86–87) and then again by Dimitrova (2021) and Shabashvili (in Shabashvili and Kabakčiev, 2021). To sum up, VA is not a grammatical category that has nothing to do with the participants in situations. It is a universal device, found in numerous languages around the world, for governing the temporal values of situation-participant NP referents. This generalization is a direct consequence of the understanding of aspect as "an all-pervading and perpetual process of mapping temporal features between elements of the sentence, especially between referents of verbs and of nominals" (Kabakčiev, 2019, 212).

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5.4. For comparison: a quick review of the biaspectuality phenomenon as found in studies of other Slavic languages

The specific status quo of the phenomenon of biaspectuality in Greek, especially its unclear prevalence in this language – in contrast to all the Slavic languages where biaspectuality is well known as a wide-ranging phenomenon, necessitates a short review of the status quo of Slavic biaspectuality too and the way it is generally interpreted in the aspectological literature.

Biaspectuality is indeed a wide-ranging phenomenon in VA-languages but the literature is rather indecisive in its descriptions. While in some publications on Slavic languages it is regarded as a well-investigated phenomenon, others maintain that biaspectuality is understudied (Mirohina, 2009, 21) or even not studied at all. In many studies it is *not* considered a major phenomenon and is either completely sidestepped (Rassudova, 1982; Glovinskaja, 2001; Shkunnikov, 2003; Karavanov, 2005; Sokolovskaya, 2008; Lagunow, 2014) – or only mentioned in passing (Stunová, 1993; Durst-Andersen, 1992; Gorlatov, 2009). Even strange statements, not corresponding to the language reality, are encountered, such that, Russian features an insignificant number of biaspectual verbs (Makarova, 2009, 10). Russian certainly has at least hundreds of biaspectual verbs.

Publications investigating aspect in terms of the CA theory on Slavic data from languages other than Bulgarian and Russian are almost non-existent. Two rare exceptions are Spasojević (2015), who acknowledges the existence of the CA theory (Verkuyl, 1972; 1993) but refrains from using it in her own analysis of Serbian data. Vaníková (2017), in her analysis of aspect in Latin, containing comparisons with Czech, demonstrates knowledge of CA – which unfortunately remains unused in her paper, but she could employ it in future investigations of Latin and Czech. It can easily be generalized from this short review of Slavic literature on aspect that the CA theory is almost never employed in cases of biaspectuality as here, in the present study, on sentences with an identical biaspectual verb and two or three situation-participant NPs – quantified (through an article or other determiner) or non-quantified (through a zero article, also known as a bare NP). The CA theory is also rarely employed as an approach to study aspect in Slavic languages in general – a very serious omission that ought to be made up for.

It has been established that languages with VA and no articles such as Russian and the other Slavic tongues (save Bulgarian) are not analyzable in sentences with verbs that are biaspectual in the same way as this is done in languages with VA featuring a definite article and no indefinite such as Bulgarian or Greek (Kabakčiev, 2021). Clearly, due to the lack of articles in

Georgian, this language would also be difficult to analyze in terms of aspect disambiguation in the way this has been done here on Bulgarian and Greek data, through the article-zero article contrast and in terms of quantification vs de-quantification. However, following the thesis that aspect is an all-pervading and perpetual process of mapping temporal features between elements of the sentence, an analysis of Georgian in CA terms ought to employ a different approach, an inverse one, in which the temporal range of situation-participant NP referents in the sentence is governed by the grammatical aspect of the verb. Compare the analysis of the Greek sentences in (13) above. But obviously a study of this kind is a task for the future.

6. Results and discussion

Because of the presence of a definite article in Bulgarian and Greek, CA is much easier to demonstrate in these two languages than in a VA-language without articles. As already shown above, this demonstration is especially effective with biaspectual verbs in sentences with three situation-participant NPs. Such sentences reveal structural regularities, in particular the article-aspect interplay and the complex interrelationships between article and aspecto-temporal categories and grammemes. The perfectivity of the sentence pattern investigated arises due to the article-encoded boundedness of three NPs; imperfectivity arises on account of non-boundedness observed in one NP or more than one.

This regularity must, according to the understanding here, be incorporated into the larger grammars of the relevant languages – comprehensive, academic, for university students, etc., and must be taught to students of linguistics and to learners seeking higher second-language proficiency and/or deeper knowledge of their native language. The analysis here also paves the way for solving another important issue: exactly how CA in VA-languages without articles (most Slavic ones, Georgian, etc.) must be analyzed, then incorporated into grammars and textbooks and taught. The resolution of this problem – almost never explored – must be based on analyses of the interplay between aspectually unmarked verbs and NPs in languages with no articles. Grammars of such languages – without articles, ought to incorporate chapters presenting the major systems involved: aspectual, aspecto-temporal, the nominal-determination one, other relevant ones. Especially the way definiteness and indefiniteness are effectuated must be at least outlined – something that has been attempted in linguistics many times but never received a satisfactory explanation.

The analysis here also leads to an assumption that biaspectuality in Greek is *not* a wide-ranging phenomenon, which means that it may even turn out to have a relatively low prevalence.

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Conversely, for Bulgarian it is common knowledge, registered in numerous publications, that biaspectuality is a strongly widespread phenomenon. However, judgements with some precision in this field can hardly be made now, due to the following reasons. Rough calculations point to an estimated 10% presence of biaspectual verbs among all verbs in the modern lexicon of Bulgarian. But this large number may have grown even higher in recent years, due to the never-ending influx of verb borrowings in Bulgarian, in technical areas with a serious impact on peoples' lives, such as the use of computers, smartphones, modern TV, AI, software applications, etc. These borrowings are usually biaspectual. Thus a somewhat provisional conjecture for this study should be that while biaspectuality is indeed a phenomenon observed in both Bulgarian and Greek, the Bulgarian phenomenon is much more widespread than the Greek one.

7. Conclusive remarks

How is aspect effectuated in CA terms? In CA-languages and when explicated compositionally in VA-languages (most typically in cases of biaspectuality), aspect is realized as an extremely complex interplay between the temporal values of NP-referents and verb referents, and adverbials. But this does not exhaust the picture of CA explication. As shown above, added to it must be an even more complex interplay between the temporal values of sentence components and pragmatic factors such as "knowledge of the world".

Albeit in a rather peripheral manner, CA definitely exists in VA-languages. This is a language feature that cannot be subjected to any shade of a doubt and has been demonstrated here in some detail – not only on Bulgarian data, which is prolific, but also on Greek material, the latter being more restricted in volume. The CA phenomenon must therefore be incorporated into the larger grammars of the two languages as well as in the process of teaching Bulgarian and Greek to students of more advanced levels of language acquisition, and especially to future experts in linguistics (both theoretical and applied), translators, interpreters, language teachers. The fact that in Greek the biaspectuality phenomenon, where CA is most readily explainable, has a restricted range, cannot be a reason for its sidestepping in grammars and other grammatical descriptions.

Finally, this study facilitates a statement to the effect that actually *all* VA-languages, including all the Slavic languages without articles (i.e., save Bulgarian) and also Georgian, feature CA as a peripheral phenomenon. Hence, languages with prototypical VA systems such as Slavic and Georgian, featuring perfective verbs and no articles, are to be investigated as to

how exactly aspect relates to the temporal values of situation-participant NP referents (boundedness vs non-boundedness, singularity vs plurality and iterativity, bounded vs non-bounded iterativity, etc.) – to reveal in the long term the precise way in which aspect in verbs governs temporal values of NP referents.

Division of labor. Kabakčiev is responsible for the correct presentation and interpretation of the Slavic data. Dimitrova is responsible for the correct presentation and interpretation of the Greek language data. The authors are equally responsible for the correct presentation of the overall theoretical model.

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The Effects of the Pandemic: The State, Citizens, and Ways of Communication[1]

ABSTRACT

The paper explores the impact of the pandemic on ethnic minorities and how locals perceived the state's response. One of the significant effects of the COVID-19 pandemic was the direct engagement with state institutions, resulting in a novel interaction experience. The pandemic essentially revealed the role of the state during times of crisis, exposing its vulnerabilities and deficiencies. Crucial national decisions were formulated and executed by the state.This study will examine the subject of ethnic minorities in relation to the perception and understanding of the Marneuli and Bolnisi districts across the nation when these areas were designated as quarantine zones due to the COVID-19 outbreak. Furthermore, the paper will analyze the severity of communication and language barriers in regions densely inhabited by ethnic minorities, drawing on James C. Scott's term "legibility" to describe the relationship between the state and ethnic minority group.

Additionally, this paper will address the response of the local population to the stringent measures implemented by the state, such as lockdowns and restrictions. It will explore the methodologies and forms of protest employed by the residents of these districts to express their discontent. The study will also assess the outcomes of these protests and the level of organization they exhibited. Furthermore, an analysis of the strategies adopted by the population to coexist with the pandemic and adhere to state regulations will be conducted.

Keywords: *Covid Pandemic, Marneuli, Ethnic Minority, State Language, Lockdown*

Introduction

The COVID-19 pandemic, as a global phenomenon, has profoundly impacted virtually every facet of life. It has served as a lens through which we have gained a deeper understanding of the issues and challenges facing modern Georgian society. In addition to the virus itself, the pandemic has provided a unique opportunity for us to engage with state institutions and assess our perceptions of them. Notably, it has underscored the pivotal role of the government during crises, illuminating both its strengths and weaknesses in decision-making and execution (Lehtinen & Brunila, 2021). Managing the pandemic has made the state's presence more

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palpable and concrete (Nyers, 2006). This situation has accentuated the issues surrounding public perceptions of the state, particularly among specific groups who had seldom encountered such circumstances. Since the dissolution of the Soviet Union, diverse segments of the population have interpreted the state in various ways, often resulting in confrontational debates. Meanwhile, the independent Georgian state has struggled to convincingly convey the possibilities inherent in equality and equal rights to its citizens (Zviadadze, Jishkariani, 2018).

The issue of equality took on particular urgency during the pandemic, exemplified by the lockdowns imposed on two regions predominantly inhabited by ethnic minorities—Marneuli and Bolnisi. Ensuring equality, communicating effectively with its citizens, and curbing the spread of the virus became imperative tasks for the Georgian state in the context of COVID-19. This reality, which transcended the mere management of a pandemic, prompts reflection on the arduous and protracted journey of ethnic minority integration into Georgian society. It also highlights the state's weaknesses and its occasional inability to safeguard the well-being of its citizens adequately. Examining our experiences within the COVID-19 quarantine spaces will deepen our understanding of a society that has, at times, been regarded as foreign, alongside the virus.

This article seeks to delineate the role of the state during the pandemic and how specific decisions and actions were perceived within the Azerbaijani community. To achieve this, I will draw upon examples from events unfolding in Marneuli. It is instructive to observe how the state manifested itself during times of crisis, the expectations placed upon it, and the outcomes it delivered. This exploration also delves into the response of Georgian society when confronted with the threats posed by the virus, shedding light on our ability to address pandemic-related challenges as they resurfaced with increased urgency. Furthermore, this article aspires to offer a conceptualization of place and territory, unraveling what sets Marneuli apart from other regions or the nation as a whole. Why, on 23rd March 2020, was Marneuli subjected to lockdown measures? To answer this question, we must first comprehend how Marneuli is perceived within Georgian, Armenian, and Azerbaijani societies and how these perceptions shape notions of self and otherness. Subsequently, we will dissect the rationale behind the state's decision to designate Marneuli and Bolnisi as quarantine zones. Was such a measure necessary, inevitable, or intrinsic to the state's response? Of particular interest is the consideration of whether this moment can be characterized as a "state of war," where the demonstration of power becomes a matter of political ontology. How does the state harness the metaphor of war to manage collective anxiety? The pervasive sense of insecurity and unease transforms into fear,

a sentiment that is more amenable to control and manipulation. Lehtinen and Brunila, in their collaborative work on the political ontology of the pandemic, endeavor to elucidate how the state's adoption of a war-centric framework can lead to expressions of racism, where individuals from different nations and minority groups are portrayed as "enemies" and "threats" alongside the virus (Lehtinen & Brunila 2021).

Additionally, this article will scrutinize society's response to the state's stringent measures, including lockdowns and restrictions. What forms of protest did society employ to articulate its discontent? To what extent was this protest organized, and what tangible outcomes did it yield? Moreover, we will explore how the populace adapted to coexist with the pandemic and the regulatory measures implemented by the state. In this context, we will also touch upon one of the cornerstone elements of Azerbaijani culture — the wedding — which faced severe restrictions during the pandemic. The underground celebration of weddings, particularly during a specific phase of the pandemic, can be interpreted as a reaction to state sanctions, among other forms of protest.

In the concluding section of this article, we will synthesize the insights gleaned from the convergence of the state and the virus in Marneuli, considering the lessons learned from their interaction. Furthermore, we will delve into the process of integrating the Azerbaijani community into Georgian society within the framework of the pandemic's reality.

Research Methodology

The research methodology employed in this study encompasses both ethnographic research and a review of existing scientific and periodic publications. To specifically address the research objectives, I conducted eight in-depth interviews with individuals who played a pivotal role as "mediators" between the state and the population during the pandemic. These mediators were tasked with addressing issues that neither the state nor the citizens could manage in isolation. Throughout the pandemic, these respondents actively voiced the concerns of Marneuli residents, effectively bridging the communication gap and mitigating the damage inflicted on the local community and Georgian society for various reasons. These individuals served as primary sources of information, offering insights into the hardships and experiences induced by COVID-19 regulations within the minority-populated region.

It is worth noting that the interviews were conducted exclusively in the Georgian language. Six of the eight narrators are of Azerbaijani descent and acquired proficiency in the Georgian language later in life, after their childhood. The remaining two respondents represent ethnic

Georgian and Armenian communities residing in Marneuli, adding diverse perspectives to this study. Two of the six Azerbaijani narrators do not currently reside in Marneuli but maintain close ties to the community through their activism. Additionally, it is pertinent to mention that this research commenced after the pandemic had concluded. Nevertheless, I have been engaged with the Azerbaijani community in Georgia for over a decade, both professionally and personally. I have closely observed the challenging process of their integration, including my involvement in teaching the Georgian language to Azerbaijani and Armenian citizens of Georgia, as well as administering the "1+4" Georgian language program at TSU, which continued during the pandemic. Hence, my personal reflections contribute to the research presented in this article, making me a participant and narrator of these pandemic narratives.

The high degree of openness and honesty exhibited by my respondents can be attributed to the fact that I have known half of them for many years. Several factors guided the selection of these narrators. In addition to their direct connection to Marneuli, I sought to ensure diversity in experiences to offer a comprehensive perspective. One of the narrators had previously worked at the local self-government within Marneuli city hall during the pandemic, serving as the conduit and representative of state policies to the local population. To protect their privacy, this narrator's name will be anonymized when quoted, while the other narrators will be acknowledged by name, despite the sensitivity of the topic.

Beyond the ethnographic research, which entailed fieldwork in Marneuli and its surrounding villages, I conducted interviews with 30 residents of Marneuli using a bilingual questionnaire. The questionnaire was designed to elicit their experiences during the pandemic and the Marneuli lockdown, and respondents were encouraged to share openly and anonymously. This research aimed to validate the narratives and perspectives expressed by my narrators in their interviews.

In terms of the theoretical framework, the study aligns with James C. Scott's concept of "legibility" in the context of state-local community interactions. In this context, "legibility" refers to the clarity and comprehensibility of a given situation, which enables the state to exert control, manipulate, and exploit. When a state encounters difficulties in managing certain territories due to a lack of understanding of the local population and their unique characteristics, it may resort to increasing legibility. James C. Scott discusses scenarios where highly modern ideologies-driven state institutions fail to subjugate extensive territories in the name of technological progress or other imperatives, such as the pandemic. Scott identifies four key factors at play when advanced technologies, particularly during the pandemic, clash with local

knowledge and experience, which he terms "Metis." Metis, borrowed from Greek mythology, represents local knowledge grounded in empirical evidence, complexity, and a deep understanding of coexistence with the local ecosystem—wise and cunning. During the pandemic, the state imposed lockdowns on territories it deemed less legible, aiming to enhance predictability through control. In this context, the state assumed the role of an administrator, exerting authority over society and nature, grounded in a sense of self-assuredness and the ethos of technological progress and legal authority. It selected relatively "weaker" civil societies, where its control was less widespread. This perspective frames the 2020 pandemic in Georgia, highlighting the state's encounter with Marneuli and Bolnisi residents in the Georgian language context.

The Emergence of COVID-19 and State Decisions

Similar to the rest of the world, the arrival of the novel coronavirus, COVID-19, in Georgia was met with significant resistance and varied interpretations. Expectations regarding the virus's spread began to solidify around mid-February 2020. As the global dynamics of the virus became increasingly evident, it was reasonable to anticipate its arrival in Georgia. Public discussions concerning remote learning capabilities and other preventive measures to curb the virus's spread served as indicators of this growing awareness. Reports of the lockdown in Wuhan, China, had already circulated (Radio Liberty, 2020), and media outlets had portrayed the dire situation in Europe, particularly Italy (Kunchulia, 2020; Matitaishvili 2020). As the virus's geographic footprint expanded, the central question at that time revolved around when, from where, and by whom the virus would be introduced to Georgia.

The identification of the first COVID-infected citizen marked the beginning of a new pandemic reality. The identification of this individual went beyond mere medical interest and triggered extensive public discussions. The first report of a COVID patient in Georgia emerged on February 26th, 2020. The Minister of Health Affairs urgently announced this development, providing information on the expected risks to the country's population (Radio Liberty, 2020). This announcement marked the initiation of a new and unfamiliar reality characterized by shock and drama.

The information gleaned from the identification of the first infected individual revealed several crucial insights:

- *Movement Trajectory: The first infected person's travel history indicated that they were a Georgian citizen who had visited Iran and returned via Azerbaijan. This information*

revealed that the infected individual was an ethnic Azerbaijani, infected in Iran. At that time, the Islamic Republic of Iran, a neighboring country, although not sharing a direct border with Georgia, was already perceived as a significant source of the virus by the Georgian media.

- *Local Community Identification: The first COVID-infected individual in Georgia was found to be a member of the Azerbaijani community within the country. Ethnic minorities living in close proximity to one another often have limited proficiency in the Georgian language, which frequently results in their exclusion from current events. When it was revealed that the first COVID-infected patient was a 50-year-old Azerbaijani man, this information further accentuated his perceived "otherness" and the perception of him as a threat, with the virus compounding these factors. This revelation also gave rise to xenophobic sentiments within certain segments of Georgian society.*

- *Expectations of Worsening Epidemiological Conditions: The public's reaction to the news of the first infected individual foreshadowed the potential implementation of preventive measures such as lockdowns, quarantine zones, curfews, and other measures tested worldwide.*

The identification of the first patient and the subsequent identification of their travel history created an expectation that the virus might specifically target the Azerbaijani community. This expectation culminated in the government's decision to impose lockdowns on Marneuli and Bolnisi.

As an ordinary citizen, one vivid memory from the pandemic was the sight of military personnel and checkpoints at the entrance to Marneuli. The association between the pandemic and a state of war had also become part of the rhetoric employed by world leaders. However, the deployment of military units to control certain territories altered the local understanding of reality. Isolating specific municipalities with the assistance of the military, labeling them as threats, equated them with the virus itself. This further exacerbated the perception among locals that they were isolated, sacrificed, and branded as "others." The militarization of the response contributed to heightened hate speech and increased alienation towards specific municipalities on a nationwide scale.

State Decision and Marneuli Lockdown

A visit to Camilla's community radio office in Marneuli, approximately two years after the pandemic's outbreak, provided valuable insights. Camilla, the founder of Radio Marneuli, considers her work essential for community integration and the country's development. She recounted her initial reaction to the pandemic announcement and the unfolding events in Marneuli. She emphasized the incredibility of COVID-19 at the time, as the virus was not taken seriously. In her view, Marneuli's lockdown was influenced by the perception that events in Georgia rarely concerned the Azerbaijani community. This sense of exclusion led to the belief that everything was happening elsewhere, even within Georgia. The physical proximity and psychological connection to the rest of the country were virtually nonexistent, according to Camilla.

The lockdown of Marneuli elicited panic and a feeling of oppression among its residents. A lack of information fueled the spread of misinformation, further exacerbated by hate speech, as documented in various reports (TDI). Camilla highlighted the hardships faced by individuals instructed to close their businesses and stay at home. She noted that these individuals had never depended on the state, viewing it as their last resort. The sudden imposition of closures and state promises to deliver essential goods created a sense of dependence on the government that was previously absent.

According to Camilla, the local community had limited interaction with the state, primarily occurring when individuals reached pension age [1]. The absence of communication and collaboration between local government and the community radio station, which broadcasted in three languages, compounded the problem. The pandemic exposed the state's weakness in integration and communication with its citizens, eroding trust among the population.

Camilla's April 2020 interview shed light on the reasons behind anti-quarantine protests. She explained that the majority of Marneuli's population was self-employed, primarily engaged in agriculture. Quarantine measures and movement restrictions disproportionately affected them, as most relied on agricultural loans to sustain their livelihoods. For the first time, these individuals found themselves dependent on the state.

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[1] Low participatin levels and involvement in political life of ethnic minorities is evidenced by researches conducted around Georgia. Some numerous reports and recommendations speak about reasons to this, low level of knowing the state language, self-sufficient agriculture, stereotypical perceptions and Soviet legacy (The research on participation of ethnic minority representatives in political life, 2019) (Participation of ethnic minority representatives in political life remains a challenge, 2021) (Gabunia, Amirejibi, 2021), (Melikishvili&Janiashvili, 2021).

Kamran, who works for a non-governmental organization in Tbilisi, offered a critical perspective on the state's role in managing the pandemic. He possesses significant experience and actively advocates for the rights of ethnic minorities. Kamran emphasized Marneuli's significance as a center for ethnic Azerbaijanis in Georgia. It is a place where Azerbaijani culture, language, and community are prominent. According to him, the decision to lock down Marneuli for an extended period was not arbitrary.

Kamran speculated that the government may have believed it could not effectively control the situation in Marneuli due to language barriers and strained relations. The absence of media capable of conveying the Minister of Health Affairs' messages in the local language exacerbated the situation. He recalled a specific incident when the Prime Minister visited the barricades at Marneuli's entrance and assured the population that they had nothing to worry about. He emphasized the government's focus on agricultural products rather than the residents' health, creating the perception that the state prioritized products over people.

During the lockdown, people in Marneuli had limited access to Georgian news and primarily relied on Azerbaijani and Turkish channels. However, Georgian and Azerbaijani communities did not share the same information, contributing to a lack of awareness. Kamran acknowledged that skepticism regarding COVID-19 existed in Georgian-speaking societies, particularly in the early stages of the pandemic.

To illustrate the contrast between a punitive state and a caring one, Kamran recalls a request for help that his organization received from one of the villages in Marneuli. In this incident, a man who was unaware of the curfew regulations left his home to buy bread and was subsequently fined by the state, an amounting to 3000 Lari. Kamran remembers this specific case as an example of a confrontation with the state, but it ultimately ended favorably as the fine was eventually annulled. However, based on his experience, such incidents should not have occurred in Marneuli. According to him, he encountered numerous individuals who had either been fined themselves or knew of others who had faced similar fines. Samira also recalled an incident related to fines, where an elderly man was fined on his agricultural land for collecting grass in his own field. Davit also shared a lighthearted anecdote, mentioning that a few of his colleagues in his village, Shaumiani, had received fines. However, they never considered paying the fines, and in the end, they were not required to do so[2].

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[2] It should be noted that the statistical data I requested from the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Georgia regarding violations of regulations during the pandemic period (March 21 - May 22, 2020) provide an interesting insight. Kvemo Kartli (1972 cases) ranks second after Tbilisi (2513 cases) in the number of fines. To put this into perspective with other regions, Kvemo Kartli far surpasses the combined cases recorded in Imereti, Racha-Lechkhumi, and Kvemo Svaneti (577 cases). Shida Kartli also falls significantly behind (559 cases).

Undoubtedly, the most formidable challenge highlighted by every narrator during the pandemic was the language barrier. While there were instances when state decisions and speeches by high-ranking officials were translated, this was insufficient. The situation in the Municipality often left people feeling like they were in an informational vacuum. The language barrier once again became a pressing issue, particularly in Marneuli, when people began applying for state compensation following the quarantine measures. The state provided assistance to those who had to stop working due to the pandemic (Government Decree №286). To receive a one-time cash allowance for children under 18, it was necessary to complete the application form in the Georgian language (Government Decree №286). Due to the language barrier, this benefit was not equally accessible to every Georgian citizen, as the form had to be completed exclusively in Georgian. Kamran recalls that he and his friends from the organization registered 500 beneficiaries in Marneuli villages within 11 days because the residents themselves encountered difficulties in completing the forms.

Giulgun, arguably the only individual in her village who is fluent in Georgian, was studying at the university when the pandemic began. In her letters, written from locked-down Marneuli and sent to the magazine Indigo, she recounted:

> "This morning, we all received an SMS on our phones. The government is urging us to comply with quarantine rules. My father called me, asking me to translate what was written there. No one in the family besides me speaks Georgian. It was also me who informed the neighbors about the content of the message.
>
> ... In the evening, we received another SMS from the government, this time in Azerbaijani. They sent us the same message that I had already translated for my father. Now everyone could understand it." (Giulgun, 2020).

Now, Giulgun humorously reminisces about the emotional challenges she faced during the pandemic and quarantine. She had access to Georgian information channels and social networks, which made her uncomfortable as she observed accusations being directed towards Azerbaijanis living in Georgia, particularly those in Marneuli. At the time, these accusations deeply affected her, but she believes that hate speech was propagated by specific interest groups, bots, and trolls for particular objectives.

I have known Giulgun for several years, although I first visited her in October 2022. Her village, Teqalo, is located 27 kilometers away from Marneuli, in the direction of Sadakhlo. To

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Additionally, it's worth noting that Samtskhe-Javakheti (230 cases), which also includes ethnic minority settlements, lags considerably behind Kvemo Kartli in this regard. Notably, this region outpaces Guria (162 cases) in terms of the number of fines.

reach it, one must make a right turn from the central road. What struck me most about the village was the active use of yards for vegetable greenhouses. The abundance of harvest was impressive, visible from outside gardens. Giulgun's yard, too, was dedicated to bean and cucumber plantations. She explained that there was rigorous daily labor involved in managing these indoor and outdoor greenhouses. Every third day, a vehicle would arrive to collect their vegetables. Though not an everyday occurrence, Giulgun always helped with the harvesting and sorting of vegetables when she was at home. During the pandemic, she spent her time in the village, where neighbors frequently approached her for information, clarification, and to share their concerns. Various organizations also contacted her to inquire about the situation in the village. On one occasion, Marneuli Radio reached out to her, requesting assistance in organizing a video survey among villagers to assess their quarantine-related issues. I asked Giulgun to share the survey results with me. Among the foremost concerns of the local population was the sale of their agricultural products. The village residents were primarily dependent on agriculture, and many faced economic difficulties, especially those who had taken loans from banks. Consequently, discussions often revolved around the challenges associated with selling their harvest.

Giulgun could not recall with certainty whether her village participated in protests, but she did remember protests taking place in Marneuli. Additionally, I asked her about the issues that arose during the pandemic. After contemplating, she mentioned that women experienced additional burdens and increased responsibilities. Furthermore, according to her observations, instances of violence against women grew because men were predominantly at home, leading to frustration and aggression.

Protests and Demonstrations in Marneuli

If there is any place where Marneuli and protests are mentioned, Samira Bayramova's name invariably comes up. Samira is widely recognized in social networks, political circles, and diplomatic spheres. Her active civic engagement has long drawn the attention of the broader society. I recall her posts on social media dating back to the early stages of the pandemic, and I've known her personally since 2015 when she was an active student. I remember her inviting me to celebrate Novruz Bayram at her family home in Marneuli as a student, which was a pleasant and unconventional offer. Samira is known for her directness and her tendency to be highly critical of the government, the state, and Georgian society in general. She spares neither Azerbaijani community representatives nor non-governmental organizations when expressing

her opinions. She fearlessly speaks her mind and defends what she believes to be right. When necessary, she confronts representatives of radical political groups.

On January 8, 2022, when I called her and asked for a meeting, Samira agreed, but she informed me that she needed to confirm it with her security team. She had been under police protection for months due to threats from radical forces. Samira had protested against the opening of the "Alt-Info" office in Marneuli, even painting the office windows in the colors of the Ukrainian flag. This act led to violent threats against her. On March 22, 2022, the Prosecutor's office recognized Samira as a victim and enrolled her in the special protection program (Tskipurishvili, 2022). Given these circumstances and following all protocols, I met Samira near her temporary residence in Tbilisi at the appointed time.

Before delving into the topics of COVID-19 and Marneuli, I asked Samira to explain her character and demeanor. She smiled warmly and shared that she had always been a unique and rebellious child. Her mischievous and defiant nature was apparent from an early age, prompting her family to hesitate about sending her to a public school due to concerns about her behavior. Consequently, she attended a private school, which she considered an advantage over her older sister, who attempted to exploit Samira's behavior to her own advantage. In their traditional community, the birth of a second daughter after the first was less desirable, especially for her grandmother, who expressed her displeasure to the extent that they delayed naming the newborn. Doctors had also informed Samira's mother that she could not have more children. In traditional societies, including Georgian culture, not having a son is considered a significant issue. Samira discovered these details from her mother, who half-jokingly shared them with relatives. Samira overheard these conversations, and the revelations had a significant impact on her. From a young age, she was closer to her father and more familiar with his work than with her mother's household chores. Consequently, she was raised with a "boyish" upbringing, which she perceived as compensation for her biological femininity. Several years later, her family experienced a miracle: her mother became pregnant and was expecting a boy. Samira vividly recalled her joy and excitement during this time. She personally selected a name for the baby, Samyr, the male version of her own name. When the baby was born, the family celebrated, but tragically, Samyr passed away soon after birth. This occurred during the tumultuous 1990s, a period of instability in Kvemo Kartli and throughout Georgia. During that time, visiting a doctor was challenging and unsafe. The child succumbed to a severe illness exacerbated by the chaotic conditions, and medical intervention was impossible. Samira was deeply affected by this tragedy, which further heightened her sensitivity to the challenges faced by individuals living

in turbulent environments. Despite the loss, Samira's family continued to treat the male child as if he had been born and raised in their family. Nevertheless, the traditional beliefs about gender differences left a lasting mark on her and her family. The uncertain atmosphere of the 1990s regarding minorities in Georgia also contributed to their unease[3].

Samira shared,

> "Imagine, I was the first girl from my village to come to Tbilisi and pursue higher education. Previously, students either went to Marneuli or Baku for their education. I was the only one actively integrated into Georgian society. I convinced my family that not all Georgians are hostile. This fear still lingers. However, families with students who have connections with Georgians undergo a transformation. They become convinced that Georgians are not enemies. It's safer in Tbilisi; we are a normal country, and whatever happened in the past remains in the past" (Samira, 2022).

Samira's personal experiences help explain the prevalent sense of alienation and distrust between Georgian and Azerbaijani communities

When discussing street protests, Camilla recalled a pivotal moment when the mood of the assembled crowd in front of the City Hall was aptly captured by the phrase, "Not the virus, but starvation will kill us!" This phrase was also used as a headline by Netgazeti when reporting on the gathering of the Marneuli population on March 30 (Apremashvili, 2020).

When examining the protests that occurred in Marneuli during the pandemic, one cannot overlook March 21, 2021, when self-organized citizens purposefully celebrated Novruz Bayram in the heart of Marneuli. Lighting bonfires after 9 pm, during the curfew, in the streets of Marneuli was a clear act of protest against the state's unequal treatment of different ethnic and religious groups. Sofio Zviadadze describes the events of 2020-21 in Georgia during the pandemic as the "optic illusion of tolerance." She highlights the state's selective approach in lifting the curfew on January 6, 2021, favoring particular religious groups. According to her, the government did not consider the Azerbaijani community's initiative to recognize Novruz as a national holiday or their request to lift the curfew for one day.

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[3] In the 90s, the collapse of the Soviet Union was followed by the reinforcement of nationalist traditions. This facilitated ethnic minority groups living in the country to become labelled as the "others". This was augmented by two conflicts inside the country, recognised as ethnic conflicts. Therefore, the division of the country's population based on ethnicity was not creating favourable conditions for imagining the establishment of a united independent state. For rethinking the Dmanisi Municipality conflict that happened on May 17, 2021, research authors dive into the causes of confrontation and recall 90s. As the authors say, discussions are hugely complicated by the traumatic memories of the population and the deficit of scientific reflection in Georgian academic circles (Mamedli & Chachibaia, 2021)

"If not for an unequal approach towards minorities and the dominant religious (Orthodox Christian) groups, this decision could be interpreted as strict adherence to regulations. But in reality, we were facing tactical discrimination because the government had already lifted curfew restrictions on other occasions, including religious celebrations, such as when the Georgian Orthodox Church celebrated Easter" (Zviadadze, 2021).

The Azerbaijani community's request to establish Novruz as a national holiday and to lift the curfew for its celebration was, in part, a response to the irritations and non-acceptance they had experienced. The anger directed at the Azerbaijani population and the equating of them with the virus had a detrimental impact on the integration process within Georgian society. It is worth noting that the idea of establishing Novruz as a national holiday and the request to lift the curfew for its celebration were initiated by samira Bayramova (Nergadze, 2021). Her Facebook campaign in this regard gained wide resonance and received support from activists in Tbilisi, who traveled to Marneuli to join in the celebration.

The celebration of Novruz Bayram holds particular significance for Mariam as well. She fondly remembers the positivity associated with Novruz celebrations since her childhood. To her, it marks a new year when they bid farewell to winter and welcome summer. Mariam works at the Democracy Development Center in Marneuli and resides in the village of Tamarisi with her family. Despite other opportunities, she has never contemplated living elsewhere. It's a unique experience for her to represent the majority as an ethnic minority in a place where the ethnic minority is the majority.

Mariam actively participates in the integration of ethnic minorities, utilizing her extensive experience and efforts. During the COVID-19 restrictions, they made active use of social networks and established an open group called "Stay at Home – Live from Marneuli" (https://www.facebook.com/groups/274468463543836). Through this group, they gathered information about the specific needs of individuals or families and connected them with people who could assist. The platform also featured informational posts, and municipal representatives were added to the group. Besides managing the Facebook group, Mariam also had to assist Marneuli TV during the lockdown. One of the TV hosts, who resided in Teleti, was unable to move around due to Marneuli's lockdown. Mariam readily agreed to help, despite her concerns about the virus. She went to work daily, disseminating crucial information. As a result, she has vivid recollections of Marneuli's protests and the efforts to address the issues at hand.

When asked about her observations regarding the pandemic's impact on Marneuli's society's integration, Mariam noted the remarkable solidarity and individual initiatives displayed by the local population. There were reports of bakers distributing bread for free on social media after Marneuli was placed under lockdown. samira initiated a fund collection to purchase essential items for those in need.

Life in the Pandemic and the Adaptation Period

Despite their confusion and feelings of injustice, the population of Marneuli found ways to coexist with the pandemic. This was primarily evident in their attempts to circumvent regulations and in their high degree of solidarity.

While strolling along the central roads of Marneuli on September 25, 2022, I explored wedding venues, curious about the ongoing preparations. I was deeply impressed by what I observed, both in terms of the grandeur of the venues and the thoroughness of the preparations. Passersby would enthusiastically respond to inquiries, with those involved in venue preparations showing great eagerness to explain their actions and motivations. At times, they spoke in broken Georgian, while other times, they called upon others to provide explanations in either Georgian or Russian. During that day, I visited five wedding venues, all of which were bustling with wedding preparations. I couldn't help but notice cars adorned with ribbons on the streets, crowded beauty salons, and brides' entourages. As Jeikhun explained, the significance of weddings, their scale, and extravagance, are particularly pronounced in Marneuli during the spring and fall seasons.

My interest in these topics was piqued by my encounter with Jeikhun a few months prior. Jeikhun is a journalist working for one of the prominent private TV channels, and his popularity extends beyond Marneuli. Although I had never taught Jeikhun Georgian, I still considered him my student. During his preparatory course in the Georgian language, he frequently visited the dean's office, posing numerous questions. He once told me, "Please don't be offended by my numerous questions; this is my way of practicing the Georgian language." It was hard to fault the polite young man who always knew his goals and intentions. Jeikhun's journey to recognition within Georgian society was a long one, and he always approached xenophobia directed at the Azerbaijani community with caution and humor.

"I was doing some shoots in Bolnisi. I approached taxi drivers who were waiting and asked, 'Now that the pandemic is over, how do you feel?' One of them cursed and said,

'They brought it to us...'. I remained silent; there was nothing more to say." (Jeikhun, 2022).

Jeikhun refrains from generalizing the xenophobia of a few individuals to all Georgians. He considers himself part of Georgian society and is judicious in his assessments. When I inquired about his perspective on Marneuli, he described it as a robust and economically active place.

"Marneuli is a city of affluent people, millionaires." (Jeikhun, 2022)[4].

This half-joking remark caught me by surprise, so I sought clarification. Jeikhun explained that the population of Marneuli works tirelessly day and night, with Azerbaijani residents known for their strong work ethic. He attributed the lavish weddings held during the fall season to financial prosperity, dowries, and related expenses. Wedding costs were on a constant rise, and those employed in the wedding industry were prospering. In essence, he singled out the wedding business. We might wonder what Marneuli had been doing for the past two years; were there no weddings? Mariam recalled the sanctions and the public's response to them. She mentioned that even though gatherings were prohibited, the sound of wedding celebrations was a constant presence immediately after the quarantine was lifted. Mariam overheard a conversation in a salon: people from other regions would also come here, and the police would turn a blind eye. Sometimes, we find ourselves asking, "Why were we even in lockdown?"

I also discussed this topic with Camilla, who confirmed that weddings were celebrated during the pandemic.

"Weddings still took place in Marneuli, despite the restrictions. People organized them for 150 guests instead of 400 and had to keep them discreet. It seemed that the local government was aware. They would request not to post pictures immediately and to wait five days. That's how it was. Some even waited until after having a child to share the pictures." (Camilla, 2022)

Giulgun also remembered weddings in the village during the pandemic, acknowledging that some may have been fined but didn't seem to mind. When asked why weddings were so important to the people in Marneuli, she explained that they held great significance, particularly for women. For many of them, weddings represented a rare opportunity to leave the confines of their homes, dress up, socialize, and feel like a part of society.

Regarding weddings during the pandemic, Samira shared her recollection:

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[4] A particular research that speaks about the conditions hindering Azerbaijani community integration, and amongst others names social and economic deprivation (The research on the participation of ethnic minority representatives in political life. 2019)

"When the rules were very strict, there were no wedding celebrations. However, those with close ties to the local government still managed to celebrate. They knew they might face fines but still insisted on celebrating: 'We have no choice; the wedding must go on!'" (Samira, 2022).

Thus, celebrating weddings during the pandemic and participating in them became a form of protest and adaptation for the population. One of the most significant aspects of this culture transformed into a unique form of resistance and defiance, a reaction to what was perceived as unfair and repressive restrictions.

Every narrator recounted feelings of deep solidarity and concrete actions associated with this sense of unity during the pandemic. After Marneuli went into lockdown, there were reports on social media about bakers distributing bread for free. Samira herself initiated a fundraising campaign to purchase essential supplies for the neediest.

"I would say that Marneuli sets an example in Georgia when it comes to social assistance, sharing, and support." (Jeikhun ,2022)

Social media also shared stories about a family in Marneuli's village of Maradisi. They were hospitalized due to Covid but received help from others in plowing their potato field (Radio Liberty, 2020). Camilla and Jeikhun mentioned the positive role played by the Marneuli mosque in distributing humanitarian aid. Jeikhun mentioned that even the city hall would supply products to the mosque, knowing it would reach those in the most need. Samira remembered that both the Imam Ali Mosque and the Marneuli Eparchy distributed assistance. When I probed further, assuming that the Eparchy would assist Georgians and the Mosque would help Muslims, Samira corrected me. She said they provided assistance to both. Samira recalled an interesting anecdote when the representatives of the Imam Ali Mosque, unable to use cars due to restrictions imposed by the City Hall, ingeniously turned to using a donkey to transport goods.

"The sheikh of the Highest Theological Division of Muslims of Georgia, Mirtag Asadov, said that Marneuli City Hall did not allow them to use cars for distribution, so they resorted to using a donkey to pull a cart" (Radio "Marneuli", 2020).

As Mariam noted, during the pandemic, no distinctions were made among citizens, and everyone extended a helping hand to one another. "Camilla's Radio" and its entire team made efforts to reach out to the Armenian community in Marneuli in their native language. One Armenian-speaking member of the radio station now translates the news into Armenian.

Nevertheless, as Camilla pointed out, the Armenian population in Marneuli faces identity challenges, making it difficult to understand their specific needs in the community.

Davit enrolled in a Georgian preparatory course in 2018 and was one of my most outstanding and memorable students. When asked about his origin, he identifies as being from Shaumiani, rather than Marneuli. For him, Marneuli is closely associated with the Azerbaijani community, which is consistent with the perception held by most of the Georgian population. Consequently, he does not consider himself part of Marneuli. Davit shares an anecdote from a time when states and borders did not exist in their current form, highlighting that Marneuli was once a village similar to Shaumiani, where his ancestors lived. When asked about where his fellow villagers purchase essential goods, he mentioned that Shaumiani has a variety of stores, markets, and supermarkets. Regrettably, Shaumiani lacks banks and similar institutions. Davit is studying computer science and was well-versed in technology even before starting his university education. He shared that people often turned to him for assistance with technology-related issues. He mentioned that he was always available to help when someone's phone or computer needed repair. Regarding the language dynamics in his village, Davit, who speaks Georgian fluently, noted that he can also communicate effectively in Azerbaijani and Russian. He added with a smile that he is not as introverted as some might expect from a programmer and enjoys socializing. In his village, residents are more proficient in Russian and Azerbaijani than in Georgian. When asked about how the local population perceived the pandemic and lockdown, Davit's response echoed those of others. To the locals, the virus did not seem real, but the lockdown and restrictions did, and they believed these measures were aimed against them rather than for their protection. It's worth noting that this sentiment was not unique to the Georgian-speaking community; it was a common perspective, albeit intensified by the ethnic aspect, both internally and externally.

The survey results from the Marneuli population largely support the opinions expressed by my narrators. One notable difference is that approximately one-fifth of the respondents believed that the government's decision to impose a lockdown in Marneuli was justified and necessary, asserting that the government had done its utmost to ensure the population's safety. This positive assessment of the government's handling of the pandemic contrasts with the views of my narrators but somewhat balances the overall perspective. In online responses, participants shared interesting insights about their perceptions of Marneuli's territory. While some referred to Marneuli as predominantly associated with the Azerbaijani community, others regarded it as

a multicultural and diverse place[5]. This remote and anonymous survey closely aligns with the accounts provided by the narrators.

The narrators, with whom I had candid and extensive conversations on various pressing issues arising from the COVID-19 pandemic and the Marneuli lockdown, shared that their criticisms of state policies were not directed at Georgian society as a whole. Most of them expressed feeling a sense of support and solidarity from the active segment of Georgian society during the Marneuli lockdown. However, they were critical of the Georgian state's inability to provide adequate care for ethnic minorities, promote their integration, and ensure their protection. Some of their criticisms also extended to neighboring countries attempting to exert influence in the region, which, in their view, could hinder the integration process. The unique experience of the pandemic underscored the need for clear communication with state institutions and revealed existing problems that required recognition and resolution rather than concealment.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the COVID-19 pandemic brought unresolved issues to the forefront, particularly regarding the perceptions of the state among ethnic minorities. The use of military forces and the presence of soldiers at the entrances to Marneuli and Bolnisi exacerbated dissatisfaction among the minority communities residing there. The pandemic made the state more tangible and concrete for its citizens, which was a novel experience. Unfortunately, this increased interaction with state institutions did not result in a positive experience. This was partly due to the restrictive measures imposed during the pandemic and the excessive mobilization of repressive measures. It was also influenced by the painful memories of the 1990s, which left deep scars on the relationship between the Georgian and Azerbaijani communities.

In the case of Kvemo Kartli, alienation persisted without sufficient efforts from the state to bridge the gap. During the pandemic, against a backdrop of information scarcity and uncertainty, the local community perceived the state's decision to lock down Marneuli and Bolnisi as actions against them rather than for their protection. The state's restrictions disrupted the daily routines, mobility, and various economic activities of the population.

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[5] The researcher, Alexandre Boshishvili, referring to historical sources and documents, speaks of the historical experience of Kvemo Kartly and Marneuli, describing them as multiethnic and multicultural territories (Boshishvili, 2020).

Looking back, it is challenging to definitively assess the necessity of the lockdown in Marneuli and Bolnisi. However, it is a fact that the state lacked direct channels of communication with the residents of these municipalities, leading to the decision to impose control and lockdown as a relatively straightforward approach. Even in the midst of a lockdown, communication with the local population proved essential. The pandemic revealed that the Georgian state did not fully understand its citizens, highlighting the need to shift its focus from control to the protection, integration, and participation of its diverse population.

In the face of the pandemic, the Azerbaijani community in Marneuli demonstrated its ability to organize and express protests when necessary, showing solidarity and creativity as essential tools for coping with the crisis. Solidarity became a means of dealing with the pandemic alongside traditional ways of life. The inconsistent and unfair approach of the state was met with solidarity and resourcefulness by the local population, as described by James C. Scott in his concept of "metis." The local community responded with experience and knowledge to the state's attempts to assert absolute control. The pandemic experience underscored the necessity for the Georgian state to better understand and address the needs of its citizens, particularly its ethnic minorities. The criticisms voiced by the narrators reflect the shortcomings in the state's integration policies. Despite the state's use of military and wartime rhetoric during the pandemic, which fueled hate speech and alienation, these criticisms were not primarily directed at ethnic Georgian citizens. Instead, they viewed the pandemic as a significant challenge that exposed existing problems requiring recognition and resolution rather than concealment.

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Parallel Corpora and Implementation Possibilities in Multilingual Education (Georgian-Abkhazian Parallel Corpus of "The Knight in the Panther's skin") [1]

ABSTRACT

The epic The Knight in the Panther's Skin by Shota Rustaveli is a well-known literary work inside and outside of Georgia, which has been translated into more than 50 languages. It comes as no surprise that the epic offers many topics for intradisciplinary as well as interdisciplinary researches, one of which will be discussed here, namely aphorisms found in the translations of the epic. The translations in question are in Abkhazian, of which two exist: one translated by Dimitri Gulia (published in 1941) and the other by Mushni Lasuria (published in 1978). For a methodological analysis, the parallel corpus of the Abkhazian translations GeAbCo (https://geabco.com/) was created. This paper will explain the planning and conception of the corpus as well as show a first attempt of an analysis considering the aphorisms found, whereat even the question about the actual number of aphorisms in the epic is a research question itself.

Keywords: Corpora, aphorisms, translation, abkhazian language

Introduction

The Knight in the Panther's Skin by Shota Rustaveli is the most significant epic of the Georgian intangible cultural heritage. The epic, which was created in the 12th century, is represented by more than 160 different manuscripts and is one of the most crucial components of defining the identity of the Georgian nation. Its significance has gone far beyond Georgia's borders and now has a prominent place in the history of world literature: the collection of

manuscripts of the epic is included in the UNESCO World Intangible Cultural Heritage Register.

The research of this unique literary work with modern methods is not only a challenge for the Kartvelology of the 21st century but will also contribute to the scientific research of Georgian intangible cultural heritage and to the internationalization of modern Kartvelology. The creation of a parallel corpus of the epic' translations is an important step for conducting interdisciplinary research. In addition, the multilingual parallel corpus can be successfully used in bilingual/multilingual education.

Scientific research of the epic begun in the 18th century, when King Vakhtang VI added a first scientific analysis to the first printed book from 1712. This formed the basis for further research of the epic, which gradually developed into a separate field of Kartvelology - **Rustvelology**.

The history of Rustvelology covers more than 3 centuries and can be divided into several developmental stages:

1. Textological research;

2. Textological-lexicological research;

3. The Soviet stage of Rustvelologian studies;

4. Interdisciplinary research;

5. Internationalization of Rustvelologian studies;

6. Digitization of Rustvelology.

The latter implies, on the one hand, the creation of digital resources - **big data** in Rustvelology (the creation of a parallel corpus of epic manuscripts and printed editions, as well as a multilingual parallel corpus of epic translations in different languages), and on the other hand, the creation of a methodological framework that will allow us to effectively use this unique multilingual parallel corpus in research and in education.

Georgian-Abkhazian parallel corpus of *The Knight in the Panther's Skin*

The epic *The Knight in the Panther's Skin* has been translated into 56 languages with the number of foreign language editions of the epic reaching up to 350. Among them are two Abkhazian translations (by Dimitri Gulia und by Mushni Lasuria), which have been published 7 times.

The Georgian-Abkhazian parallel corpus of *The Knight in the Panther's Skin* (GeAbCo) was created within the framework of the project financed by Shota Rustaveli National Science

Foundation of Georgia and plays a significant role for various reasons:

1. Unlike the Georgian language, the Abkhazian language, as a state language, cannot really meet the modern standards of language technology, which significantly hinders the full functioning of the Abkhazian language as a state language both in state institutions and in the educational field;

2. The creation of the Georgian-Abkhazian parallel corpus of *The Knight in the Panther's Skin* will pave the way and form the basis for the technologization process of the Abkhazian language;

3. The Georgian-Abkhazian parallel corpus will allow us to develop a new didactic teaching model on the basis of the parallel corpus, which can be effectively implemented in multilingual education.

Abkhazian translations of the epic

The first Abkhazian translation of *The Knight in the Panther's Skin* translated by **Dimitri Gulia** was published in 1941, using the Georgian alphabet. He translated the long version of the epic, which contains 63 chapters (1664 stanzas). While the first two editions of Gulia's translation (1941 and 1953) were printed in Georgian script, the subsequent editions (1959 and 1984) of same translation were printed in an Abkhazian script based on the Cyrillic script.

The second Abkhazian translation of the epic was done by **Mushni Lasuria**. Excerpts of the epic were printed in the magazine "Alashara" in 1972, and the complete translation of the epic was published as a book in 1978. Unlike Gulia 's translation, Lasuria's translation is based on a shorter version of the epic (61 chapters, 1587 stanzas). For his efforts of translating *The Knight in the Panther's Skin* into Abkhazian, Mushni Lasuria was awarded the Rustaveli Prize in 1981.

In the Georgian-Abkhazian parallel corpus of *The Knight in the Panther's Skin* (GeAbCo), both Abkhazian translations by D. Gulia and by M. Lasuria are presented.

The Georgian-Abkhazian parallel corpus *The Knight in the Panther's Skin* (GeAbCo)

The Georgian-Abkhazian parallel corpus *The Knight in the Panther's Skin* is a bilingual corpus that includes the original text of the epic and both Abkhazian translations of the epic (by Dimitri Gulia and by Mushni Lasuria). The Georgian source text of the corpus is the published version of the epic by Akaki Shanidze in 1975. This version of the epic comprises

the prologue and the main part (63 chapters, including an epilogue) and consists of 1669 stanzas.

The construction of the parallel corpus was executed in several stages:

1) digitization of texts,

2) alignment and

3) tagging.

Stage I: Digitization of texts

In the first stage, the Abkhazian translations were digitized and parallelized with the original in EXCEL format. The texts were parallelized both according to chapters and verses.
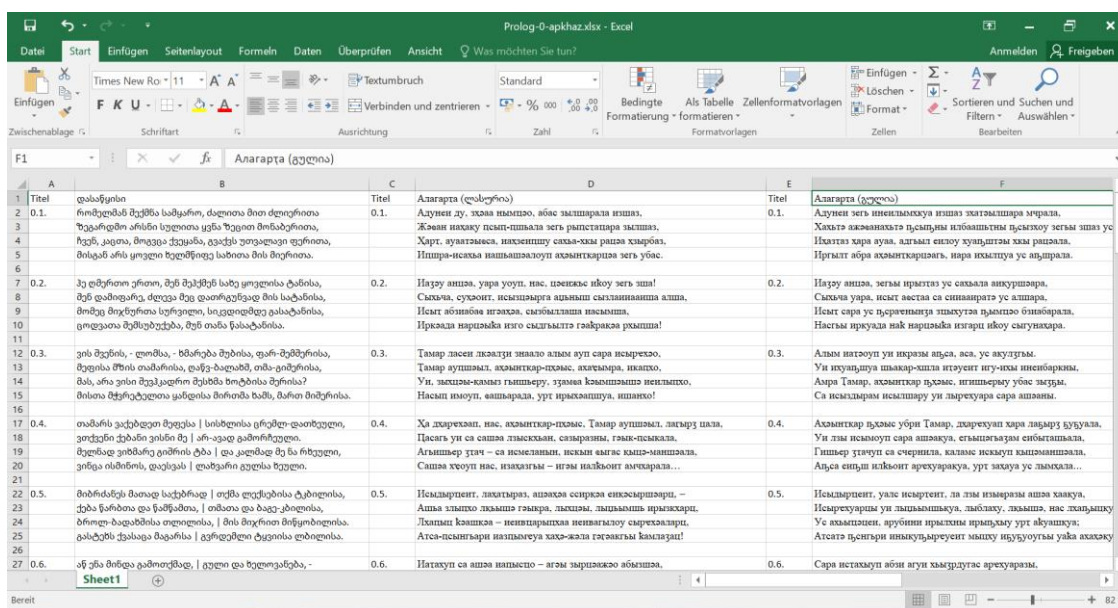

Figure 1: Excel file with both Abkhazian translations parallelized to the Georgian text

Here we encountered two types of problems: a) graphemic and b) structural. In particular:

a) the last two printed versions of Gulia's translation are published in Abkhazian script, in which the old orthography is used, while Lasuria's translation follows the new orthography.

Gulia	Lasuria	Geor. Translit.	Lat. Translit.	IPA
Гу гу	Гә гә	გ°	g°	g°
Ҕу ҕу	Ҕә ҕә	ღ°	γ°	γ°
Ку ку	Кә кә	კ°	k̡°	k'°
Қу қу	Қә қә	ქ°	k°	k°
Ҝу ҝу	Ҟә ҟә	ყ°	q̇°	q'°
Ху ху	Хә хә	ხ°	x°	x°

This graphic difference necessitated the need for an additional converter in the next step (the alignment process).

b) Abkhazian translations, as already mentioned above, differ from each other in terms of volume: Dimitri Gulia has translated the long version of the epic (63 chapters, 1664 stanzas), while Mushni Lasuria used the short version (61 chapters, 1587 stanzas) as his source text. In addition, unlike in the source text, the epilogue (АЛГАРҬА) is separated in both Abkhazian translations from the main text as a chapter on its own, while the Georgian text includes it in its 63 chapters. Accordingly, only Gulia's translation (translation of the long version of the epic) is parallelized completely, without any chapters missing.

At the last stage of digitizing texts, the parallelized texts were implemented in the corpus:
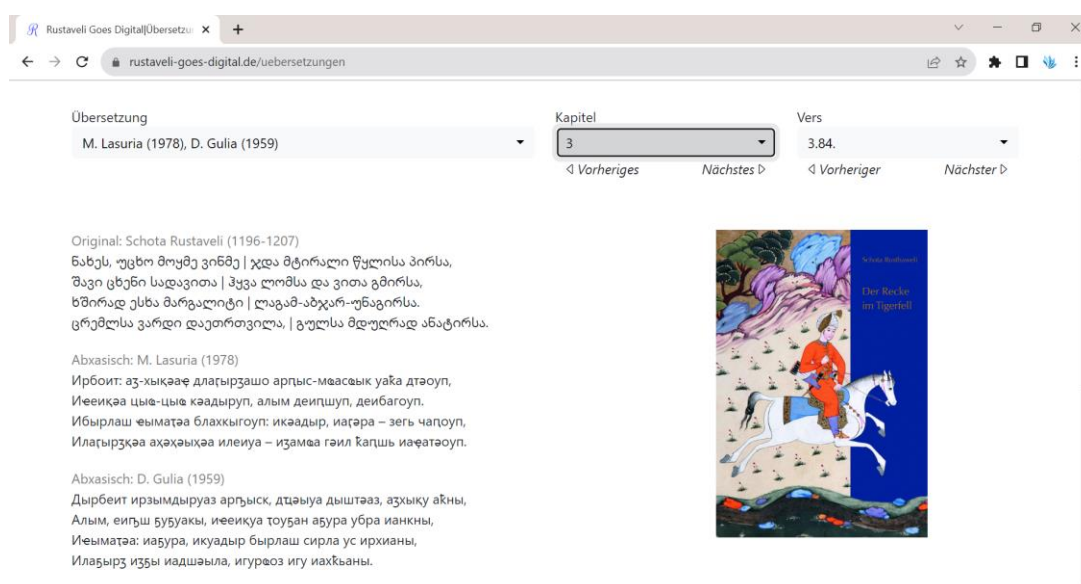

Figure 2: The parallel corpus "Rustaveli goes digital" with the Georgian source text and both Abkhazian translations

Stage II: Alignment

The main task of the second stage was alignment. Alignment is an important step to make parallel corpora linguistically usable. Alignment can be done at three different levels:

a) word level (lexical alignment),

b) phrase level (morphosyntactic alignment) and

c) sentence level (syntactic-semantic alignment), on which we will focus here.

The alignment process can be done manually or automatically; the former normally presupposes the latter. Naturally, the question arises whether the alignment for this project can

be automatized or has to be done manually. In order to answer this question, several aspects of sentence alignment need to be considered and defined.

Tschorn & Lüdelig describe in their conference paper "Morphological knowledge and alignment of English-German parallel corpora" (2003, 1) a **sentence level alignment**, which maps groups of L1-sentences (sentences from the bilingual parallel text) to corresponding groups of L2-sentences (sentences from the translated text) and call them "beads". They write further that "an alignment can be viewed as a sequence of beads that covers the entire parallel text. While most beads usually express the correspondence between a single L1-sentence and a single L2-sentence, other types of beads arise when sentences are split, merged, deleted, added or changed in order by the translator" (Tschorn & Lüdelig 2003, 1). In the case of poetic texts, these problems are less common: stanza Xn of L1 usually corresponds to stanza Yn of L2. For example, *if (in Xn of L1, n=15), then (in Yn of L2, n=15)* (as in Figure 1). However, even in poetic texts there are cases of switching sentences within stanzas or have some other irregularities.

A special method of analysis contained in the sentence level alignment, namely **lexical distance functions**, is used for alignment at the sentence level, which "try to find corresponding words in the two halves of the parallel text" (Tschorn & Lüdelig, 2003, 2). There have been suggestions *for automatic extraction of an ad hoc dictionary* from parallel texts that have been aligned and those that have not, as well as during alignment (Tschorn & Lüdelig 2003, 3). These methods often rely on a concept of co-occurring frequency and assume that translation links only exist between single words. However, it is well known that words in texts have a Zipfian distribution, which means that texts primarily contain a small number of very common words (such articles and prepositions) and a larger number of rare words (Tschorn & Lüdelig, 2003, 3; Baayen 2001). Highly frequent words are used in almost every sentence, which makes them practically useless for determining how two sections of a parallel text are related. Rare words are a much better measure of relatedness, but co-occurrence counting methods struggle capturing them (Tschorn & Lüdelig, 2003, 3).

Aside from lexical distance functions, Tschorn & Lüdelig (2003, 3) also describe **dictionary-based distance functions**, which rely on an existing machine-readable dictionary. Due to the fact that one word can have multiple translations and that multi-word units can be considered, dictionary-based distance functions outperform distance functions that rely on less knowledge and depend on the quality and the scope of the used dictionary (Tschorn & Lüdelig, 2003, 3). But as Tschorn & Lüdelig (2003, 3) quote Schultink (1961, 113), when we have "in

principle unlimited number of new formations", any dictionary will be lacking because of morphological productivity, irrelevant of its size or quality.

This becomes particularly true in languages like Georgian or Abkhazian languages, which have one the most complex inflection system for nouns and verbs. The declension system of Modern Georgian includes 7 cases and, taking into account postpositions and particles, produces up to 700 inflectional forms. The Georgian verb is polypersonal and conjugation paradigms consist of several thousand inflectional forms. Because of this polypersonality, the Georgian language is considered a radical pro-drop language, omitting subject and object pronouns. Abkhazian has no declension system, but it has enough other linguistic phenomena: different types of number (singular, dual, plural, associative plural, INCLUSIVE vs. EXCLUSIVE, +HUMAN vs. -HUMAN (Hewitt, 1979, 152, 156-158)), an elaborate category of definiteness (definiteness vs. indefiniteness), which is marked in the nouns and many more. Complex verbal structures are also characteristic for the Abkhazian language, which can mark various grammatical categories such as non-volitive modality, reciprocity, reflexivity, sociativity etc. additional to person and number markers.

Therefore, at this stage, the possibility of automatic alignment in the Georgian-Abkhazian parallel corpus is excluded yet, as online dictionaries and automatic analysis and synthesis programs are needed. While it is true, that several English-Abkhazian dictionaries but because the Abkhazian language is characterized by complex morpho-phonematic processes, an automatic analysis of Abkhazian is still at the beginning stage. Therefore, the alignment in the corpus was done manually by tagging.

Stage III. Tagging

The manual tagging was executed classified as follows:

1. Tagging of thematic lexical groups in the epic (social status, astronomical objects, gemstones, weapons, clothes etc.) and finding their equivalents in the both Abkhazian translations.

2. Tagging of figures conveying literary style (metaphors, similess, hyperboles, trope, etc.) in the epic and finding their equivalents in the both Abkhazian translations.

This tagging revealed similarities and differences between the source text and the Abkhazian translations. For example, the word for sun $\partial \mathcal{E}_\mathcal{J}$ is confirmed 309 times in the epic with different meanings and functions:

    a) the sun as an astronomical object;

b) the sun as an stylistic device (for comparisons, metaphors, epithets);

c) the sun as a component of a compound;

d) the sun as a component of a swearing.

In the Abkhazian translations, only the first, second and third type is attested but the fourth is not, cf. ST 494 and ST 563[1]:
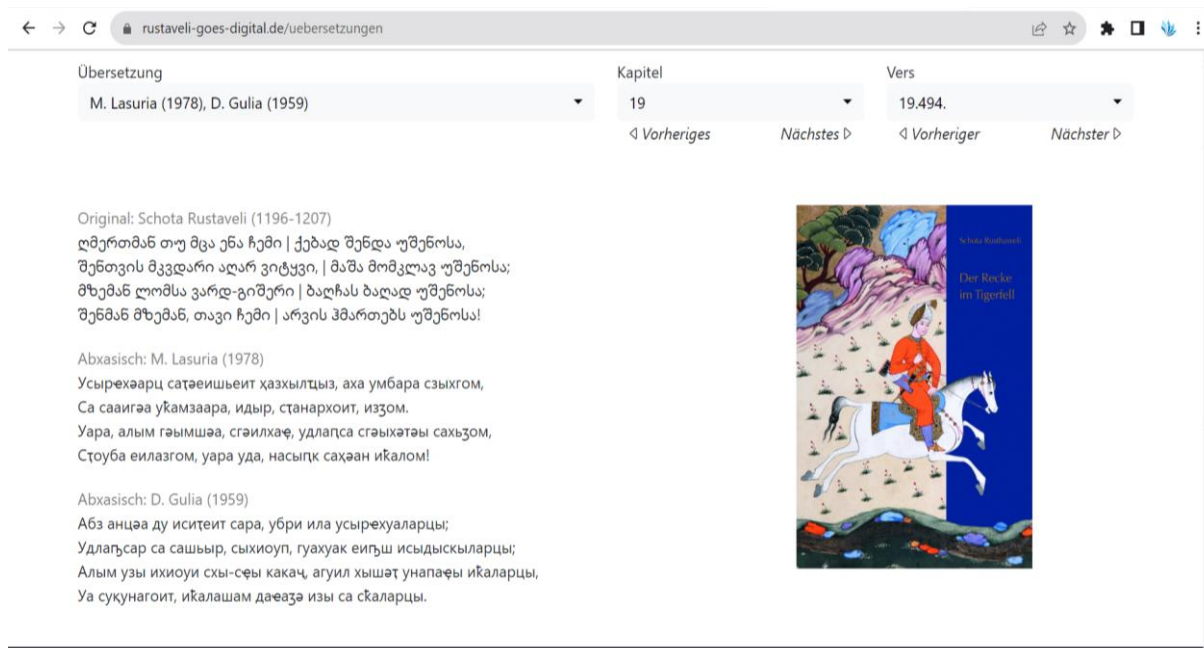

Figure 3: Chapter 19, stanza 494

(1a) GEO

შენმან	მზემან,	თავი	ჩემი	არვის
šen-man	***mze-man***	*tav-i*	*čem-i*	*arvi-s*
your-ERG.SG	sun-ERG.SG	head-NOM.SG	my- NOM.SG	noone-DAT.SG

ჰმართებს	უშენო-ს-ა!
hmartebs	*ušenosa!*
own.s3sg.o3sg.PRES	aside from you-DAT.SG-EXT.V

'*By thy sun, my self pertains to none save thee.*'

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[1] We thank Prof. George Hewitt and his wife Ms. Zaira Khoba for their assistance in the process of analyzing the Abkhaz sentence examples.

(1b) АВКН (D.G.)

Уа,	суқунагоит,		иқалашам
ua	*s-u-ḳu-na-go-uo-i̇*		*i-q̇a-la-ša-m*
you.MASC	I-you.MASC-befit-DYN-FIN.PRES		it-PREV-happen-FUT II-not

дач̌еазə	изы	са	сқаларцы
dač̣a-ẓ°	*iz-ə*	*sa*	*s-q̇a-la-r-c-ə*
other-person	him-for	I	I-PREV-become-PURP

'I am worthy of you, it will not happen if I become someone else's.'

(1c) АВКН (M.L.)

Сҭоуба	еилазгом,		уара	уда,
s-touba	*ø-ei-la-z-g-o-m*		*uara*	*u-da*
my-oath	it-PREV-I-break-DYN-not.PRES		you.MASC	you.MASC-without

насыпк	сахəан	иқалом!
nacəp-ḳ	*s-a-hᵒa-n*	*i-q̇a-l-o-m*
happy.destiny-one	I-it-request-PAST.ABSOLUTE	it-PREV-happen-DYN-not.PRES

'I won't break my oath, I won't ask for any fate other than yours.'

Figure 4: Chapter 24, stanza 563

(2a) GEO

მე,	თქვენმან	მზემან,	მაშორის	ნდომა
me,	*tkven-man*	*mze-man*	*mašoros*	*ndoma*
i.NOM.SG	your.PL-ERG.SG	sun-ERG.SG	distance.S3SG.O1SG.OPT	desire.NOM.SG

თქვენისა	ქალისა!
tkven-is-a	kal-is-a
your.PL-GEN.SG-EXT.V	woman-GEN.SG-EXT.V

'By your sun! I am far from desiring your daughter!'

(2b) АВКН (D.G.)

Амалагьы,	уара	упҳа,	са	дызгап,
amala-gjә	*ua-ra*	*u-pha*	*sa*	*dә-z-ga-ṗ*
just-and	you.MASC	your-daughter	I	her-I-take-FUT I

хәа	угу	иҭоумкроуп
hᵒa	*u-gu*	*i-ɸ-to-u-m-ḳ-r-o-u-ṗ*
saying	your.MASC-heart	it-it-in-you.MASC-not-hold-if-it-be-STAT.FIN.PRES

'But don't believe that I will take your daughter.'

(2c) АВКН (M.L.)

Упҳа	лакәым,	мап,	уара
u-pha	*l-a-ḳᵒә-m*	*maṗ*	*uara*
your.MASC-daughter	she-be-not.STAT.FIN.PRES	no	you.MASC

умст,	уи	са	слышьҭам,
umsṫ	*ui*	*sa*	*s-lә-šta-m*
you.MASC-not-die-AOR-FIN	that.one	I	I-her-pursue-not.FIN.STAT.PRES

'Your daughter, no, you don't die, I won't chase her'

In these two examples above, the swearing was not translated into Abkhazian. However, in other stanzas of the epic, swearings characteristic of the Abkhazian language is used:
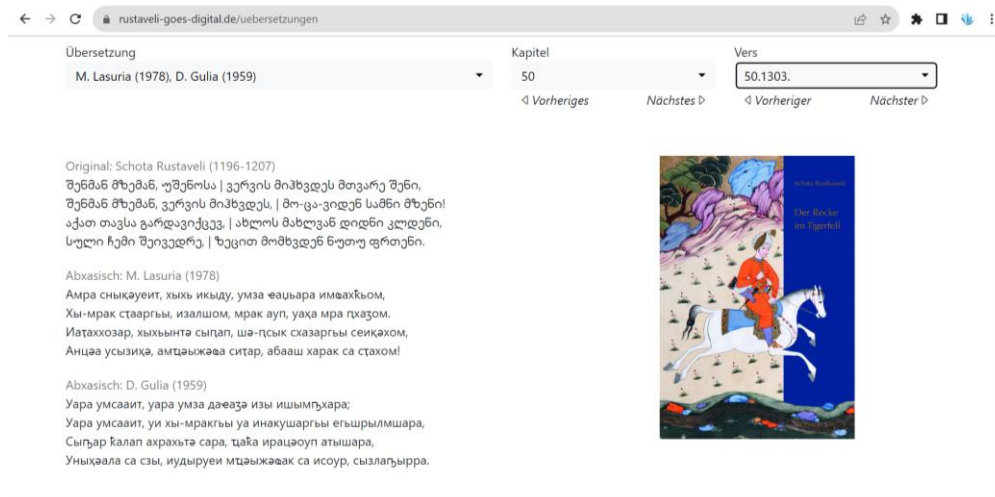
Figure 5: Chapter 50, stanza 1303

(3a) GEO

შენმან	მზემან,	უშენოსა	ვერვი-ს
šen-man	***mze-man***	*ušenosa!*	vervis
your-ERG.SG	sun-ERG.SG	aside from you-DAT.SG-EXT.V	no one-DAT.SG

მიჰხვდეს	მთვარე	შენ-ი
mihxvdes	*mtvare*	*šen-i*
understand.S3SG.OPT	moon.NOM.SG	your-NOM.SG

'By the sun, without you no one can see your moon!'

(3b) АБКН (D.G.)

Ухаҭа	умсааит,	уара	умза	даҽазә
u-xa-ta	*umsaait*	*uara*	*umza*	*dačₐa-ӡᵒ*
your.MASC-self	you.MASC-not.die-SUBJ	you.masc	your.MASC-moon	other-person

изы	ишымԥхара
iz-ə	*i-šᵒ-m-pxa-ra*
him-for	it-that-not-shine-NON.FIN.FUT I

'I swear to you, (don't die yourself) your moon won't shine for someone else'

(3c) АВКН (M.L.)

Амра	сныҟəуеит,		хы-хь	икыду,
a-mra	*s-ɸ-nə-ku-ue-iⵀ*		*xəxj*	*i-ḳəd-u*
the-sun	I-it-PREV.by-swear-DYN-FIN.PRES		above	which-suspended-NON.FIN.STAT.PRES

умза	ҽацьара	имҩахҟьом
u-mza	*č̢ə-ǯara*	*imwaxɠjom*
your.MASC-moon	other-place	it-PREV.path-PREV.off-fall-DYN-not.FIN.PRES

'I swear by the sun, when it's hanging high, your moon won't turn off the road'

Repetition of poetic formula

In literary works, there are often poetic expressions, which the authors repeat in the text. This is one of the features of GeAbCo: any repetitions can be found automatically as shown in the figure below.
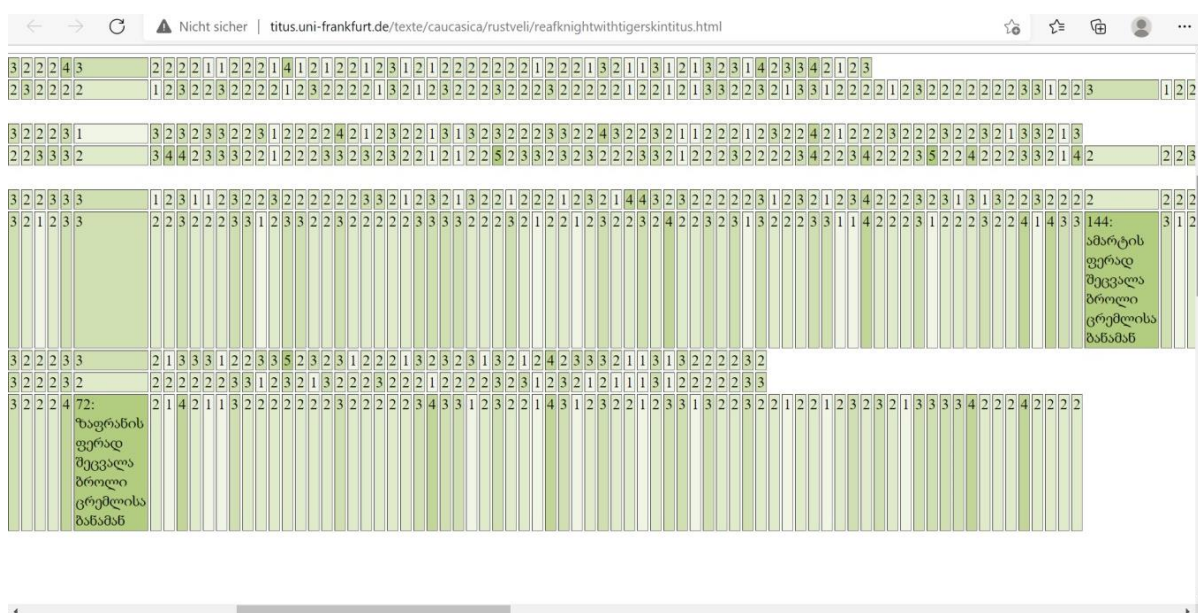

Figure 6: Repetitions found in the epic

ამარტის [ფერად შეცვალა ბროლი ცრემლისა ბანამან.] (266)
ზაფრანის [ფერად შეცვალა ბროლი ცრემლისა ბანამან] (358)
Бырлыш хаҵы алаҳырз шы ҟаруа ҧшрала ишьаҟунаргылеит; (D.G.266)
Бырлаш хаҵы, амраш еисоз, лаҳырз иарҩажьт ашафран еиҧш; (D.G.358)

Илеиуа рылаҕырӡқәа еихсыгьуам, бырлашушәа икаҧсоит, (M.L.266)
Абри нахыс ахаҿбырлаш алаҕырӡқәа инадырҩеижьит, (M.L.358)

As this example shows, a high-quality poetic formula is used in Georgian: in a sentence consisting of 6 words, 5 words are repeated. If we take into account that amart (precious stone) and saffron (plant) refer to the same color - red (here we should refer to our article), then we can say that according to the lexical content, we have a 6-component artistic formula here. As for Abkhazian, none of the translators has even attempted to convey this rare case of Rustaveli's poetic ability.

Idiomatic expressions

Rustaveli often uses idiomatic expressions in the epic. For example, the idiomatic expression *თხა და მგელი ერთად ჯოვს txa da mgeli ertad ჯovs* 'the goat and the wolf graze together', which stands for peace, mutual respect and love.

The exact same idiomatic expression is confirmed in Abkhazian, which was used by both translators:

Gulia 1658 /1664
Рхәынҭқарраҟуарҿ аҵьмеи қуҵьмеи ҵьара еицхәуан еицәшәаӡомызт.
In their kingdoms, goats and wolves grazed together and were not afraid of each other.
аҵьмеи (*goat and*) қуҵьмеи (*wolf*) ҵьара (somewhere) еицхәуан (*grazed together*)

Lasuria 1582 /1664
Убарҭ рахраҿ абгеи аҵьмеи еицыхәуан уа есқьынгьы.
In their kingdom, the wolf and the goat grazed together there all the time.
абгеи (wolf and) аҵьмеи (goat) еицыхәуан (*grazed together*)

Both translators use a word by word translation of this passage. Neither Gulia nor Lasuria use any functional equivalent for translating the above-mentioned idiomatic expression into Abkhazian.

The parallels that exist between the original and the Abkhazian translation of *The Knight in the Panther's Skin* make the Georgian-Abkhazian parallel corpus of the epic significantly interesting not only linguistically but also in terms of content. This corpus can benefit not only scientists and linguists but also teachers and other interdisciplinary scholars.

ABBREVIATIONS

1	1st person	EXT.V	extensional vowel	OPT	optative
3	3rd person	FIN	finite	PRES	present
ABS	absolute	FUT I/II	future I/II	PREV	preverb
AOR	aorist	GEN	genitive	PURP	purposive
DAT	dative	MASC	masuline	S	subject
DYN	dynamic	NOM	nominative	STAT	stative
ERG	ergative	O	object	SUBJ	subjunctive

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On the Georgian-Greek Language Relations: Transferring the Greek Verb Forms Containing the Semantics of the Iterative Category to Old Georgian Translations[1]

ABSTRACT

Translation activity played an important role in the formation and rapprochement of Georgian-Greek language relations. In the paper, we discuss the issue of how the verb forms containing the semantics of the Iterative category were translated from old Greek in the Georgian Gospels. In Greek, the Iterative category is a semantic category expressed by lexical units. Together with the lexical units, different verb forms create the idea of recurrence. In old Georgian, the category was expressed morphologically through the iterative screeves.

In terms of Georgian-Greek linguistic relations, the findings of our study are quite interesting as they give information how canonical texts were translated into Georgian. It is clear that the translators and scribes followed the tradition: they used the iterative screeves but they could not avoid the influence of the original works. Since in Greek the Iterative category is a semantic category, as a result of the influence of the Greek language, together with the iterative screeves, they actively used the lexical means in Georgian translations, the equivalents of which were attested in the original. Accordingly, in the Georgian Four Gospel editions, there are a number of calques (double expression of the category), which is not natural for the Georgian language. Translators sometimes used the principle of free translation, however, based on the principle of translation of canonical texts, they mainly tried to express the Iterative category through accurate translation.

Keywords: Georgian-Greek language relations, principle of free translation, Iterative category

Introdaction

The Georgian-Greek language relations have a long history. Translation activity played an important role in the formation and rapprochement of these relations.We focus on the

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translation of the Georgian Four Gospels. They were translated at different times and, therefore, translators and scribes tried to translate the canonical text in their own way: they transferred the grammatical forms characteristic of Greek through an accurate or free translation from Greek to Georgian and, at the same time, they tried to make the translations stylistically similar to the original.

It is mentioned in the scientific literature that the Georgian Four Gospels went through three main stages of translation and editing: Pre-Athonian (V-X cc.), Athonian (late X - middle XI cc.) and Hellenopinic (late XI - early XII cc.) (Kvirkvelia, 2019, 7) .

Our goal is to analyze the linguistic variants of the Greek verb forms translated into Georgian that contain the semantics of the Iterative category in the "Pre-Athonian" "Adishi", "Jruch-Parkhli" and "Athonian" (translated by Ekvtime and Ioane the Athonites) editions of the Georgian Four Gospels.

The Iterative category refers to a repetitive (usual) action. In Greek, it is a semantic category. Together with lexical units, verb forms of different tenses create the idea of recurrence. In Georgian, the mentioned category is expressed morphologically by special screeves: the Continuous Iterative (the Iterative I), the Iterative II and the Iterative III. The Iterative screeves had the marker -i (As for the Present Iterative, we agree with the opinion that this screeve expresses a permanent action, the general present).

In Old Georgian, the organic expression of the Iterative category gradually disappeared. Z. Sardjveladze identified cases where other screeves are used instead of the screeves of the Iterative: "The form of the discontinuous screeve is used where the screeves of the Iterative II is expected" (Sarjveladze, 1984, 451). From his point of view, the existence of such cases indicates the breaking of the Iterative. G. Gogolashvili thinks that the issue needs to be specified, e.g., "in some cases, the replacement of the Iterative II with the discontinuous screeve does not mean the breakdown of the Iterative II" (Gogolashvili, 2010, 429). An interesting phenomenon occurs in Old Georgian when we find additional lexical units together with the Iterative screeves to express the Iterative category, e.g. **mravalgzis**, **maradis**, **maradjam**, etc. In English they translate as – **many times**, **forever**, **always**. We have noticed a tendency - in the language, the organic formation of the Iterative was gradually replaced by the descriptive formation. In the old Georgian language, the Iterative screeves were slowly losing their power. The screeve forms no longer had the ability to express the function of the Iterative and therefore it became necessary to resort to additional specific means. In the scientific literature it is noted that "the existence of the possibility of contextual (or lexical, descriptive) expression of the

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Iterative could be a contributing factor (and not a cause) to the disruption of the organic formation and the establishment of the descriptive formation" (Gogolashvili, 2010, 430).

Such cases are more common in translated monuments. As we mentioned above, we will analyze the issue based on the editions of "the Georgian Four Gospels": "**Two old editions of the Four Gospels**" (1945) and "**Two last editions of the Gospels**" (1979). For comparison, we have used the Greek original of the "Gospels" (1904). An interesting fact should be emphasized: Ioane (John) and Eqvtime (Euthymius) the Athonites lived in X-XI cc. and in that period, it was decided to retranslate "The Gospels" with maximal precision to the original. Of course, Ioane (John) and Eqvtime (Euthymius) the Athonites used already existed edition of "The Gospel" translated into Georgian, compared it to the Greek original and changed the text if needed.

We also used the English "Gospels" to make the issue clearer (https://abn.churchofjesuschrist.org/study/scriptures/nt/luke/8?lang=eng).

To study the issue, we used the **descriptive**, **comparative**-**contrastive** methods.

This category is expressed semantically. **It is interesting what made the translators use the Iterative screeves along with lexical units expressing iterative actions**. We will try to answer this question. It should be noted that the double expression of the mentioned category – multiplicity can be considered to be tautology since Georgian is not characterized of double formation of grammatical categories. We will give some extracts from the editions of the "Georgian Gospels" and then we will compare them with the Greek "Four Gospels":

DE

რამეთუ უბრძანა სულსა მას არაწმიდასა განსვლად კაცისა მისგან; რამეთუ **მრა-ვალ ჟამ წარიტაცის იგი**, და **შებორკილიან** იგი ჯაჭჳთა და საკრველითა და ჰცვედ, და **განხეთქნის** საკრველნი და იდევნებიან ეშმაკისა მისგან უდაბნოთა (DE, ლკ. 8, 29)

rametu ubrdZana sulsa mas arawmindasa gansvlad kacisa misgan; rametu **mraval jam**

waritatsis igi, da **Seborkilian** igi Jay,ta da sakrvelita da hcved, da **ganxetknis** sakrvelni

da **idevnebian** eSmakisa misgan udabnota (LK. 8, 29).

In this example, we can find the Iterative screeves along with the lexical unit: „მრავალ ჟამ წარიტაცის... შებორკილიან... განხეთქნის “.

mravaljam waritatsis... sheborkilian... ganxetknis.

Its parallel edition **C**:

რამეთუ უბრძანა სულსა მას არაწმიდასა განსვლად კაცისა მისგან; რამეთუ **მრა-**

ვალგზის წარიტაცის იგი, და შებორკილიან იგი ჯაჭვთა და საკრველითა და ჰცვედ, და განხეთქის საკრველნი და იდევნებინ ემმაკისა მისგან უდაბნოთა (C, ლკ. 8, 29).

rametu ubrdZana sulsa mas arawmindasa gansvlad kacisa misgan; rametu **mravalgzis waritatsis** igi, da **Seborkilian** igi Jay,ta da sakvirvelita da hcved, da **ganxetknis** sakrvelni da idevnebin eSmakisa misgan udabnota (LK. 8, 29).

The English translation is as follows:

"For he had commanded the unclean spirit to come out of the man. **For oftentimes it had caught him**: and he was **kept bound with chains** and fetters; and **he brake the bands**, and was driven of the devil into the wilderness" (LK. 8, 29).

We pay attention to these parts: "For oftentimes it had caught him", "he was kept bound", "he brake the bands".

There is no essential difference between the editions, except the fact that instead of the lexical unit მრავალ ჯამ **mravaljam**, we find მრავალგზის **mravlgzis** in the edition and instead of the verb იდევნებიან **idevnebian**, the verb იდევნებინ **idevnebin** is used.

The Greek original:

παρήγγελλεν γὰρ τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἀκαθάρτῳ ἐξελθεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀνθρώπου. **πολλοῖς γὰρ χρόνοις συνηρπάκει** αὐτόν, καὶ **ἐδεσμεύετο**, ἁλύσεσιν καὶ πέδαις **φυλασσόμενος**, καὶ **διαρρήσσων** τὰ δεσμὰ **ἠλαύνετο** ἀπὸ τοῦ δαιμονίου εἰς τάς ἐμήμους (LK, 8, 29).

In Greek, **πολλοῖς γὰρ χρόνοισ** means for a long time, **waritatsis**... **Seborkilian**... is the perfect tense while **ganxetknis** accords with the participle of the active voice **διαρρήσσων**, and the verb **idevnebian** accords with the imperfect action of the passive voice **ἠλαύνετο** expressing the continuous action.

The **FG** and **HIK** editions:

რამეთუ უბრძანა სულსა მას არაწმიდასა განსლვად კაცისა მისგან; რამეთუ **მრა- ვალ-გზის** წარიტაცის იგი, და შებორკილიან იგი ჯაჭვთა და საკრველითა და ჰცვედ, და განხეთქნის საკრველნი და იდევნებინ ემმაკისა უდაბნოდ (FG, ლკ. 8, 29).

rametu ubrdZana sulsa mas arawmindasa ganslvad kacisa misgan; rametu **mraval-gzis waritatsis** igi, da **Seborkilian** igi Jay,ta da sakrvelita da hcved, da **ganxetknis** sakrvelni da idevnebin eSmakisa udabnod (FG, LK. 8, 29).

The **HIK** edition, in terms of expressing the Iterative, is the same as the **FG** edition. It seems that the people of Mtatsminda used the old editions of the Georgian Four Gospels. They tried to choose the correct forms and fit them in a certain place. The text follows the **DE** edition,

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but it was also compared with the **C** edition, because in one case the form idevnebin is used instead of the verb idevnebian. In Greek, since the Iterative category is not expressed organically, the impression of the repetitive action is created by a lexical unit, while in Georgian the translator translates it with the double formation: through a lexical unit and the organic formation, thus, we get a calcified form.

The next example:

DE:

და ლაღად-ყო ერმან მან გამოთხოვად მისა, ვითარცა-იგი **მიჰმადლის** მათ **მარა- დის** (DE, მრკ. 15, 8).

da GaGad-Ko erman man gamotxovad misa, vitarca-igi **mihmadlis** mat **maradis** (DE, Mrk. 15, 8).

In the given example, it is obvious that with the lexical unit მარადის **maradis** the verb is used in the form of the screeve of the Iterative II – მიჰმადლის **mihmadlis**. This part is not available in the relevant **C** edition. In the Greek original there is no corresponding form of the lexical unit მარადის **maradis** while the screeve of the Iterative II accords with the verb ἐποίει that means ქმნა **kmna** (to create) and it is presented with the past imperfect tense (an incomplete action).

The English translation:

"And the multitude crying aloud began to desire him to do as **he had ever done unto them**" (Mrk. 15, 8).

In this example, the important phrase is: **he had ever done unto them**, but an equivalent of the word **maradis** (**forever**) cannot be found there.

As for the Greek original, we can find it:

καὶ ἀναβὰς ὁ ὄχλος ἤρξατο αἰτεῖσθαι **καθώς** ἐποίει αὐτοῖς (Mrk. 15, 8).

In this verse, we read the word „ვითარცა "**vitarca** that in Greek translates as **καθώσ**. Together with the personal form of the verb, it conveys the meaning that the action took place constantly in the past, but as mentioned above, in this case, in the Greek original there is no equivalent of the word მარადის[**maradis** and in the Georgian translation the translator used it at his own decision. The **FG** and **HIK** editions exactly follow the **DE** edition. They are identical.

The following example is also interesting:

DE:

რამეთუ **მრავალ გზის** ჯაჭჳთა და ბორკილითა შეკრულ იყო იგი და **განხეთქის**

და **შემუსრის** იგი, და არავის ეძლო დაყენებად მისა (DE, მრკ. 5; 4).

rametu **mraval gzis** Jay,ta da borkilta Sekrul iKo igi da **ganxetkis** da **Cemusris** igi, da aravis eZlo daKenebad misa (DE, Mrk. 5, 4).

The corresponding **C** edition differs from the **DE** edition:

რამეთუ მრავალი ბორკილი და ჯაჭჯ, რომლითა **შეკრიან** იგი, განეხეთქა და და-ემუსრა, და არავინ უძლო დამორჩილებად მისდა (C; მრკ. 5, 4).

rametu mravali borkili da Jay,, romlita Sekrian igi, **ganxetka** da da Cemusra, da aravin uZlo damorCilebad misda (DE, Mrk. 5, 4).

In the **DE** edition, the verb მრავალ გზის **mravalgzis** is given with the discontinuous screeve შეკრულ იყო Sekrul iKo and the phrase is stylistically correct. In the **C** edition, the translator changed the construction in this way: მრავალი ბორკილი და ჯაჭჯ **mravali borkili da Jay,**. They tried to change the content and express the same meaning. In this case, the form of the Iterative II შეკრიან **Sekrian** is used.

In English this verse is presented as follows:

"Because that he had been often bound with fetters and chains, and the chains had been plucked asunder by him, and the fetters broken in pieces: neither could any man tame him" (DE, Mrk. 5, 4).

In the English verse, there is no lexical unit meaning **many times**, which in the Georgian language is the equivalent of the word მრავალ გზის **mravalgis**.

In the original, this verse is presented as follows:

διὰ τὸ αὐτὸν πολλάκις πέδαις καὶ ἁλύσεσιν **δεδέσϑαι**, καὶ **διεσπασϑαι** ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὰς **ἁλύσεις** καὶ τὰς πέδας **συντετρῖφϑαι** καὶ οὐδεὶς ἴσχυεν αὐτὸν δαμὰσαι (Mrk. 5, 4).

πολλάκις− მრავალ გზის **mraval gzis**, δεδέσϑαι – the perfect tense, the passive voice, διεσπασϑαι− the infinitive. There are two verbs in Greek ἁλύσεις – the future tense and συντετρῖφϑαι – the perfect tense, the passive voice while in Georgian, just one verb is presented შემუსრის **Cemusris**.

In the **FG** and **HIK** editions we read:

რამეთუ **მრავალ გზის** ჯაჭჯთა და ბორკილთა შეკრულ იყო იგი და **განხეთქის** და შემუსრის იგი, და არავის ეძლო დაყენებად მისა (FG, მრკ. 5, 4); (HIK, მრკ. 5, 4).

rametu **mraval gzis** Jay,ta da borkilta Sekrul iKo] igi da **ganxetkis** da **Cemusris** igi, da aravis eZlo daKenebad misa (FG, Mrk. 5, 4);] (HIK, Mrk. 5, 4). As we can see, both editions follow the **DE** edition.

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In Greek, the Iterative is not expressed organically, so, the impression of a repetitive action is created by a lexical unit. The Georgian translator presents it through the lexical unit and the organic formation. In fact, the frequency of the double expression of the Iterative in translated monuments should be explained by the influence of the original.

Quite a lot of cases of double expression of the Iterative category can be found in the translated monuments. As it is clear from the research material, the scribes could not avoid the influence of the original work in the translations and that is why we can find a lot of calques in the translated monuments. The double formation of the category contributed to the gradual disappearance of the Iterative screeves.

It is interesting whether there are cases of double expression of the Iterative in original Georgian works. We chose "Hagiographic Monuments of Old Georgian Literature" published under the editorship of Ilia Abuladze, Volume I, 1963 and "The Life of Kartli", Volume I, 1953, published by Simon Kaukhchishvili as the research materials.

In the original Georgian monuments, we have attested the cases of double expression of the Iterative, although it should be noted that such cases are not as frequent as they are found in the translated literary monuments. Mainly, the category is expressed by the Iterative screeves. However, the existence of rare cases of double expression of the Iterative category indicates that the screeves were no longer capable of expressing the mentioned category, and lexical units that strengthen the meaning of the iterative aspect have appeared in the language next to the Iterative screeves. Here are the examples from the original Georgian monuments:

ამისთჳსცა ნათესავითა მით ურჩებისაღთა განუკაფნა ჩუენ, რამეთუ **მრავალ- გზის** ისრაჱლიცა **მისცის** უფალმან და ჯელთა უცხოთესლთასა, რაჯამს არა **ვიდო- დიან** იგინი გზათა მისთა (Abuladze, 1963, 367).

amistwisca natesavita mit urCebisa• ta ganukafna Cuen, rametu **mravalgzis** israelica **miscis** ufalman da qelta ucxotesltasa, rajams ara **vidodian** igini gzata mista (Abuladze, 1963, 367).

Along with the lexical unit მრავალგზის **mravalgzis**, (in English **many times)**, the screeves of the Iterative II and the Iterative I are used: მისცის **miscis**, (in English **gave**) , ვი- დოდიან **vidodian**, (in English **went**).

და **მრავალგზის მოვიდიან** წმიდანი იგი მამანი, წინამძღუარნი მონასტერთანი, მრავალთათჳს მიზეზთა და სიბრძნითა მისთა **პოვიან** განსუენებაღ ყოველსა ზედა საქმესა (Abuladze, 1963, 325).

da **mravalgzis movidian** wmidani igi mamani, winamZGuarni monastertani, mravaltatwis mizezta da sibrZnita mista **povian** gansueneba• Kovelsa zeda saqmesa (Abuladze, 1963, 325).

In this example, the Iterative II is used along with the lexical means: მრავალგზის მო-ვიდიან ... პოვიან **mravalgzis movidian** ... **povian**, (in English **many times they came**... **found**)

და მრავალგზის მოვიდს უბანსა ურიათასა ენისათჳს ებრაელისა და გამომძიე-ბისათჳს კუართისა უფლისა (Kaukhchishvili, 1953, 95).

da **mravalgzis movidis** ubansa uriatasa enisatwis ebraelisa da gamoZiebisatwis kuartisa uflisa (Kaukhchishvili, 1953, 95).

Conclusion

The verb forms containing the semantics of the Iterative category were transferred from old Greek into old Georgian through the double formation. The screeves of the Iterative category seems to be weakened even in Old Georgian. Of course, the Iterative is expressed though them, however, it seems that the Iterative screeves gradually lost the ability to express the mentioned category without auxiliary lexical means. The cases of double formation were attested in translated literary monuments more often. The influence of the original work is evident. The double formation of the Iterative became a contributing factor and not the reason for disappearing the Iterative screeves.

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Native Speakerism in the Online ELT market

ABSTRACT

Native speakerism is a language ideology that assumes that the ideals of the English language and English teaching methodology come from American and British cultures. Therefore, their best representatives are native speakers of English from these two cultures. This ideology is deeply rooted in the English language teaching market, where most language school owners advertise vacancies only for native-speaker teachers. They prefer hiring unqualified native speakers of English to qualified and experienced non-native teachers. Non-native teachers experience discrimination based on their country of origin and first language, which means they have fewer employment opportunities and work for lower hourly rates. Such discriminatory practices based on native speakerism affect non-native teachers both professionally and personally. This study suggests possible ways to restore teachers' self-confidence and promote their qualifications and skills so that non-native teachers are not marginalized in the future. This study also presents the results of a case study of non-native English teachers from Serbia, how they perceive native speakerism, and the negative effects experienced by these teachers. The results reveal that this ideology harms the professional and private lives of English teachers from Serbia, which is reflected in their poor professional confidence and low self-esteem. Non-native teachers accept low-paid positions and patronizing treatment from employers to keep their jobs and financial security, thus compromising the teaching positions they deserve as qualified teachers.

Keywords: discrimination, native speaker, non-native speaker, ELT, language ideology

Introduction

The online English Language Teaching (ELT)[1] market has seen a rise in demand for online English teachers in the last decade. There have been a significant number of online advertisements, approximately 75%, where employers advertise vacancies only for native-speaker teachers (Kiczkowiak, 2015). Employers openly search for candidates from the US, the UK, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, so they unwillingly interview or hire candidates from the rest of the world. Desirable countries belong to the so-called Inner Circle. The Inner Circle includes countries where English is spoken as the first language and is used as a dom[1]inant language, and native speakers from these places are the most desirable in the ELT market (Kachru, 1985).

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[1] ELT- English Language Teaching

1.1. Kachru's Concentric Circles

To understand the terminology, its origin, and implications, I will provide a brief background on the term Inner Circle and how it found its place in the narrative about native speakerism. The Inner Circle belongs to Concentric Circles, a term coined by Braj Kachru. This famous linguist labeled countries according to how English is spoken and used worldwide. Concentric Circles include the Inner Circle, the Outer Circle, and the Expanding Circle. The Inner Circle countries are those in which English is spoken as the first language and is used as the dominant language. The Outer Circle countries use English as the second and official language. The Expanding Circle are countries where English is learned as a foreign language. Kachru's Concentric Circles explains why teachers from the Outer and Expanding Circles are discriminated against compared with native-speaker teachers from the Inner Circle.

1.2. Native speakerism

The underlying reason for such discrimination is a language ideology known as native speakerism. This ideology perpetuates the idea that native speakers know English better than other speakers; therefore, a native speaker is the best role model for learners of English. Achieving the level of a native speaker has become a learner's goal, so learners of English are more willing to learn English with the help of a native-speaker teacher (Holliday, 2009). Learners believe that a native-speaker teacher guarantees success in learning English because of the first language he speaks and "the right passport" he holds. Non-native teachers are perceived as incompetent despite the relevant qualifications, training, and extensive experience in various teaching contexts. They are judged on the basis of their accents, countries of origin, first languages, and race. With existing prejudices, non-native English teachers hold an unfavorable position in the ELT market.

1.3. Hiring practices in the ELT market

Given the lack of qualified and experienced native-speaker teachers of English as a foreign language, employers decide to hire native-speaker teachers without relevant teaching qualifications so that they can cater to the demands of the ELT market and its consumers. Therefore, native-speaker English teachers are mostly unqualified and untrained for a teaching position. Native-speaker teachers' main advantage over non-native-speaker teachers is their country of origin and their mother tongue, and this privilege makes them the most desirable candidates over teachers who were not fortunate enough to be born in one of the Inner Circle countries, where they could learn English

as a native speaker.

When qualified and trained non-native teachers apply to native-only advertisements, they are often rejected on the grounds of their origin, nationality, and language. Such hiring practices place non-native teachers in an unfavorable position where they face rejection and ignoration. Rejected and ignored, they have few employment opportunities and usually work for low hourly rates. Such circumstances lead to teachers' low professional confidence and lower self-esteem (Kamhi-Stein, 2000).

1.4. Research topic

This study aims to learn more about the negative effects of native speakerism on non-native English teachers working in the online ELT market and how to mitigate them. The study also suggests various actions for empowering non-native teachers so that they can be demraginalized and offered equal opportunities as their native-speaking peers.

There have been various research on the negative effects of native speakerism on non-native English teachers. However, such research did not investigate how native speakerism affects English teachers from the Balkans in southeast Europe. This study also fills the research gap and will be used as a pilot study for doctoral research on native speakerism.

2. Methodology

2.1. Informants

The informants of this study were 15 online English teachers whose native language was Serbian and who were located in Serbia, a country in the Balkans. They all worked for the same online language school at the time of the study. They were also members of an informal online community of teachers working for the aforementioned online school, so they were well-connected and shared similar experiences in the online ELT market, which made them suitable for this study.

2.2. Questionnaire

The questionnaire consisted of three groups of questions. It was made in Google Forms and administered online. The questionnaire included open-ended questions, dichotomous and Likert scales. The first group of questions was about the informants' general information, such as age, gender, language level, qualifications, professional training, and general teaching experience. The second group of questions aimed at the informants' teaching experience in online language schools, whereas the third group aimed at the informants' experience with and attitude toward native speakers in the ELT market.

2.3. Analysis

The responses were analyzed using a mixed method. Quantitative analysis was used for the first group of responses, in which the informants answered general questions about their age, gender, qualifications, language level, professional training, and general teaching experience. The second group of scaled and open-ended questions was analyzed quantitatively and qualitatively. The third group of questions was analyzed qualitatively because responses to its open-ended questions were suitable for qualitative analysis.

2.4. Hypothesis

Non-native teachers have been reporting many negative effects caused by discriminatory hiring practices in the ELT market. We assume that online non-native teachers from the Balkans also suffer from the negative effects of native speakerism. In addition, we expect teachers to share their online experiences with discriminatory hiring practices, which will support the hypothesis that Serbian teachers are being discriminated against and suffering from the negative impact of this language ideology.

3. Results and Discussion

Two-thirds of the informants did not apply to online advertisements for native-speaker teachers. They believed that they had no right to apply because they were not native speakers. They avoided such advertisements, which meant few employment opportunities and low hourly rates. They felt discriminated against, but they accepted their situation as unchangeable. They came to terms with the fact that they would never have an opportunity to earn more and advance in their online career.

One-third of the informants dared to apply to such advertisements. They did not accept their "non-native fate," so they continued to apply. Among them, we notice two tendencies. One group of teachers, about 73% of this one-third, applied to online advertisements as non-native speakers, which was their true identity. They were honest about their identity, believing that the employer would recognize their qualifications, skills, experience, and expertise as suitable for the positions they advertised.

The remaining 27% applied and pretended to be native speakers to increase their hiring chances. They pretended to be native speakers in several ways: they claimed to be native speakers and kept their true names, changed their names to sound more English, or created images of false passports in Photoshop to prove their "true origin" from the countries in the Inner Circle.

The acceptance rate for teachers who applied with a false passport was high (93%). This percentage leads to the conclusion that a false passport helps teachers get hired in the online ELT market, which was expected given that the Inner Circle passport holders are the most desirable candidates.

The acceptance rate for teachers who were honest with employers and applied with their true identity was unexpectedly high (60%). This percentage concludes that employers are willing to hire non-native speakers despite publishing advertisements looking for native teachers from the Inner Circle only. However, employers who hired non-native teachers required these teachers to pretend to be native teachers in front of students. Employers planned to market these teachers as natives and thus provide a stable customer base for their schools. All the teachers accepted such a request because they were motivated by financial gain. If they pretended to be native teachers, they would earn at least three times more than what they would earn working for non-native hourly rates.

Working for an online school that requires teachers to assume a false identity has taken its toll on these online teachers. Despite being highly motivated, the teachers who assumed a false identity reported feeling "awkward, embarrassed, and frustrated" because they lied to their students. They feared that their true identity would be revealed, which would have cost them their teaching position and financial stability.

Besides being afraid for their jobs, working for low hourly rates, and having few employment opportunities, teachers also reported several more negative effects of the discriminatory hiring practices and treatment they received at those online schools: no chances for promotion, a feeling of being undervalued, low professional confidence, and low self-esteem.

Even though teachers felt discriminated against during hiring processes when they worked for such online schools, they were unaware that the discrimination they faced was caused by native speakerism, an ideology deeply rooted in the ELT market. A little more than 50% of the informants had never heard of native speakerism before completing the questionnaire. When the informants were asked if they believed something should be done, 86% believed that we have to act immediately, while 73% were skeptical about the results of such actions. They believed that even if we did something about native speakerism, it would be pointless.

K. Kabakčiev, D. Dimitrova, *How to teach compositional aspect on verbal-aspect languages data: biaspectuality in Bulgarian and Greek*

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4. **Conclusion**

To help teachers stand up for themselves and their rights in the online ELT market, we should educate them about native speakerism. The more teachers know about this ideology and its background, the better able they will be to overcome the challenges of the current ELT market.

Teacher education on native speakerism can be provided through formal and informal communities, such as teachers' associations and social media. Teachers' associations are formal organizations with the power to spread the word about native speakerism with their large-scale reach. Informal communities, such as online communities on social media and platforms, can provide the necessary support of peers by exchanging information and experiences.

Non-native teachers should continue applying to native-only advertisements because they have a unique opportunity to showcase their skills and expertise, which may bring about a mind shift among employers and other stakeholders in the ELT market.

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Difficulty in translation: Spanish bull-related phraseological units and their Georgian equivalents

ABSTRACT

The long tradition of bullfighting has a deep influence on Spanish language and culture. Bullfighting terms were integrated into everyday language, and that is why the number of expressions originating from bullfighting is enormously high. But the bull nucleus rarely appears in the phraseology of other languages, making Spanish phraseological units (PUs) difficult to translate.

The first part of this paper is descriptive and analytical, where we talk about bull-related phraseological units and the difficulty of their translation into Georgian, then the techniques used by the translator to translate these units from Spanish to Georgian. The paper also presents the necessity of compiling terminological and phraseological dictionaries related to the bull. The second part is applied - the most frequently used bull-related Spanish phraseological units (74) and their Georgian equivalents have been searched (identical, semi-identical, content-equivalent). The article also focuses on what methods the translator should apply when there are no matches for Spanish phraseological units in the Georgian language (phraseological units without equivalents) or when it comes to phraseological units that are similar in terms of lexical composition, but different in metaphorical meaning (apparent phraseological units). The paper closes with the conclusions, which could be a thread for other future research in the same field of translation of phraseological units.

Keywords: phraseological worldview, difficulty in translation, translation phases, Spanish phraseological units related to the bull, Georgian equivalents.

Introduction

In studying or researching any language, phraseological units (PUs) are important. Together with figurative expressions, we get to know not only the peculiarities of the language but also the speakers' manners, customs, worldview, and psychology. Accordingly, phraseology contains a lot of cultural information and represents the richness of the language.

For knowledge of Spanish and Georgian cultures and languages, it is especially interesting to study PUs related to the bull because the bull and its cult have roots in the very profound past, and the PUs related to it provide the greatest cultural and linguistic information.

Although the word "bull" (ხარი) belongs to the oldest lexical fund of the Georgian language (Jorbenadze, 1997, 50) and PUs related to the animal can be found in abundance in the Georgian language, it is almost impossible to find a Georgian equivalent for the Spanish phraseology of this topic, which complicates the process of understanding and translation. The reason for this difficulty may be that:

1. Spanish and Georgian belong to distant language families;

2. Bullfighting, which has become a national identity in Spain, has created its own distinct language - terms and activities related to bullfighting - that are foreign to any other language. It is the Taurine language that distinguishes Spanish from other languages (Luque Durán, Manjón Pozas, 1998, 3-4).

Therefore, the study of Spanish PUs related to the bull is very difficult, but this fact does not change the necessity of the research. To date, there is no Spanish-Georgian and Georgian-Spanish phraseological dictionary. For this reason, this research is a scientific innovation and a prerequisite for the creation of a bilingual phraseological dictionary. So 74 Spanish PUs relating to the bull are described in this article, and their Georgian equivalents are sought after. The article also focuses on the problems that the translator faces when translating PUs and how it is possible to eliminate these difficulties so that the meaning of the PU is preserved as accurately as possible.

1.1 Research methods

The paucity of Spanish-Georgian and Georgian-Spanish dictionaries, the absence of a bilingual phraseological dictionary and lack of scientific study in this field make the research of this issue especially difficult. Therefore, to determine the similarities and differences between the PUs related to the bull and to establish the specificity of their translation, the article mainly analyzes the works of foreign scholars who study how it is possible to translate such specific PUs and to find equivalents in different languages: In Spanish (Luque Durán, Manjón Pozas, 1998; Boyd Swan, 2004; De La Fuente González, 2009; Blažková, 2012), in Italian (Muñoz Medrano, 2016; Luque Toro, 2022), in French (Sevilla Muñoz, 1997), in English (Sevilla Muñoz, 2009), in Czech (Gutiérrez Rubio, 2015), in Arabic

(Amer Saafan, 2020) and in Russian (Ramírez Rodríguez, 2021). Accordingly, using analysis and comparative research methods, the first part of the article discusses:

- The translator's role in translating phraseology and the difficulties faced in the translation process;
- By what methods can the translator preserve the metaphorical-idiomatic meaning of PUs?

In the second part of the article, it is given the expressions of everyday speech or proverbs and sayings from the research of various bullfighting and linguistic authors such as: José María de Cossío (1974), Sánchez de Neira (1988), Luque Durán and Manjón Pozas (1998), Boyd Swan (2004). Their Georgian equivalents are found in the works of Oniani (1966), Songhulashvili (1991), Jorjaneli (2003) and in the database of Georgian language idioms and proverbs (http://idioms.tsu.ge).

1. 2. The difficulty of translating phraseological units and their translation phases

The use of PUs is a good example of language proficiency on the part of any author, but at the same time, when transmitting this type of combination to another language, preserving the essence of the original text presents a great challenge for the translator (Amer Saafan, 2020, 121). Translation becomes even more difficult when it comes to a language that is not present in the other culture. For example, bullfighting is a non-existent culture in Georgia. That is why *toro* (bull) in Spanish is not equivalent to toro in Georgian. Bullfighting expressions give cohesion to the discourse, which will imply that their translation will change depending on the meaning they acquire in each context (Luque Toro, 2022, 263 - 274).

The dilemma of translation of these units lies in their peculiarity and specificity. The main challenges and obstacles that arise when transmitting these idiomatic expressions from one language to another can be:

- Insufficient degree of cultural competence of the translator.
- That the lexical systems of languages in most cases are not the same (Amer Saafan, 2020, 126 - 127).
- That each unit contains a set of information that the translator must transfer to another language giving the same message to avoid any type of misunderstanding (Corpas Pastor, 2003, 213).
- The fourth difficulty is related to the traditional nuance of the phraseological units that represent what is typical of a specific linguistic community (Isabel Santamaría, 1998, 301, Amer Saafan, 2020, 127).

- The components of the phraseological unit do not have an independent meaning, so if they are translated in isolation, in most cases they remain incomprehensible. For this reason, it before translating any PU, it is important to look for its idiomatic connotation in the other language (Zuluaga, 1980, 634).

- The incomplete information or the inaccessibility of many specialized bilingual and multilingual dictionaries (especially in Georgian, when there is no Spanish-Georgian phraseological dictionary) will lead the translator to solve the terminological problem alone.

- A literal translation - the translator may get away from the particular meaning of these units in their original context by using them wrong. Thus, a metaphorical meaning must be found to preserve the lexical value of these units (Eugene Nida, 1975, 113).

But how can a translator deal with these difficulties, and what should be done to ensure that the PU's metaphorical meaning is preserved?

1. The translator must identify the semantic value of PU in the original text.
2. Next step is the interpretation of this unit in the context.
3. Should find the proper translations in the translated language for the original text's PUs later.
4. the establishment of correspondences at the end (Corpas Pastor, 2003, 200-203; Amer Saafan, 2020, 128-129).

As said above, the bull nucleus rarely appears in the phraseology of other languages, or rather it has no relevance, since there is no bullfighting culture in them. All the units with the term *toro* as a nucleus or identifying key will have to be translated considering the semantic gap that is created when this word in the target language does not have the cultural value present in the source language (Luque Toro, 2022, 267 - 268). In this case, when there are no equivalents for PUs, the translator has several options: use a free word combination or create phraseological material whose structure shares some of the same expressive meaning-making components as the original language (Ramírez Rodríguez, 2021, 316).

In any case, there are valid translation equivalents that make the PUs understandable in the target language, thus trying to cover the semantic, pragmatic, and communicative properties of the Spanish PUs (Muñoz Medrano, 2016, 172).

2.1. Bull-related Spanish phraseological units and their Georgian equivalents

> "The bullfighting vocabulary permeates our colloquial language.
> […] Bullfighting terms serve as a channel or mold that has shaped
> the way of thinking of the Spanish people" (Amorós, 1987, 15-16).

The bullfighting language has given rise to innumerable fixed expressions, proverbs, riddles, coplas (a poetic form common in Spanish popular writing)... Any native Spanish speaker uses it to refer metaphorically to life (Amoros, 1996, 147). That is why the Spanish PUs, that have in common a core word that designates an animal (toro), represent a field of research of great interest.

The interest increases even more when it comes to finding Georgian equivalents of Spanish phraseological units related to the bull. Since there are neither terminological nor phraseological dictionaries related to the world of bullfighting in Georgian, the research of this issue is a kind of first step on this difficult scientific path.

In terms of lexical composition, two groups of Spanish bullfighting expressions can be distinguished: first - idioms and proverbs, that have in common a core word that designates an animal (toro), and second - whose constituent words and content are related to *the world of bullfighting* (vocabulary, bullring, rules and weapons of the fight...). Such words are underlined in the expressions below.

As a result of the study, **74** commonly used Spanish PUs in everyday speech were searched (from the above-mentioned dictionaries, par. 1.1) and their Georgian equivalents were discovered. PUs are grouped according to the degree of equivalence:

➢ **Identical PU** (full equivalence) - this degree of equivalence implies the same denotative and connotative meaning between the two PUs, where the PU of the source text corresponds to another in the target text with the same form, semantics, pragmatics, metaphorical base, conversational implications, distribution, and frequency of use (G. Wotjak, 1983, 72; Gutiérrez Rubio, 2016, 51; Corpas Pastor, 2003, 245-273; Muñoz Medrano, 2016, 169 - 172):

1. **Spanish PU (SPU)**: *Más furioso que un <u>toro</u>* / **literal (L)**: more furious than a bull / **figurative (F)**: fury / **Georgian equivalent (GE)**: *ხარივით გაპრისხებული*

2. **SPU**: *Lidiar contra el destino* / **L**: fighting against destiny / **F**: fighting against something that cannot be changed / **GE**: *ბედთან ბრძოლა, ბედთან ჭიდილი*

Even though both phraseological units are similar in content and lexical composition, the Spanish phrase is related to the world of bullfights, as it is conveyed by the verb *Lidiar*, which means fighting

with bulls, and the Georgian PU does not have a similar connotation. So it can be considered as semi-identical phraseological units.

➢ **Semi-identical PUs** - when we find the same metaphor expressed through two slightly different images, generally one more specific than the other, or the equivalence of the transmitted image and the idiomatic meaning (partial equivalence), with differences in the syntactic structure and the lexicon (G. Wotjak, 1983, 72; Corpas Pastor, 2003, 245-273; Gutiérrez Rubio, 2016, 52; Muñoz Medrano, 2016, 173):

3. **SPU**: *Estar como (o hecho) un <u>toro</u>* / **L**: healthy and strong as a bull / **F**: healthy and strong / **GE**: ა) ხარივით ჯანმრთელი; ბ) ხარივით ძლიერი

4. **SPU**: *Estar hecho un <u>toro de fuego</u>* / **L**: like a bull with its horns on fire / **F**: be enraged / **GE**: ხარივით გაშმაგებული, გამძვინვარებული

5. **SPU**: *Tener un <u>rejo</u> como un <u>toro</u>* / **L**: to have a tip of a stinger as a bull / **F**: to be resistant and robust / **GE**: ხარივით გამძლე და ამტანი

6. **SPU**: *Al <u>toro</u> por las <u>astas</u> y al hombre por la palabra* / **L**: a bull - with horns, a man with a word / **F**: an ox is taken by horns and a man by the tongue, someone's weakness / **GE**: ა) ხარს რქით დააბამენ, კაცს / დედაკაცს - ენითაო

7. **SPU**: *Quien con <u>toros</u> anda, a <u>torear</u> aprende* / **L**: he who walks with bulls also learns to fight / **F**: the environment that surrounds you has a decisive influence on your personal or professional development / **GE**: ხარი ხართან რომ დააბა, ან ზნეს იცვლის ან ფერსაო

8. **SPU**: *A dos <u>puyas</u> no hay <u>toro bravo</u>; No hay <u>toro</u> que resista dos <u>garrochas</u>* / **L**: even a brave bull cannot withstand two jabs with a spear / **F**: not enduring repeated pressure or attack, a situation that can no longer be endured / **GE**: ერთ ხარს ორი ტყავი არ გაძვრებაო

9. **SPU**: *Ser más <u>corrido</u> que un <u>toro</u> (<u>novillo embolado</u>) / Ser un hombre <u>corrido</u>* / **L**: to run more than a bull (calf, bullock (Am.)) / being a running man / **F**: having a lot of experience in some field / **GE**: ა) ხარივით გამოცდილი; ბ) proverbs: ხარდაუკლავი ხარს ვერ დაკლავსო; გ) ბებერი ხარის რქაც კი ხნავსო; ბებერი ხარის რქებიც კი ეჭვიანო

Complete lexical and metaphorical agreement between Spanish and Georgian phraseological units characterizes a very small part of phrases, especially if Spanish phraseology refers to the topic of bullfighting. Therefore, in most cases, we have idiomatic expressions and proverbs of a completely

different structure and content. That is why the main difficulty in translation is to preserve the figurative root of phraseology.

➢ The most typical approach to translating PUs is to look for content-equivalents of the phrase (with the same or different lexical composition). Thus, phraseological units are **equivalent** when the PU of the target text is equivalent in pragmatic terms, but not in terms of form or image component (Gutiérrez Rubio, 2016, 52):

10. **SPU**: *Al toro y al loco, de lejos mirarle el moco / Al loco y al toro, dejarles el coso, o bien, dejarlos solos* / **L**: to the bull and the madman, from afar look at his mucus / to the madman and the bull, leave the arena, or leave them alone / **F**: to get away from people who we consider unpredictable and could therefore be dangerous for us / **GE**: გიჟს უნდა გაეცალოო; ყველა გიჟი კანონის წინ თავისუფალიაო

11. **SPU**: *A los cojos sigue el toro* / **L**: the lame is followed by the bull / **F**: bad luck always falls on the weakest / **GE**: გაჭირვებულ კაცს ქვა აღმართში მიეწიაო

12. **SPU**: *Torear a una persona* / **L**: bullfighting a person / **F**: to make fun of or deceive someone / **GE**: აბუჩად აგდება, თვალებზე ნაცრის მიყრა

13. **SPU**: *A paso de banderillas* / **L**: at banderillas' step / **F**: having an advantage / **GE**: ერთი ნაბიჯით წინ ყოფნა;

14. **SPU**: *A toro muerto gran lanzada* / **L**: A dead bull great thrown / **F**: ironically call someone a "hero" / **GE**: ა) მკვდარი ლომისა კურდღელსაც არ ეშინიაო; ბ) ჯანდაგი ვირი – ხბორებში გმირიო

15. **SPU**: *A toro pasado* / **L**: about past bull / **F**: when someone says his opinion about something that has already happened and then there is no risk of being wrong / **GE**: ა) ურემი რომ გადაბრუნდება, გზა მერე გამოჩნდებაო; ბ) ტრაბახი უგვიანი კაცის საქმეა

16. **SPU**: *Acudir al trapo / Entrar al trapo* / **L**: to go to the rag (muleta) / **F**: falling into a trap / **GE**: მახეში გაბმა

17. **SPU**: *¡Allá se las toreen!* / **L**: there they fight him / **F**: to ignore or be indifferent to the issue that everyone else is concerned about / **GE**: აინუნში არ აგდებს; წარბსაც არ იხრის; ყურსაც არ იბერტყავს

18. **SPU**: *Aquello era una <u>corrida de toros</u>* / **L**: that was a bullfighting / **F**: a chaotic situation without order / **GE**: ომი და ომდაგარიო; ერთი პაი, ერთი ჰუი; აყალ-მაყალი; აირია მონასტერი

19. **SPU**: *Bramar como un <u>toro</u>* / **L**: bellowing like a bull / **F**: indicates that someone got very angry / **GE**: ლომივით ბრდღვინავს

20. **SPU**: *Cada uno mate su <u>toro</u>* / **L**: each one kills his bull / **F**: all people have their own problems and therefore they should not interfere in the affairs of others / **GE**: ყველამ თავის საქმეს აკეთოს, სხვის საქმეში ნუ ჩაერევაო

21. **SPU**: *¡Ciertos son los <u>toros</u>!* / **L**: true are the bulls / **F**: an indication of the certainty of an event (it turns out that it's true) / **GE**: ა) ცამდე მართალიაო; ბ) ბატონი ბრძანდები, ბატონი ხარ; გ) ლარი და ხაზი არ უნდა (ჭეშმარიტია)

22. **SPU**: *Cortase la <u>coleta</u>* / **L**: to cut the ponytail / **F**: taking retirement / **GE**: ქუდის საკიდზე ჩამოკიდება; პენსიაზე გასვლა

23. **SPU**: *Dar <u>cornadas</u> al viento* / **L**: goring the wind / **F**: someone does something in vain / **GE**: წყლის ნაყვა, ნაცრის ქექვა

24. **SPU**: *Dar la <u>vara</u>* / **L**: to give the spear / **F**: to bother someone / **GE**: ტვინის შეჭმა, გულის შეწუხება

25. **SPU**: *Dar <u>largas</u>* / **L**: to give prolong (referring to bullfighters who intentionally prolong the fight of the bull, to captivate the public) / **F**: to prolong wanting an action or situation / **GE**: გაჭიანურება

26. **SPU**: *De buena vaca y buen <u>toro</u>, no puede salir mal ganado* / **L**: from a good cow and a good bull, no bad cattle can come out / **F**: if all the elements are good, the result can never be bad / **GE**: ა) ხე ნაყოფით იცნობაო; ბ) დედა ნახე, მამა ნახე, შვილი მერე გამონახე; გ) კვიცი იყიდე და დედა იკითხეო

27. **SPU**: *Dejar a uno para el <u>arrastre</u>* / **L**: leaving one for the drag (the act of carrying the dead animal from the ring is called "arrastre") / **F**: destroying someone physically or mentally / **GE**: მიწასთან გასწორება, ბოლოს მოღება

28. **SPU**: *Estar para el <u>arrastre</u>* / **L**: standing for the drag / **F**: to be very tired / **GE**: არაქათის გამოლევა, ქანცის გაწყვეტა

29. **SPU**: *Echar un <u>capote</u>* / **L**: to throw a cape / **F**: to lend a hand to someone / **GE**: *ხელის გამართვა*

30. **SPU**: *Echar la <u>capa</u> al <u>toro</u>* / **L**: to throw the cape on the bull / **F**: to give someone a hand, to help someone / **GE**: *ხელის გამართვა*

31. **SPU**: *El amo va a los <u>toros</u>, vámonos todos* / **L**: the master goes to the bulls, let's all go with him / **F**: following the example of the superior, even if it is not the best example / **GE**: *ბრმად მინდობა; ერკემალი რომ კლდიდან გადავარდეს, მთელი ფარა თან მიჰყვებაო*

32. **SPU**: *El que <u>torea al toro</u>, tiene que aguantar la <u>cornada</u>* / **L**: he who fights the bull, must endure the goring / **F**: when someone takes risks, must bear the consequences / **GE**: *ვინც გაიქცა, ის წაიქცაო*

33. **SPU**: *El <u>toro</u> de cinco y el <u>torero</u> de veinticinco* / **L**: the five-year-old bull and the twenty-five-year-old bullfighter / **F**: when someone has the age, and therefore the physical or mental condition to do something / **GE**: *ყველაფერს თავისი დრო აქვსო, ყველაფერი კარგია დროულიო*

34. **SPU**: *Entre los <u>cuernos</u> del <u>toro</u>* / **L**: between the bull's horns / **F**: someone is in a dangerous situation / **GE**: *ორ ცეცხლუშუა ყოფნა, ორ წყალუშუა ყოფნა*

35. **SPU**: *Estar hasta la <u>bandera</u>* / **L**: be up to the flag / **F**: there are a lot of people somewhere / **GE**: *ზღვა ხალხია; ნემსს ვერ ჩააგდებ*

36. **SPU**: *Haberle visto las orejas al <u>toro</u>* / **L**: having seen the bull's ears / **F**: to have known the danger up close, being in a very dangerous situation / **GE**: *სიკვდილს თვალებში ჩახედო*

37. **SPU**: *Hacer el <u>paseíllo</u>* / **L**: to do the paseíllo (the paseíllo is an act that opens the bullfighting) / **F**: starting to do something / **GE**: *გზაზე დადგომა*

38. **SPU**: *Hacer <u>novillos</u>* / **L**: to do calves (Am. bullocks) / **F**: missing a student unjustifiably from school / **GE** (slang): *შატალოზე წასვლა*

39. **SPU**: *Hacer una cosa a <u>toro</u> parado* / **L**: to do something to a stopped bull / **F**: pretending to do something difficult and laborious when, in reality, it is very easy / **GE**: *ბუზის სპილოდ გადაქცევა*

40. **SPU**: *Huyendo del <u>toro</u> cayó en el arroyo* / **L**: fleeing from the bull fell into the stream / **F**: Escaping from a dangerous situation to get into a worse one / **GE**: ვაის გაveყარე, გუის შევეყარეო

41. **SPU**: *Lanzarse al <u>ruedo</u>* / **L**: to throw yourself into the ring / **F**: throw yourself into doing something with total decision / **GE**: მთელი მონდომებით; რქებით აწვება

42. **SPU**: *Los <u>toreros</u> en las <u>plazas</u>; los cómicos, en las tablas* / **L**: the bullfighters in the squares; comedians, on stage / **F**: everyone should be in their place without meddling in other people's business / **GE**: ა) პური მეპურეს გამოაცხობინეო; ბ) ხარაზი რომ ხაბაზობას დაიწყებს, პური კუტი გამოვაო

43. **SPU**: *Los <u>toros</u> dan las cornadas y Dios se encarga de repartirlas* / **L**: the bulls gore and God oversees distributing them / **F**: destiny is capricious / **GE**: კაცი ბჭობდა, ღმერთი იცინოდაო

44. **SPU**: *Los <u>toros</u> dan y quitan* / **L**: the bulls give and take away / **F**: something that can bring you a lot can still be destructive / **GE**: ქალი ან აგაშენებს, ან დაგაქცევსო

45. **SPU**: *Los últimos <u>toros</u> no dan nunca honra ni provecho* / **L**: the last bulls never give honor or profit / **F**: it is not good to do things late, because they do not usually go well / **GE**: გადადებული საქმე გადავდებულიაო / ეშმაკისაო

46. **SPU**: *Pan y <u>toros</u>* / **L**: bread and bulls / **F**: these two things are enough and nothing more important / **GE**: ღვინოსა და პურს არ ედალატების

47. **SPU**: *Pelean los <u>toros</u> y mal para las ranas* / **L**: the bulls fight, and it is bad for the frogs / **F**: when a third person suffers consequences of the confrontation of others / **GE**: გამშველებელს ყველაზე მეტი ხვდებაო

48. **SPU**: *¡Pero eso es en los <u>toros</u>!* / **L**: but that is in the bulls! **F**: someone says something inappropriate in each situation / **GE**: ტყემალზე ზის! ტყემალზე ზის და ბალს ჭამს; ბლის ხეზე ზის და ატმის კურკებს ისვრისო

49. **SPU**: *¡Siéntese en las <u>astas del toro</u>!* / **L**: sit on the bull's horns! / **F**: this phrase is said to the person who meddles in the affairs of others / **GE**: ა) სხვის საქმეში ცხვირს ნუ ჰყოფ! *proverbs*: ყველამ თავისი საქმე აკეთოს, სხვის საქმეში ნუ ჩაერევაო; ბ) არაკვითხე მოამბეო, მიტყიპე და მიაგდეო.

50. **SPU**: *Tener más dinero que un <u>torero</u>* / **L**: to have more money than a bullfighter

F: being very rich / **GE**: *სქელი ჯიბე აქვს*

51. **SPU**: *Tirarse de cabeza al <u>callejón</u>* / **L**: to jump headlong into the alley / **F**: to abandon everything and flee in panic / **GE**: ა) *თავის შერზვა (სადმე);* ბ) *თავქუდმოგლეჯილი გაქცევა; შიში მიჩვენე და მუხლს გიჩვენებო*

52. **SPU**: *<u>Toro</u> muerto vaca es* / **L**: dead bull is a cow / **F**: to indicate that someone has lost his characteristic attribute, for example, his bravery and he is no longer the same / **GE**: ა) *დედალი; ჭირში დადედლება;* ბ) proverb: *მკვდარი ლომისა კურდღელსაც არ ეშინიაო*

53. **SPU**: *Toro sabio, de <u>capas</u> no hace caso* / **L**: wise bull does not pay attention to layers / **F**: it is very difficult to deceive a person with a lot of experience / **GE**: *გამოცდილი კაცი ადვილად არ მოტყუვდებაო; თქვენი სატყუები კბილი დიდი ხანია მოვიტეხეო; ნახაფანგარი მელა ადვილად აღარ გაებმისო*

54. **SPU**: *Volver al <u>ruedo</u>* / **L**: return to the ring / **F**: return to something unfinished and finish it / **GE**: *საქმის ბოლომდე მიყვანა*

55. **SPU**: *Ya está el <u>toro en la plaza</u>* / **L**: the bull is already in the ring / **F**: a situation when it is no longer possible to step back / **GE**: *უკან დასახევი გზა მოჭრილია*

- ➤ **Apparent PUs**, where the form of the two phraseological units is similar, the rest of the factors are different, so it would be a translation mistake (Corpas Pastor, 2003, 209-210; Gutiérrez Rubio, 2016, 52; Amer Saafan, 2020, 130):

56. *Cortar orejas / Cortar las dos orejas y el rabo* – means "victory and triumph". It refers to the fact that the greatest success for a bullfighter is permission to cut off the ears of the carcass (Blažková, 2012, 61). Both ears and tail of the bull are presented only to the matador who triumphantly finishes the fight. A phrase with identical lexical composition exists in Georgian as well - *ყურების დაჭრა*, but unlike the Spanish PU, it has a negative meaning and denotes a "threat".

57. *La mano izquierda* - The good bullfighter is the one with the left hand, due to the greater difficulty in handling the crutch with it. Outside of bullfighting, it is equivalent to "diplomacy, savoir faire". It is also synonymous with *ser muy diestro* (being very skilled) and when "we face a difficult problem, without further delay", it can even be synonymous

with *coger al toro por los cuernos* (to take charge of a situation, or concede decisively to any situation) (Amorós, 1999, 300, 301). So, having a left hand is one of the few times when the left has a positive value, a value that comes from the bullfighting world (Serra, 2004, 235; De La Fuente González, 2009, 155). In Georgian, as in other languages, the word "left" has only a negative meaning, for example: *მარცხენა ფეხზე ადგომა* (to stand on the left leg), which means being in a bad mood.

- ➢ **Phrases without equivalent -** with loss of idiomatic aspect (Corpas Pastor, 2003, 245-273; Muñoz Medrano, 2016, 173):

  58. **SPU**: *Brindar un toro al sol* / **L**: to toast a bull to the sun / **F**: doing demagogic acts or things to receive easy applause. It also carries the meaning of useless or impossible actions / **Georgian translation** (**GT**): *თავის გამოჩენისა და იოლი აპლოდისმენტების მიღების მცელობა; დემაგოგია*

  59. **SPU**: *Cada toro tiene su lidia* / **L**: each bull has its fight / **F**: for each situation there is a solution, but you should never give up / **GT**: *ცხვირი არ ჩამოუშვა, ყურები არ ჩამოყარო, გამოსავალი ყოველთვის მოიძებნება*

  60. **SPU**: *Coger al toro por los cuernos* / **L**: to take the bull by the horns / **F**: take charge of a situation, or concede decisively to any situation / **GT**: *სიტუაციის კონტროლი ან თამაში გადაწყვეტილების მიღება*

  61. **SPU**: *Dar las últimas bocanadas* / **L**: giving the last puffs / **F**: to indicate that someone is in a critical situation (this expression refers to the moment of agony of the bull after having received a thrust) / **GT**: *ცუდ, კრიტიკულ სიტუაციაში ყოფნა*

  62. **SPU**: *Dejarle a uno en las astas del toro* / **L**: leaving one on the bull's horns / **F**: letting someone be subjected to a risk or a dangerous situation / **GT**: *სახიფათო სიტუაციაში მიტოვება, რისკის ქვეშ დაყენება*

  63. **SPU**: *Desde la barrera, bien torea cualquiera / Ver los toros desde la barrera / Torear desde la barrera* / **L**: from the barrier, anyone fights well / See the bulls from the barrier / Fight from the barrier / **F**: it is easy to judge something from a place where there is no danger / **GT**: *განსაჯო ვინმე ან რამე უსაფრთხო, დაცული ადგილიდან, სადაც საფრთხე არ გემუქრება*

64. **SPU**: *Entrar por la <u>puerta grande</u>* / **L**: to enter from the big door (la puerta grande is the door through which the most successful bullfighters enter) / **F**: starting to do an activity or a matter with great success / **GT**: *საქმის დიდი წარმატებით დაწყება*

65. **SPU**: *Estar de <u>capa</u> caída* / **L**: being like a dropped cape / **F**: facing a difficult situation in life or being in a state of discouragement or disappointment / **GT**: *ცხოვრების რთულ ეტაპზე ყოფნა, იმედგაცრუებული*

66. **SPU**: *Llegar al <u>último toro</u>* / **L**: to come as the last bull / **F**: to be late / **GT**: *დაგვიანება, გვიან მისვლა*

67. **SPU**: *No hay buen <u>diestro sin banderillero</u>* / **L**: there is no good bullfighter without a banderillero / **F**: working together is essential to achieve success / **GT**: *ადამიანი მარტო ვერ მიაღწევს წარმატებას, ამისთვის მას სხვების, თუნდაც მცირედი, დახმარება სჭირდება*

68. **SPU**: *Que nos coge el <u>toro</u>* / **L**: that the bull catches us / **F**: to indicate that, if our action is not fast enough or we do not hurry, we may be in some danger / **GT**: *თუ არ ვიჩქარებთ, რაიმე საფრთხის წინაშე აღმოვჩნდებით*

When it is not possible to find the equivalent of a phraseological unit, the translator may use the following methods:

➢ **Phraseological calques** - the literal translation or copy to the target text of the PU of the source text, which is understandable to the reader of the target text as a creative metaphor (Gutiérrez Rubio, 2016, 52). But unlike other languages PUs, the meaning of the Spanish phraseological unit is related to the world of bullfighting:

69. **SPU**: *La hora de la verdad* / **F**: the decisive moment, when the truth is revealed (the last moments of the bull's life are called "la hora de verdad", because the bullfighter, with the most refined art, takes the greatest risk) / **In Georgian**: *სიმართლის დრო, ჭეშმარიტების მომენტი* / **In English**: *The Moment of Truth* / In Italian: *Il momento della verità* / **In French**: *Le moment de vérité* / **In Portuguese**: *O Momento da Verdade* / **In German**: *Der Moment der Wahrheit*

A high *forehead* is a symbol of intelligence in many cultures:

70. **SPU**: *Tener una frente de plaza de toros* / **L**: to have a bullring forehead / **F**: sign of intelligence / **In Georgian**: *მაღალი შუბლი* / **In English**: *Frontal lobe / upper forehead* / **In German**: Denkerstirne

➢ **Paraphrase** - the substitution of a PU for a non-lexicalized form, with which the metaphor and/or the expressiveness of PUs is completely lost (Gutiérrez Rubio, 2016, p 52):

71. **SPU**: *Ser una mujer del <u>arte taurino</u>* / **L**: being a woman of bullfighting art / **F**: a woman capable of cuckolding her husband / **in Georgian**: *მოღალატე ქალი;*

72. **SPU**: *Para <u>torear</u> y para casarse hay que arrimarse* / **L**: To bullfight and to get married you must get close / **F**: to do some necessary things you need to know how to take risks / **in Georgian**: *გარისკვა*

➢ **Metaphorical paraphrase** – when translator adds some element in the target text that adds color to the paraphrase and the expressiveness and the metaphor of PUs is not completely lost (Gutiérrez Rubio, 2016, 52):

73. **SPU**: *Tener la sangre <u>torera</u>* / **L**: having bullfighting blood / **F**: to indicate a cheerful person, who likes to have fun / **Georgian metaphorical paraphrase:** *ჭკუამხიარული*

➢ The case of **compensation** - when the translator tries to repair the loss caused by the lack of an equivalent capable of translating a specific PU by adding another PU that did not appear in the source text (Gutiérrez Rubio, 2016, 53):

74. **SPU**: *Tirarse de cabeza al callejón* / **L**: to jump headlong into the alley / **F**: to abandon everything and flee in panic / **Compensation in Georgian**: to better convey the figurative content of the phrase, it is possible to combine two Georgian PUs: *ფარ-ხმალის დაყრა და თავქუდმოგლეჯილი გაქცევა*

➢ And finally, **omission** of PU - when the translator ignores a PU from the source text, either by mistake or because he considers that the PU does not provide new information and it is redundant (Gutiérrez Rubio, 2016, 53).

Conclusions

The bullfighting language has given rise to innumerable fixed expressions, proverbs, riddles, coplas... In the worldview formation process, language, and culture of the Spaniards, phraseological units related to the bull made a great contribution. But the bull nucleus rarely appears in the phraseology of other languages, or rather, it has no relevance since there is no bullfighting culture in

them, which makes Spanish phraseological units difficult to translate. Although there are many phraseological units related to the bull in the Georgian language, it is almost impossible to find a Georgian equivalent for the Spanish phraseology of this topic because *toro* (bull) in Spanish is not equivalent to toro in Georgian. The difficulty increases even more because we do not have any terminological or phraseological dictionaries related to the world of bullfighting in Georgian. Therefore, this research shows the necessity of creating the above-mentioned dictionaries. Lexicographers can guide the early findings of this study.

The study's findings led to the conclusion that all units using the word "toro" as their core or identifying element needed to be translated considering the semantic gap that is created when this word in Georgian does not have the cultural value present in Spanish (bullfighting). However, from the **74** Spanish phraseological units investigated in the article, an identical Georgian equivalent was found (*más furioso que un toro / ხარივით გაძრისხებული*). In addition, semi-identical and content-equivalent phraseological units are searched. The translator should pay special attention to the apparent equivalents to avoid a translation mistake, and when there are no matches for Spanish phraseological units in the Georgian language, the translator may appeal phraseological calque, paraphrase, metaphorical paraphrase, compensation, and omission.

The research of phraseological units related to the bull is still ongoing and its goal is to find even more identical phraseological units (with the bull nucleus) in both languages. This study will be of great help to linguists, translators, and Spanish language learners.

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Abbreviations:

Phraseological Unit (**PU**)

Phraseological Units (**PUs**)

Spanish phraseological unit (**SPU**)

Literal (**L**)

Figurative (**F**)

Georgian equivalent (**GE**)

Georgian translation (**GT**)