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Social Stereotype in Philip Larkin's Poetry:
A Multicultural Aspect

ABSTRACT

The article deals with the study of language representation of stereotyped images, which are essential elements of any national and cultural community and participate in forming cultural norms. The term stereotype images is considered not only cognitive and linguistic-cultural phenomena but also psychological, sociological and ethnopsycholinguistic ones. It studies the significance in the area of stereotypes within the English-language discourse and determines the peculiarities of the representation of stereotyped images in the lyrics of the poet of the 20th century P. Larkin compared to the area of stereotypes within the German-language discourse based on the peculiarities of the stereotypes representation in the poetry of E. M. Remarque as representative of different cultures, comparing and contrasting the cultural stereotype of the same period, using a multicultural approach. The research results can be used in further scientific analysis of stereotypes, methods of identifying and researching stereotypes of poetic language, in the lexicographic description of clichés and stereotypes of mass texts of English and German cultures in multicultural contexts.

Keywords: *Concept, Stereotypes, National character, Multicultural aspects, Conceptual worldview*

Introduction

Stereotype as a sociocultural phenomenon is widely used not only in the field of linguistics. The problem of studying the nature of the stereotype is interdisciplinary.

The concept of "stereotype" was first introduced by the American writer W. Lippman in 1922. Under stereotypes, W. Lippman understood certain patterns that determine the individual's philosophy of life (Fox, 2004). These statements about facts and phenomena in their own or another's ethnic group form established ideas even before the confrontation with reality. Stereotypes are ordered, schematically simplified, culturally determined "worldviews" in the human mind, saving time and intellectual resources in the socialisation and assimilation of complex phenomena of objective reality (Fox, 2004, p. 110).

Such a powerful influence of clichéd patterns on human consciousness is due to the fact that stereotypical thoughts allow the subject not only to spend the time, labour and intellectual resources rationally but also to serve as the core of our personal tradition, a way to protect our position in society. Therefore, it is not surprising that any change in understanding stereotypes is perceived as an attack on the foundations of the universe (Lippmann, 1965, p. 104-109). Emphasising the importance of the social aspect, W. Olbig defines the stereotype as a standard of attitude to any object developed by the social interaction of a particular community - a social group, workforce, etc. (Albig, 1956, p. 48).

Investigating stereotypes is a way of learning the environment in all its diversity, which helps a person create a picture of the world and expand the boundaries of his environment. Stereotypes are often used during socialisation, so they are often perceived as a real fact, that is, an objectively existing reality.

This article traces the conceptual worldview that has a direct connection with the concept of stereotype, the worldview of each nation differs from each other, and it is not surprising that these changes are expressed in both verbal and non-verbal ways.

In the paradigm of linguistic conceptualism, it is crucial to consider the relationship between related phenomena, concept and stereotype. The concept is closely related to the stereotypical national character of the language.

Stereotypes of consciousness are, first of all, a particular idea about reality or its elements from the position of everyday consciousness. However, if we proceed from this idea, it will turn out that behind any unit of language, there is a stereotype or a stereotypical image, and the entire associative-verbal network is nothing more than a "stereotype field" representing the conceptual sphere of one or another national-linguistic cultural community. Therefore, in our opinion, it is imperative to separate the concepts of "stereotype" and "concept.

A concept, unlike a stereotype, requires a higher level of abstraction and is some kind of "idea" or "concept". A stereotype is something more specific, and it is an image.

Linguists classify stereotypes according to various basis. Thus, according to the object of stereotyping, anthropostereotypes (including personality and social stereotypes) and event and object stereotypes (including material and conceptual stereotypes) are distinguished. If our research, we mainly deal with social stereotypes.

Social stereotype results from generalising the individual's personal experience and the ideas established in society. It plays an integral part in the conceptualisation of the world, as it can dramatically reduce the response of time to changing reality and accelerate cognitive efficiency (Hamilton, 1986, p. 130).

From the point of view of sociological knowledge, the social stereotype is interpreted as a stable set of ideas formed in mind both based on personal life experience and with the help of various information sources. Real objects, relations, and events are perceived through the prism of social stereotypes.

The study under review aims at researching the similarities and differences of social stereotypes in the poetry of some of the most famous authors of the twentieth century. It is assumed that the mechanism of stereotyping is associated with numerous cognitive processes, as stereotypes perform many cognitive functions. It should be noted that the conceptual understanding of the culture category is reflected in natural language. More precisely, moral culture and folk mentality are reflected in language units, first of all, with their artistic content. Some social groups understand the world because they look at it in terms of stereotypes; it finds expression and is strengthened in language through language stereotypes.

Recent research and publications. Philip Arthur Larkin is a poet whose name is invariably mentioned by critics among the greatest masters of the poetic word of postwar England. According to many critics, P. Larkin could considerably reflect the spirit and mood of his generation - the generation of the 1950s. There was and even is a term called "larkinism", which defined a set of qualities and properties inherent in postwar English poetry. The reason for the creation of the poet's poems is usually an event: a meeting, a trip around the country, or a newspaper article is, in short, everything that makes up the daily life of ordinary people. It is quite natural that such poems bear the stamp of modern English reality, manifested not only in the number of realities but also in the very spirit of poetry, authorial intonations, and assessments.

It is necessary to explore one of his poems to study the role of social stereotypes and their use as an artistic strategy. In analysing a selected poem, the linguistic commentary is a necessity rather than a means of understanding the idea of the work and noting the originality of Philip Larkin's writing.

Philip Larkin's poems cannot be described as transparent: each stanza has a certain subtext, which is gradually revealed to the reader, *"Church going"* is not an exception (Thwaite, 1986, p. 8). This poem was written in 1954 with an iambic tetrameter with the rhyme ababcadc; the poem's language is colloquial. Larkin uses many religious images and words, some are used for their intended purpose, but others are used in a way that is somewhat unusual for the church. Initially, the title can be interpreted in different ways: the act of attending church, the customs that support the church in our lives, visiting the church as a theatre or the disappearance of the church.

In the beginning, we may think that the author presents a confessional stereotype that presents not an idea of the whole community but rather of an individual, not typical of its representatives. We

see such a picture because of Larkin's religious neutrality. He perceives the church as a place for philosophy, not for worship. Larkin's religious understanding has been a common stereotypical ideal of modern religiously neutral people since the post-World War II period and continues to this day, reducing church attendance and significantly reducing the number of active believers.

The lyrical hero, represented by the author himself, convinced that the church does not hold a ritual ceremony, entered *"letting the door thud shut"*. The word *"another"* means that the poet visited some churches and used to do so, with the same carpets, seats and Bibles, looking for some difference between one and the other. The author did not have a hat, so he took off his bicycle clips to show some respect.

Next, we see a description of the church scenery, a few books (*little books* refer to biblical books or hymns), *flowers that lay from last Sunday* (now faded, so since then, no one came to throw them away), the rug, the stone, as well as the organ for music played during the service (it is small and neat, so we can conclude that the church is small or poor, but there is no dust, so there must be someone who comes there and takes care of the church).

Among all the physical things, P. Larson notices, he also experiences an *unknown silence* that prevails in space. It seems to the narrator that the church has been absent from the people for a long time. He further describes the church's construction, noting that the building has been renovated and cleaned. Having raised the chair, he imagines himself as a minister, a vicar, and a priest, demonstrating his ignorance, although he knows a lot about church interiors and the real names of church things. Then he puts his signatures on the book, throws six pence into a charity box and leaves.

This cyclist is much more aware than he imagines as he asks himself serious questions about the role of the church in general and its future in this world that seems to ignore religious traditions. A world that is becoming more secular and more materialistic.

The power associated with the church is the power it receives from the dead. Due to the long relationship with the central, vital functions of man around which the sacraments develop, this visit was not worth it. Hence, the author calls it a waste of precious time.

The poet draws attention to his ritual function when he writes, *The echoes snigger briefly*. The atmosphere of the church and the moment near the pulpit makes his comments on the end of religion more pronounced than he realises: he lacks control over his voice, so his phrase *here endeth* echoes religious beliefs and rituals, gradually losing their power. The hero speaks not only of the end of his sermon but also of the end of religion, and he will most likely be the last person to read these words in the church.

Thus, in the poem *Church going*, Larkin presents the confessional stereotype of the church,

depicting it as an old, forgotten and completely abandoned building, which is no longer perceived as a place of worship and sanctuary of religious rites in modern society, but rather as an architectural structure of past chapels.

Philip Arthur Larkin was a well-known poet in his homeland, i.e. England, but his works had been little studied abroad. It would be very expedient for our study to choose one of the most famous German writers of the twentieth century, drawing attention to a little-known aspect of his work, namely the poetic work. Using the multicultural methodology, we used the lyrics of Maria Remarque to compare and contrast the representation of social stereotypes which are taking place in the same period in Europe; using this multilingual approach, we will try to show the peculiarities of cultural differences and similarities of representatives in different European countries.

Erich Maria Remarque is the pseudonym of the famous German writer Erich Paul Remarque, who brought with him the term *lost generation*. He belonged to a group of angry young people who went through the horrors of the First World War and wrote their first books that shocked Western audiences. The complete set of Remarque's works is closely linked to his Osnabrück past and thematically a critical study of German history, thanks to which the preservation of human dignity and humanity in times of oppression, terror and war has always been at the forefront of his literary work. That is why Remarque is considered a reliable representative of *another Germany.*

Remarque's poetry is very little known to his readers and is scattered in some newspaper publications and unpublished manuscripts. The writer published his poems in his youth only out of a desire to see them published. Later, the author became interested in writing poetry only periodically, so this side of him is not properly disclosed. Nevertheless, after a long search, we found a poem that can be analysed in terms of the use of the concept of "faith" and related religious stereotypes of postwar Germany.

Thus, the poem that became relevant to our analysis is *Und wenn der sinnlos rätselvolle Reigen* ..... In this verse, we see the attitude of the lyrical hero to the world and to life, which can immediately fade. However, the author thus shows the reader that it is only an illusion that life is a theatre that talks to us constantly.

In the first stanza, we see the inner experiences of the lyrical hero, who reflects on the essence of existence. The author paints the image of a romanticised night, which absorbs all the hero's dreams, because, at that moment, the speaker cuts himself off from the world around him, delving into his own experiences and dreams. An anaphoric repetition of the adverb *"wenn"* indicates that the author lives in his world of sweet night. However, the flash on the horizon, *Und, in der Horizonte maßlos großem Geigen* returns the lyrical hero to the world of reality, and the cathedral, containing a reflection of the

world of dreams, dissolves into the darkness of real life. In this poem, we meet the concept of the cathedral, which symbolises faith in a bright future, in God's help, and in truth, it absorbs all the negativity of the environment and becomes a light in the dark.

The German dictionary entitled Deutsches Wörterbuch von Jacob Grimm und Wilhelm Grimm gives the following definition of the lexeme *der Dom - Hauptkirche*, i.e. the main church, and in the complete dictionary of the German language Duden we see a slightly broader interpretation of this concept, namely *große künstlerisch ausgestaltete, meist bischöfliche Kirche*, translated as *a large, artistically decorated, mostly episcopal church*. One way or another, the primary meaning of the noun *der Dom* is a building directly related to the church, i.e. to God and religion in general. We also see that Remarque reinforces readers' faith by calling the cathedral a container and a reflection of weather conditions, the will of God in the lines *Und Wetterleuchten glüht in Domen von Opal!* (Grimm, 2016, p. 47).

The poem's second stanza tells about how every day, each inhabitant of society wears a mask that gives them the strength to cope with the heavy burden of the world around them. In the evening, this mask falls off when the lyrical hero returns home, locks the door and can plunge into the world of dreams again and again. This is the key to the true *I* of each of us, and only in this way, according to the author, will we be able to survive all the hardships that the world is preparing for us.

The final stanza is the author's guide to readers. When we try to reach the world of dreams, spending evenings every day thinking about the world of happiness, trying to reach the sweet temptation of the *blue bird*, and hoping to catch it, the lyrical hero says that we burn our hands, that is, all the opportunities that lie ahead. Life is just an illusion; it is just a game; despite our urges to get to the desired romanticised world, we still play our part in a kind of *theatre* However, we ignore the fact that the way to achieve the goal, their goals - is victory.

Thus, in the poem of Erich Maria Remarque, we see confirmation of anthropostereotypes about the place of religion in German culture. The author shows us that despite the war and its consequences, the society of the 20th century has not lost its established traditions and tries to stay as long as possible ingrained institutions, which is manifested in the fact that despite despair, they cannot let the God out of their thoughts.

This manner of developing the poetic thought of selected writers is very characteristic of their work. Philip Larkin begins his poems by observing some of the events around him. Erich Maria Remarque speaks of his path, which must be accepted and followed, rejecting all the shackles that hold him to earthly goods.

Philip Larkin's *Church Going* and Erich Maria Remarque's *Und wenn der sinnlos rätselvolle*

Reigen... use confessional stereotype of religion that is stable in the cognitive worldview of British and German society.

As a confessional stereotype, the church reduces the time to respond to changing realities and accelerates the cognitive efficiency of individuals. It is a stable set of people's ideas symbolising religion, God, and higher powers. People come to church to get help and to pray to God. In the poems of Erich Maria Remarque, the church and faith in God do not lose their priority; however, Philip Larkin breaks this stereotyped image, simply depicting the building as an architectural structure, which the British no longer come every Sunday, do not pray in hope, but wholly reconciled with the real post-war world.

Conclusions

First of all, it should be noted that a stereotype is understood as a simplified, rigid to new information, culturally determined and emotionally colored representation of any fragment of reality (object, phenomenon, process) that lives both in individual consciousness and in the consciousness of wholes social groups.

A set of knowledge about language is sometimes referred to as a *linguistic model of the world*, in other cases - a *linguistic picture of the world* or *language as an intermediate world* in various concepts. The role of language is not just to inform. It also consists of the internal organization of language information. That is, the language associated with the national and cultural experience is expanded knowledge about the world structure.

The linguistic picture of the world consists of specific stereotypes of ethnic consciousness characteristic of this language, which are transmitted through the language of the culture formed over the centuries.

We can establish that the use of stereotypes of English and German cultures has several features. First, stereotyped images can acquire an antonymic meaning thanks to the stylistic figures used in the poems. Secondly, the worldview of a representative of the English community is partially different from the worldview of the German people. Thirdly, using a stereotype as an artistic strategy affects the reader's perception of the surrounding reality.

In the poems *Whitsun Weddings*, *The Building*, *Church Going*, *Self's the Man*, *Und wenn der sinnlos rätselvolle Reigen...*, *Ich weiß: Es gibt noch letzte Ankerketten..*, *Einsam und furchtbar still ist es um mich geworden...*, *Stufen*, *Im Nebel* there confessional ans gender stereotyoes which are typical of British and German worldview.

We have noticed the similarity of the stereotype of the behaviour of German and English

societies in their desire to distance themselves from the real world. First of all, the English seek refuge at home, behind the walls of their house, while the Germans keep their desires deep in their heads, revealing their most secret dreams only at night without outsiders, alone.

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Binding EU Studies in the Education Policy of Georgia

ABSTRACT

EU Studies are importantly developed in Georgia. Almost all universities of Georgia include the teaching of EU law or EU-related other courses within different higher educational programs. But obligatory nature of EU studies is only inserted into specialized European Studies Programs and Master Law Programs in Georgia.

It could be stressed that enlargement, empowerment and making more and more binding EU studies should be the top agenda not only on higher education but also vocational and school levels. It is especially essential after the issuing of Enlargement Package 2023 from the EU side and granting the Candidacy to Georgia.

More and deeper Europeanisation leads the process to more internalization skills, competitiveness, knowledge of EU standards and policies, comparative studies, strategic communication and dissemination. Furthermore, the EU studies could play an important role in approaching the common understanding of Georgian European way. With this regard teaching empowerment in regions and among ethnic minorities is a particular issue.

Education and science are the instruments which should bring Georgia closer towards freedom, prosperity, better European perspective and membership in the EU.

Keywords: *EU Studies, education policy, Georgia, higher education program, MA law program, ethnic minorities.*

Introduction

European Integration process, Integration strategy, Integration methods and approaches have such a nature that they should be included in all areas/sectors and all policies of Georgia. It is not enough to see the progress of European integration only in the field of education. But the education has the special assignment and impacting power to largely influence on democratization and Europeanisation actions. Thus, strengthening of EU studies into the official education policy is the fundamental tool for the development of the country and the people of Georgia.

Georgia has already entered the EU enlargement space. This is a great responsibility and increased

commitment for Georgia. It automatically affects the life of HEIs and educational policy. Today, achievement of such valuable goals as human rights, human welfare, growth of trade and production, healthy lifestyle, youth empowerment, decent work, social justice, market socialization, freedom of civil society, personal dignity, security, safety, freedom - all are related and strongly connected to competitive educational programs and education quality, serving to reach abovementioned values and outcomes. In such an era, Georgian education policy and universities are obliged to strengthen their actions and work towards EU studies and research.

The article pays attention to and discusses the current general practice in Georgia, challenges in the field of EU studies and presents the recommendations for future development.

1. EU studies in MA Law Programs in Georgia

In 2020 the National Center of the Educational Quality Enhancement elaborated and approved the document establishing the standards/criteria of law programs in Georgia (for BA law and MA law programs). The document states that one of the **learning outcomes achieved at the MA Law Program** should be the following: "a student knows about the EU law influence on Georgian Law" (*National Center for Educational Quality Enhancement* [1]).This was the first obligatory, mandatory and binding approach towards EU Studies in Georgia. So, from now on, EU studies is an Integral and uninterrupted part of education policy in MA law programs. This progress directly responds to the goal of the **Constitution of Georgia**, which states that ***"The constitutional bodies shall take all measures within the scope of their competencies to ensure the full integration of Georgia into the European Union and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization"*** (*Constitution of Georgia, 1995*[2]). Definitely, without an appropriately developed education policy, great goals could not be achieved. European studies were the subject of development at many universities in Georgia for ages, but it was not normatively established and it was not binding. Currently, envisaging obligatory teaching within MA LAW programs, is the first reformist approach and a very progressive step in the education policy of Georgia and deserves respect, appreciation and expansion.

Along with the aforementioned progress, there are certainly challenges that need to be identified and addressed:

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[1] https://old.eqe.ge/res/docs/-
%E1%83%A1%E1%83%90%E1%83%9B%E1%83%90%E1%83%A0%E1%83%97%E1%83%9A%E1%83%98%E1%83%A1%E1%83%93%E1%83
%90%E1%83%A0%E1%83%92%E1%83%9D%E1%83%91%E1%83%A0%E1%83%98%E1%83%95%E1%83%98%E1%83%9B%E1%83%90%E1
%83%AE%E1%83%90%E1%83%A1%E1%83%98%E1%83%90%E1%83%97%E1%83%94%E1%83%91%E1%83%94%E1%83%9A%E1%83%98.
pdf
[2] Consolidated version of 2020, https://matsne.gov.ge/en/document/view/30346?publication=36

The first question is: Is it enough (the abovementioned decision) for the real and deep development of EU Studies in Georgia? Bearing in mind the current progress of Georgia (based on the European Commission recommendations towards Georgia, 8 Nov, 2023), Georgia must qualitatively, quantitatively and comprehensively update and develop the integration tools in many fields. Such a commitment leads to the strengthening of education, the development of European education in various educational programs. Not only standard document for law programs should focus on EU studies, but also the rest of educational standards of other professions and education programs should include teaching about the EU and Europeanization.

Association Agreement and DCFTA[3] concluded between the EU and Georgia[4] covers all spheres of private and public relations, among the biggest parts of the AA touch market functioning rules (DCFTA). Economic convergence and legal approximation obligations go to any field - energy, trade, safety, environment, standardization, metrology, consumer, business, transport, health-care etc. So, in all professions the context of EU, Europeanization and European standards are highly needed.

Besides the development of professional, competitive skills and knowledge, education policy has the mission to raise **state-minded and progressive young people** with **civic responsibility**. With this regard the youth should be well-aware of the future development path of Georgia. The formation of solid, stable national approaches to the country's foreign and domestic policies, should be founded on **values-based learning.**

Issuing from the above-mentioned the **first recommendation is**: to elaborate legal amendments to the law on General Education, Law on Vocational Education and Law on Higher Education and establish binding approaches towards EU Studies at all levels of education. This reform will lead Georgia towards:

a) the formation of common ideas about the vision (of internal and external policies) equally in cities and regions of Georgia:

b) the development of EU studies in all professions;

c) the internalization of Georgian education system.

d) Democratization of professions and educational programs.

It was stressed above that the obligatory learning outcome in MA law program is that – student knows about the EU law's influence on Georgian law. **The second legal question is: how this outcome could be reached in MA law programs?**

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[3] DCFTA – agreement on Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area; Title IV of the Association Agreement
[4] Association Agreement between the European Union and the European Atomic Energy Community and their Member States, of the one part, and Georgia, of the other part, Official Journal of the European Union, 2014, https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/en/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:22014A0830(02)

As it is related to law programs, it means that law professors should develop a practice of implementation of this learning outcome. **There are many outstanding law professors in Georgia, but not many know EU law, legal approximation concepts, methods of law Europeanisation and Comparative practices with the EU law**. Can all law professors at the MA level deliver the knowledge in their law teaching courses in a form to achieve the obligatory learning outcome? Or there could be a single teaching course achieving this outcome?

There could be two scenarios: 1: introduction of different teaching courses in MA Law program which will develop comparative studies about EU law and Europeanisation of Georgian Law. 2: introduction of one special and binding teaching course giving deep and very specific knowledge to students about the EU law, legal approximation, instruments of Europeanisation of Georgian laws, approximation methods, among, compliance table (established at the organic law of Georgia "On Normative Acts"[5]), CJEU case law and their interpretation and application practices, Association Agreement/DCFTA and its principles of approximation. Both approaches are acceptable. For example, the practice of **the second approach is established via Jean Monnet Modules at the Gori State University[6] and the Caucasus University[7].** Here it is important to emphasize that the first book for university studies in Georgia has already been elaborated within the framework of the Jean Monnet module "*European Union, Association Agreement and Legal Approximation*" implemented by Gori State University[8].

To develop the first approach, law professionals/law academia should be aware of the EU, EU law and Legal Approximation sense. After establishing the obligatory standard, HEIs of Georgia must invest in academia's development and science-empowerment actions. Here it should be stressed that teaching EU is significantly different from teaching - the impact of EU law on Georgian law (to reach the learning outcome).

It is believed that Georgia's EU candidate status and the prospect of further membership necessitate the transformation of the country in many directions. **One of the main topics** of discussion goes to the training of qualified personnel. The solution to this problem during the transitional stage is not easy. Before the development of European integration processes, the teaching of Europe as a civilization was only relevant in the fields of history and European languages. Step-by-step it became necessary to introduce and develop a separate field of study - European studies (*Machitidze, Chelidze,*

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[5] Adopted 22.10.2009, consolidated version of 2021, https://matsne.gov.ge/en/document/view/90052?publication=34

[6] Jean Monnet Module "EU Explored in Association Agreement", Gori State University, https://www.gu.edu.ge/en/international-relations1/jean-monnet-module/about-module

[7] Jean Monnet Module "Europeanisation of Law Programs in Georgia", Caucasus University, https://cu.edu.ge/en/grant-projects/ongoing-projects/zhan-mones-proekti/eu-lp-ge

[8] *Kardava E.,* 2023, https://gu.edu.ge/uploads/other/14/14341.pdf

2019[9]]. Currently, the case is that all sectoral programs should include EU studies component.

Thus the second recommendation is: to elaborate the methodical document/book for lecturers - how to teach the EU law and EU law influence on Georgian legislation within their teaching curriculums[10]; as well as broadly support and ensure the process of training of academia in the field of EU, European Integration, EU law and Europeanisation.

There is another challenge, a very crucial thing: supporting and financing the scientific actions, research activities, training of academia, - in short, funding of science and academia. **The legitimate question is: how HEIs empower the scientific and research personnel in Georgia?** The policy of improper/excessive workload of scientists and research professors (exploitative contracts), fatigue conditions, non-motivation circumstances, law-payed wages are dominating in Georgia (It is a well-known practice in Georgia when one professor could be the academic staff of different/many universities in parallel because, a low salary, instability, payment only for teaching hours forces the professor to work in many different universities and earn a living). **Development of science Generally and in the field of EU studies cannot take place without appropriate policy and worth-based labour conditions towards professors**. When discussing the abovementioned outcome at Law Master programs (related to EU studies), the professors, should have decent conditions (closer European practices) and motivation for conducting research and new knowledge to develop their teaching courses with regard to EU law and Europeanisation of Georgian law. Nothing develops in democracy without the existence of decent terms and human labour respect. **Thus the third recommendation is:** the education policy should regulate the reasonable and humane approach to the workload of the professors/scientists (teach, research, administrative obligations); Under labor policy it should be regulated the concept of minimum decent salary; Universities should create the practice of classified approaches towards the working time; Labour relations between professors and HEIs should be stable.

2. Specialized European Studies Programs at HEIs

Before (and today) EU studies became mandatory in MA law programs, special programs in various universities were successfully operating in Georgia, namely - **European studies programs.** In these programs, the study of Europe is carried out in a broad sense and goes beyond the study of the European Union, but with the unification/harmonisation of the laws of European countries, the convergence of values, the intensification of trade relations and the significant increase in the role of the EU in world politics, the European studies programs have become more and more concentrated on

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[9] https://jlaw.tsu.ge/index.php/ijml/article/view/6601 (access 2.04.2024).
[10] Currently, this approach is included in Jean Monnet Module "Europeanisation of Law Programs in Georgia" at the Caucasus University.

the European Union. As an example there could be mentioned the European Studies Bachelor Program of the Caucasus University. Since 2008, the CU has been one of the first universities to offer the degree in European Studies. Now, the program covers and follows Europe's rapid processes of political, economic, social and cultural development, which have played a fundamental role in shaping the new-type world we live in today (Chelidze, Machitidze, Shengelia, 2019).

The European Studies educational programs use an interdisciplinary approach. The content of the program is concentrated on learning key figures, features, principles, and values of the European Union, as well as on the processes of European integration (history, enlargement, EU development programs), among, European integration processes occurring in Georgia and their synergy with the EU and the rest of the world. The interdisciplinary teaching approach provides a good opportunity to learn about Europe/EU in Georgia from different perspectives - economy, history, culture, budget support tools, political institutions, decision-making methods, actions in the neighborhood, security, energy, etc. To ensure the program's success, experiences of leading universities in EU countries are taken into account and adapted to align with current processes and changes in Europe.[11] Besides, against the backdrop of current political processes and the developments in the EU, the interest towards European Studies Program has increased, at the same time, the teaching of regions and teaching of regionalism has become in demand within the framework of this program (Machitidze, Chelidze, 2019).

When considering the strengthening of European studies at the university level, it is of the utmost importance that such programs are popular in society. Especially this questions should become sensitive at schools. Therefore, one of the obligations of universities within the framework of European Studies Programs is to fulfil the third mission - to export and share the knowledge with the broad society outside the university, especially with pupils at school. Moreover, the mission of these programs is to spread knowledge in the regions of Georgia, among ethnic minorities, and where there is little knowledge about Europe, EU and European integration. As a good example and practice could be nominated the Jean Monnet project "Triangle Effect of European Studies at Schools" (TEESS)[12], which strengthened the awareness-rising and knowledge export processes in regions of Georgia and among ethnic minorities (implemented by the Caucasus School of Humanities via the program of European Studies). It could be stressed that within this project, together with professors, students participated in knowledge-sharing actions. In this way, young people tested theoretical knowledge in practice, communicated with the public, developed skills and learnt how to talk about the EU in

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[11] https://cu.edu.ge/schoolss/csh/programs-csh/undergraduate-csh/csh-bach
[12] https://cu.edu.ge/en/grant-projects/implemented-projects/jean-monnet-projects-cu/tess-grant-project

different target groups. Additionally, students had an opportunity to improve their professional knowledge and skills in various areas of European studies, becoming stronger and competitive specialists in the field. One of the fundamental and most important results within the framework of the project was the elaboration/publication of a school manual for teachers of history and civic education "European Association Process in Georgia"[13], based on which the European Union should be taught in schools. Probably, for the first time in Georgia, the manual was translated into Armenian and Azerbaijani languages, not into Russian. The Russian language is spoken by ethnic minorities and it is often in Georgia when translation is done in Russian (Chelidze, Kardava, Bragvadze, 2020). In addition, the competition announced within the framework of the project for school pupils including ethnic minorities - How I See Europe in Georgia (written assay), was announced only in Georgian. In this way, the project not only contributed to teaching about the European Union, but also to the teaching of the state language.

In order to develop specialized European Studies Programs, some important recommendations should be met:

1. It is necessary to constantly improve and modify programs taking into account all modern innovations and changes in Europe, especially in the EU.
2. Involvement of students and graduates of programs in different actions;
3. The current practice and experience in terms of developing European studies in Georgia is highly supported by the possibilities of Erasmus+ Jean Monnet actions. It is essential to intensively use this tool. As well as expansion of students and academia participation in Erasmus+ mobility programs.
4. Enlarge the scope of teaching levels of European studies towards MA and Doctoral Levels.
5. Broaden the disciplines (teaching courses) in the program (for example towards the EU Geography, regional security etc).

Conclusions

Today, in Georgia (a candidate country for EU membership), EU studies (teaching and research on the EU and Europeanisation) should find an important and sustainable place in all qualifications and educational programs. The precedent of compulsory teaching integrated into the MA Law programs should become a good example for other university programs. It is important to note as well that EU studies should be established in Vocational and school educational programs.

Specialized European Studies programs should be strengthened and developed in Georgia. It is

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[13] https://cu.edu.ge/files/gallery/Grant%20Projects/2020/broshura-Eng-bolo%20(1).pdf

highly needed not only in Georgia as European Studies professionals/specialists are internationalized and are in demand at the EU and international levels. European Studies programs should respond to the changed circumstances, current EU policies and global requirements both in terms of employment and new knowledge-generation as well. Such specialized programs should become more interdisciplinary and expanded via different curriculums so that students learn Europe in almost all contexts (political, economic, geographical, cultural and others). It is highly recommended to develop European Studies programs at all levels of higher education as well (MA and Doctoral).

Development of European studies (in specialized or in non-directly related programs, among law programs) requires appropriate staff/professors. This gives rise to the necessity of the training of academia and scientists so that everyone (lecturers of all professions) knows the European Union and the aspects of the impact of EU law and policies on Georgian law and politics. It is advisable to encourage each teaching course with comparative studies with the EU. To approach this, it is necessary research actions' promotion by professors. It should be emphasized and stressed that universities should establish such a policy/management that scientists and academic staff are stable, relevantly remunerated and workloaded by rationally/reasonably normalized working hours, so that they have the motivation and time to explore the European Union in their disciplinary areas. This issue should become the subject of regulation under Education and Labor policies as well.

The issue of how to make binding and mandatory European Studies at all levels of education (secondary schools, vocational level and university level) should be raised as a top agenda to the level of Education Policy discussion.

Finally, with such an approach in the field of education, consolidation of generations, unity, progressive thinking, good and healthy practices of Europeanization and fixing ties between regions and the centre, between universities and schools will be formed in Georgia. In this way, the universal will of the nation - the path towards the European choice - will unite and win.

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Regarding the issue of teaching grammar for its own sake in Georgian schools

ABSTRACT

This article addresses an important issue in Georgian public schools, the problem of teaching grammar "for its own sake" when teaching Russian as a second foreign language. The state standard of Georgia requires that Russian be taught using communicative methodology. However, recent Georgian textbooks propose a series of purely grammatical tasks that violate this requirement. This article analyses the tasks proposed in the textbooks and identifies which principles of communicative methodology they disregard. Additionally, this article discusses why teachers and authors of educational resources are slow to transition toward communicative methods for teaching grammar and speaking skills development.

Keywords: Russian as a second foreign language, teaching grammar, communication method, formation of speaking skills.

Introduction

This article reviews the reasons for teaching "grammar for its own sake" while teaching Russian as a second foreign language in Georgian schools. In public schools in Georgia Russian is taught for two lessons per week, with each lesson lasting for 40 or 45 minutes. It is challenging to develop the necessary communication skills for students when devoting more than necessary time to learning grammar for its sake in the classroom. According to a survey of Georgian school teachers, teaching Russian as a second language produces unfavourable results, especially regarding the development of speaking skills. The teachers rated the results of speaking skills with the lowest score of 2 out of 4 points (Lortkipanidze, 2021, p. 1 - 2).

Given the limited hours and the possibility of having 30 students in the class, it is essential to actively use and organise tasks to reduce oral speech to automaticity. This means minimizing purely grammatical tasks and conducting them mainly in pairs.

General description of teaching Russian as a second foreign language in Georgian schools

The Georgian state standard for teaching a second foreign language emphasises the use of communicative approach. To develop educational resources, the State Standard of Georgia recommends using the "backward design" method. This method involves teaching grammar that arises from communicative needs, rather than teaching it in isolation. The teaching of grammar should be integrated with communicative goals, and lexical material should be taught alongside grammatical issues. This approach is outlined in the National Curriculum 2016 - 2024 for the Basic Level (p. 9).

Despite the Georgian State Standard requirements for a foreign language, analysis of Russian language textbooks accredited in Georgia, school lessons and various demonstration lesson plans reveal that Georgian public school teachers and authors of Georgian textbooks still mainly focus on purely grammatical tasks in the classroom. These tasks involve putting words in the correct form, writing noun endings, and other similar exercises. Typically, the students complete these exercises individually in writing, and the teacher then questions them one by one. For example, the 6th grade textbook (the second year of teaching the Russian language) includes many teaching grammar "for its own sake" tasks, but their instructions make it clear that these tasks are far from the communicative methodology requirements. None of the tasks are aimed at speech speaking skills development, nor are they close to genuine speaking situations. As a result, these tasks do not contribute much in developing students' speaking skills. In all these tasks, students have to put one or two words into the correct grammatical form, for example, Задание 1. Прочитай предложения. Найди ошибку. Запиши правильно. / Задание 2. Вставь глагол идти в нужной форме. /Задание 3. Вставь правильно глаголы идти, ехать в нужной форме. /Задание 4. Вставь правильно глаголы идти, ехать. / Задание 5. Заполни таблицу по аналогии. / Задание 6. Раскрой скобки. Вставь существительные в нужной форме. (Lortkipanidze *et al.*, VI, Workbook, 2018. P. 19 - 21).

In Georgian schools, the importance of organising tasks in pairs is not properly understood by the teachers. They use pair work sporadically, for example, in the lesson plan of teacher Ia Chkhonia dated 17.05.2018, which aims to "acquire new vocabulary and use it in practice", students perform only one task in pairs throughout the lesson, which is not sufficient to ensure their use of vocabulary in practice (Chkhonia, Model lesson plans, 2018). The same can be said about the training plans of other teachers, as they allocate only 0-5 minutes to work in pairs from the lesson time. These plans include those of Bokuchava's lesson plan from 2016 and Ruseishvili's lesson plan from 2019 (Bokuchava, lesson plan, 2016, Ruseishvili, Lesson plan, 2019).

The abundance of grammar taught "for its own sake" tasks in Georgian schools, the lack of speaking

practice and pair work are the main reasons for the deplourable situation in Georgian schools in terms of developing speaking skills in Russian as a foreign language.

Reasons for teaching grammar for its own sake in Georgian schools

This article explores the reasons why Georgian schools struggle to develop the necessary skills for foreign language speaking, particularly in oral conversation. It also looks at why teachers and modern Georgian textbooks still focus on learning grammar "for its own sake". To do this, the study analyzed Russian language school textbooks accredited in Georgia, Russian textbooks which are frequently used as additional educational resources by Georgian teachers and Russian-language (Russian and Belarusian) methodological literature.

1. One of the reasons for the teaching of grammar for its own sake in Georgia should be looked for, first of all in **the experience** of Russian language teachers and textbook authors in Georgia. In Georgia, until 2011, the Russian language was compulsory and enjoyed the status of the first foreign language. Before the collapse of the Soviet Union, Russian was taught similar to the native language, i.e. 5 - 6 lessons were allocated at school, language (grammar) and literature were taught separately and the student had a Russian-speaking environment. Therefore, the language teaching method at that time was completely different from the method that is needed today for teaching Russian as a second foreign language. The experience of teaching focused on grammar follows the teachers from the Soviet period and even today it determines the way of organizing the class by the teacher and the attitude of the authors towards the compilation of educational resources.

2. Another reason that creates a certain stereotype concerning the compilation or organization of educational resources in Georgia must be sought for in Russian textbooks, which are used more or less frequently by some school teachers as additional resources, for example: "Дорога в Россию" (Antonova *et al.,* 2009); "5 элементов" (Esmantova, 2014) and others. These textbooks advance the linguistic aspect alongside communication-oriented tasks. For example, learning grammar for its own sake involves the following types of tasks: students have to think of a question to answer, and while answering, they have to open the brackets: *«Вопрос и ответ». 1. _? (Она думает _ (муж). 2. _? Они говорят _ (работа). 3. _? Инженер спрашивает _ (проект). 4. _? Семья мечтает _ (квартира). 5. _? Эти люди говорят _ (погода), 6. _? Спортсмен рассказывает _ (чемпионат)",* etc. (Esmantova, 2014, p. 209). The following task is based on transformation: *Как можно передать эту информацию по-другому? (используйте активные конструкции) 1. Все учебные вопросы*

решаются деканом. 2. Контрольная работа будет выполняться студентами на компьютере. 3. Эта картина создавалась художником 5 лет, etc. (Antonova, 2009, p. 8).

Similarly, purely grammar-oriented tasks can be found in all Georgian textbooks of the Russian language, for example, students are expected to open brackets and correctly use the adverbial case form of nouns: *Раскрой скобки. Поставь слова в творительный падеж. 1. Моя квартира находится прямо над … (магазин). /2. На карнавал я иду с … (брат и сестра). /3. Музей находится перед … (сквер). / 4. Боты стояли за … (дверь). / 5. Моя младшая сестра очень любит хлеб с … (масло). / 6. Мы с … (друзья) завтра идём в кино, etc. (*Lortkipanidze et al., 2018, VI, Student's book, p. 52).

In the given tasks, learning the grammatical form is an end in itself, not a means. Such assignments do not comply with the requirement of the Georgian standard - the manual should be thematically constructed - using the sentences of the mentioned tasks it is impossible to compose any naturally flowing, coherent text necessary for communication on one topic, for example, it is difficult to connect such sentences in a speech situation: : *Боты стояли за … (дверь). / Моя младшая сестра очень любит хлеб с … (масло) / Музей находится перед … (сквер).* Such tasks will not lead the student to the final result - to facilitate speaking about a specific topic using the combined sentences. It should be noted that the requirement of functional teaching of grammar is also violated in this assignment taken from the Georgian textbook as it offers examples of different functions of the same case, specifically, the function of the joint action and that of place performed by the adverbial case-form, На карнавал я иду с … (брат и сестра) / Музей находится перед … (сквер).

- *На карнавал я иду с … (брат и сестра) / Музей находится перед … (сквер) .*

In relation to Russian textbooks, it should be noted that the main target group of teaching Russian as a foreign language in Russia are students of preparatory groups of higher education institutions, therefore, it is not appropriate to use the textbooks intended for this target group in a Georgian-language school. The target group of teaching Russian as a foreign language may also be represented by Russian national school students or immigrant children, that is, those students for whom, unlike Georgian students, the Russian language environment is not alien. Therefore, textbooks tailored to their needs are inappropriate for Georgian schools.

3. **Russian methodological literature** discusses various problems of teaching Russian as a foreign language in depth. The authors of Georgian school textbooks also refer to this literature, but it is not advisable to rely on these studies and methodological tips entirely while building educational

resources for Georgian schools. This is because the vast majority of Russian scientific papers or methodical textbooks are designed for senior students of higher education institutions who are learning Russian in a Russian-speaking environment.

This focus audience determines the main difference between the Russian and Georgian methodological approaches to teaching a foreign language. The difference primarily lies in the priority of teaching grammar. The Georgian standard requires the authors to build a textbook based on a communicative approach where teaching grammar is an auxiliary mandatory component.

In contrast, grammar-oriented teaching is considered important in Russian methodical literature. It is either a precursor to teaching speaking or is considered an important skill alongside speaking skills. In Russia, " the conscious-practical method is the leading method of teaching foreign languages" (Schukin, 2017, p. 87). According to this method, "students first acquire language structures, and then speaking is taught" (Schukin, 2017, p. 86). B.V. Belyaev, who introduced the conscious-practical method into Russian methodological literature, emphasises the need to teach the theoretical plane of the language first. "After providing some information about a certain theoretical issue, it is necessary to move on to speaking skills training (Belyaev, 1967, p.10). The communicative approach provided for by the state standard of Georgia requires language teaching primarily under the thematic heading, where there is no "theoretical knowledge information delivered beforehand." However, the hourly grid of the high school does not allow for this.

In recent years, there has been a growing trend towards using a communicative approach to teach Russian as a foreign language in Russia. This approach is reflected in many methodical books and textbooks, such as those written by Lebedinsky & Gerbik (2011), Chesnokova (2015) and Fedotova (2016) among others. However, due to the inflectional nature of the Russian language, some leading methodologists still prioritize the development of linguistic competence. Unfortunately, the communicative method may not always produce the desired results, especially when dealing with the intricate system of prepositions, verb tense and aspect in Russian. Therefore, the methodological research suggests the introduction of a new component - the linguistic component - to the term "communicative competencies" to improve the teaching of the language. (Kryuchkova, & Moshchinskaya, 2009, p. 21).

Regarding the stages in learning

As mentioned above, to develop the student's speaking skills, especially in the conditions of 2 lessons a week, it is important to pay great attention to the tasks necessary to automate the skills of using

grammar, which is built according to the step-by-step principle. These stages are actively discussed in modern Russian methodological literature. So, for example, N.L. Fedotova distinguishes 6 stages of formation of grammatical skill: "Stages of formation of grammar-skills: perception of typical structures (observation, analysis); imitation; substitution; transformation; reproduction and combining" (Fedotova, 2016, p.192), S.I. Lebedinsky & L.F. Gerbik also discuss these stages in the chapter "Formation of grammar skills" (Lebedinsky, & Gerbik, 2011, p. 296 - 297). i.e. Passov discusses the stages of grammar skills formation in terms of conditional-speech exercises: "Five stages - five steps. Push the student through every step toward the pinnacle called 'Grammar Skill'." […] perception, imitation, substitution, transformation, reproduction! The student will go through these five steps, perform a complex of conditional-speech exercises" (Passov, & Kuzovliova, 2010, p. 409 - 410) and others.

Grammatical tasks to be practised according to these stages also develop the speaking skills; that is why it is correct to consider them as stages of developing speaking skills, for example, N.L. Shibko rightly considers them as a preparatory stage of teaching speaking: "Exercises for teaching speaking: preparatory and speaking. [...] types of preparatory exercises: imitative, substitutional, transformational, combinational" (Shibko, 2011, p.130).

Examples of grammar-oriented teaching tasks in 2023 Georgian textbooks.

In order for Georgian public schools plan to switch to using the communicative method to teach Russian as a second foreign language, the school textbooks need to comply with the requirements of this method. One of the challenges for the authors of these educational resources is to teach grammar functionally and develop it in different speech topics, while gradually delivering the material from simple to complex. The authors of the educational resources face such a difficult task. Two 10th-grade textbooks passed state accreditation in Georgia in 2023. However, their in-depth analysis should be discussed separately in another article. I will expand on the tasks oriented on the speaking exercises offered in parallel with grammar exercises taught for its sake.   .

The latest Georgian textbooks contain graded grammar teaching tasks which are often designed to be conducted in pairs, and the instructions require students to practice them orally. This is improvement although in some of these tasks completely unrelated substitute vocabulary and instructions can be found, characteristic of grammar taught for its own sake, which can hinder effective communication and discourage students from participating. For instance, *Устно составьте диалоги. Запишите два из них.* *Образец: Печенье| песочное| бабушка. – Что ты делаешь? / – Я ем печенье. / – Какое печенье? /-*

*Песочное печенье, которое испекла бабушка. 1. **Пицца**\ итальянский ресторан. / 2. **Кафе**\ новое\ рядом\ наш парк. / 3. **Кофе**\ подарок \ подруга. / 4. **Торт** \ день рождения \ сестра. / 5. **Фильм** \ премия Оскар\ этот год. / 6. **Музыка** \ я \ записать вчера. / 7. **Платье**\ красное\ тебе понравилось. / 8. **Книга** \ я \ посоветовать \ друг.* (Barsegova, Workbook, 2023, p. 112).

In Koberidze's textbook, there are many attempts to offer speaking tasks, namely, substitution, transformation, and reproduction tasks are, in some cases, correctly constructed, although the textbook regularly returns to the self-directed teaching of grammar. For example, when teaching the use of the subordinating conjunction который in the adverbial case, the author offers nine purely grammatical exercises one following the other, for example: *„Составьте предложения по образцу. Используйте предлоги: за, перед, между, над, под. Задание выполните устно. Образец. Перед вами письменный стол/работать писатель - Перед вами стол, за которым работал писатель“. / „Восстановите предложения. Задание выполните по образцу. 1. На столе лежат старые рукописи писателя. 2.Над этими рукописями писатель работал долгими зимними вечерами. над этими старыми рукописями = над которыми 3. На столе лежат старые рукописи, над которыми писатель работал долгими зимними вечерами* (Koberidze, 2023, Student's book, p. 42 - 43, & Workbook, p. 34 - 36).

Most of the instructions for these tasks are not in any way compatible with teaching using the communicative method - they do not encourage the student to communicate, to speak. In these tasks, the content partially corresponds to the educational speaking topic (excursion to A.P. Chekhov's House-Museum), that is, the examples are completely unsuitable for the topic - (1) Нашему другу Матео подарили гитару. Об ... он мечтал с детства. (2) Нашему друга Матео gave a guitar, о ... он мечтал с детства. One of the reasons for using non-theme sentences is that the textbook while teaching the subordinating conjunction который for some reason doesn't aim to focus on the topic verbs that govern the adverbial case. This is a big disadvantage of this textbook. Here it is important to note that the given samples are artificial, completely uncharacteristic of speaking.

In addition, in 9 exercises with one type of task in which a student practices inserting one word "который" into a correct form of the adverbial case while these words are given only at the sentence level, which cannot form the student's ability to play the role of a guide in a simulated role-playing task for him/her to speak coherently in 8 - 10 sentences. Moreover, these grammatical tasks violate important principles necessary for the formation of speech, especially speaking skills:

1. Assignment instructions should be communication-oriented, encouraging speaking and for this it should not contain purely grammatical instructions.

2. The pattern according to which students should (conditionally) speak, should be natural, characteristic of the speaking situation;

3. The replacement vocabulary should not exceed the teaching speaking topic.

Teaching Russian as a foreign language in Georgian schools,using the communicative method is not easy, especially in terms of teaching grammar. Teaching grammar for its own sake in Georgian schools still remains an important problem, the main causes of which are as follows: 1) teaching, by inertia, according to the Soviet method when the Russian language was taught like the native language; 2) relying on those Russian textbooks or methodical literature that teach Russian as a foreign language using a non-communicative method; 3) relying on those Russian textbooks and methodical literature, the focus audience of which are not school students; 4) failure to take into account the fact that in Georgian schools, a total of 2 lessons a week are devoted to the second foreign language, and we do not have the time and "luxury" to teach the grammar of the Russian language on our own.

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Sociolinguistic Sexism in English Language Classroom (Biased Interpretations)

ABSTRACT

The research experiment dwells upon to study the essence of various lexical and grammatical means constituting linguistic sexism in the English language classroom and suggests specific recommendations for teaching of nonsexist style of English. The research experiment consists of case studies and tests developed by the researcher with the purpose of investigating whether and/or how linguistic sexism is problematic in teaching of the English language among Georgian students of English at university. The discussion of the literature demonstrates that the use of generic and sexist forms creates masculine gender-bias which is perceived and understood as not referring to females or to unspecified gender referents.

The experiment concretizes on the existence of various lexical and grammatical means constituting linguistic sexism in the English language, and attempted to explore whether and/or how these variables are problematic in teaching of the English language referring to the administered tests and suggests specific recommendations for teaching of nonsexist style of English. Whether grammatical gender exists in language or not, gender will be communicated through different means of practices as long as it is an appropriate social category in a language community. In Georgian, in most of the pairs of gender-marked nouns, the feminine precedes the masculine. Therefore, the subjects of the experiment were given the tasks containing the Georgian sentences and texts with pairs of gender-marked nouns, gender-unspecified forms and several other gender focused forms to translate into English.

The implementations of gender-neutralization language teaching methods might serve as a remedy for gender unequal language treatment performed in the English language classroom. Here, the role of social and linguistic factors determines the success of applying non-sexist teaching methods.

Keywords: linguistic gender interpretation; gender bias of referential order; generic pronouns; political correctness; lexical gender interpretation; sociolinguistic sexism

Introduction

The research paper dwells upon the essence of various sociolinguistic and sociocultural aspects that constitute linguistic sexism in English language classroom. There is an existing controversy concerning the fact that each particular language has its own influence on its thought and the ways of behavior of its speakers. Hence, these influences are reflected on speakers' sociolinguistic behaviors

in a foreign/second language acquisition. The current paper reveals partial research findings (pre-test results) of a doctoral dissertation experiment in a scope of sociolinguistic aspects of sexism in English language and its problems of teaching English as a foreign/second language among Georgian university students. The objectives of the experiment aimed to investigate possible sources of sexist interpretations in English, to conduct case studies to test gender bias and develop gender neutral language performances among foreign/second language speakers of English. With the respect to conducted experiments that were about to translate gender-specific tasks from Georgian into English, the techniques of content analysis and discourse analysis were employed in order to respond to research hypotheses.

The research experiment employed a qualitative research approach to ensure the validity and reliability of research findings. The research methods applied are the followings: review and analysis of existing literature on the topic and case studies in two study groups. Hence, through quantitative research approach, the experiments are conducted in control and experimental groups with the purpose to measure gender variables (e.g. generic pronouns: *he/she*; lexical gender words*: businessman, flight attendant*, etc; referential order: *ladies and gentlemen*; and other gender preferential choices) during fifteen study weeks at university.

Gender is about cultural values and limitations concerning what roles and identities are regarded to be acceptable for women and men, acknowledging something as feminine or masculine. Studies of language and gender show that meanings are originated by language, emphasizing the fact that linguistic features are not explicitly related to specific attributes such as a person's sex; hence, there are various gender ideologies that shape up daily interactions and practices that display them in a sensible manner in social settings (Litosseliti, 2013).

Method

In pursuit of understanding linguistic sexism in English, a comprehensive systematic qualitative content analysis has been carried out followed by the studies held in control and experiential groups. Sexist language use in English language classroom has been studied under the following parameters: lexical gender, gender referential order, gender-preference specification and generic pronoun usage. This section is structured around the hypotheses that the research aimed to investigate providing sufficient details for its reliability and generation.

Research Hypothesis 1: Gender Bias through Generic Pronoun Use

Data Collection: The data has been collected from 60 participants of the study through completion of task 1 in pre-test in control and experimental groups. The primary focus of the task was to translate a passage from Georgian having genderless pronouns into English having generic pronouns to detect a gender bias.

Data Analysis: The results have been analyzed to explore gender bias and its outcomes in English language classroom. Specifically, the frequencies of generic pronoun usage to assess biased gender interpretations in foreign/second language outcomes.

Research Hypothesis 2: Lexical Gender Bias (Occupational Terms)

Data Collection: After completion of task 1 in pre-test paper, the same participants have been asked to translate another Georgian passage that had a focus of occupational terms into English. The data has been collected from the completion of task 2 from both control and experimental groups.

Data Analysis: The results have been analyzed to determine whether gender bias in first language influences the interpretations in foreign/second language.

Research Hypothesis 3: Politeness and/or Referential Order Forms

Data Collection: The third part of pre-test experiment was administered among the same 60 participants of the study. The students had to translate another Georgian passage with the focus of politeness and/or referential order forms into English.

Data Analysis: The findings have been collected from both groups to determine whether the tendency of gender bias of referential order forms exists among Georgian speakers of English.

Research Hypothesis 4: Gender-preference bias

Data Collection: And the final part of pre-test paper was task 4 the essence of which lies in the following: the students were given five sentences having some occupational terms/words with multiple choice options of gender preference elements, e.g. singular third person gender pronouns or lexical gender nouns.

Data Analysis: The results have been collected and compared between both control and experimental groups to determine whether students tend to interpret gender-preference occupation/profession words based on gender stereotypical assumptions concerning occupation/profession wordings they are aware of.

Calculation

As a part of the experiment, the researcher has developed three consecutive tests (pre-test, while-test and post-test) that were administered during one academic semester among 60 students at Georgian Aviation University in Tbilisi, Georgia. Consequently, 60 sophomore and junior students of English that were divided into two study groups (the experimental and control groups) have participated to test the hypotheses of the doctoral research experiment. The subjects of both groups were allocated with a considerable amount of time to read, think and translate the Georgian passages into English with a specific instruction. The pre-test that consisted of specific gender variables generated for the research study took place during English language lectures. The assessment comprised of four types of tasks: task 1 – grammar task (focus on gender pronouns), task 2 – lexical gender task (e.g. *businessman/woman*), task 3 – politeness or referential order task (e.g. *ladies and gentlemen*), and task 4 – multiple choice task (gender-preference specification). Since the Georgian language does not possess any grammatical gender pronoun or gender-specified terms, it was up to the subjects of the experiment to identify the gender of the referent applying all sematic clues used in the text. The research hypotheses and the research findings have been analyzed and described in next section.

Analysis of Research Results

Research Hypothesis 1: Gender Bias through Generic Pronoun Use

Research findings: Based on the results obtained through the translation of the first task in both experimental and control groups the following observations have been made. In experimental group, there were twenty-three masculine cases, four cases of feminine, and three frequencies of gender-unspecified *he/she* gender pronoun references. As for control group, there were twenty-two cases of masculine gender pronoun interpretations, three cases of feminine gender pronouns, and five instances of gender-unspecified *he/she* references. Hence, referring to the interpretations gained from both groups, it can be stated that there is a slight difference among experimental and control group results in the variety of generic pronoun use, instead, there is a strong masculine interpretation reference noticed in both groups that again highlights the existence of gender bias or sexism in the English language among Georgian learners of English. Overall, task 1 results support Hypothesis 1 by demonstrating an existing masculine gender bias among Georgian learners of English through the use of generic pronouns in their language outcomes. These findings emphasize the need of developing a syllabus with a focus of generic pronoun usage in English language course.

Research Hypothesis 2: Lexical Gender Bias (Occupational Terms)

Research findings: Referring to the results obtained through the analysis of translations of the second text in pre-test paper, the following conclusions can be drawn. In the experimental group, the word *tavmjdomare(თავმჯდომარე)* was translated as *chairman* by twenty-four students, and only six of them interpreted it as *chairperson*; the word *postalioni (ფოსტალიონი)* was translated as *postman* by all members of the group, there was no single case of *mail carrier*; as for the word *masts'avlebeli (მასწავლებელი)* it was translated with feminine gender interpretation (*teacher – she*) by twenty-five students, while only five related it to masculine gender (*teacher – he*); the word *ektani (ექთანი)* was related to feminine gender by all thirty students of the group – *nurse* is *she*; the words *mdzgholi (მძღოლი)* and *mekhandzre (მეხანძრე)* were interpreted with masculine gender reference (*he*) – *fireman and driver* by all thirty subjects of the experiment.

As for the control group, the following results have been observed: the word *tavmjdomare (თავმჯდომარე)* was translated as *chairman* by 26 students, and only 4 of them interpreted it as *chairperson*; the word *postalioni (ფოსტალიონი)* was translated as *postman* by all members of the group, there was no single case of *mail carrier*; as for the word *masts'avlebeli (მასწავლებელი)* it was translated with feminine gender interpretation (*teacher – she*) by twenty-four students, while only six subjects referred it to masculine gender (*teacher – he*); the word *ektani (ექთანი)* was related to feminine gender by all thirty students of the group – *nurse* is *she*; the words *mdzgholi (მძღოლი)* and *mekhandzre (მეხანძრე)* were interpreted with masculine gender reference (*he*) – *fireman and driver* by all thirty subjects of the experiment.

The only difference in task 2 results obtained in two groups was the following: *chairman* – 26 cases, *chairperson* – 4 cases in the experimental group, while *chairman* – 24 cases, *chairperson* – 6 cases in the control group. The word *teacher* was referred as *she* 24 times, and only 6 times as *he* in the experimental group and as *she* 25 times, and only 5 times as *he* in the control group. The rest of occupational words such as *fireman, nurse, driver,* and *postman* have been interpreted in almost the same way. It can be concluded that pre-test results of task 2 are almost identical in both experimental and control groups that supports the research hypothesis 2 which states that there is a lexical gender bias in occupational terms. Lastly, if no alternatives and explanations are provided to students, then there is a rising of gender bias and gender leaning towards stereotypical features in occupational terms. These biased interpretations become a part of learners' linguistic heritage when no specific semantic clues are mentioned.

Research Hypothesis 3: Politeness and/or Referential Order Forms

Research findings: As for the Task 3 which was about politeness and/or referential order forms (*ladies and gentlemen*), the students were given another text in Georgian to be translated into English The results of the third task – politeness and/or referential order forms have been counted and summarized in the tables below.

Table 1. Pre-test Results of Task 3 Experimental Group

Pre-test Results of Task 3 Experimental Group				
ცოლ-ქმარი *tsol-kmari*	და-ძმა *da-dzma*	გოგო-ბიჭები *gogo-bich'ebi*	სიდედრ-სიმამრი *sidedr-simamri*	დედ-მამა *ded-mama*
Wife and husband – 6	Sister and brother – 21	Girls and boys – 16	Mother-in-law and father-in-law – 12	Mother and father – 16
Husband and wife – 16	Brother and sister – 2	Boys and girls – 10	Father-in-law and mother-in-law – 13	Father and mother – 7
Couple – 8	Siblings – 7	Guys – 4	Parents-in-law – 5	Parents – 7

Table 2. Pre-test Results of Task 3 Control Group

Pre-test Results of Task 3 Control Group				
ცოლ-ქმარი *tsol-kmari*	და-ძმა *da-dzma*	გოგო-ბიჭები *gogo-bich'ebi*	სიდედრ-სიმამრი *sidedr-simamri*	დედ-მამა *ded-mama*
Wife and husband – 5	Sister and brother – 20	Girls and boys – 14	Mother-in-law and father-in-law – 14	Mother and father – 16
Husband and wife – 18	Brother and sister – 3	Boys and girls – 11	Father-in-law and mother-in-law – 12	Father and mother – 8
Couple – 7	Siblings – 7	Guys – 5	Parents-in-law – 4	Parents – 6

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Table 3. Pre-test Overall Results of Politeness or Referential Order Forms

Pre-test Overall Results of Politeness or Referential Order Forms from Both Experimental and Control Groups		
	Experimental Group	**Control Group**
Feminine Referential Order	71 cases	69 cases
Masculine Referential Order	48 cases	52 cases
Neutral Form	31 cases	29 cases

According to the results gained through the translation of the third text, the following conclusions have been drawn. There were *five* focus words in the Georgian text to be translated into English. Here are the ones: ცოლ-ქმარი (*tsol-kmari*), და-ძმა (*da-dzma*), გოგო-ბიჭები (*gogo-bich'ebi*), სიდედრ-სიმამრი (*sidedr-simamri*), and დედ-მამა (*ded-mama*). Each pair of compound words was translated in different referential order: ცოლ-ქმარი (*tsol-kmari*) was translated as *wife and husband, husband and wife, couple*; და-ძმა (*da-dzma*) - *sister and brother, brother and sister*, siblings; გოგო-ბიჭები (*gogo-bich'ebi*) - *girls and boys, boys and girls, guys*; სიდედრ-სიმამრი (*sidedr-simamri*) - *mother-in-law and father-in-law, father-in-law and mother-in-law, parents-in-law*; დედ-მამა (*ded-mama*) - *mother and father, father and mother, parents*. It must be mentioned here that only few students in both groups preferred not to specify a gender reference choice, and instead, they used the words as *couple, siblings, guys, parents-in-law* or *parents*. Referring to the evidence mentioned in the tables, there is no major difference among the results of experimental and control groups. This data stands with the hypothesis 3 which states that there is a strong tendency of referring politeness and/or referential order forms either to feminine-masculine or masculine-feminine referential order with a minor frequency of applying gender unspecified terms when translating Georgian paternal/maternal genetic words in a different preferential order.

Research Hypothesis 4: Gender-preference bias

Research findings: Based on the results of task 4 obtained from the subjects of both experimental and control groups, the following conclusions must be claimed. Almost the same gender interpretation tendency was noticed to be applied for the reference of translation of random gender-preference sentences among experimental and control group students. The gender-preference sentences split in the following findings: first, the majority – 43 students refer *teacher* to a female gender, while only 9

students refer it to male gender; second, the majority of students prefer to use *flight attendant* instead of *steward* or *stewardess*: 42 cases of flight attendant, 14 cases of stewardess, and 4 cases of steward; third, almost all participants prefer to say *ladies and gentlemen* (51 cases) rather than *gentlemen and ladies* (9 cases); fourth, the reference for the word *driver* in this context seems to be split in several ways, however, still the majority (20 cases) prefer not to specify the gender of the referent by choosing an option of neutral *he/she*, 19 cases refer it to masculine gender, 17 cases show feminine reference and only 4 cases prefer to use gender-unspecified *their*; and finally, the occupation in the last sentence was not made explicit to the students, as a result, based on the semantic clue *working in the theatre* made the students decide whether they relate *work in the theatre* to the female or masculine gender: 25 students related it as work for females, 15 related it to males, however, the majority preferred to use gender-unspecified *his/her* option, and only 2 students preferred to use *their* as again gender-unspecified/neutral pronoun option.

Referring to the hypothesis 4 and the results obtained above, it can be generalized that the target students tend to interpret gender-preference occupation/profession words based on gender stereotypical assumptions concerning occupation/profession wordings they are aware of. As it was noticed, there was almost the same tendency of gender preference interpretation among both experimental and control groups. It must be stated that if no additional instructions are given to students like providing alternatives to generic interpretations, then stereotypical and sexist feature choices become more commonly used among the learners of English. It might be also mentioned here that culture might also affect a gender preference choice of occupation/profession terminology. In sum, the bias and stereotypical features are noticed to be used by the students of both experimental and control groups. The results gained in this task have been summarized in the tables below.

Table 4. Pre-test Results of Task 4 <u>Experimental Group</u>

Pre-test Results of Task 4 <u>Experimental Group</u>			
Q.1	Her – 22	His – 5	His/her – 2	Their – 1
Q. 2	Flight attendant - 20		Stewardess – 8	Steward – 2
Q. 3	Ladies and Gentlemen – 26		Gentlemen and Ladies – 4	
Q. 4	He – 10	She – 9	He/she – 10	Their – 1
Q. 5	Her – 12	Him – 7	Him/her – 10	Them – 1

Table 5. Pre-test Results of Task 4 <u>Control Group</u>

Pre-test Results of Task 4 <u>Control Group</u>			
Q.1	Her – 21	His – 4	His/her – 3	Their – 2
Q. 2	Flight attendant - 22		Stewardess – 6	Steward – 2
Q. 3	Ladies and Gentlemen – 25		Gentlemen and Ladies – 5	
Q. 4	He – 9	She – 8	He/she – 10	Their – 3
Q. 5	Her – 13	Him – 8	Him/her – 8	Them – 1

Table 6. Pre-test Overall Results of Multiple Choice of Gender-preference Task

Pre-test Overall Results of Multiple Choice of Gender-preference Task from Both Experimental and Control Groups			
Q.1	Her – 43	His – 9	His/her – 5	Their – 3
Q. 2	Flight attendant - 42		Stewardess – 14	Steward – 4
Q. 3	Ladies and Gentlemen – 51		Gentlemen and Ladies – 9	
Q. 4	He – 19	She – 17	He/she – 20	Their – 4
Q. 5	Her – 25	Him – 15	Him/her – 18	Them – 2

Conclusions

The research has shown that lexical and grammatical means constitute linguistic sexism in the English language, and in its turn analyzes whether and/or how they are problematic in English language based on the interviews and lesson observations. The discussion of the literature provides with the background knowledge of development of language and gender studies and attempts to describe the nature of sexist language and its practices.

To make reference to the findings of experiment, one must state that the role of a teacher-instruction plays a significant role in a development of gender free language environment. On top of that the more gender-unspecified terms are provided and practiced with the students during lessons, the more students tend to avoid leaning towards either masculine or feminine gender specification. To summarize, one must admit that the problem of linguistic sexism is one of the most common problems of teaching a language in a modern world. Hence, one must develop gender free language practices to teach and apply in language classroom.

A number of research analyses have shown that modeling is one of the most beneficial language practice tools, specifically in language acquisition phrase. Hence, in this research problem, modeling on language acquisition might be a considerably efficient method of implementing nonsexist language

practices. It is important to mention that the acquisition of gender neutral language practices might be theorized as a continuous process described by the application of both sexist and non-sexist language. One must state here that not only modeling a nonsexist language is enough, but also a discouragement of generic forms to be used must be mentioned and practiced. Hence, nonsexist language practices used by role models might lead students' awareness to accept gender free language forms.

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T. Tsetskhladze, *Linguopolitological Analysis of Thematical Speeches by Georgian Politicians (Ukraine Thema in Georgian Politician discourse)*

25, 2024

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Linguopolitological Analysis of Thematical Speeches by Georgian Politicians (Ukraine Thema in Georgian Politician discourse)[1]

ABSTRACT

The development of modern technologies has led to improved scientific activities. A complex use of the traditional and innovative methods of research offers broad opportunities for the analysis of topical issues from diverse viewpoints. The paper is an attempt of linguopolitological analysis of topical issues like political communication in general and the speeches of Georgian politicians in particular. Modern technologies offer the opportunity to observe the linguistic behavior of politicians. Hence, different aspects of political speech have fallen within the focus of scholars. The gender issue is among these aspects because it is extremely important to carry out the research of the dynamics of activities of female politicians and identify the linguistic peculiarities of speeches of female politicians as compared to those of male ones.

The necessity for gender research of oral Georgian political speech is due to several factors. It should be mentioned that in the past two decades the number of female members of Parliament has increased significantly in Georgia. The regulations of the 10th Parliamentary elections of Georgia in 2021 underline that 1 out of every 4 candidates in the party lists should be female.[2] Active involvement of female politicians has changed the political culture and improved the environment that used to be affected by gender stereotypes.

The aim of the paper is to implement gender research of oral Georgian political speech using a new method – linguopolitological analysis. On the one hand, this will enable complex research of the language means used in political speeches. On the other hand, the research will identify the relationship between political speeches and political processes.

Key words: *political linguistics; linguopolitological analysis, gender.*

Introduction

Political speech is an object of political science, sociology, conflictology, psychology, history and social sciences. It is also an object of linguistic research, because the linguistic behavior of politicians is studied on the basis of linguistic analysis of their speech.

[2] See Paragraph 2, Article 203 of "The Georgian Election Code".

In the beginning of the past century, the works of W. Lippmann, H. Lasswell and P. Lazarsfeld prepared grounds for a new interdisciplinary direction – **political linguistics.** This field was further developed in Armin Burkhardt's work „Politolinguistik. Versuch einer Ortsbestimmung" published in 1996. Political linguistics studies the mechanisms, strategy and technique of political communication on the language level and analyzes their influence on the society.

Political discourse is a multidisciplinary field; hence, it is an object of interdisciplinary research. In oral political speech, the lexical and structural means are selected deliberately, with the aim of obtaining and/or preserving political power. Oral political speech, as a means of influence on the society, is efficiently used by politicians as well as other people who discuss political issues. Hence, research of political speech is extremely important for the analysis of linguistic behavior and its influence on the society. It should be noted that in the process of research of political discourse, special significance is attached to extralinguistic factors such as background knowledge of the speaker and hearer, the existing political situation and so on. Therefore, as Van Dijk notes, "analysis of political discourse should not be confined to the structural peculiarities of text and speech. It is also important to take into consideration the context and its relation with the discourse structures" (Dijk, 2006, p. 377).

In Georgia, scientific analysis of political communication started in the 21st century. Currently, numerous scholarly papers in Georgian and foreign languages have been published in this field. However, political linguistics is still in the process of development and there is a need for large-scale theoretical research as well as the improvement of methods and approaches (Tandashvili, Tsetskhladze 2023).

Systemic research of the Georgian political speech, collection of empirical resources for digital research and development of technologies in this direction are implemented by **the Academy of Digital Humanities - Georgia**. With this aim, there is a publication of series **"Oral Georgian Political Discourse – A Collection of Political Texts"**. Until now, four volumes of the series have been published. They offer texts of political talk shows, speeches of MPs, pre-election speeches of members of Parliament and local governance bodies and their linguopolitological analysis.

Linguistic behaviour in general, and political speech in particular, is distinguished by a high degree of motivation. The reason for this is that the speeches of politicians, as a rule, are aimed at persuasion of the hearers, obtaining of their favourable attitude and increase of the political rating. Thus, political speeches represent a specific type of communicative act – **persuasive act** (Tandashvili, 2020, p.15). On the one hand, linguopolitological analysis of political speech aims to research the linguistic means of manipulation used by politicians. On the other hand, it aims to identify the linguistic peculiarities

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of political speech and create their language profile. The methodological framework of linguopolitological analysis has been successfully used recently for the analysis of political platforms and pre-election debates on the media (Khakhutaishvili 2022, Tsetskhladze 2022, Tandashvili 2022).

According to Burkhardt, political language includes not only the language used by politicians in specific situations, but also a) the language used when expressing one's opinion regarding politics in printed media or oral speech (in the election period, at demonstrations, during a political crisis etc.) and b) the speech used in political media (talk shows, debates, political statements and so on) (Burkhardt, 1996, p. 81). Based on linguopolitological analysis, the paper focuses on the media speeches of Georgian politicians made in 2022 regarding the theme of Ukraine. The theme of Ukraine was selected due to the topicality of the issue. We have also taken into account gender balance. Hence, we have selected two male and two female Georgian politicians: Giorgi Gakharia, Giga Bokeria, Eka Kherkheulidze and Tina Khidasheli.

Gender-based research of oral Georgian political speech is conditioned by the fact that in the past two decades the number of female MPs has increased significantly. The regulation of the 10th Parliamentary elections in 2021 underlines that one of every four candidates in the party lists should be female. Thus, the number of female politicians has increased. Nowadays they play an important role in Georgian politics. Therefore, it is necessary to research the gender peculiarities of the Georgian political speech. Research has proved that the differences in the speeches of male and female politicians, as well as differences in the speeches of the representatives of the governing party and the opposition, underline the significance of gender and political position in the research of political speech. The above-mentioned factors influence not only the selection of linguistic and rhetorical strategies, but also the involvement and persuasion of the audience by the speakers (Tsetskhladze, Kamarauli 2024, p.193).

Methodology

The research is based on the traditional methods (statistical, quantitative and qualitative analyses of the empirical data) and theoretical approach, as well as corpus linguistic analysis of the empirical material (linguopolitological analysis) aimed at systemic processing of the resources.

The selection of texts was, above all, based on the balance of political orientation and gender. We have equally analyzed the texts of the representatives of the governing party and the opposition, male and female politicians. With the aim of balanced content, we have selected thematically similar resources.

Outcomes and Arguments

1.1. Quantitative Analysis

In order to implement quantitative analysis, we have applied the method of automatic processing of the text, namely, indexation program KWIC[3], which enables efficient research of the contextual meanings of words and the token-type ratio in the text (TTR), the frequency of usage of parts of speech (nouns, verbs, pronouns and adjectives) and functional elements.

1.1.1. Token-Type Ratio

A token "is the smallest constituent element of the corpus. In traditional linguistics, its correlate term is a "word-form". **A type** is "a unit of corpus linguistics used for statistical purposes and, as a rule, equal to n-token" (Tandashvili, Kamarauli, 202, p.125).

Token-Type-Ratio is a ratio between the number of words and the number of types. High index of the token-type ratio means that the speaker uses diverse lexical units. Low ratio means that the speaker has poor vocabulary and often repeats the same words and phrases.

Table1. The statistics of TTR in the speech of selected politicians

	Token	Type	TTR
Giga Bokeria	1226	652	0.53%
Gioegi Gakharia	3669	1401	0.38%
Tina Khidasheli	1550	807	0.52%
Eka Kherkheulidze	925	474	0.51%

As the statistics of TTR in the Table above has proved, in Giga Bokeria's speech, there are 1226 tokens and 652 types, TTR index is 0,53 %; in Giorgi Gakharia's speech, there are 3669 tokens and 1401 types, and TTR comprises 0,38 %; in Tina Khidasheli's speech, there are 1550 tokens and 807 types, hence, the TTR is 0, 53%; in Eka Kherkheulidze's speech, there are 925 tokens and 474 types, whereas the TTR comprises 0,51 %. Based on this statistics, we have revealed the peculiarities of speech of the selected politicians. In particular, high index of TTR points to ample information, diversity of themes (topics) and lexical diversity, while low index of TTR points to dominant style of speech and frequent usage of forms belonging to the informal style.

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[3] http://nuchs-corpus.japanwest.cloudapp.azure.com/kwic/.

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1.1.2. Functional Elements

In the process of statistical analysis of political speech, it is important to define the ratio of lexical and functional elements.

A functional element is a unit devoid of lexical meaning. In general, such elements are frequently used in the text. The ratio of functional elements and lexical elements in the analysed texts is statistically different. High ratio of functional elements points to poor vocabulary, lack of clarity and excessive expressiveness of the speaker. The table provides statistical data regarding 5 most frequently used functional elements in the speeches of the selected politicians.

Table 2. The Statistics of Functional Elements

	Giga Bokeria	**Giorgi Gakharia**	**Tina Khidasheli**	**Eka Kherkheulidze**
Token	1226	3669	1550	925
Functional elements	and (55)	and (143)	and (55)	that (40)
	that (43)	that (126)	that (51)	and (34)
	No/not (33)	No/not/neither (101)	No/not (41)	No/not/neither (29)
	yes (19)	here (31)	If/ in case (11)	because (14)
	or (10)	if (18)	or (6)	here (5)
∑	160	419	164	122

As the data in the Table above have proved, politicians frequently use the functional elements: **and, that, no/not**. Giga Bokeria, Giorgi Gakharia and Tina Khidasheli use the word **and** most frequently. Eka Kherkheulidze uses **that** more frequently than **and** or other functional elements. The functional element **that** is dominant in the speech of other politicians as well. This is due to the fact that politicians often use explanatory sentences. It is also interesting to note the frequent use of the functional element **no/not,** which is amply found in the speeches of both male and female politicians.

Statistical data have proved that politicians use the particle არ **(not)** more frequently than the particle ვერ **(can't)**. In Tina Khidasheli's speech, the particle არ **(not)** is used 37 times, whereas ვერ **(can't)** is used only 3 times. In Eka Kherkheulidze's speech, the particle არ **(not)** is used 24 times, whereas ვერ **(can't)** is used only once. As for the male politicians, Giorgi Gakharia uses the particle არ (not) 81 times and ვერ **(can't)** only 11 times. Giga Bokeria mentions the particle არ **(not)** 23 times

and ვერ **(can't)** only 3 times.

We have also analyzed the frequency of use of the particles არ **(not)**/ვერ **(can't)** with verbs. In Giorgi Gakharia's speech, the particle არ **(not)** is found together with the modal particle უნდა **(must)** 11 times, and, in each concrete example, it is used for urging the hearer: არ უნდა მივცეთ **(we must not give)**, არ უნდა იყოს **(there must not be)**, არ უნდა დავგვავიწყდეს **(we must not forget)...**

For instance:

(1) **We must not** let anyone involve us in the war...

(2) **We must not** let anyone isolate Georgia.

(3) Our unity is of supreme importance, and the citizens of Georgia **must not** forget this...

The modal verb შეიძლება, **expressing permission** is often used with the particle არ **(not).** This combination is found 5 times in Gakharia's text in the meaning of prohibition or criticism:

(4) **We cannot allow** such degree of opposition and heat; we should not apply to protest march because our enemy is waiting for this.

(5) No, today it is impossible, today, when there are critical problems of security, economy, I don't know, problems of identity and independence, **we cannot allow** everything to turn around Misha Saakashvili.

(6) Oh, come on, people, **we cannot allow this**.

The use of the particle ვერ **(can't)** with the verbs in the future tense expresses either forecast or evaluation:

(7) The government based on authoritarian principle **can't** become part of the European family;

(8) They permanently try to prove that we are a small nation. We should be quiet, we are an object of politics and we **can't** become a subject.

In Giga Bokeria's speech, the particle არ **(not)** is used 26 times. In most cases (4 times), this particle is used with an auxiliary verb and expresses assumption, prediction or fact.

Assumption, prediction:

(9) **It is not** excluded in conditions of such dictatorship as Putin's that one failure will destroy the entire system;

Fact:

(10) **This is not** just a guarantee or a legal obligation, it is a fact that any regime in Russia is threatened by physical annihilation...

(11) If you observe their propaganda, it **is not hidden;**

(12) It is a fact that he has failed. This **is not just my conclusion.**

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Bokeria uses the particle ვერ **(can't)** only three times, expressing either evaluation or fact:

(13)   This is a dangerous Empire of Evil, led by an insane person. **I can't** predict when he decides to implement another aggressive act against Ukraine and its people, against the free world. I have no data regarding this;

(14)   I assume that they may say: there have been declarations, but they **can't protect** Ukraine;

(15)   It will be wonderful, it will be great, but, as a citizen and politician, **I can't rely on this,** and I should not.

In Tina Khidasheli's interview, the particle არ **(not)** is used 40 times. This particle is used with the modal particle უნდა **(must)** three times, expressing urging or evaluation (contrast):

(16)   We **must not forget** a very important element permanently mentioned by President Zelensky, the negotiators, the Minister of Foreign Affairs and everyone else;

(17)   With regard to the attack on Ukraine, **we must not forget** complete armament, military forces and the closing of the sky;

(18)   In fact, **I must not** talk about this in your program. Instead of me, the Foreign Minister should be sitting here.

Fact:

(19)   There **are not any people thinking** about the Czech Republic, Hungary or Slovakia**;**

(20)   He **does not do** anything else...

Prediction, assumption:

(21)   This **will not be enough** for the decrease or termination of sanctions;

(22)   I am absolutely confident that, until the last moment, when the army is withdrawn, the territories in question **will not be returned, if this is not ensured** on the legal level.

The particle ვერ **(can't)** is used three times, expressing either facts or forecast:

(23)   Due to the problem of Crimea, which was so hard for Turkey to digest, or Turkey still **can't digest**;

(24)   Naturally, there **can't be** any agreement unless Russia retreats;

(25)   They **can't understand** that at least half a million citizens of this country have been refused.

In Eka Kherkheulidze's speech, the particle არ **(not)** is found 24 times, mostly expressing concrete facts and events and containing evaluation:

(26)   **I do not know** the thoughts of the Georgian government, because **we do not know** the position of the Georgian authorities. I do not know who they support in this war;

(27)   The ambitions of the Russian army and the interests of the Kremlin were completely different. On the 34th day, he decided to withdraw the troops from Kiev. I think, this agreement is very important. It is unclear whether or not Russia will stick to this agreement, because there **is not** any experience regarding betrayal;

(28)   Whoever is interested in the future of our country should also be interested in Georgia's position. However, Georgia **does not have a position,** nobody can say for certain, what is Georgia's position today...

The particle ვერ **(can't)** is used only once:

(29)   Georgia's current position **can't be distinguished** clearly...

The analysis of frequency of functional elements points to different styles of speech of male and female politicians and the use of different strategies of influencing the audience. Statistical analysis of functional elements, in particular, the particles ვერ **(can't)**/არა **(no)**/არ **(not)** has proved that politicians use the particle ვერ **(can't)** very rarely. This points to their political behaviour. The particle ვერ **(can't)** is used to denote the absence of ability. Politicians find it hard to admit their inability. Therefore, they avoid using such functional elements.

In addition to the functional elements, we have analyzed the length of sentences used by politicians. Research has proved[4] that the average length of sentences used by politicians in their speeches is different, namely: Giga Bokeria - 20.8; Giorgi Gakharia - 19.0; Tina Khidasheli - 23.9, and Eka Kherkheulidze - 19.0. This difference points to the differences in the culture of political speech and peculiarities of the speakers.

2.1. Frequency of Use of Lexical Units

Out of lexical units, we have selected verbs and nouns. Besides, we have analyzed the frequency of use of the pronouns "I' and "my".

2.1.1 Frequently Used Verbs

Both in written and oral political speech, verbs perform specific functions and serve specific aims. In this regard, of special interest is the use of the verb **"to be"** by male and female politicians. As a rule, members of the opposition often use the verb-form **"is".** In our research, both male and female

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[4] The material has been analyzed using Voyant – a tool for the statistical analysis of the text.

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politicians make the most frequent use of the verbs **"to be"** and **"to say"**.

Table 3. Index of most frequently used verbs

Giga Bokeria	Giorgi Gakharia	Tina Khidasheli	Eka Kherkheulidze
is 12	is 42	is 17	is 20
Will be 11	happens 19	say 9	say 8
say 4	say 15	talk 7	was 7
thank 2	move 6	are 5	negotiate 2
press 2	talk 3	thank 2	agree 2

2.1.2. Frequently Used Nouns

The selected politicians frequently use the following nouns:

Giga Bokeria: Ukraine (8), Putin (8), evil (4), danger (4), authority (4), guarantee (3), Europe (3), failure (3), propaganda (3), bloodshed (3), armament (3), Georgia (3).

Giorgi Gakharia: Georgia (32), government (27), country (13), security (9), problem (7), Giorgi (7), Ukraine (7), plan (6), choice (6), right (6).

Tina Khidasheli: America (6), Minister (5), Ukraine (4), country (4), NATO (3), President (3), Inga (3).

Eka Kherkheulidze: position (12), Georgia (10), authority (6), day (5), human (4), country (2), government (2).

Analysis of the empirical data shows that Giorgi Gakharia and Tina Khidasheli frequently use proper names (Gakharia: Giorgi – 7 times; Khidasheli: Inga – 3 times) referring to their interviewers. This means that the relation between the respondent and the journalist is informal. This is a widespread form of linguistic communicative strategy and it is considered as a means of manipulation.

Besides, it should be noted that all the four politicians speak about Ukraine, therefore, they often mention this country and the nouns related to war. Giga Bokeria uses the words "Ukraine" and "Putin" with equal frequency. He also uses equal number of the following words: evil, danger, authority, guarantee, Europe, failure, propaganda, bloodshed, armament and Georgia. In his interview, he expresses empathy towards the events in Ukraine. This is proved by the frequently used lexical units. Putin, evil, danger, bloodshed, propaganda and failure are nouns of negative connotation used by the politician with regard to the Russian regime.

Giorgi Gakharia's position differs from that of other politicians. He tries to analyze the situation subsequently and be neutral in his evaluation of both positive and negative events related to the discussed issue. When he talks about the war, he frequently uses the following nouns: Georgia, government, country. With almost equal frequency, he uses the nouns: security, problem, Ukraine, plan, choice and right. In this way, he expresses his position and opinion. One of the peculiarities of Gakharia's speech is frequent usage of proper nouns (he often mentions "Giorgi" when he addresses the interviewer). This is a strategy of expression of informal relationship with the addressee. This strategy is not applied by Giga Bokeria or Eka Kherkheulidze. Tina Khidasheli does apply this strategy, but very rarely.

As for the speeches of Tina Khidasheli and Eka Kherkheulidze, statistics has proved that they focus on foreign policy; hence, they often use the nouns: America, NATO, position.

2.1.3. Pronouns "I' and "my"

Table 4. Pronouns "I' and "my"

	Giga Bokeria	Giorgi Gakharia	Tina Khidasheli	Eka Kherkheulidze
Token	1226	3669	1550	925
I	13	61	7	11
My	5	30	2	1

Analysis of the data has proved that the male politicians use the pronoun "I" more frequently than the female ones. This must be due to the focus on their own opinion and dominant personal positions, firmness in their speech and influence on the audience. Giorgi Gakharia uses the pronoun "I" most frequently - 61 times; Giga Bokeria – 13 times, Eka Kherkheulidze – 11 times, and Tina Khidasheli – 7 times. It should be noted that the selected female politicians rarely use the pronoun "my"**.** Tina Khidasheli uses it only twice, and Eka Kherkheulidze uses it only once. As it seems, in their interviews, the female politicians do not express their own positions and strategies. In this way, they establish simple and direct communication with the audience and try to achieve emotional impact. In the speeches of the female politicians, the pronouns "I' and "my" are quite rare. This is sign of objectivity or lack of egocentricity.

Below are given examples of the use of the pronouns **I** and **My** by each of the selected politicians:

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Giga Bokeria

- **I - 11 examples:**
  - I don't think so;
  - I can't make a forecast;
  - I am saying this on my part;
  - I assume;
  - I know;
  - I am not accusing;
  - I quote;
  - I am not blaming;
  - I am afraid so, and it will be great if I am mistaken.

- **My - 4 examples:**
  - It is not my conclusion;
  - I am saying this on my part;
  - In my opinion, this is very important;
  - In my opinion, it can mean...

Tina Khidasheli

- **I - 6 examples:**
  - I can see that it is difficult;
  - I should not be talking about this in your program;
  - If I were in the government;
  - I have always supported;
  - I am of the opinion that…;
  - I am filled with hope.

- **My - 2 examples:**
  - In my opinion, there are several important issues;
  - Despite my great respect.

Eka Kherkheulidze

- **I - 6 examples:**

o I think, his analysis is very important;

o I don't understand;

o I think, this agreement is very important;

o I don't know what the Georgian government thinks;

o I really don't know. I am expressing my position;

o I mean victory from the political viewpoint.

- **My - 1 example:**

o This is my sincere attitude.

Giorgi Gakharia

- **I – 15 examples:**

o What I have said;

o I can;

o I want to tell you one thing;

o I will enumerate;

o I can't find a proper word for this;

o In conclusion, I would like to mention;

o I would like to ask you.

- **We - 10 examples:**

o We watch;

o We do not communicate;

o We should understand;

o We have paid the price with our own blood;

o We are told;

o We should be aware of the fact;

o We cannot move forward;

o Look here, we should distinguish;

o We all communicate with our European colleagues;

o We should do our best.

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3.   Visualization - Voyant

Voyant Tools[5] is a tool for processing linguistic data. It "is a tool for online statistical analysis of the text and visualization" (Khalvashi, 2018, p.128). This tool enables analyze texts from different viewpoints. As a result of statistical analysis of the text, it can interpret the supplied text based on various parameters.
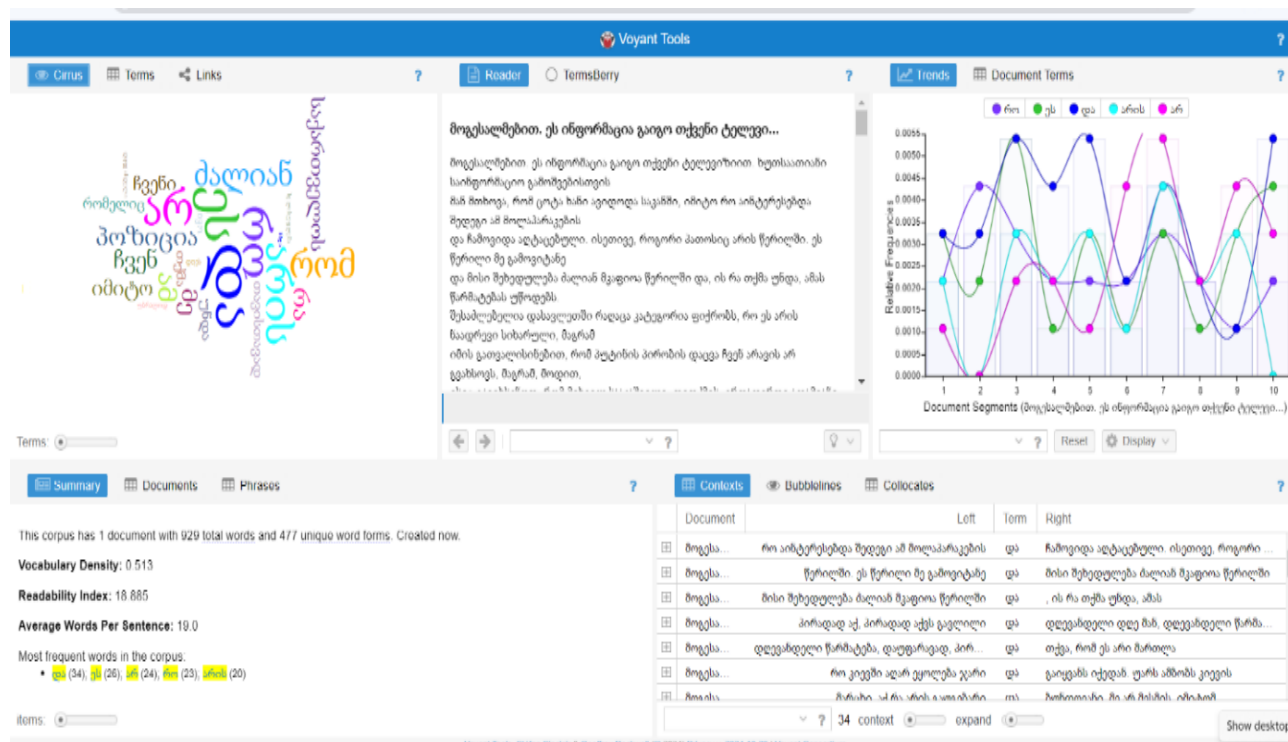
Picture 1. Giga Bokeria
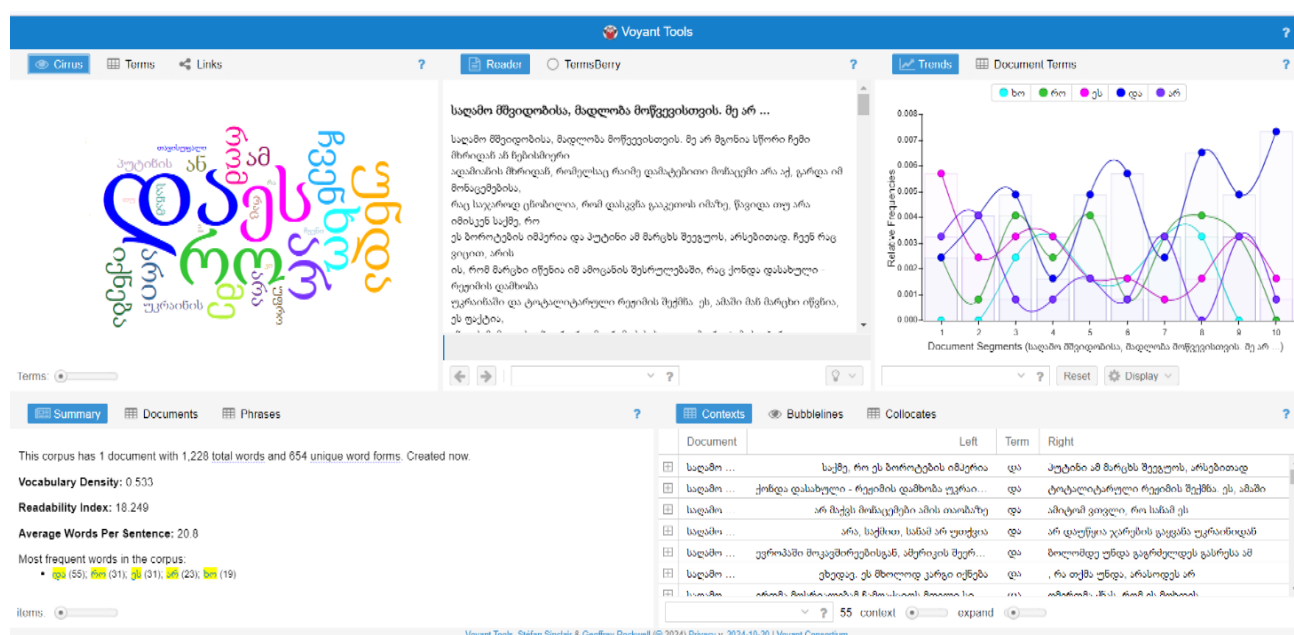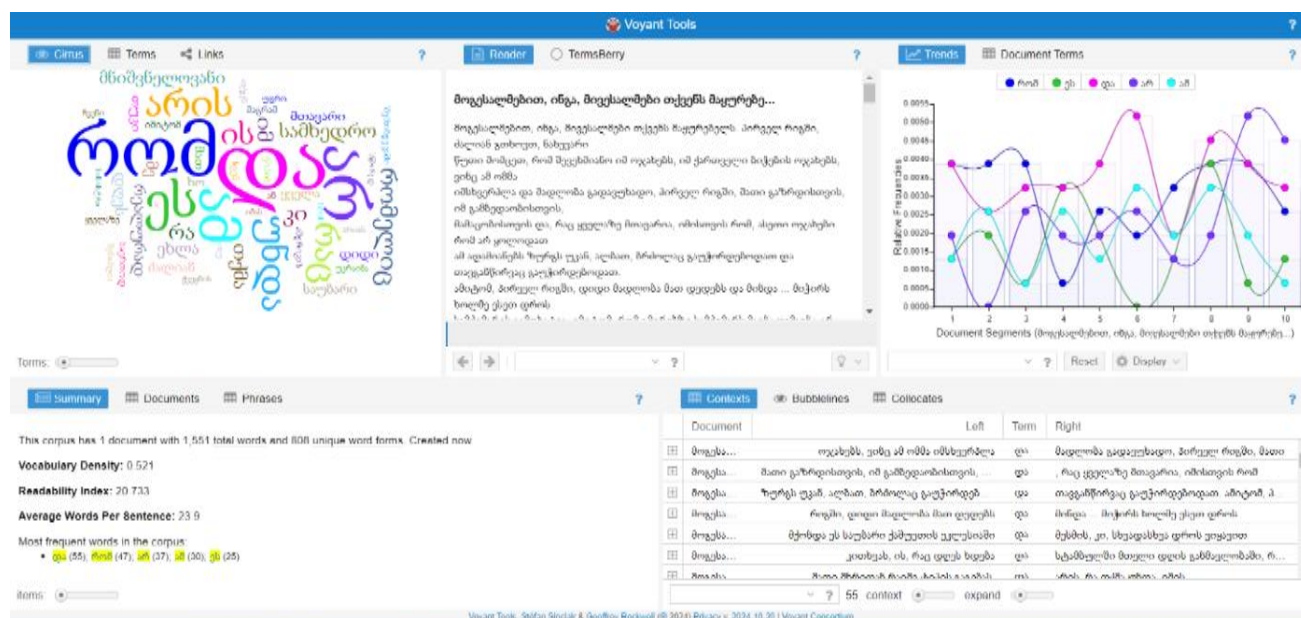

Picture 2. Giorgi Gakharia
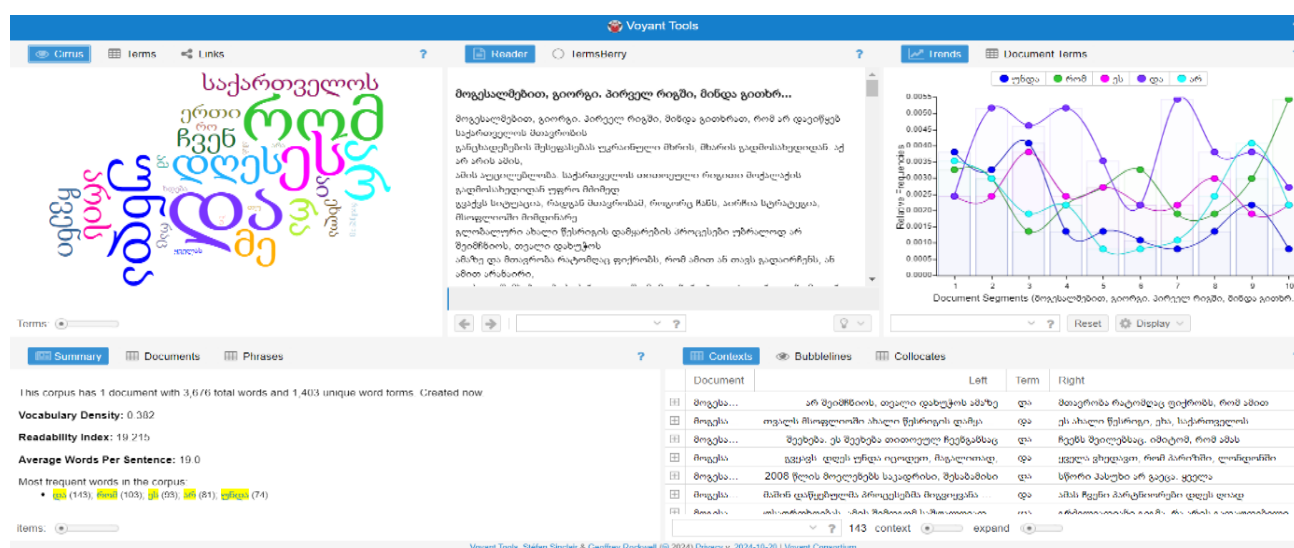
Picture 3. Eka Kherkheulidze

Picture 4. Tina Khidasheli

Analysis has proved that the index of reading of sentences differs among the male and female politicians, namely, Giga Bokeria - 18.2; Giorgi Gakharia - 19.2; Eka Kherkheulidze - 18.8, Tina Khidasheli - 20.7.

As for the density of the sentence, there is a notable difference. In case of Giorgi Gakharia, it is 0.3, in case of Giga Bokeria, it is 0.5, while the statistical data regarding the female politicians are

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equal. In both cases, they comprise 0.5. The low index of reading of sentences and a large number of short sentences in the speeches of the male politicians point to their style of communication: they prefer their speeches to be clear and comprehensible.

The differences in the speeches of the male and female politicians have proved the importance of gender and political position in the process of linguistic analysis. These factors prove that politicians attach priority to the involvement of the society and persuasion of the audience.

Conclusion

Thus, based on the empirical data, we can conclude that there are significant differences in the speech of the male and female politicians. These differences are caused by gender, the discussed themes and political orientation. Female politicians mostly use short, laconic sentences in an attempt to express their opinions clearly and vividly. Male politicians prefer more complex constructions. Besides, they often use first person singular pronouns for the purpose of personalization; they focus on personal abilities and attempt to establish personal contacts.

Frequent usage of first person pronouns by male politicians (Gakharia - 25, Bokeria - 15) is caused by their wish to establish personal relations with the audience. Low statistics of usage of first person pronouns by the female politicians (Khidasheli - 8, Kherkheulidze - 7) points to collectiveness and lack of egocentrism. This is a kind of strategy and their style of communication.

Unlike the male politicians, female politicians avoid words of negative connotation. Besides, the female politicians ground their arguments on present-day facts and events. Their criticism also refers to the current period. However, the male politicians often criticize the existing situation and focus on future improvements. This might be a marker of their speech strategy.

Lastly, it should be mentioned that the discourse of representatives of various professions differs in structure, content and goals. Besides, the differences in the discourse are due to the differences in the target audience. Therefore, when analyzing any professional discourse, especially the discourse of politicians, we should take into account the background knowledge of the speaker and hearer, the common cultural space, the existing political situation and other factors.

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Program tools used: KWIC. Voyant.

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The English Semantic Correlates of the Georgian Conditional-Resultative Constructions [1]

ABSTRACT

The mechanism of conditional-resultative construction is defined by the correspondence between the verb mood and the subordinating conjunction. The paper analyzes three types of hypotactic constructions in Georgian and their semantic correlates in English. The aim is to identify the similarities and differences between the two languages. The comparative theoretical analysis of the Georgian-English empirical material is of practical value as well: the research outcomes are interesting and useful for translator-linguists, language teachers and students.

Keywords: *Georgian, English, Hypotactic construction, Conditional-Resultative Constructions*

Introduction

The Kartvelian (resp. South Caucasian) group embraces four languages, out of which Georgian is literary, whereas Megrelian, Laz and Svan are non-written languages. Megrelian, Laz and Svan languages are linguistically independent language systems, yet, from the viewpoint of their sociolinguistic function, they are considered as dialects.

One of the important means of formulation and transfer of information is the relation between condition and result. Such contexts are found in every language, although each language expresses them differently.

2. The structure of conditional-resultative construction

Conditional-resultative hypotactic constructions consist of two components – main and subordinate clauses; the condition is given in the subordinate clause, the predicate of which represents the action which serves as a precondition for the fulfillment of the second action. The condition is

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followed by the result, which is given in the main clause and takes place if the corresponding condition is fulfilled (Shanidze,1980, 208-209; Kvachadze, 1988,390).

The structure of conditional-resultative construction is fixed: subordinate clause + main clause. The initial position of the subordinate clause is essential. However, in some rare cases, especially in the language of poetry, the order might be reversed: the main clause + the subordinate clause.

3. On the Understanding of the Semantics of the Conditional-Resultative Hypotactic Construction

The conditional-resultative hypotactic construction has many peculiarities, including the semantic relation between the components which defines the entire semantics of the construction. On the material of the Georgian language, this issue has been discussed in several regards, namely, the conditional-resultative hypotactic constructionhas been evaluated based on the following:

1. The conditional sentences expressing real and unreal actions (Hewitt, 1987).
2. Evidentiality (Kurdadze et al 2018; Kurdadze et al 2019, 66-72; Margiani et al 2019, 194-202; 381-395).
3. The affirmative and negative condition-result (Shanidze, 1980, 209; Lomia & Chumburidze, 2018,13-19; Kurdadze et al 2022, 258-263; 400-407).

   - The semantics of conditional clauses has been differentiated because they denote either real or unreal actions. Such semantic division is expressed by the conjunctions rom "that" and tu "if": tu "if" forms a real conditional clause, whether, rom "that" forms an unreal one (Hewitt, 1987, 73).

   - Analysis of the conditional-resultative complex sentence from the viewpoint of evidentiality is justified because all the conditions are of epistemic modality, while the results are of diverse semantics. The semantic diversity is defined based on the logical relation between the condition and the result. This relation can be based on the speaker's background knowledge or perceptive facts (Kurdadze et al, 2018; Kurdadze et al, 2019, 66-72; Margiani et al,2019, 194-202; 381-395).

   - Akaki Shanidze was the first scholar who distinguished conditional and resultative mood in Georgian. He analyzed two contexts of different semantics:
     a. When the condition is expressed by a verb in the negative and the result is positive, the final result (resp. The meaning of the entire sentence) is positive.
     b. When the condition is expressed by the affirmative verb and the result is negative, the final result (resp. the semantics of the entire sentence) is negative (Shanidze, 1980, 209).

Further research of the issue has proved that the predicates of the conditional-resultative hypotactic constructions express condition and result within a single sentence based on a mutual relation. Similarly to the two above-mentioned cases, two additional contexts have been distinguished:

      c. When both the condition and the result are expressed by negative verb-forms, their conceptual relation yields a positive final result i.e. the semantics of the entire sentence is positive.

      d. If both the condition and the result are expressed by the verbs in the affirmative form, their conceptual relation yields a negative final result i.e. the semantics of the entire sentence is negative.

In-depth research has focused not only on the affirmative-negative forms of the components expressing the condition and the result, but also on their analysis based on the categories of tense and mood (Lomia&Chumburidze, 2018, 13-19; Kurdadze e tal, 2022, 258-263; 400-407).

4. The Means of Connection in the Conditional-Resultative Hypotactic Construction and the Issue of Correspondence with the Predicate

The conditional clause is connected to the main clause by means of a subordinating conjunction. There are numerous such conjunctions in the literary Georgian languagetu "if",

      tuk'i "if", uk'uetu "if", rom "that", tu rom "if", torem "otherwise", rodesac "when", oγond "but", oγondki "if only". Out of these, the most widespread ones are **rom** "that" and **tu** "if"[2].

In the conditional-resultative hypotactic construction, the conjunction rom "that"corresponds to the subjunctive mood, whereas the conjunctiontu "if" corresponds to the indicative mood (Dzidziguri, 1973,272)3. In some rare cases, the verb with the conjunctiontu "if" may be found in the subjunctive mood (ibid:272). On the early stage of development of the literary Georgian language, the conjunctiontu "if" was more frequent in the conditional-resultative hypotactic construction than the conjunctionrom "that". This was due to the fact that the conjunctiontu "if" also expressed the meaning of rom "that" (Kiziria,1956,154). Such alteration of the above-mentioned conjunctions has been also noted by Akaki Shanidze in his work dedicated to the language of George the Hagiorite[4] (Shanidze, 1946,154).

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[2] Other complex conjunctions with particles express not only condition and result, but also other semantic nuances. Therefore, we will not discuss them in this research.

[3] Later, this opinion was proved by G. Hewitt's research (Hewitt, 1987,73); see the arguments above.

[4] Here we mean the language of the work written by George the Hagiorite ("The Life of John and Euthymius"). George the Hagiorite, also known as George the Atonite,was a 11th century Georgian religious and public figure, writer, translator, promoter of the Georgian national culture, Hegumen of the Ivirus Monastery on mount Athos in Greece; he is also buried

It is interesting to find out the semantic difference between the conditional sentences containing the conjunctionsrom "that" and tu "if". According to H. Vogt, the predicate with the conjunction rom "that" introduces a hypothetical proposition, whereas the verb in the indicative mood with the conjunction tu "if" expresses the condition necessary for achieving the result expressed in the main clause. The scholar also notes an interesting detail: when the conjunctiontu "if" is followed by a verb in the subjunctive mood, the meaning of the subordinate clause is close to the subordinate clause with the conjunctionrom "that"(Vogt, 1971, 209-210).

5. The Constructions under Analysis: Georgian-English Correlates

As was mentioned above, the mechanism of conditional-resultative construction is defined by the correspondence between the verb mood and the subordinating conjunction. The paper analyzes three types of hypotactic constructions in Georgian and their semantic correlates in English. The aim is to identify the similarities and differences between the two languages.

Geo	1.თუ (if).SBOR კარგი ამინდი **იქნება**. FUT.INDC, გარეთ **ვითამაშებთ**. FUT.INDC **tu**(if). SBOR kargi amindi **ikneba**.FUT.INDC, garet **vitamašebt**. FUT.INDC
Eng	(1a). **If. SBOR** the weather **is**.PRS. INDC fine, we **will play.** FUT.INDC outside.
Geo	2. კარგი ამინდი **რომ** (that). SBOR **იყოს.** CONJ , გარეთ **ვითამაშებდით**. CONJ kargi amindi **rom (that). SBOR ix'os.** CONJ, garet **vitamašebdit**.CONJ
Eng	(2a).**If. SBOR** the weather **were.** CONJ fine, we **would play.**CONJ outside.
	3. კარგი ამინდი **რომ** (that). SUB **ყოფილიყო.**CONJ , გარეთ **ვითამაშებდით.** CONJ

there: https://ka.wikipedia.org/wiki/

Geo	kargi amindi **rom**(that).SBOR**x'opilix'o.** CONJ, garet **vitamašebdit**.CONJ
Eng	(3a). **If.** SBOR the weather **had been.** CONJ fine, we **would have played.** CONJ outside.

(Golitsinsky & Golitsinskaya, 2006, 294-308)

6. Conclusions

In Georgian, the verb accompanying the conjunction tu "if" is given in the indicative mood (1); the verb accompanying the conjunction rom "that" is given in the subjunctive mood (2), (3). All the three types of the Georgian construction are represented in English with a conditional subordinate clause starting with the conjunction tu "if". As for the mood, in English it is similar to Georgian in all the three types of conditional sentences. Mention should be made of the differences in the tense forms: in Georgian, the verb in the subordinate clause in Conditional (1) is given in the future tense, whereas in English, the verb in the identical clause is in the Present Tense (1a).

7. Practical Valueand Perspectives

The comparative theoretical analysis of the Georgian-English empirical material is of practical value as well: the research outcomes are interesting and useful for translator-linguists, language teachers and students. It is important to enhance the research in this direction and carry out the structural-semantic analysis of conditional-resultative hypotactic constructions of different semantics in Georgian and English.

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Abbreviations:

FUT − Future

PRS − Present

INDC− Indicative

CONJ−Conjuctive

SBOR − Subordinate

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Multilingual Childhood Toys

ABSTRACT

This study explores the significant role of toys and games in shaping childhood memories, cultural identity, and family dynamics among multilingual individuals reflecting on their formative years in immigration. Through qualitative interviews, using content, thematic, and discourse analysis, 25 Russophone respondents share nostalgic recollections of cherished toys, ranging from classic items like plush bears to modern board games, highlighting their emotional significance and the developmental benefits of play. The findings reveal that toys are not merely objects but serve as tools for fostering creativity, social skills, and emotional growth. Additionally, the study examines the impact of cultural backgrounds, particularly among immigrant families, on play experiences and toy selection. Concerns regarding the shift from traditional play to modern digital games, as well as issues of sustainability and heritage language preservation, are also discussed. Ultimately, the research underscores the importance of play in bridging past and present experiences, reflecting broader themes of personal development and family connections.

Keywords: *material culture of multilingualism, games, toys, play, childhood memories, cultural identity, family dynamics, play development, immigrant experiences, nostalgia, bilingual emotional growth*

Introduction

Exploring various Russian-speaking immigrant communities, we reflected on how the material cultures of the country of origin and the host country interact (Protassova & Yelenevskaya, 2024; Yelenevskaya & Protassova, 2023). In particular, we considered whether the objects brought along from the home country stimulate memories of the past or support language and culture, as well as how the dominant language and prevailing culture of the new surroundings influence an individual's choices. Addressing these questions led us to recognize the role of toys in the lives of immigrants, as it turned out that many—even those without children—not only remember the inanimate companions of their childhood but also strive to preserve tangible reminders of their games. The historical and contemporary significance of play and toys is affirmed by the establishment of the International Day of Play (June 11th) by the UN. According to the UN website, play is a universal language spoken by

people of all ages, transcending national, cultural, and socio-economic boundaries (un.org/en/observances/international-day-of-play). What may be particularly meaningful for immigrants is that play has been shown to promote tolerance and resilience in children and adults. Moreover, it facilitates social inclusion, conflict prevention, and peacebuilding. It is no surprise that immigrants bring toys from their countries of origin and collect toys produced in various parts of the world. Some passionate collectors want to share their treasures with the public and organize exhibitions of their assets (see, e.g., the exhibit in Helsinki, Finland, organized by Elena Kolesova musikantit.fi/l/unikalnaya-vystavka-kollektsiionnykh-kukol-s-14-02-po-21-03-2025, or a doll museum launched and maintained in Zafet, Israel by Mila Rozenfeld, safed-home.com/store/c7/doll_museum_.html). In our own work with Russophone immigrants, we were interested to see how play experiences are transmitted to the next generation and test our perception of toys as vehicles of heritage language and culture preservation. Nostalgia plays a key role in the toys collecting process, tells Sotelo-Duarte (2022), influencing its beginning, progression, and difficulty in ending, as collectors form deep emotional connections with their items. The collecting community provides crucial support, offering guidance, shared experiences, and comfort, while external factors such as family dynamics and financial constraints can enable or hinder a collector's task.

Aronin and Ó Laoire (2013) argue that material culture provides a valuable tool for studying multilingualism by offering perceptible, measurable evidence that complements traditional sociolinguistic methods such as surveys and interviews. Linguistically defined objects not only reflect multilingualism but also serve as markers of cultural identity, revealing insights into beliefs, shared values, and social behaviors. By analyzing these objects in different contexts, researchers can gain a more precise understanding of multilingual environments, reducing uncertainties in language research and broadening the scope of multilingualism studies. Blackwood and Røyneland (2022) see multilingualism as a key aspect of identity formation, featuring interdisciplinary collaborations that offer fresh perspectives on language policy, rights, pedagogy, meaning-making, and linguistic activism. Ros i Solé (2022) formulates that the ordinary personal collections of wardrobe or cookie cutters illustrate how the materiality of multilingual ordinary personal collections are tightly entangled with processes and ways of becoming competent in multicultural settings. She understands how multilingualism is lived in relation to material culture and the forms and processes subjectivity may take, their entanglements with time, place, and life experiences. Thus, multilingual subjectivities transcend binaries and entrenched divisions between matter and humans, ultimately highlighting the importance of lived material repertoires in understanding the materiality of living multiple languages and the construction of subjectivities. Even the content of teaching materials shows that they are both

educational tools and cultural artifacts (Leont'eva & Maslinskii, 2008; Risager, 2023).

There is ample evolutionary and psychological evidence that play makes a crucial contribution to the human success as a highly adaptable species. Playfulness is beneficial for cognitive development and emotional well-being (Whitebread et al., 2012). What is particularly important for immigrants who have to adapt to a new language and a new environment is that play facilitates development of linguistic skills and representational abilities, such as understanding others and making themselves understood and appreciated. Play enables us to "try on" different roles, and supports development of metacognitive and self-regulatory abilities (cf. Frankel, 2008). Various studies reveal that play lets children diminish tension, frustration, anxiety, uncertainty, and anger (Fearn & Howard, 2012; Haiat & Shochat, 2003; Russ, 2004), which is particularly valuable in a stressful experience of relocation. First intuitively, and later consciously children and adolescents use play as a coping mechanism (cf- Protassova, 1992).

Play stimulates the child's curiosity and exploration of the environment. Even at a young age, playing with building blocks a child learns about relations between objects; later in table games children have to make sense of cause and effect relations, work out strategies and find links between events. Whether playing with toys or engaged in role play without toys, children reprocess their real-life experience developing the ability to meaningfully organize and test it in new situations (cf. Valdas et al., 2012). Grindheim et al. (2021) explore children's participation in place-based institutional practices across six countries through a cultural-historical lens, emphasizing the role of outdoor and nature-based experiences in play, learning, and cultural formation. Their work highlights societal inequalities that limit access to nature, examines how institutional practices shape outdoor education, and underscores the relevance of nature in response to global crises, offering insights for policymakers, educators, and researchers.

According to Martin (2014), objects and toys serve as powerful triggers for childhood memories, connecting individuals not only to their playthings but also to the cultural and social contexts of their upbringing. Personal accounts reveal how traditional, homemade, and consumer-driven toys shaped experiences in different historical and geographical settings, from post-war Britain and Poland to the rise of modern consumer society. Additionally, toys hold deep symbolic value for migrants, representing both loss and nostalgia, while also shaping public perceptions of migration by portraying children as innocent and distinct from adults and their experiences. Chang-Kredl et al. (2024) explore how adults maintain emotional connections to transitional objects, like childhood stuffed animals, revealing layers of tactile, nostalgic, and psychological significance. Focus group discussions with education and childhood studies students showed that these objects evoke feelings of security, past innocence, and present anxieties. While they offer insights into adult vulnerability, they can also

reinforce traditional ideas about teaching and development, suggesting their potential as reflective tools for educators working with children.

Murphy (2019) shows that childhood memory offers a unique lens into modernity, revealing the toy as a commodity fetish and awakening both the individual and collective to history's utopian potential through fleeting moments of recognition, where missed happiness and denied desires form dialectical images that illuminate the possibility of transformation. For Henrich (2014), exhibitions on migration have showcased children's experiences through toys, highlighting how their meanings shift based on context. While toys symbolize childhood and migration's impact on children, displays often rely on adult recollections rather than firsthand child perspectives, making authentic representations rare. Effective exhibitions connect toys with shared historical or geographical experiences, ensuring they serve as more than nostalgic ornaments and instead reflect children's agency in migration stories. Mishchenko & Mishchenko (2022) demonstrate that the traumatic events of wartime children include memories of the enemy, fear of military equipment, and encounters with occupation regimes and collaborators, with many families connected to partisan movements. Their recollections reflect early maturation, identity formation, and ties to family and homeland, often shaped by factors like location, age, and gender, and featuring recurring themes such as fear, kindness, and hardship.

The study by Sandberg & Vuorinen (2008) highlights the diverse definitions and memories of play, emphasizing its value as shaped by personal experiences, cultural background, and social environments. Their findings have both theoretical and pedagogical significance, encouraging educators to reflect on their own play experiences, discuss evolving conceptions of play, and consider how media and commercialization influence children's play today. Grosse et al. (2022) showed that high-quality teacher–child interactions in early childhood care settings positively influence working memory and reduce disruptive behavior in three-year-olds, but they do not significantly impact other social-emotional skills like selective attention, inhibitory control, or prosocial behavior.

Immigrants' households are seldom completely monolingual. Even when the parents have not become proficient in the language/s of the host country they inevitably mix codes. Through his research in various communities, Rossi has shown that there is a direct correlation between the availability of multilingual and multicultural influences in a child's household and the multicultural characteristics of the children's play activities and toys (Rossi, 2002). Play is essential for identity development of children exposed to more than one language and culture. They do not only learn to use linguistic forms and patterns in the languages of their environment but also explore and creatively reproduce social meanings and structures associated with the context of their games which they hear in the communication of adults (Paugh, 2005). This is how they choose the language of their games. They

intuitively sense which language in their repertoire is more prestigious and is the norm in the local context and choose it when enacting situations familiar from their experience outside home (cf. Mirvahedi and Hosseini, 2024). Drawing on their knowledge acquired in real-life experience they enact roles such as mother-and child, doctor and patient, teacher and student, and others within the frame of play. In some of these situations they shift from the non-dominant home language to the dominant language of their environment (Mirvahedi & Cavallaro, 2020), but in others they are translanguaging like they do in their family communication. Moreover, in their play multilingual children start experimenting with their languages, mixing and playing with them, and in this way, they begin to act as multicompetent language users, symbolically joining the speech community new to them (Belz, 2002; Cook, 1992).

In this study, we examine the types of toys and games that are most cherished by individuals reflecting on their childhood and the significance these items hold in their memories. We focus on how toys and games contribute to the development of social skills, creativity, and emotional growth in children. Among immigrants of different generations, concerns about sustainability and environmental impact may influence modern toy selection and usage, affecting families' choices for their own children. We propose that there are indications of nostalgia and resilience, shaped by cultural backgrounds and immigrant experiences, that contribute to the sentimental value of these items.

Our research questions are:

- In what ways do parents' strategies regarding play and language influence multilingualism and cultural heritage preservation in immigrant families?
- How do retrospective memories of play inform current attitudes towards the importance of play in personal and familial development?

Materials and methods

Our study of play things, which are part of material culture and tools essential for children's speech development and identity shaping, utilizes discourse, thematic, and content analyses. Following McGee (2011: 8–10), we view discourse analysis as the "study of language-in-use". The goal of researchers calling themselves "critical discourse analysts" is not merely to describe how language works or give explanations of its mechanisms and functions, but also to intervene in social and political issues, problems, and controversies which we witness in the world and which are reflected in the language. So, in critical discourse analysis all language is considered to be political and involved in the way people build and sustain our world, cultures, practices, and institutions.

Thematic analysis is a method employed in qualitative research. It requires systematic search for

and identification of patterns of meaning, or themes, across the chosen data set. When the themes are identified and the researchers see which ones are repeated and are therefore salient, the researcher can see and make sense of shared meanings and experiences of the group under study (Braun & Clarke, 2012).

Content analysis is also applied in qualitative research and has much in common with thematic analysis. It is a method "designed to identify and interpret meaning in recorded forms of communication by isolating small pieces of the data that represent salient concepts and then applying or creating a framework to organize the pieces in a way that can be used to describe or explain a phenomenon" (Kleinheksel et al., 2020: 127). This method is accessible and particularly useful for analysis of large amounts of text, i.e., it is appropriate for open-ended questions in surveys and semi-structured or in-depth interviews. Besides manifest content analysis identifying and interpreting meanings easily observable to the researcher, there is latent content analysis interpreting meanings implied or hidden deep within the text. The latter type requires a more thorough study of the context and sometimes also the background of the participants. So, we employed methodological triangulation to enhance reliability of our conclusions.

Material for analysis was drawn from semi-structured group interviews involving 25 Russophones of different ages, with varied life experiences, migration destinations and differing in the number of years spent away from the countries of origin. Despite these differences, all interviewees were greatly engaged, and demonstrated willingness to share their opinions. Through discussions guided by the researchers, participants reflected on their connections to both their old and new cultures as represented in toys and games.

All participants were notified about the purpose of the interviews, their right to withdraw and the way the data would be used. The interviewees were anonymized: we assigned each one initials to be used instead of their names and do not provide any demographic data. This makes them completely unrecognizable and conceals their identity. The anonymized data was securely stored in a password-protected system, with access restricted to the authors. These measures ensured that privacy and confidentiality were maintained throughout the study.

Results

The discussion on the role of toys in child development, family culture, and education reveals several recurring themes and shared perspectives. Central to the discourse is the belief that the true value of toys is that they inspire children to play, be creative and inventive, rather than in the toys themselves. Our respondents are convinced that the essence of play is more significant than the

physical objects involved.

R1 emphasizes the significant role of toys in her life, considering them a reflection of her experiences. She fondly recalls her childhood toys, including a puppet shaped like Piggy from the children's TV show "Spokoinoy nochi, malyshi" (Good Night, Little Ones*)* which is now with her family in Eastern Finland. *R2*'s cherished toy is a white, long-eared plush animal she received from her grandmother shortly before her passing, which she insisted was a dog despite its rabbit-like features. *R1* also shares a poignant memory of longing for a Baby Born doll, which her family couldn't afford; instead, she received a different doll she appreciated but felt wasn't quite the same. To address this childhood disappointment, she later gave her sister two Baby Born dolls as a New Year gift—one resembling a baby and the other an older girl with hair, thus fulfilling her own wish vicariously. "Before my diploma, I bought a tiny little hedgehog, and while writing my BA thesis, I would read it aloud to him and pet him, just to have someone to listen to me." As a child, *R3* dreamt of Bratz dolls, but her parents could not afford them, so she had regular Barbie dolls with handmade clothes sewn by her relatives. *R3* notes that toys remain meaningful in her life, as she still finds comfort in a pink plush cat she bought during a tough period of her life, which now helps her sleep peacefully. As a child, *R11* had various toys, including soft toys, Barbies, and McDonald's toys, but when she migrated at the age of 12, she left them behind except a soft toy dog. She doesn't buy toys any more, except for Funko Pop figures. As an adolescent she spent more time playing outside, particularly football, with both boys and girls.

When *R15* was younger, she only loved Barbies and did not care for soft toys or animals. She had Barbie dolls and a rubber Puss in Boots brought from Russia. She would play out scenes from the telenovela "Wild Angel" with her dolls and the cat overseeing a harem of Barbie dolls. She didn't come to like soft toys until later when she played with other children and realized that animals were often more popular among them. She no longer has her old Barbie collection but has recently received from her best friend a soft mammoth, which she was dreaming of for a long time and was very happy to get. In her childhood, *R19* had many toys, including a *nevalyashka* (roly-poly doll) which left a lasting memory. She also loved playing with small cars and would take them outside to drive them in the dirt, as well as building and blowing up clay tanks with the boys in her neighborhood. Her favorite doll was a simple plastic one named *Alyoshka*, which she adored, though it eventually faded in the sun, prompting her to ask for a new one. Later, she received a walking doll, which she had longed for, but it did not bring her as much joy as expected. Additionally, she had a large, brown, Soviet-style teddy bear and rubber dolls that she loved playing with. She impersonated a teacher, often pretending to teach her toys Russian in a classroom setup. This imaginative role play was bilingual, and the child

was enacting the scenarios from her own experience, coping with two languages.

Another prominent theme is the careful curation of toys to foster creativity. Respondents noted that an excess of toys can hinder imaginative play, advocating for a balanced approach where "there shouldn't be too many or too few toys." The idea of a "clear hierarchy of favorites among toys" suggests that children benefit from having a limited number of carefully selected cherished items, which can enhance their imaginative experiences.

R2 reflects on the limited number of personal toys she had during her childhood, as many toys in their home were shared or inherited within the family across generations. She mentions meaningful toys she now owns, including sentimental items like a plush hedgehog and a moose in a hat gifted to her brother by a late relative. Nostalgic memories include a gypsy doll made by their grandmother, who loved sewing outfits for it, though this doll and others didn't move with them when they relocated. *R2* highlights the emotional role toys play, noting how they comforted her during bad days, especially a 20-year-old "stress-relief" toy that helps her sleep. Finally, she recalls the clever way her parents discouraged her from wanting a Baby Born doll, claiming it was scary, which they later realized was a winning tactic to avoid buying it. *R18* had many toys in childhood, including Soviet toys and others brought by his father, a seaman. One of his favorite toys was a whirligig, and he also had many cars, often playing with them. A particularly valuable toy was a football set from the Kinder Surprise, with goals, a footballer, and a goalkeeper, which he played with for about three years. When he left Russia, he was already too old for his old favorites and didn't think much about toys, though he took a few small plush toys with him, including a hybrid of a hippopotamus and a bunny, and a small colorful alpaca. Larger plush toys were left behind in Moscow. *R21* does not remember many of his childhood toys before school, recalling only a boomerang he used when visiting the countryside, possibly inherited from an older brother. He fondly remembers Lego sets and remote-controlled toys he played with during his school years. He would mix and match Lego pieces to create different constructions. However, when he moved at the age of 12, he lost his Lego sets. As an adult, *R21* revisited his hobby, purchasing remote-controlled planes and a helicopter. He is not particularly interested in modern drones, preferring classic models like planes.

R5 does not recall bringing toys from Moldova but mentions having her mother's toys from the 1960s–70s, including simple dolls. She had many Barbie toys as a child, including a Barbie house and car, and loved Bratz dolls as well. Her favorite soft toy and a bed companion was a monkey called *Obezka* [a childish variant for *obez'yana*, 'monkey' in Russian], which is still kept in the storage room. Playing without phones was common among her peers, and she continued to enjoy playing games until the 7th grade. *R6* had many toys, including soft toys and toy cars brought from Lithuania. Among the

soft toys were a rabbit, a hedgehog, and two cows, each with stories behind them that her mother shared with her. A cherished toy car was a yellow Volkswagen Golf, gifted by a young neighbor in Vilnius, which the *R6* treasured and passed on to her brother. She does not clearly recall her first toys in Finland but favored the ones brought from Lithuania. These toys held a special sentimental value for her. When *R14* was a kid, he had a lot of toys, mostly Finnish ones like cars and Legos, and he always loved toys used to build structures or controlled with batteries. He did not really like soft toys and gave away the ones he got. He also had some Soviet-era wooden toys and building blocks of different shapes and size, and he loved playing outside more than anything else. Although he had some board games and got into computer games later, he still preferred outdoor activities like playing football and climbing. He was particularly proud of one game, "Well, I bought these Soviet dominoes, I found real ones in Georgia."

R7 fondly remembers having two original Barbie dolls from early childhood, which her mother later brought to Finland. A real "drama" was wanting a Ken doll and not being able to get it. So, she improvised using a Transformer toy as Barbie's partner instead. She cherished a toy kitchen with a working faucet and played with incomplete sets of Lego-like blocks, often mixing them with Soviet versions. A significant amount of childhood pastime was spent playing with stick "horses," evolving from simple twigs to customized wooden sticks used in imaginative beauty contests for "horses," complete with handmade medals. Upon moving to Finland at 14, *R7* brought with her a beloved plush dog named *Strelka* [the name of one of the first dogs sent by the Soviets to the outer space]—a gift from *Ded Moroz* [Santa Claus], a fancy gray bear a present of a classmate, and a small toy given by her father to be fair to all. These toys were symbols of a happy childhood and were carefully stored, with some still cherished by the entire family. Today, her original Barbies are enjoyed by her niece, continuing their legacy.

The participants reminisced about their favorite board and strategy games, showcasing a mix of cultural influences and childhood creativity. *R7* mentioned that board games were discouraged at home, as they were associated with gambling, but she learned chess moves from her father, though they never played. *R1* shared fond memories of a customized board game drawn by her father on a large sheet of cardboard and based on Russian folklore characters like *Baba Yaga* and *Leshiy*, which she and her siblings cherished and planned to scan as a keepsake. *R5* and *R6* mentioned playing chess, checkers, and card games in Russia, while in Finland, popular games included *The African Star, Alias*, and *Labyrinth with Ghosts*. *R1* also highlighted amusing childhood games like summoning imaginary characters and playing "Lapa," a fast-paced running game. Despite cultural variations, the games reflected creativity, bonding, and fun.

R24 reflects on his early childhood, which was marked by difficult living conditions. They lived in a communal apartment on the fifth floor without an elevator, with five people in a 12-meter room. This participant recalls having a small area on the floor where he could build with blocks, but his creations were often knocked down when the door opened. He also spent time in a year-round daycare, which felt like a kind of exile. Despite the harsh environment, *R24* fondly remembers playing with large trucks at the daycare, where they could ride in the truck bed and slide down a hill, a rare experience they couldn't have at home.

R23 recalls his childhood toys, which included small animals like bears, some of which were about 5–10 cm tall. These animals, including their favorite, the okapi (a relative of the giraffe), had furniture and were part of a dollhouse-like setup. *R23* had around 20 such animals, including a fox that survived relocation. *R22* also enjoyed playing with construction sets, particularly metal ones with screws and bolts, where he began to experiment with bending metal parts to create sculptures rather than blindly following instructions. His brother had a set of electric racing cars and a shared electric train set, but *R22* remembers these toys often malfunctioning, such as motorized boats that leaked and would sink if left in the water.

Currently, *R10* has several stuffed toys which serve as substitutes for pets. She believes that people can get similar emotions from these stuffed toys as they do from animals. Her favorite toy at the moment is a pink pig named Pavel, and she takes it to bed with her every night. In her childhood, she had various toys, especially stuffed animals, and she often played veterinarian games, treating her "sick" pets. Her father was a dog handler, and her brother and she would watch him work with dogs and try to replicate his exercises "taming" their stuffed animals. In summer they played outside without any toys, creating games with other children from the neighborhood.

The discourse also highlights the importance of family involvement in toy creation and selection. Many families engage in making toys from natural materials or restoring old dolls, which not only fosters creativity but also strengthens emotional bonds. Handmade toys are often perceived as "alive," adding depth and personal connection compared to mass produced items. This practice also reflects respect for tradition and cultural heritage, with examples such as restoring Soviet-era dolls and incorporating storytelling into play.

In her childhood, *R12* had a lot of plush toys, with her first ones being small rabbits, which she adored. When she moved out from her parents' house she took her two favorite rabbits, named Kiko and Mini, with her. Initially, she had only one rabbit, but her parents bought a second one to switch the dry one for the wet one which was taking a bath with her. Eventually, she discovered the metamorphosis and insisted to have both all the time. She also played with dolls, particularly *Winx*

dolls, which she collected due to her love for the *Winx* cartoons. Additionally, she enjoyed building and playing with Lego Friends, creating adventurous play scenarios rather than traditional ones like playing house.

R13 reminisces about the various toys she played with as a child, including a large plush dog inherited from her brother and Lego sets received from her cousins. She mentions that now she buys toys only for her cat. She also notes that she does not remember having distinctly Russian toys but recalls receiving a small doll from Spain brought by her aunt. *R4* recalls wanting a Game Boy but never receiving one, though Lego blocks were abundant, with large boxes still stored in the attic for future generations. He enjoyed stereotypically "boyish" toys like Airsoft guns and model kit. He used to build Roman shields, helmets, and weapons out of cardboard and played with them. "We always brought plastic model kits from Russia, especially from the "Zvezda" company, because they were cheaper there, and then "we assembled them in Finland." Collectibles like Pokémon cards, Gogo figures, and Kinder-Surprise toys, including a hand-me-down collection, were also significant for games. *R4* mentions trends like mini skateboards for fingers, Beyblades, and fidget spinners, emphasizing the attraction of competitive and interactive play. In *R25*'s childhood, her toys were kept in the drawers of a great-grandmother's vanity chest. Initially, they were allocated one drawer, but as the collection expanded, they occupied one more. The interviewee and her great grandmother made the dollhouse furniture together. The house was well-equipped with an aquarium, a fridge, a stove, and a box for linens, which *R25* made herself. Additionally, she crafted small furniture from matchboxes and filled them with beads and other useful items. Other toys included a traditional spinning top, a roly-poly toy, and large foldable cardboard books used to create mazes, in which the participant would play circus with her toys.

R16 often reflects on her childhood toys, recalling that she and her brother had many toys, filling half of their room with them. Among their toys were cars, soft toys, dolls, and modern dolls like Barbie, Bratz, and Baby Born. She remembers using her mother's nail polish bottles as characters in imaginative play with her brother. One memorable toy was a snowman with a hidden photo, which the interviewee believed was her own, even though it was her mother's photo. Her parents would bring many toys from Russia and other countries, often popular worldwide, as well as educational games like a guessing game that made sounds based on correct or incorrect answers. Despite the abundance of toys, some, like Bratz dolls, were too expensive, and *R16* acquired only one winning it in a contest. She has kept it as a cherished memory even though she received it in her teenage years and didn't really play with it. *R22* recalls a wooden toy she received as a gift from her parents, a musical toy featuring a bear playing the piano and a fox singing. This toy, purchased in Klin at the Tchaikovsky

House Museum, was given to the respondent after a concert when she was 10. The toy is still cherished today, although **R22** is worried about its fragility when the children play with it enthusiastically. She also remembers several stuffed animals from her childhood, including a large brown bear named Christopher, a white bear with blue pants, and a donkey, which she still adores. As a child, **R22** did not play with dolls but had various other toys like a teddy bear with a golden spoon attached, and miniature furniture from a Polish store in Moscow, where they used to play with small animals under the piano.

Cultural identity and heritage emerge as significant motifs, with respondents noting the value of traditional or handmade toys that carry historical significance. Toys like matryoshkas and other traditional Russian items are cherished for their cultural stories and are often passed down through generations. While some families prioritize these traditional toys, others instill cultural identity through literature and cinema, reflecting diverse approaches to cultural education.

R17 was born in Jerusalem, Israel, and grew up speaking Russian at home. She recalls having a *Cheburashka* toy in her childhood, though she is unsure if it was the same one she took with her when moving from Israel to Germany. She also mentions a special toy from a store in America where she created a stuffed animal by choosing a hollow toy and having it filled with cotton, which she later named "the rabbit" and still keeps on her bed. While growing up **R17** had many toys especially in Israel, including Barbie dolls, some of which were not from Mattel, and a Barbie house she received after her half-sister was given a new one as a birthday gift. She also had a variety of soft toys and remembers a large cardboard toy her father made for her in the shape of a dreidel. One of her childhood toys was a red panda bear, with which she played "doctor", enacting scenarios familiar from her own experience as a patient.

R17 notes that she never bought toys for herself as a child but now buys puzzles and board games for herself as an adult. Her parents did not have any heirloom toys from the Soviet Union, but her father used to mention a metal toy from his childhood, so she decided to buy one for him if she ever found it on sale. **R17** enjoyed playing with Lego and other building blocks, often following instructions precisely. She reflects fondly on playing with children now, as it allows her to reconnect with her own childhood and have fun without the pressures of adulthood. She also mentions her multicultural friends speaking German with their children.

R8 confides in us that she has a habit of buying toys to satisfy her inner child. This works as a compensation: as a child she was denied some toys she dreamt about. The toys she did have come from different countries, including Russia and Finland, and some special toys from Germany. She has pleasant memories about her treasures such as Bratz and Monster High dolls, which were unique

because of their unusual appearances and storylines. She recalls playing with these dolls as if they were characters in a school for monsters. ***R8*** also reminisces about old Christmas ornaments passed down through generations and her imaginative play with a large teddy bear named *Mishaba* [a unique childish word for a teddy bear] whom she considered to be her "bridegroom". Additionally, she mentions playing with trucks and scooters outdoors and decorating wooden building blocks. Despite having many toys, she never owned male dolls like Ken, preferring to spend money on female dolls.

R25 believes that some toys and ways of playing are capable of provoking speech in children more than others. For example, puppets that "talk" to each other on various topics; a commentator for car races ("The gray one is falling behind, the red one has taken the lead, the green one is in between them") – and the same can be achieved in a board game; if a conflict occurs and needs to be resolved ("You, hedgehog, washed my wide lace skirt, but it should have been the narrow leather one"— imaginative extension of the script of the fairy tale about a hedgehog washing the laundry of forest animals). Joint planning of a future game and negotiations on who will do what stimulates the use of future tense verbs, while a journalistic report about what happened (for example, when some cave dwellers tell in a newspaper who came there and how they settled in) provokes descriptions in the past tense ("First, a bird flew in, hiding from the storm. Then a girl came and lit a fire. A snake slithered in and settled by the fireplace"). Such games involving role play and organized by an adult, allow for the development of vocabulary, grammar, as well as narrative and communicative skills. Adults can propose the language in which they would play, alternating the heritage language of the country of origin and the dominant language of the host country. This approach to playing contributes to developing parallel vocabulary in the children's linguistic repertoire and helps to bring up balanced bilinguals.

The role of toys in fostering family connections is another key theme in our data. Shared play, storytelling, and holiday traditions involving toys help create meaningful family bonds. The sentimental value of passing toys through generations is emphasized as a means to preserve memories and family history.

R20 had several rubber penguins, which were gifts from family members, including grandparents and parents. Along with the penguins, he also loved 1:43 scale toy cars. Since they were not common in the Soviet Union, he had just three, which made them particularly valuable. As for playing with the penguins, he does not remember many details but recalls dressing them in clothes given as presents by family members and placing them on the bed, sometimes tucking them in to sleep. He lost interest in penguins when he was 9 or 10, but they still remain in his mother's storage room in St. Petersburg. Occasionally, when visiting, he would look at them but no longer plays with them.

Sustainability and environmental concerns are recurring topics, with many respondents criticizing the overuse of plastic toys. Statements like "plastic toys are too many and dangerous" reflect a collective desire for more sustainable and safer materials. Older, sturdier toys are praised for their durability, and there is a clear dissatisfaction with modern, disposable designs.

In her childhood, **R9** had both Russian and Finnish toys, as the family relocated when she was five. She has vague memories of Russian toys, which included soft toys, a doctor's kit, and Pokémon collectible cards. Finnish toys included Bratz dolls, which were expensive, and plastic dogs, as well as weekly purchases of small figurines called Googles. A special family heirloom, a large glass Christmas ornament, was passed down from the great-great-great-grandfather. Currently, the speaker collects board games and occasionally makes toys, such as knitting a rabbit for her younger sister.

Many respondents recall particular toys that were cherished, such as plush bears, dolls, and classic items like kaleidoscopes and toy boxes. Many respondents enjoyed physical and creative games, such as "Sea Waves," and "Cossacks and Robbers." These games do not only develop children's physical abilities but provide opportunities to act in a team, negotiate group actions, and learn the art of persuasiveness and leadership. The interviews highlight that toys and games hold a significant place in childhood memories, serving as a source of joy, creativity, and connection with other children and adults. While a few participants noted limited access to toys, even these memories evoke a sense of nostalgia, demonstrating the enduring impact of play in shaping personal and cultural identity.

Popular choices among the board games include *Ticket to Ride, Codenames, Settlers of Catan, Uno, Carcassonne*, and various versions of *Monopoly*. Many participants expressed nostalgia for childhood games, sometimes noting the challenge of finding the exact versions they once played in order to play them again but now introducing them to their own children.

Chess remains a meaningful activity in households where it is valued for its strategic depth. Even among those who do not currently play, many own chesses that hold sentimental value. These sets often come from relatives, are brought as travel souvenirs, or purchased for children. Some play chess occasionally but consider it more of a pastime than a serious pursuit. While some actively play and involve their children, considering it a valuable family-bonding activity, others preserve chess sets as sentimental keepsakes, often with unique origins. The enduring appeal of chess lies in its versatility as both a strategic game and a cultural artifact, appreciated across generations.

Word games remain a favorite pastime for many families and individuals. These games are not only entertaining but also serve as valuable tools for language learning and development, often adapting to the players' linguistic backgrounds and contexts. Digital versions of word games (apps or

tablet games) are gaining popularity, especially for casual play or practice. Physical board games remain cherished for social or family uniting moments. Common languages among the participants include Russian, English, Italian, German, Hebrew, Turkish, and Czech.

One interviewee remarked, "In our childhood, we preferred outdoor, active games. Today, most children prefer video games." The responses reveal a significant evolution in how children play and the role of games in their lives. While modern games are more diverse and technologically advanced, they often lack the spontaneity and social interaction of traditional play. The shift toward individual, screen-based activities has reduced opportunities for initiative, creativity, collaboration, and physical activity. However, games still serve as a critical tool for development, offering new avenues for education and competition. Balancing traditional and modern gaming experiences might be key to preserving creativity and social skills in today's children.

The theme of non-interference in children's play is also prevalent. Comments like "it's important not to dictate what to play" highlight the belief that children should have the freedom to direct their own play, fostering independence and creativity. This autonomy is crucial for emotional and cognitive development, as children use play to process emotions and navigate transitions, particularly after stressful events.

The responses reflect a clear contrast between the simplicity and creativity of older toys and the technologically advanced modern toys of highly varied nature. While some see this as a positive change, others feel modern toys focus too much on predefined outcomes, limiting free play. While the abundance and educational value of today's toys are highly appreciated, there is a strong undercurrent of concern about their potential to overstimulate children and limit imaginative play. The tension between nostalgia for the past and acceptance of modern advancements highlights the complexity of this evolution. Parents and educators face the challenge of balancing the benefits of innovation with preserving opportunities for creativity and hands-on learning. Some criticize these features for being overly stimulating or unrealistic. Many reminisced about the simplicity of older toys, which allowed children to use everyday objects creatively. Statements such as "we made our own toys" and "I turned a box into a dollhouse" illustrate the value placed on imaginative play.

Several interviewees emphasized the sentimental value of passing toys through generations, preserving memories and family history. The responses reveal that while toys are important, their true value lies in their ability to support creativity, emotional growth, and family connections. Thoughtful selection, moderation, and an emphasis on play over possession are key strategies for choosing toys that align with a child's individuality and developmental needs. The input also highlights the need to integrate cultural traditions and consider sustainability when choosing toys.

Conclusion

The discussion reveals that while toys are important, their true value lies in their ability to support creativity, emotional growth, and family connections. Thoughtful selection, moderation, and an emphasis on play over possession are key strategies for choosing toys that align with a child's individuality and developmental needs. Integrating cultural traditions and considering sustainability are also crucial factors in toy selection. The collective insights underscore the multifaceted role of materiality in enriching childhood experiences and fostering lasting family bonds. As we see, the childhood memories of former immigrant children reveal the profound impact toys had on their lives, serving as reflections of their unique experiences (e.g., toys' names) and cultural backgrounds. From cherished plush toys and handmade dolls to longing for unattainable toys like Baby Born dolls and Bratz dolls, these narratives emphasize the emotional significance and sentimental value attached to one's favorite playthings. The stories we recorded also underscore the creativity and resourcefulness in the children's play, whether through custom-made board games, imaginative outdoor activities, or inventive use of everyday items for games. Despite varied economic circumstances and cultural influences, toys provided comfort, joy, and a sense of continuity, bridging the immigrants' past and present. These recollections not only point up the universal nature of play but also demonstrate how toys can serve as enduring symbols of childhood, family bonds, and personal growth.

Play has a special place within cognitive-driven processes such as learning, coping and processing real-word information in order to face internal (e.g., shyness, managing emotions) and external problems (hostile environment, neglect) (Capurso & Pazzagli, 2016). The discussion on the role of toys in child development, family culture, and education discloses recurring themes and shared perspectives. Central to this discourse is the belief that toys' true value lies in inspiring children to be creative and inventive, develop initiative, independence and perseverance rather than in the toys themselves. Respondents emphasize that the essence of play is more significant than the physical objects involved. Family involvement in toy creation and selection is also highlighted. Handmade toys are perceived as "alive," adding depth and personal connection compared to mass-produced items. The theme of non-interference in children's play is prevalent, emphasizing the importance of allowing children to direct their own play. Cultural identity and heritage emerge as significant motifs, with respondents valuing traditional or handmade toys carrying historical significance. Toys play a crucial role in fostering family connections through shared play, storytelling, and holiday traditions. Sustainability and environmental concerns are recurring topics, with respondents criticizing the overuse of plastic toys and praising older, sturdier toys for their durability.

Play is essential for bringing up bi- and multilinguals. In the early stages of immigration life

parents are concerned about their children lagging behind their local peers due to insufficient proficiency in the language of the host country, which is essential for their success in educational institutions. So, some encourage their children to play in the dominant language of the environment. Later, however, they may be worried about heritage language attrition and try to use games and toys brought from the home country to help maintain their heritage language and culture. Naturally, parents' strategies depend on the family language policy and on the parents' awareness of the impact of play on the children's cognitive and linguistic abilities and identity development.

Interviews we conducted were retrospective, and this type of interview often poses methodological challenges as participants often recall the past through a present-influenced lens, leading to faded or altered memories of emotions and thoughts. Concrete events, especially significant ones, are more reliably remembered than general feelings, but these memories may still be idealized or systematized over time. Despite these limitations, the focus of our study is not on verifying the accuracy of past events descriptions but on understanding how participants' memories of play shape their current views on its importance. Participants in our study expressed concern over the decline of unstructured outdoor play and highlighted the developmental benefits of risky play, aligning with research advocating for a balance between safety and exploration. Additionally, older adults emphasized that play continues to provide physical, cognitive, emotional, and social benefits throughout life, serving as a source of enjoyment, stress relief, and self-expression. Our findings suggest that play remains a lifelong process, connecting past and present experiences, supporting holistic development, and reflecting broader life themes of innocence, maturity, and transcendence.

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Russification of Language and Culture in Soviet Georgia (According to the Georgian Émigré Press) [1]

ABSTRACT

After the Sovietization of Georgia in 1921, the Russification language policy effected culture as well. The process took place in two directions: centripetal and centrifugal. The first case implied linguistic and cultural assimilation, while the second one, on the contrary, — the strive to preserve the native language and culture. After the Sovietization of Georgia, the political elite was forced to emigrate to Europe. They published Georgian-language newspapers in various European cities for years as part of the struggle for independence.

The article aims to collect relevant empirical material based on the digital corpus of the press of the Georgian emigrants of the 20s-30s of the 20th century and to answer the following questions through the method of sociolinguistic analysis:1) How did Georgian-Russian language contacts take place? 2) To what extent was Georgia ready to accept the Russian language in all areas of cultural life? 3) In what directions was the protection of the Georgian language provided?

The period of Soviet occupation was difficult for Georgian culture. Under the colonial-repressive regime, when even the use of the word "Georgia" was prohibited and a deliberate Russification of the Georgian nation was underway, people working in the cultural sector had to deal with the strictest censorship to preserve their national identity.

The results of the research conducted as part of the present paper will give the opportunity to find out under what pressure the Georgian language and culture had to function during Russification.

Keywords: *Georgian language, culture, russification.*

Introduction

After the Sovietization of Georgia in 1921, the language policy of Russification effected culture as well (Lewis, 2019; Grenoble, 2003; Comrie, 1981). The process took place in two directions: centripetal and centrifugal. The first case implied linguistic and cultural assimilation, while the second one, on the contrary, _ the strive to preserve the native language and culture. (Marshall, 1992; Young, 1976; Kreindler, 1985).

As noted in the specialized literature, the USSR was one of the most ethnically heterogeneous

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empires containing over 100 ethnic groups speaking more than 130 languages (Marshall, 1992, pp. 34-35). Considering the circumstances, Helene Carrere d'Encausse, a French political scientist, remarked that "political linguistics represent Moscow's most successful accomplishment" (Carrere d'Encausse, 1979, p. 165). Who benefited from it is debatable. According to official legislative records, the objective of the Soviet Union was not the direct cultural assimilation of ethnic groups. However, the language policy of the empire had already been its indirect cause. The expectations that Soviet citizens would accept the Russian language in all areas of life were ultimately aimed at the dissemination of Russian culture and the emergence of a new Soviet identity.

Moscow began to prepare the grounds for the russification of the languages of the non-Russian Soviet peoples and nationalities immediately after their sovietization in 1922 (Bruchis, 1988, pp. 228-229). The claim of the Soviet sociolinguist Yunus Desheriev is noteworthy as well. He stated that in terms of its social function, in the Soviet Union the Russian language was "the second language of communication and cooperation in all areas of activity". Russian was the language of business correspondence and the medium of instruction in higher educational institutions, which gave the language the international status within the empire (Desheriev, 1966, pp. 80-81).

One of the active propagandists of the national language policy of the Communist Party, Khanazarov, pointed out that in the Soviet Union the number of people who do not study in their native language is increasing; The number of students whose national language and the language of schooling do not coincide grow from year to year (Khanazarov, 1982, pp. 183-184).

American linguist Lenore Grenoble believes that a major change in the Soviet language policy began in the mid-1950s. Grenoble links it to the Khrushchev era, when the Russian language was officially declared to be "the second national language". Clause 19 of the Education Reforms of 1958–59 stated that education in the mother tongue was no longer compulsory and the instruction in Russian had to start from the earliest grades. This represented an open political move toward Russification of every country in the union (Grenoble, 2003, pp. 57-58).

We have a different perspective on Lenore Grenoble's above-mentioned remark considering that the process of Russification in Georgia began much earlier, during the country's annexation. Since the 70s of 19th century, teaching the Georgian language and the history of Georgia was initially abolished in seminaries and theological schools. A little later, an influential Russian civil servant, the trustee of the Caucasian educational district, Kirill Yanovsky, begins his work with a strict policy against the Georgian language and, with a circular issued in 1885, not only completely expels the Georgian language from schools but also forbids using Georgian in communication. For two centuries, Russifiers attacked all the institutional segments of Georgian culture that defined our national

ideology: Georgian school, church and theater. The main target was the Georgian language.

Methodology

The paper aims to collect relevant empirical material based on the digital corpus of the press of the Georgian emigrants of the early 20th century and to answer the following questions through the method of sociolinguistic analysis: 1) How did Georgian-Russian language contacts take place? 2) To what extent was Georgia ready to accept the Russian language in all areas of cultural life? 3) In what directions was the protection of the Georgian language provided?

The period of Soviet occupation was difficult for Georgian culture. Under the colonial-repressive regime, when even the use of the word "Georgia" was prohibited and a deliberate Russification of the Georgian nation was underway, people working in the cultural sector had to deal with the strictest censorship to preserve their national identity.

Identifying illustrative material from the press of the research period and discussions around them will give us the opportunity to find out under what pressure the Georgian language and culture had to function during Russification.

Problems of Russification in the Georgian Émigré Press

After the Sovietization of Georgia, the political elite was forced to emigrate to Europe. They had published Georgian-language newspapers in various European cities for years as part of the struggle for independence. It was the Georgian Émigré Press that intensively covered the problems and challenges faced by the Georgian language and culture within the framework of the language policy of Russification of the Soviet Union.

After the conquest of Georgia by the Soviet Russia, the Georgian language lost its importance as the Russian language became the language of various fields and business correspondence. In this regard, the newspaper "Brdzolis Khma" (Echo of the Struggle) publishes a letter with the following content under the title "Cultural Situation of Soviet Georgia":

"The Georgian University has been closed down. Instead, several institutes have been established where lectures are given either in Georgian or in Russian. One more wave of Russification can be observed. Preference is given to Lenin's language. The Georgian language is no longer used. Today, an illiterate person often has to take an interperter with him to the institutions, as the heads of various departments there are mostly Russian" (Newspaper "Brdzolis Khma", 1930).

A certain part of the Georgian society, and especially the representatives of the emigration, constantly drew their attention to the importance of national values, the role of which was relevant for

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the Georgian reality. The establishment of ideologies was significant for the cultural life of Georgia during this period, which, in turn, was caused by the strongly expressed negative attitude of the Soviet regime towards the Georgian language. The newspaper "Tetri Giorgi" (White Giorgi) published in Paris in 1927 reads as follows:

"After Georgia fell into the hands of the Russians, the character of our cultural march changed fundamentally. With its bureaucratic-centralist tools, Russia destroyed the foundations of national development and existence of the Georgian people: the state, national education, language, traditions, morality. The disarmed Georgian nation had turned into a powerless subject of Russian influence, being carried blindfolded along an unknown path, like a rudderless ship at the mercy of the waves. Georgia has turned into a mirror reflecting the ugly life and culture of Russia, more precisely, lack of culture. Our literature, art, and politics, in a word, almost all branches of national creativity acquired a more or less Russian character" (Tetri Giorgi, 1927).

After Sovietization, cultural changes took place in Georgia including the popularization of a new socialist culture. Trade unions participated in cultural events to create a sense of unity and purpose among communities. However, it is important to note that the trade unions were tightly controlled by the Soviet government and they were employed to implement government policies rather than protect public interests. The Georgian trade Union, like the trade unions of other Soviet republics, was subordinate to the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, which was the supreme governing body in the USSR.

During the 1920s there were instances of cooperation and exchange of ideas between British Trade Union and Soviet Trade Unions. Some leaders of British Trade Union visited the Soviet Union and tried to find common ground, especially on issues such as language and culture. It should be noted that similar to the approaches of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, the British Trade Unions were characterized by Soviet rhetoric and opposed to national values. For more accurate and detailed information on this issue, we can read the statement of the British Trade Unions on the status of Georgian culture and language, published in 1925 in the Georgian emigrant newspaper "Akhali Sakartvelo" (New Georgia) under the title "Trade Union Delegation about Georgia". It reads:

"The delegation of the British Trade Unions issued the following statement about Georgia:

1.   The Soviet regime ensures to the greatest extent the protection and peaceful revival of the country, the development of its culture. It is quite understandable that the Georgian bourgeoisie feels embittered, as it lost its property. The nation as a whole is completely self-sufficient and it wants peace and wishes to transform its life on a new economic basis.

2.   Since the Georgian language occupies a dominant position in schools and administration, since books and newspapers are freely published in the national language in Georgia, since everything is being done to advance the national culture of this people, any talk about the Georgian nation suffering under the yoke of Moscow is nonsense and is made up by the capitalist enemies of the Soviet state" (Newspaper "Akhali Sakartvelo", 1925).

Finally, although the British Trade Union Congress was initially opposed to the principles of the Social Democrats, eventually ideological differences and the increasingly autocratic Stalinist regime of the Soviet Union led to a strained relationship between them.

The establishment of the communist regime in Georgia prepared the ground for the widespread dissemination of the Russian language in all areas. Considering all the above mentioned, it becomes clear that the concern for the rights of the Georgian language was fake as evidenced by the contradiction between various legal and normative documents (Tchaava, 2021; Tabidze, 2005). The communists openly fought against the Georgian language and tried to assign the functions of the state language to Russian instead. "Destroyed Culture" is the headline of the article dedicated to this event in the newspaper "Brdzolis Khma". It reads:

"The experiments of the invaders have been going on for 10 years - "the end of the cultural revolution is not in sight! Georgian school, press and literature, every branch of art – thinking and faith are subject to the Russian communist dictatorship. The main goal of the Georgian school today is communist upbringing of Georgian children. Our entire Georgian school is completely destroyed and a communist training camp is built in its place. Georgian school textbooks providing the spiritual nourishment of Georgian children are filled with unfamiliar communist materials. There is the glory of Russian October and the waving of communist red flags to make Georgian children forget the public holiday, May, 26, and the national, Georgian flag. The Georgian University is divided, fragmented and separate "institutes" are headed by communist directors. According to today's collectivization, the education programs are subordinated to the Russian communist higher education system" (Newspaper "Brdzolis Khma", 1931).

A representative of Georgian culture, theater artist, critic and playwright Sergo Amaglobeli makes a bold statement in the local Georgian newspaper "Tribuna" (Tribune) under the heading "The National Question and Practical Politics" and calls for the preservation of the Georgian language and culture:

"We don't want to oppress others, we fight for our own freedom, we don't persecute other people's languages, we protect our own language from persecution. Whoever wants to serve the hard-working people of Georgia should give an account of their willpower, their legitimate need. It is his/her

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duty to respect our language, our culture. We must show our enemies and well-wishers that we are the servants of the true freedom of the people and we will not allow anyone to make Georgia a land of their domination" (Newspaper "Tribuna", 1922).

Despite the difficult situation, the Georgian cultural and political elite did not intend to stop fighting against the Soviet regime for the protection of the Georgian language and the restoration of national values, as is clearly evidenced by a letter published in the newspaper "Tetri Giorgi" under the title "Cult of the Language":

"Despite the brutal regime of the Bolsheviks, despite the presence of a strong Russophile policy in Georgia today, despite the brutal terror and repression against all those forces and events that serve the national ideal, the creation of a cult of its culture and language - throughout the entire 19th century there has never been a spirit of Georgian protest as strong and armed as today. Today, behind the stage of communist Georgia, a great national-cultural sea is raging. Writers and artists grow and develop pearls of national values using metaphors and colors" (Newspaper "Tetri Giorgi", 1932).

One example of neglecting the Georgian language is a letter published in the same newspaper in 1933 under the title "Communist Party", which describes the decline and weakening of the state language in the cultural activities of the institution:

"An evening concert was held in the club for tannery workers (18 Sept. 1932). When the singers sang in Russian and then in Armenian, there was complete silence in the hall. But when Maro Tarkhnishvili, a famous singer, appeared on stage and started to sing "Urmuli" in her beautiful voice, some listeners became noisy in the hall and the offended singer immediately left the stage. Similar facts can be encountered almost everywhere. Bolshevik national policy is at full power" (Newspaper "Brdzolis Khma", 1933).

When the policies of the Russian Empire were replaced by the Soviet communist regime the national-minded cultural and political elite of Georgia found themselves in a new extreme situation. The publication of magazines and newspapers covering national ideas was banned, and educational institutions became supporters of communist ideology. Unlike the previous period, when printed media covering the national themes were very diverse, they appeared to be completely prohibited in the Soviet system.

"If we closely look at the Georgian press today, we will see that during several decades of its existence we have never had a press so devoid of its type and uniqueness as it is today. Present-day Georgian press is a branch of Russian newspapers; it lives and feeds only on messages and letters published in "Pravda" and "Izvestia". Earlier, the Georgian press, whether it was good or bad, always had its own opinion and point of view. Our press was a mirror of our national life. Today, all

the front pages of the main Georgian newspaper are taken-translated from Russian. Its Georgian language is completely inappropriate and distorted. Georgian communists are afraid of making such remarks in their letter for which they will be punished and banished. Fear reigns everywhere and has killed everything that is authentic and national. And this is the picture in all spheres of life and creativity of our people. Today the Georgian people are experiencing great difficulties nationally, politically and economically" (Newspaper "Brdzolis Khma", 1936).

Conclusion

Russification as a manifestation of Soviet imperialism took place in two directions: a) Under conditions of forced bilingualism, the state made subordinate national minorities turn to the Russian language, which laid the foundation for the linguistic chauvinism of the Russian nation in relation to different languages and b) the local bourgeois nationalism of the non-Russian peoples that were part of the empire, and the struggle for the preservation of national identity became more intense. Soviet language policy is also a constant fluctuation between these two poles.

Lenore Grenoble's point of view that among the countries included in the Soviet Union, Georgia stood out with high literacy rates is noteworthy. Georgians have had forced and centuries-long intense contact with Russia and yet, the Georgian people had a well-established sense of ethnic identity, which further intensified their struggle for national self-determination (Grenoble, 2003, p. 116). It's one thing what the intentions of the Soviet Empire were within the framework of the language policy of Russification, but it's another what we got as a result. According to Grenoble, in the Caucasus the capital cities maintained a strong non-Russian identity and in terms of Russian language use they demonstrated very low assimilation rates. For example: in 1959 in Tbilisi 42% of the population spoke Russian as a second language, while in 1989 it dropped to 32.7% (Grenoble, 2003, p. 135).

The reactionary language policy of the Soviet Union did not weaken the struggle for national identity in Georgia, but on the contrary, intensified it. The Georgian political émigré elite also made their significant contribution to these processes.

It's natural, that the Georgian cultural and political spectrum was aware of the difficulty of fighting against the Soviet regime, and therefore, it was important to highlight national values in their program and establish them in society.

Thus, the analysis of the collected materials of the Georgian émigré press confirms that the Soviet regime exercised complete control over Georgia. On the one hand, it seemed to assign a predominant role to Georgian culture and the state language, but at the same time, it gave instructions for the wide and free use of the Russian language. This was a confirmation of the provocative nature

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of the language policy pursued by the communist regime - they directly and indirectly created space for the establishment of the Russian language.

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