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Երևանի պետական համալսարան

Անգլերենի ուսումնասիրության հայկական ասոցիացիա (Անգլերենի ուսումնասիրության եվրոպական ֆեդերացիայի անդամ)

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Մոնտենեգրոյի համալսարանի
(Մոնտենեգրո)

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MANIPULATIVE SPEECH: A THEORETICAL OVERVIEW

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Manipulation is one of the concepts that needs a more in-depth theoretical and practical examination. It is employed in many areas of life, including personal and social matters, intellectual and professional pursuits, and, of course, politics. This paper is an approach, the purpose of which is to study through comparative-contrastive, inductive, deductive and observation methods the concept of manipulation as a psychological and linguistic phenomenon where the central emphasis is on the manipulative techniques and tactics that are utilized for various reasons such as illegitimate domination and social abuse. At this level of investigation we find it essential to illustrate different approaches to the study of this phenomenon as well as certain dictionary definitions to be able to fully perceive and comprehend the properties of manipulation.

Keywords: *manipulation, linguistic and psychological manipulation, social abuse, manipulative strategies, propaganda, political discourse.*

Introduction

The objective of the present research being the study of different approaches to manipulation in speech, in this paper we compare the manipulative strategies and techniques elaborated by different scholars in the literature of the question. To achieve the goal of determining the differences and similarities between various approaches, at the present stage of investigation the following methods of analysis are used: the method of observation, as well as comparative-contrastive, inductive, deductive analyses.

Manipulation is one of the phenomena that are highly affected by propaganda and closely related to media and political discourses. The term *manipulation* derives from the Latin word *manipulus* meaning *handful*, *bundle*, which in its turn comes from the words *manus* (*hand*) and *pleo* (*to fill*). The

explanations of the concept of manipulation are formulated differently in different dictionaries, and they stress out different aspects of the notion[1], however, all of them are based on the essential idea of managing and controlling people's thoughts and behaviours by using unfair and abusive tactics.

The concept of manipulation has been developed by many researchers, and in all the existing investigations the common thread of the social nature of manipulation the accomplishment of which violates social norms, runs through different theories. According to Joseph Raz, (1986, pp. 377-379) "manipulation, unlike coercion, does not interfere with a person's alternatives". Instead, it perverts how a person makes judgments, establishes preferences, or sets goals. Anne Barnhill (2014) as well as Cass R. Sunstein (2015, p. 12) believe, that manipulation is "directly influencing someone's beliefs, desires, or feelings, so that she falls short of ideals for belief, desire, or emotion in ways that are generally not in her self-interest or are likely not in her self-interest in the present context." In Wilkinson's words (2013, p. 341), "being controlled might be regarded informally as being made someone's *puppet on a string*".

In their attempt to understand the peculiar features of manipulation Ruth Faden and Tom Beauchamp (1986, p. 354-368) have come to the conclusion that of particular interest is psychological manipulation which is done through "any purposeful act that successfully affects a person to believe or action by inducing changes in mental processes other than those involved in understanding".

All these definitions give rise to the assumption that manipulation is not only a strategy for achieving one's own objectives by fooling others and convincing them of things that are not necessarily true, but are also used to gain people's trust by concealing some facts about reality, i.e. misrepresenting the truth.

Against the background of what has been said above, we can take into account that manipulation as a strategy is a persuasion tactic frequently used to convey a specific message whose major goal is to influence the audience and persuade them to support the manipulator's views or actions. It follows logically that manipulation, on the other hand, is a psycholinguistic process. Hence, it is impossible to come to any definite conclusion on this point without integrating the results of psychological and linguistic research.

Manipulation and manipulators are largely conditioned by each other. It seems essential to emphasize that manipulators are aware of their targets' weak

points and utilize those vulnerabilities as their primary tool to play with the strings of the person's emotions and sentiments. They are rather clever, and having mastered the psychology of human behavior, as well as the art of rhetorical persuasion, they are capable of persuading huge crowds for their own good (Gasparyan et al., 2019, p. 45). These individuals are naturally dominating, and they are typically in charge of everything in partnerships. Manipulators are more powerful and often hold positions of control. Their primary objective is to influence others' behaviour, emotions, and analytical thinking without considering that their wish may not coincide to the desire of the manipulated. They trick the manipulated into believing that the latter, the dubbed *victims*, lack the ability to consider and weigh things for themselves.

We can see that each of the above interpretations is similar to the other, with the motive for manipulating being nearly always the same in every case – to make people do what you want by influencing their ideas and mind while still giving choices for them to select from. The manipulator achieves this impact by employing a variety of methods, including distraction, seduction, misdirection, and reasonable reasoning, to mention a few (Handelman, 2009, p. 11). The manipulator diverts the target's attention away from the main issue by making false statements or providing blurry and ambiguous information. Thus, the core information conveyed by the manipulator is presented through seemingly rational arguments, which, in other circumstances would not be approved by the target, especially if the manipulator were much fairer and provided all the facts as they are.

Techniques and tactics for making manipulative intentions come to life

In his work *How to successfully handle manipulative people* Preston Ni (2014) characterizes psychological manipulation as the use of undue influence, such as mental distortion and emotional exploitation, to acquire power, control, rewards, and/or privileges at the expense of the victim. The author also makes a further point about the distinction of social influence from psychological manipulation. It is stated that normally, most people experience healthy social influence in positive interactions, meanwhile many individuals are used for the benefit of others through psychological manipulation. In addition, the author mentions one of the important components of successful psychological manipulation when the manipulator purposefully establishes a power imbalance and uses the victim to further his/her agenda. The author draws attention to the significance of the four common characteristics a manipulative individual can

have. For him, it is so important to be aware of the fact that a manipulator usually knows how to detect his target's weaknesses, and the moment they are found, they are undoubtedly used against the latter. Another characteristic feature of an individual with manipulative intentions is the ability to convince the target through shrewd machinations to give up something of himself/herself and serve the self-centered interests of the manipulator, and when the latter succeeds in taking advantage of the target, s/he will likely repeat the violation, until the target becomes aware of the exploitation and puts a stop to it. These traits are often flexibly switched up to fit the needs of the manipulator. Consequently, Ni claims it more suitable to highlight the following categories of psychological manipulation: negative manipulation which is designed to make the victim feel inferior, inadequate, insecure, and/or self-doubting, and this gives the manipulator a chance to obtain superiority; positive manipulation, intended to emotionally entice the victim in exchange for favours, concessions, sacrifices, or promises; deception and intrigue that are usually meant to enchant, awaken the curiosity or attention of the victim and alter his/her perception in order to gain more power; display of strategic helplessness, aimed at taking advantage of the victim's good will, guilty conscience, sense of responsibility, obligation and inclination to protect and nurture (Ni, 2014, pp. 5-6).

Proceeding from these classifications and considering the fact of frequent employment of coercion by manipulators to force others into a disadvantageous situation, Ni proposes fourteen tactics:

1. *Home court advantage* is a tactic which provides a manipulator more comfort in exerting greater power and control over the manipulated. The manipulator insists on meeting and talking with the target in a physical location that is preferable for him/her (that may be the manipulator's office, house, car, or any other place where s/he may exert greater power and control as he feels more protected and confident, whereas the target does not).

2. The manipulator may *let the target speak first to establish the baseline of his/her talk and look for weakness*. This technique is often applied by salespeople by asking the target general and probing questions and establishing a baseline about his/her thinking and behaviour. This gives the manipulator a chance to analyse the strengths of the target and the limits of his/her possible actions. This type of inquiry with a concealed goal may occur in both commercial and personal interactions.

3. *Manipulation of facts* presupposes lying, excuse-making, being hypocritical, making the victims feel responsible for their own victimization,

and distorting the truth through disclosing or withholding the key information. In the employment of this tactic, exaggeration and understatement are often applied as strategic components.

4. *Overwhelming the target with facts and statistics* which s/he may not be aware of is practiced by people who pretend to be the most knowledgeable and talented and enjoy "intellectual bullying". This may happen in sales and financial circumstances, as well as professional talks and negotiations, social and relationship disputes when by exerting expert control over the target, the manipulator, hoping to have established his/her intellectual superiority, tries to persuade the target to embrace the manipulator's purpose.

5. *Overwhelming the target with procedures and red tape* is a technique used to defer fact-finding and truth-seeking, hide faults and vulnerabilities, and thus escape scrutiny. This is accomplished through utilizing bureaucracy, processes, regulations and bylaws, committees, and other hurdles to maintain the manipulator's power and position while making the life of the target more difficult.

6. During arguments, some individuals raise their voices and display unpleasant feelings. To increase effect, they project their voice loudly enough and accompany their anger by powerful body language, such as standing or passionate motions. If they do it on purpose making the target cave into their pressure and give them what they want, they in fact accomplish a kind of aggressive manipulation which Ni describes as *raising their voice and displaying negative emotions.*

7. *Negative surprise* is also a manipulative tactic implemented in speech for throwing the target off and gaining a psychological edge. This might range from lowballing in a negotiation to declaring outright that the target will be unable to follow through and deliver in some way. The unexpected unfavorable information usually comes without warning, giving him/her little time to prepare and respond.

8. *Giving no time or little time to decide* is a technique often employed in classic sales and negotiation in which the manipulator forces the manipulated to make a decision before they are ready. It is thought that by exerting tension and control to the manipulated, the latter will *crack* and give in to the aggressor's demands.

9. *Negative humor designed to poke at the targets weaknesses* is sure to *disempower him/her.* Manipulators sometimes veil their critical comments as comedy or sarcasm in order to give rise to inferiority and insecurity in the

target. Comments on the target's appearance, the older model of his/her smartphone, the background and credentials, or the fact that the latter arrived two minutes late and out of breath are all possible examples.

10. *Consistently judging and criticizing the target to make him/her feel inadequate* is a tool in the hands of the manipulator to behave explicitly. Keeping the target off-balance, the manipulator maintains supremacy by constantly marginalizing, insulting, and rejecting him/her. Avoiding true and constructive answers or significant methods to assist the target, the manipulator intentionally creates the idea that there is always something wrong with him/her and the latter is never good enough.

11. When the manipulator purposefully does not respond to the legitimate calls, text messages, emails, or other questions of the target, this *silent treatment* becomes a powerful psychological technique of manipulation which instills doubt and confusion in the mind of the target, thus increasing the influence of the manipulator on the target.

12. Another interesting manipulative trick on the list of Ni's manipulative tactics is the so-called *pretended ignorance* which is a typical example of acting stupid when the manipulator pretends s/he does not comprehend what is wanted him/her to do. This trick is the kids' favorite and they constantly try to make use of it in their relations with adults.

13. As already mentioned above, the recipient's weak areas are constantly being targeted by a manipulator who often tries to hold someone else accountable for his/her pleasure, success, or failings. The manipulator coerces the target into granting unreasonable requests and demands by using the emotional vulnerabilities and susceptibility of the latter through guilt baiting which the manipulator believes to be more rational and effective than straightforward blaming.

14. Intentional exaggeration or fabrication of personal difficulties or weaknesses, playing a helpless victim in order to garner compassion and favour is also considered a manipulative tactic described by Ni as *victimhood.* This is practiced to take advantage of the victim's goodness, guilty conscience, feeling of responsibility and obligation, or protective and nurturing instincts in order to extract disproportionate advantages and concessions (Ni, 2015).

Another important investigation of the notion of manipulation and its realization in speech is presented in the book *Dealing with manipulative people* by George K. Simon (2020, p. 125) where the author holds the interest of the reader by suggesting some "tips for avoiding the traps of a manipulator".

According to Simon, it is important to be aware of the telltale signs of character disturbance and the manipulative tactics, for this will be a good defense against manipulators who are ready to mislead, exploit, con, or otherwise hoodwink. The author singles out the following three tips: knowing the kind of persons one is dealing with; educating oneself about manipulative tactics; divesting oneself of harmful misconceptions. These tips let us understand that for getting a sense of someone's core nature one needs to keep an eye out for some personality traits, for knowing the difference between someone's basic personality or style of relating, i.e., their distinctive manner of perceiving and interacting with the world is of very good help.

It seems of utmost necessity to mention that skilled manipulators can use just about any behavior to con and deceive, and therefore it will be useful to draw a clear line between the manipulative tactics the author neatly presents:

1. *evasion and diversion* which manipulators use by answering the questions for short, i.e., giving answers that are not complete. The target needs to think about it for a while to understand that if someone appears to be sidestepping or bypassing a problem in some way, avoiding a topic, or refusing full transparency it does not mean they merely are nervous or justifiably cautious or guarded. They might be purposefully evasive in order to manipulate, particularly that manipulators are very skilled at shifting the target's attention to something unexpected, and diverting the focus of interest.

2. *distortions, inconsistencies, and calculation of domissions,* which are most successful when subtle and hidden, and are effective methods for someone to lie. Hence, manipulate in this case is to repeat a number of totally factual, verifiable facts while purposefully leaving out a critical piece of information that would cast an altogether different light on things.

3. *rationalizations and excuses* is a tactic which is employed by some individuals who appear to have an answer for everything, but all of a sudden, their *explanations* no longer make sense. Thus, it is very important to be cautious when someone explains events or gives justifications for doing particular things, and not to take everything at their face value. Otherwise stated, when things do not appear to add together, one needs to trust his/her intuition. There is no need to be scared of asking clarifying questions. However, creative excuse making may also be a totally intentional and deliberate technique to make one believe a person does not do anything wrong or has a just cause to do something that appears wrong, or has too many answers for actions that one finds disturbing in any manner.

4. *minimization and magnifying* is a tactic that is normally used to minimize or magnify the effect of information, dependent on the purpose of the manipulator. This strategy is more widely used in business performances.

5. aiming to gain the target's trust manipulators skillfully turn on their charm to achieve their goal, for they know very well that *seduction* is one of the reliable tactics in the pursuit of their objective. The more cunning a manipulator is, and the keener he/she is on taking advantage of the target through deceiving them, the more cautious they are about currying their favour. At times, of course, the manipulator may look extremely real, however an experienced observer can see right through the deception.

6. conscientious people desire to do things right, and if someone *invites* them to feel guilty about doing or failing to do something, or humiliated about what they have done, they are more likely to be driven to put things right. When the intended target of manipulation has a well-developed conscience founded on empathy for others, shaming and blaming as manipulation tactics can be practiced rather successfully through pressing their guilt and shame buttons, and this can take the manipulator very far (Simon, 2020, pp. 126-128).

It is considered to be essential to single out the classification of manipulative tactics suggested by George K. Simon (2020, p. 133), which are closely connected with covert-aggression. According to the author there are a number of covertly aggressive (manipulative) actions, and some are more common in professional contexts than others. Simon believes that *covert intimidation* is accomplished through the application of several methods which are very helpful in subtly intimidating others. Quite effective are the following methods: singling the target out for *special treatment* (i.e. selective treatment); leaving the target to feel abandoned and alone if s/he does not *play ball* in the manner the manipulator wants (i.e. systematic exclusion or ostracizing); or subtly providing for pleasant rewards to come a person's way for compliance while stealthily imposing negative consequences for non-compliance (i.e. covert rewards and victimizing are methods of manipulation, very successfully practiced in different situations of life and political speech in particular). One thing is beyond suspicion for Simon: overt intimidation is not usually the manipulator's game (ibid., p. 134).

Another very effective manipulative tactic, according to Simon, is *lying*. Manipulators will not only lie to you, but also about you. They will also discreetly urge people to disseminate falsehoods about you in order to lower your status or gain an edge over you. Lying is one of the most obvious

indicators of a personality disorder. And the degree of a flaw in a person's character is frequently most visible in how and why they lie. The most seriously disturbed personalities (e.g., psychopaths, sociopaths) are especially pathological in their lying in that they lie lavishly and without remorse, and without any apparent necessity or justification, i.e., when the truth would easily suffice or would seem of more practical benefit (ibid., p. 134).

Denial which the author refers to is aimed at impression management, and control. Many people misapprehend it for the ego-defense technique of denial. The manipulation and responsibility-evasion tactic of denial is of a literally unusual kind. Denial can be used to gain an advantage rather than to protect oneself. When provoked, some of the most fervent aggressors may push forward the most violent denials. When someone denies something, the amount of superficial conviction might cause doubt. And, when combined with the strategies of *feigning confusion/ignorance and innocence*, or *playing the role of a victim,* denial is frequently much more successful as a strategy. The thing is that when confronted with anything they have done to hurt you, character-impaired people may claim they have no idea what you are talking about, appear confused, or otherwise indicate that their hands are clean. And if they are persuasive enough about this, given your own degree of vigilance, you could wind up feeling like the bad guy for suspecting them in the first place. That is why this strategy works so well. It is always a good idea to have your facts clear and your supporting documents close at hand. Even yet, a tenacious manipulator may cling to a narrative. When a manipulator initiates to *play the role of a victim,* sensitive and conscientious individuals cannot bear seeing anyone in pain or in a disadvantageous situation. And the most effective method to exploit someone's compassion and so influence them into doing something they would not otherwise do is to skillfully portray yourself as a victim of some tragic event or someone else's actions. This is a particularly effective trump card for manipulators to use when someone is aware of their schemes and suspects them of being the victim.

After familiarizing with different approaches to the study of manipulation, it will be useful to consider the following view by Shostrom. According to him, modern man is a manipulator and s/he learns the act of manipulation as a result of living in a market society. Manipulation is not unique to contemporary man, however, as Western culture has become more structured, as mass media has expanded, and as sophisticated means of promotion, persuasion, and marketing have emerged, the opportunities for manipulation have undoubtedly multiplied.

And the author accepts the approach that the urge to control and be controlled is a key aspect of the manipulator's nature (Shostrom, 1967).

It is simple to note that some formulations stress the hidden non-violent character of manipulation, while others emphasize the manipulator's supremacy, and yet others emphasize the disparity between the initial and indoctrinated wants and intents. This is the result of insufficient research on the concept of manipulation. In this regard, researchers (linguists, psychologists and so on) are still faced with the challenge of selecting required and sufficient criteria for the definition of manipulation.

In his work *Discourse and Manipulation* van Dijk considers the researcher to be the one who can detect any sort of manipulation. It is mostly his responsibility because the manipulator himself will never admit that his influence on people is intentional and purposeful. Manipulative tactics, on the other hand, can be utilized unknowingly in some circumstances. This might occur when the speaker is attempting to solve his/her immediate communicative goal. In fact, a number of concepts may occur in speech that deserve special attention as they potentially suggest the violation of discursive authority and can be revealed through Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The concept of manipulation is frequently employed in a more impressionistic manner, and there is hardly any formal explanation of the structures and processes involved in manipulation. Most cases of manipulation, as we perceive it, occur through text and speaking, hence a discourse analytical approach is of great help. On the other hand, those being controlled are human beings, and this is generally done by manipulating their minds, thus, a cognitive account can also provide insight on the processes. However, a social approach is necessary too, as manipulation is a type of interactional discourse, and it involves power and power abuse (van Dijk, 2006, pp. 359-360).

According to Dr. Richard Paul and Dr. Linda Elder (2004, p. 20), manipulators can also use a variety of other tricks to attain their evil goals. One of these tricks is frequently referred to as *pointing to another wrong*. This is the case when the manipulator accuses the opponent of what s/he is accused of. It particularly occurs in a situation when the manipulators are scolded and, having difficulty to find a way out, they flip the assault and use it to their advantage, making greater allegations against their opponents in order to compel them to defend themselves. Another trick is the unfounded alarm about a domino effect of undesirable things that will result in something horrible in the end. In other words, this trick is described as accusing the target of *sliding a slippery slope*:

although action A of which the target is accused is not so awful, it may lead to action B, which in its turn may possibly lead to C which is terrible.

Most individuals are awestruck by persons in positions of authority, prominence, or grandeur in general. Furthermore, many holy symbols (flags, religious imagery, sacred phrases, etc.) elicit strong connection and allegiance from individuals. Despite the fact that power, rank, and stature have little to do with wisdom and insight, people are captivated by individuals who hold such positions. Demagogues who effectively mislead people understand that the majority of people are easily duped in this manner. As a result, they wrap themselves in the flag and identify with authority, celebrity, or prestige (in any way they can). This includes hunting for experts and other *knowledgeable* people to back up their claims. This trick is defined by Dr. Richard Paul and Dr. Linda Elder (2004) as *appealing to authority.*

Buss et al. (1987, p. 1222) identify six types of manipulative methods used by manipulators to get things done the way they want:

1. *Charm tactic.* Manipulators employ charm techniques to obtain what they want by praising or charming their target in such a way that the latter does not suspect the manipulator of any wrongdoing. They are flattered, and this appeals to them, so they blindly follow the manipulator's instructions. This is a common strategy in which individuals act in this manner anytime they require or desire anything from the other.

2. *Silent treatment.* When manipulators ask/tell someone to do something but they are rejected, they employ the *silent treatment* method to force the individual to do what they are told or else they would be ignored. This can also be considered a kind of blackmail (if you don't do this, I won't talk to you).

3. *Coercion tactic.* Coercion method is employed when manipulators fail to get things done as intended because their target has rejected them. Thus, the manipulator must take efforts to attain his aim by demanding, yelling, shouting, and even verbally assaulting the victim as many times as necessary until their demands are satisfied and their goals are achieved. This may also be viewed as a type of psychological manipulation.

4. *Reason tactic.* When one needs others to follow, believe, or do what s/he says, *reason tactic* comes to help. The manipulator gives reasons why the target should do what s/he is told to. As a result, he or she offers a very meaningful rationale to others while concealing the known facts from the listeners. Clearly, if s/he tells the full truth, many others would realize that this person is untrustworthy and that it would be foolish to follow in his/her

footsteps. Thus, manipulators provide arguments that are enticing to others but are not fully true.

5. *Regression tactic.* Manipulators employ this type of strategy when they are first denied. If none of the other techniques succeeds, they will turn to this one. They make a funny expression and bother the target until he or she cannot take it any longer and has to perform what is asked to.

6. *Debasement tactic.* This tactic is employed when the manipulator has to degrade himself or behave in a very modest manner in order to get affection from the target and have him/her accomplish what he or she has requested them to do.

Linguistic manipulation from a political standpoint, i.e., the use of language to transmit a manipulative attitude in legal and political objectives that are not near to reality and truth, has a significant influence on people's political conscience. Manipulation in political speech conveys not just language components, but also historical, cultural, and psychological characteristics inherent in politics. Politicians construct and sustain the public's image of a savior, but in fact, they frequently lack a strong and realistic strategy for the country. They can only convince, influence, and impress the audience with their rhetorical speech and authoritative and strong phrases, which are in fact hollow. The audience is so desperate that the majority of them do not question the politician's ideas or plans; instead, they go with the flow to see what happens since they are so enthralled by the politician's speech (Handelman, 2009, p. 84).

Political discourse analysis, according to van Dijk (1997) and Dunmire (2012, p. 736), can either contain the text and the speech of politicians in openly political situations, or refer to a political vision of the discourse. Van Dijk divides political manipulative techniques into two categories: *positive self-presentation strategies* and *negative other-presentation strategies* (Dijk, 2006, p. 373). Positive self-presentation is a strategy used by speakers to talk well about oneself, frequently using positive phrases and overall elevating themselves in the eyes of the audience. A speaker's use of negative other-presentation is a strategy in which they seek to denigrate and tear down an opposing speaker. The initiator of such methods, which are sometimes regarded as underhanded or diversionary, often aims to lower the opposition's status in the eyes of the audience.

Conclusion

Manipulation has become an indispensable part of our life, particularly in politics. Depending on the moment and context, politicians take use of their platform to appeal to public and gain their trust as leaders. However, they often to play to their audience, trying to charm them and through the employment of a variety of strategies and techniques influence them and seize control of the situation.

Considering different approaches to the study of manipulative strategies as a complex psycholinguistic concept we can assume that those tactics are generally implemented depending on the moment (situation) and context. However, all of these tactics and strategies are applied both directly and indirectly, and our understanding and interpretation of them depend on our feelings and interaction with people. On the one hand, there is no need for an individual to seek hidden meanings in words and ideas conveyed through speech in order to properly comprehend them if the meaning is supplied immediately and expressed directly, on the other hand, when communicating thoughts indirectly, using some strategies and delivering ambiguous signals, the interlocutor must be sensible enough to notice the hidden subtleties that are missing from the transmitted words.

It stands to reason that these manipulative strategies can be used in different registers including media, politics, social relations, etc. However, politics is assumed to have this high potential to unfold all those tricks that are platforms to appeal to voters in an election campaign, to demonstrate their power and presence during a crisis and so on. As far as media is concerned, we should note that we live with the overflow of media representations and the fact that media can take a variety of measures, employing many techniques and strategies to influence the audience in order to gain click bates and seize control of the situation is of utmost importance.

As a result, we came to the conclusion that manipulative strategies and tactics are defined in different works of theorists which in some of the cases go hand in hand to convey similar contextual interpretations. In the meantime, there are a number of semantic differences in terms of defining manipulation, and this will later allow us to conduct an analysis of concrete linguistic material to expose the manipulative nature of media-political discourse.

Notes

In Oxford Learner's Dictionary (Retrieved from www.oxfordlearnersdiction aries.com/) *manipulation* is defined as "behaviour that controls or influences somebody/something, often in a dishonest way so that they do not realize it." A similar definition can be found in Cambridge Dictionary (Retrieved from https://dictionary.cambridge.org) which explains the term as "controlling someone or something to one's own advantage, often unfairly or dishonestly." According to Mirriam Webster Dictionary (Retrieved from https://merriam-webster.com), *manipulation* is interpreted as "treating or operating with or as if with the hands or by mechanical means especially in a skillful manner; managing or utilizing skillfully; controlling or playing upon by artful, unfair, or insidious means especially to one's own advantage."

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ՄՏԱՇԱՀԱՐԿԱՅԻՆ ԽՈՍՔ: ՏԵՍԱԿԱՆ ԱԿՆԱՐԿ

Մեղա Գասպարյան
Ռաֆայել Հարությունյան

Մտաշահարկումը այն հասկացություններից է, որի համակողմանի տեսական ու գործնական քննությունը այսօրվա հրամայականն է, քանզի այն օգտագործվում է ժամանակակից կյանքի բազմաթիվ ոլորտներում, այդ թվում անձնական ու հանրային, մտավոր ու մասնագիտական և, իհարկե, առավելապես՝ քաղաքական: Սույն հոդվածում նպատակ է դրվում ուսումնասիրելու մտաշահարկում հասկացության՝ որպես հոգեբանական ու լեզվական երևույթի տեսական մեկնաբանություններն

ու արժեղրումները՝ մտաշահարկային մարտավարությունների և դրանց դրանց իրականացման մեխանիզմների առանձնակի շեշտադրմամբ: Հետազոտության այս փուլում էապես կարևորվում է քննության առնել տարբեր նպատակներով և տարբեր ոլորտներում կիրառվող մարտավարական մեխանիզմների ուսումնասիրության դաշտում առկա տեսական մոտեցումներ, բառարանային մեկնաբանություններ, որոնք կամբողջացնեն մեր պատկերացումները խոսքում մտաշահարկային ռազմավարության ներդրման յուրահատկությունների մասին:

Բանալի բառեր. *մտաշահարկում, լեզվական և հոգեբանական մտաշահարկում, սոցիալական չարաշահում, մտաշահարկային ռազմավարություն, քարոզչություն, քաղաքական դիսկուրս:*

ON SEVERAL RECURRENT THEMES AND CONCEPTS IN SCOTTISH BALLADS

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The present article seeks to study the concepts of "love" and "homeland" from linguistic and cultural perspectives. Within the frames of the article an attempt is made to elucidate these concepts in Scottish ballads and media. The article also dwells upon the inherent nature of the aforementioned concepts as underlying units of Scottish culture since concepts as such reflect the mental activities of language speakers. The concepts of "love" and "homeland" embody crucial values and images common to any linguo-culture. The linguo-cultural analysis of factual data taken from folk texts (Scottish ballads) and media discourse (articles) sheds light upon not only the lexical actualization but also modern perception of the given concepts. The choice of the material is conditioned by the necessity to highlight their diachronic evolution and their importance in contemporary research. A special reference is made to the media coverage of the Scottish Independence referendum, which illustrates Scots' attitude towards their ethnic identity and their country as a whole.

Keywords: *Scottish ballads, Scottish Independence Referendum, concepts, love, homeland, linguo-culture.*

Introduction

Ballads, being the linguo-cultural reflection of a nation's oral traditions are handed down from generation to generation. It is hard to overestimate the significance of ballads in the study of the language picture of the world of a nation concerned. Ballads are seen as a means to uncover the inherent nature of identity of people for their plot usually develops around such fundamental concepts as homeland, freedom, honour, friendship, love, happiness and others. These concepts account for the formation of national cultural values and reflect the culture-bound attitudes toward them. This is particularly important for the

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interpretation of the fundamental linguo-cultural and national concepts and drawing parallels across cultures. It is widely argued that the fundamental concepts embody the typical features of national mentality (Sternin, 1984; Maslova, 2004; Karasik, 2004; Popova &Sternin, 2007 and others).

The last decades have seen a certain degree of decline of interest in reading ballads, which could be explained by the complexity of the genre. However, the genre has not lost its relevance as an object of multilayered research from literary, cultural, historical and ideological perspectives. Being a combination of lyrical, epic and dramatic dimensions, ballads remain a reliable source for investigating the history and culture of a nation along with the experiences of people and their emotional development. This aspect makes ballads a valuable source contributing to the increase of the cultural knowledge and promoting intercultural communication.

The present paper aims at studying of several central themes in Scottish ballads and suggests looking at the concepts *love, homeland and freedom* as the most pronounced and recurrent ones. The methodological framework is built on contextual and conceptual methods of analysis. While the contextual method is used to discuss the figurative use of language units, the conceptual method aims to describe the concepts under study and trace their culture-bound interpretations. The choice of the mentioned concepts, specifically the concepts homeland and freedom, is not by chance. As will be shown in the final part of the paper, the concepts remain valid for investigating their influence on the current social, cultural and political developments.

Ballads as a special genre of folk literature

Ballads are oral transmission of songs and stories that are subjected to modifications conditioned by the storyteller's intentions, regional peculiarities and historical context. As G. Gerould terms it: "Defined in simplest terms the ballad is a folk song that tells a story" (Gerould, 1957, p. 3). In his studies Gerould emphasizes that ballads are universal cultural entities that are found in almost every nations' oral tradition. He emphasizes that all ballads are of situational nature in which the action unfolds in a single episode: "Their structure is as fundamentally different as is their style; the compressed and centralized episode is their unit (ibid., 1957, p. 6)". Dwelling upon the peculiarities of a ballad as a genre in literature, it should be stressed that the narrative of the latter is endowed with certain dramatic undertones. The aforementioned dramatic feature of ballads is accounted for by the fact that

actions and situations here are introduced in a dramatic way. Another peculiarity of ballads consists in the storyteller's impersonal attitude to the events of the narrative, as the narrator's opinions and beliefs are mainly of secondary importance. Even if the formulaic use of "I" is encountered, this may owe to the fact that the narrator wants to make his narrative closer to the audience. The impersonality, however, does not imply neutral or even emotionless attitude on part of the storyteller and his/her audience. Quite the contrary, both parties involved do sympathize with the heroes' misfortunes, lost love and homeland. As G. Gerould contends "objectivity of approach to ballad themes is certainly one factor helpful to a definition of the genre" (Gerould, 1957, p.10). Summing up the inherent peculiarities of ballads, it can be stated that they are merely folksongs, focusing on an important situation; the unfolding narrative that describes the events is impartial and unbiased, with almost no comment. The in-depth study of ballads as pieces of folklore may allow us to surmise that they are immensely valuable as they reflect the racial memory as well as customs and beliefs of any nation.

The aesthetic and antiquarian value of ballads

At the end of the 18th and during the 19[th]centuries, the scholars came to appreciate the aesthetic and antiquarian value of ballads as constituents of folk-poetry. In this connection, we cannot but mention Victorian Francis J.Chide's efforts to collect every possible variant of every popular ballad as well as English collector Th. Percy's collection that mainly comprised Scottish ballads. The poetic features of ballads fascinated T. Percy as in his view the latter were true remnants of ancient British poetry. Through centuries antiquarians started to find a connection between ballads and culturally national narrative. T. Percy opposed this tendency, arguing that ballads were relics of ancient British poetry which had equal standing with the classics. However, the culturally nationalistic Scottish collectors had other thoughts concerning the matter. James Hogg, David Herd, Robert Burns, Walter Scott, Robert Jamieson described Percy's ballads as gems of Scotland. W. Scott's collection "Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border" consisted of the same ballads as found in Percy's collection. Nevertheless, W. Scott included other variants of one and the same ballad, introducing their geographical, historical and cultural origins.

J. Hogg, another 19th century collector, emphasized that ballads were living entities as many real people were singing them. In his view, the ballad must be

sung for it to be authentic as printed ballads are devoid of the same aesthetic value as the ones sung by people.

In terms of their aesthetic value, ballads cannot be defined as a form of simple poetry as they embody oral art of people who, driven by their imagination, unconsciously created truly precious pieces characterized by spontaneous ingenuity. In this connection, it should be noted that ballads are not to be seen as individual specimens, but rather international phenomena typical of European folk in general (Gerould, 1957). In terms of their thematic peculiarities, ballads consist of romantic and heroic narratives which are identified by intense dramatic situations where certain rhetorical devices like parallelism, hyperbole and refrains can be identified. Their use endows the verse with more intense emotive charge (ibid.).

One of the recurrent concepts in Scottish ballads is the concept *love*. The concept is a multifaceted phenomenon and, as such, it is studied from various perspectives. V. Kolesov sees the concept as an integral part of national mentality and has got both linguistic and cultural values (Kolesov & Pimenova, 2012), while A. Wierzbicka adheres to the metalinguistic approach to the study of love as a concept (Wierzbicka, 1992). In S. G. Vorakachev's view, love is a "teleonomical (brought about through human or divine intention) concept" and is the essence of an individual's life, it transcends the possible limits of existence in pursuit of unity with the absolute Goodness (Vorkachev, 2003, p. 27). In this research, we adhere to the premise that *love* is a linguo-cultural entity which reflects the specifics of national mentality. Thus, the analysis of the aforementioned concept in ballads will enable us to gain some insight in the Scottish perception of *"love"* as a linguo-cultural concept. The ballad *"The Douglas Tragedy"* tells the tragic love story of Lord Douglas and Lady Margaret. Sir Douglas carries Lady Margaret away against her family's will while her father and seven brothers pursue them to save the honor of the family. Douglas mounted her on "a milk-white steed". The innocence of the lady is lexically actualized via the phrase ***milk white steed***, while in contrast Douglas' horse is grey. It is noteworthy, that as the narrative unfolds, the color of Douglas' horse changes, while Margaret still rides the same white steed. Meanwhile Margaret's father and brothers reach them and fight ensues between Douglas and Margaret's family. The outcome of the fight is indeed tragic as Douglas kills her seven brothers "and there she saw her seven brethren slain and her father still fechting sae dear" (Chambers, 1829, p.112). In her attempt to save her father's life Lady Margaret begs for Douglas' mercy, "O hald your

hand sweet William! For your strokes they are wondrous sair; true lovers I may mony a ane, but a father I can never get mair" (ibid., p.112). Here we witness the heroine's limitless love for her father as she rightly thinks that no lover can replace her father. Their journey is a sorrowful one, as is illustrated in the passage "and they baith went weeping along" (ibid., p.112). Thus it becomes clear that the concept *love* borders on the concept of sorrow, i.e. love is pain you have to make a sacrifice to attain it. The hardships of finding love are highlighted in the final part of the ballad, when Sir Douglas dies from his wounds and Lady Margaret follows him,

> *Lord William was buriet in St Mairie's kirk, Lady Maragaret in St Mairies' quier: Out o' the lady's grave grew a bonnie red rose and out o' the knicht's a brier. And they twa met and they twa plett and fain they wad be near.* (Chambers, 1829, p.114)

On the lexical level, the tragic nature of love is expressed via the brier, symbolizing the thorny path that one has to take to find love, and rose which is the token of such a sweet and irrational feeling as love.

The ballad *"Sweet Willie and Fair Annie"* narrates another tragic love story. Willie and Annie love each other, but Willie's mother does not give her consent to their marriage, as she wants her son to marry a wealthier girl and leave Annie: *"There are twa maidens in the bouir which of them shall I bring? The nut-brown maid has sheep and kye, and fair Annie has nane"*(Chambers, 1829, p. 270). With pain in his heart, Willie abides by his mother's will*: "O I sall wed the nut-brown maid, and I sall bring her hame; though peace suld ne'er be us between, till death sinder's again"*. Thence, Fair Annie attends Willie's wedding.

> *And when she cam to Marie's kirk in the deas, the licht that cam frae fair Annie enlichtent a' the place. The cleiding that fair Annie had on was sae wi' pearls ower-dune, that whan she cam into the kirk she shimmered like the sun.* (Chambers, 1829, p. 273)

Through the analysis of the lexical units of the ballad, it becomes apparent that Annie's love for Willie is magical, she radiates *licht* (light) and the whole place is *enlichtent (enlightened)*. The simile expressed in *shimmered like the sun* intensifies the unearthly qualities which Annie is endowed with. In other words, through mapping we can state that *love* is light; *love* is sun, *love* is

something superhuman. Noteworthy is the fact that, like in the previous ballad, here too "rose" symbolizes love and affection: *"Willie had a **rose** into his hand; he gave it kisses three; and, reaching by the nut-brown bride, laid it on Annie's knee"* (Chambers, 1829, p. 274). Annie rejects the flower, emphasizing the ephemeral nature of love and the pain she has to suffer for the sake of love*: "Tak back and weir your rose Willie as lang as it will last; for like your love, its sweetness will sune (soon) be gane and past. Weir ye the rose of love Willie and I the thorn o' care"*(Chambers, 1829, p. 276)**.** In the mentioned excerpt, we can see that the concept *love* is associated with the concept *bitterness* (*thorn* is its overt lexical expression). Annie's sadness drives her to death, Willie learns about it in his dream and, being unable to cope with the sorrow, he also dies. Finally, the two lovers are unified in the afterlife.

> *The tane was buriet in Marie's kirk, the tother in Marie's quier; and o' the tane there grew a birk and out o' the tother a brier. And aye they grew and they drew, as they wald faine be near, and every ane that passed them by said "Thae's been lovers deir!* (Chambers, 1829, p. 276)

The final repetition heightens the emotive impact of the message.

Concept *homeland* and its materialization in ballads

From a linguo-cultural perspective, *"homeland"* or as Vorkachov states "this country" may have different expressions on the lexical level and be associated with diverse adjacent concepts. In Vorkachov's opinion, *"homeland"* as a linguo-cultural concept is essentially an ideological entity since it reflects the people's expectations from the society they live in and their aspirations for creating the ideal social structure. In other words, the concept *"homeland"* not only represents the self-perception of the ethnos as a bearer of a distinct culture, but also expresses the evaluation of "national characteristics" (Vorkachev et al., 2007, p. 40). In his study, Vorkachov comes to evidence that the British linguo-cultural specifics seem to be somewhat "void of the concept *homeland, country*". In his research, he highlights that unlike Russian linguo-culture, where *"happiness"* is frequently used with *"country, homeland",* the British seem to be reluctant to find its verbalizations on the lexical level (ibid., 2007). McCrone, discussing such issues as Scottish identity and society, claims that Scotland is more appropriate to be referred to as *"country"* since it bears a wide range of connotations. According to McCrone, *"country"* embodies all the

crucial values and images, and is the "fusion of land and nation" (McCrone, 2005, p. 38).

The study of the Scottish ballads enables us to claim that the Scots' century-long struggle for the "dream" of defeating the rivaling country (England) or shaping their identity is certainly reflected in the Scottish folk tradition. Given the historical context, the border disputes and fights between England and Scotland were of constant nature. The ballad *"The Battle of Otterbourne"* is based on real historical events when Scottish noblemen invaded England. Earl of Douglas, one of the most distinguished warriors, led the Scottish army. When the Scots reached Newcastle, Percy, Earl of Northumberland tried to stop the Scottish advance. Eventually, Scots won the battle despite the fact that Sir Douglas died. The battle at Otterbourne turned out to be catastrophic for both Douglas and Percy as the former fell in the battle and Sir Hugh Montgomery held Percy captive. As the narrative evolves, Earl Douglas managed to win the fight with Percy. The duel between Percy and Douglas may be interpreted as an ongoing English-Scottish hostility, when one party tries to subdue the other: *"He took a lang speir in his hand shod with the metal free; and for to meet the Douglas there, he rode richt furiouslie"* (Chambers, 1829, p. 16). In other words, through metonymy the concept of warring countries is expressed. None of the parties is willing to give in for the sake of their country's honor, and one (in this case Douglas) has to die for the cause. Hence, we can infer that the concept *homeland* is related to the concept *"self-sacrifice*".

Another historical ballad, *"Sir Patrick Spence"*, narrates the tragic story of Patrick Spence who died, sailing back home. As far as the historical background is concerned, in 1251, by the order of the Scottish King Alexander III, Patrick Spence along with other Scottish noblemen accompanied the king's daughter Margaret to Norway who was married to a Norwegian king. Sir Patrick Spence and all the noblemen drowned on their way back home. The narration of the ballad starts with Sir Patrick's lament over the king's letter in which he ordered Sir Patrick to sail to Norway to accompany Margaret: "*O wha is this has done this deed, and tauld the king o' me? To send us out at this time o' year to sail upon the sea!*"(Chambers, 1829, p. 4)[*]. The given passage depicts the crew's attempt to return to homeland: "*Sir Patrick he is on the sea, and far out ower the faem wi' five-and fifty lords' sons that longed to be at*

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[*] It should be mentioned that due to the faulty system of navigation it was highly dangerous to sail in the wintertime.

hame" (Chambers, 1829, p. 6). The noblemen's yearning for their homeland, homesickness is exemplified by the phrase "*that longed to be at hame".* As any piece of folklore, ballads also have some supernatural elements; one may encounter good omens or more commonly bad ones. Moreover, the characters' premonitions are materialized in their dreams. In the ballad about Sir Percy a mermaid is the supernatural force that comes to reassure Patrick, notifying about his return to Scotland:

> *"Upstartit the mermaid by the ship wi' a glass and a kame in her hand; says, reek about, my merry-men ye are nae far frae land."* To which Sir Patrick responds: "*Ye lie, ye lie, my bonnie mermaid, sae loud as I hear ye lie; for sin' I hae seen your face this nicht, the land I will never see (*Chambers, 1829, p. 6).

The mermaid is the harbinger of the crew's imminent doom, as they will never see land (Scotland) again. In the passage above, the aesthetic impact of the narrative is heightened by the repetition "*Ye lie, ye lie*". Thus, from the analysis of the contextual and co-textual cues, it can be inferred that unlike the death that awaits the Scottish noblemen, land-homeland is the impossible destination to reach.

A discourse on *freedom*: from oral tradition to modern times

Scots have long been searching for their freedom and cherishing the hope for the establishment of a sovereign state. Studies in any aspects of the Scottish culture and history could hardly be complete without considering the phenomenon of identity.

In the late 20th and at the beginning of the 21st centuries, the perception of identity underwent global changes. In this connection, the sociologist Zygmunt Bauman has noted: "If the modern problem of identity was how to construct an identity and keep it solid and stable, the postmodern "problem of identity" is primarily how to avoid fixation and keep options open. In the case of identity, the catchword of modern was creation; the catchword of post-modernity is recycling (Bauman, as cited in McCrone, 2005, p. 150). To put it otherwise, people are in an ongoing quest for their identity in the modern world. In regard to defining Scottish identity, McCrone claims that "being Scottish is simply a device for not being English" (McCrone, 2005, p. 149). Historically, the monarchy, along with geographic specifics in Scotland, shaped a sense of belonging between Highlanders and Lowlanders. Their loyalty to the Scottish

king and unwillingness to be subjected by the English were the foundations of Scottish identity. The English state's policy and the border wars between Scotland and England were the underlying basis to mould the Scottish as a nation. The awareness of national identity consisted in "Scots" against the eternal "foe".

Historically established circumstances have resulted in the development of a discourse on freedom and on the love of freedom which has enriched the concept with a specific content and attitudes. The latter can be observed in the historical-cultural context by drawing parallels between texts of various genres and created in historically distant periods.

The ballad *"Young Douglas"* focuses on Douglas' love for his homeland (A Ballad, n.d.). Douglas is not reconciled to Scotland's fate and wants it to regain its sovereignty. For his "rebellious" thoughts he is unfairly imprisoned:*"Douglas young they've piiten by in Saughton jail is he. He bide by thae that rob and rape that stude for Scot land free".* The analysis of the contextual cues enables us to state that Young Douglas is willing to undergo any hardships and experience any sufferings for his country's sake. As the narrative unfolds, Douglas persists with the idea to see Scotland free from the English rule and is incarcerated again: "*Their talk o' freedom's jist a say. As Douglas kens owre weel. He talked o' Scottish libertie. Sae Douglas bides in jail. His crime was that he spak the truth. Anent oor trauchled land. He caad for justice – he'd a hope. Frae English-monied hands."*

The study of the lexical units makes it possible to observe the close connection between the concepts *love* and *freedom* as Douglas loses his freedom for Scotland to gain its own. The multiple uses of the lexical units, representing the concept (*freedom, liberty*) testifies to this. Moreover, Douglas' love is expressed in his proclivity to tell the truth (that Scotland should get rid of the English grip-monied hands), thus, love, hope and truthfulness can be seen as constituents of the concept *freedom: "When Douglas tellt them historie's truth. Nae answer could they gie. They pit him by for a twal month I' the war for libertie!"*

The discourse on freedom plays a strong and important role in the context of current societal and political developments. In the last decades of the 20th century Scots asserted their "Scottishness" simultaneously, priding themselves on being British. The rise of Scottishness has led to questioning Scotland's membership to Great Britain. The concepts *freedom* and also *independence* were widely circulated in press during the 2014 Independence Referendum, a historical event, as the "Yes" or "No" vote would bring about serious implications for Scotland and its people.

Mitchell states that print media helped shaping a sense of Scottishness in everyday life, as Scots became more aware of the English (Mitchell, 2014, p, 36 as cited in Engstrom, 2019, p. 32). The analysis of the media coverage of the referendum shows that the print media greatly supported pro-union (Dekavalla, 2016 as cited in Engstrom, 2014, p. 32), whereas the online activity was primarily in favor of independence. It should be noted that the given research mainly focuses on how the concepts *freedom* and *independence* were expressed in the headlines on the Scottish independence referendum. The Sunday Herald's *"Scotland's day of reckoning"* features the implicit question: What do Scots really want? From a conceptual perspective, Scotland and Scots are one and the same entity. Here the use of personification testifies to the fact that every Scot is Scotland and it is their duty to vote conscientiously as the verb *"reckon"* is used to imply it. In the headline, *"day"* metaphorically stands for both past and future, i.e. Scots had long been waiting for this day and, whatever the result might be, their life ahead would not be the same. Interestingly, the graphic image under the headline may also give us a clue about the paper's view on the referendum. The image of a solitary man standing on the top of the mountain can be interpreted in the following way: Scotland is personified by the solitary manand mountain top represents the sublime goal – the independence. Another headline, *"Day of destiny"*, along with the image of the Scottish symbol thistle, circulated on the front page of the newspaper *Scotsman*. Once again the use of *"Day"* testifies to the far-reaching implications of the referendum outcome. *"Day"* is associated with the historical "past" and the future of Scots as a nation. Through the alliteration (**d**ay of **d**estiny), the impact of the forthcoming decision is heightened. Moreover, destiny covertly suggests that Scots have earned a right to decide on their own "fate" (fate and destiny belong to the same semantic field) shape their political, cultural, and even existential future. The image of thistle stands for resilience and the will to endure till the victorious end.

However, it is worth mentioning that there exists a gap in the perceptions of the concepts *freedom* and *independence,* with the modernized content of the concepts opposed to their idealized perceptions found in the oral lore. The differences between the perceptions can be traced in the division between Yes and No votes during the Referendum of 2014. The uncertainty about the future of the country, on the one hand, and the issue of the economic impacts of the Independence, on the other, have been the key points of argument of the No vote. The Scottish Sun launched the following headline "*Yes or No. Today*

Scotland starts with a blank page" on September 18, 2014. The "Yes or No" dilemma suggests whether Scots want to cast aside their Britishness and stick to their Scottish identity only. On the lexical level, the concept of new Scotland is expressed with the help of the metaphorical phrase "blank page", which can be interpreted as a fresh start for Scots irrespective of the result. The Scottish Daily Record cited a passage from Robert Burns' poem followed by the headline *"Choose well Scotland"*. As was the case in previous headlines, Scotland is personified, thus Scotland as a location and Scots as a nation are inseparable concepts. Scots' right to "choose" their own destiny is also obvious. On the lexical level, the adverb *"well"* may have a dual interpretation: according to the first interpretation, *"well"* suggests that Scots should vote both consciously and conscientiously, while the second interpretation is a subtle and implicit prompt to vote for the union with Great Britain. *"Well"*here may imply as well the generalized common good of Britain and Scotland. The Scottish Daily Express resorts to the reformulation of a popular phrase "The sun never sets on the British Empire", which is modified as *"Don't let the sun set on our union."* The phrase implicitly states that the union between the two countries dates back to the era of the British Empire and that the two countries have had common history, experience. Furthermore, if *"the sun sets on the union*" darker times are predicted for both countries that are destined to live side by side.

Conclusion

The paper demonstrates the relevance of ballads for a study of key cultural and national concepts. The universal concepts *love, homeland* and *freedom* are those among the central concepts reflected in Scottish ballads. The analysis of the content of the discussed ballads, as well as the specific means of their materialization made it possible to reveal the cultural features of attitudes toward and interpretations of the concepts and identify the national value system based on them.

The paper also attempted to discuss the relevance of the concept *freedom* from the historical-cultural perspective. The study of the concept freedom demonstrates that the concept has not lost its significance, however the idealized perception of the freedom has been replaced by a more pragmatic content. The parallel study of the concept *freedom* in different types of texts created in historically distant period helped track the specific interpretations of the concept, and put the study of the mentioned concepts in a historical-cultural

context. This issue can be developed further and become an object of a separate study.

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ՀԱՃԱԽ ՀԱՆԴԻՊՈՂ ԹԵՄԱՆԵՐՆ ՈՒ ՀԱՍԿԱՑՈՒՅԹՆԵՐԸ ՇՈՏԼԱՆԴԱԿԱՆ ԲԱԼԼԱԴՆԵՐՈՒՄ

Արփինե Մադոյան

Սույն հոդվածի խնդրո առարկան «սեր», «հայրենիք» հասկացույթների լեզվամշակութային քննություն է: Վերոնշյալ հասկացույթների լուսա-բանման համար որպես փաստական նյութ են ընտրվել շոտլանդական բալլադները և ժամանակակից լրատվամիջոցները, ինչի արդյունքում հնարավոր է դարձել վեր հանել այդ հասկացույթների զարգացումը տարաժամանակյա կտրվածքով: «Սեր» և «հայրենիք հասկացույթների ուսումնասիրության շնորհիվ բացահայտվում են լեզվակիրների աշ-խարհայացքի յուրահատկությունները: Շոտլանդիայի անկախության հանրաքվեն լուսաբանող հոդվածների քննությունը ի հայտ է բերում շոտլանդացիների էթնիկ ինքնության առանձնահատկությունները:

Բանալի բառեր. *շոտլանդական բալլադներ, Շոտլանդիայի անկախու-թյան հանրաքվե, «սեր», «հայրենիք» հասկացույթներ, լեզվամշակույթ:*

IRONY IN FAN FICTION

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Irony is a broad concept with many cultural and artistic manifestations of criticism, sarcasm, humor, parody, and even tragedy. It can represent various intellectual and emotional states, such as criticism, self-criticism, curiosity, entertainment, disappointment, anger, boasting, etc. The tone, intensity and frequency of sound are sufficient to convey irony in speech. However, in writing authors use a number of linguistic and stylistic means to be able to convey irony to the reader. This also refers to fanfic (fan fiction) – a work of art/fiction written by book fans, TV series, films, etc. – which is based on an original creation and uses irony widely. The language we perceive when reading fan fiction influences our language and our own production of speech. Hence, the present case study aims at revealing ways and means as well as reasons of expressing irony in fan fiction – a discourse variety that has attracted great interest in the modern world especially among the younger generation.

Keywords: *Fan fiction, fandom, fan, verbal irony, situational irony, dramatic irony, sarcasm.*

Introduction

It is a well-known fact that emotions serve as a kind of moderator between the world and its reproduction in the language of people. Emotions enclosed in words reproduce the emotional attitude of the person towards the world. Otherwise stated, emotions are always present in words, and when necessary, expressed through them. Irony is a way of expressing emotions. Emotions often accompany irony in different types of communication, increasing enjoyment, anger, sorrow, hopelessness and other feelings. Irony is very common in speech, plays, novels, poetry, media texts and other discourse types. It is a literary/stylistic/rhetorical device the main essence of which is saying one thing

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but meaning the opposite. It may also have additional social and emotional functions like expressing certain contrary emotions.

Irony is widely used in fan fiction/fanfiction (also abbreviated to fan fic, fanfic, fic or ff). Fan fiction is a type of fictional text written by fans of any work of fiction, comic books, TV series, films, etc., where the author uses established characters, settings, or other intellectual properties from an original creator as a basis for his/her writing. Fan fiction ranges from a couple of sentences to an entire novel, and fans can both keep the original creator's characters and settings or add their own. Since fan fiction has become popular relatively recently, people from all over the world can submit their works on social networks, availing the readers of an opportunity to study irony in more modern works of fiction.

Irony: definition and types

Most people have a general understanding of irony but there are also a lot of misconceptions about it. Henry Watson Fowler states that irony might have hundreds of definitions and very few of them would be accepted but what the definitions must necessarily include is that the surface meaning and the underlying meaning of what is said cannot be the same (Fowler, 2003). He believes that irony as an utterance postulates a double audience – a party that hears and does not understand and another party that hears and understands more than is meant (Fowler, 2015). Eric Partridge (1999) claims that irony states the contrary of what is meant. Considering the mentioned definitions, we would add that irony is a literary device in contrast or inappropriate between anticipations for a situation and reality. This can be a difference between the apparent meaning of something that is said and the underlying meaning. It can also be a difference between what might be predictable to happen and what actually ensues.

The term *irony* has its roots in the Greek comic character Eiron, a clever underdog who by his wit repeatedly triumphs over the boastful character Alazon (Irony, 2021). The Socratic irony of the Platonic dialogues derives from this comic origin. The word *irony* came into English to denote a figure of speech in the 16th century as similar to the French *ironie*. It derives from the Latin *ironia* and ultimately from the Greek *εἰρωνεία eirōneía*, meaning dishonesty, deliberately exaggerated ignorance (Eiron, 2021).

There exist three different types of irony: verbal, situational, and dramatic (Three different types of irony, 2021). Each has a different definition and

function in fiction. **Verbal irony** arises when what is said is different from what is meant. Its intentional character gives the speaker a chance to hope that the audience will recognize the presence of irony. It should be noted that verbal irony is not lying. A lie is a falsehood meant to deceive. This type of irony is much less wicked. **Sarcasm** is perhaps the most distinguished sub-type of verbal irony. It is an ironic statement meant to mock or ridicule another person. Sarcasm is "designed to cut or give pain" (Sarcasm, 2011). **Situational irony** occurs when what happens is the opposite of what we expect to happen. It can be as simple as holding an umbrella outside only to find the sun shining. It can even be as dramatic as revealing the killer to be the least likely suspect. **Dramatic irony** occurs when the audience, having been given more information, understands a situation more clearly than the characters do. This understanding often leads to an element of suspense because we know the character will learn the truth eventually but we don't know when or how.

In the following part an attempt will be made to reveal how irony is expressed in fan fiction.

What is fan fiction?

Fan fiction is usually described as a derivative of a certain media artifact. This means that there ought to be a source-text which creates a response – fan fiction. This is nothing new and has been happening since mankind began creating artifacts. Not all stories repeatedly recreated by various authors are considered a form of fan fiction, because if this were the case then all re-written variants could be considered a form of fanfic. Re-imaginations might be born out of fandom, out of an intense appreciation of the original artifact. However, there is a difference in the goals set by authors. In that sense, fan fiction is just written for fans, and not for a market of consumers. Of course, reinterpretations might be promoted as treats for the fans, but actually they are meant to attract an audience as big as possible. The difference is clear: reinterpretations are aimed at a market with a wide audience, fan fiction is aimed at a fandom and its fans.

But what is fan fiction, if it is not a reinterpretation? Abigail Derecho (2006) offers an interesting way of approaching fan fiction. She calls the type of writing associated with fan fiction *archontic*. The word *archontic* is based on the idea of texts being archives. It is taken from Jacques Derrida's work *Archive fever* (1995) in which the author claims that incorporating the knowledge deployed in reference to it, the archive augments, engrosses and gains in

auctoritas. But it also loses some absolute and meta-textual authority it has. Thus, *archontic* is the most accurate description of what fan fiction means in relation to the original artifact. If we see the original work as an archive, we can approach fan fiction as an entry to this archive. Hence, fan fiction is often described as a derivative. This description has several connotations that go along with it. The connotations, whether negative or positive, present a non-neutral starting point in a debate about fan fiction. Saying that something is a derivative implies that in the process of coming into existence it has lost something of the original work it is based on, thus becoming somewhat inferior to the original. By describing texts as archives, we do not have to deal with these connotations but instead see the text as an entry to an open archive with the original artifact as the basis for the same archive.

Thus, fan fiction is done by the fan for the greater good of his or her fandom, as opposed to other inter-textual reinterpretations which are done by professionals for a general audience. It is archontic literature, which means that a work of fan fiction contributes to the archive established by the original work or artifact on which the fiction is based. But how is fan fiction created, what rules and habits constitute an overall work of fan fiction? This poses a problem because we cannot talk about fan fiction, draw conclusions on it by establishing it as archontic literature without giving concrete examples about what it actually is.

To show what typical fan fiction is, I will represent a small sample – a piece of fanfic based on George Orwell's *1984* (2003) called *An Alternet Ending,* written by James Masters (2012), a member of Fanfiction net, one of the biggest on-line communities dedicated to fan fiction. The story itself is pretty short, that is why I have chosen to bring it here in full instead of adding it as an appendix.

> *Winston's body was racked with pain from the previous beating but his mind was still resisting. He knew in his heart that this was wrong and so his anger turned to his strength to push on and instead of taking the beating the following day he would strike back at them with full force. **Threw** his anger he ignored the pain and the betrayal. His eyes hardened to a light stone like blue and he was going to fight. When the thought officers came to get him in his cell he just smiled at them when one tried to wipe that smirk off of his face. The only thought going **threw** his mind was 'Either now or never.'*

*He caught the hand as it sailed towards his face and struck back with vengeance at his tormentors left temple. A sickening crunch reverberated around the cell as the officer fell over dead. Winston's eyes got dark as the second officer tried to pull out his taster to stop him dead in his tracks but he was too slow and before the officer knew it he was on the ground getting the shit beat out of him. With one officer dead and the other knocked out Winston took their clothing and went incognito out of the ministry of secrets. Numerous officers tried to stop them but they meant the same fate as all of the others stopped dead with a bullet in the head. A single thought was going threw his mind 'When the people are afraid of the government that is tyranny and this is tyranny.' Many other people saw what he was doing and some decided to join him as they fought to the officials palaces ransacking and killing all that big brother was. Finally they made it to the center of the city and stormed the main **buricratic** building. The **cowered** that was big brother was under his desk whimpering like a little baby for all of this to stop. Winston just said to him "You disgust me." Everyone that was there agrees that Winston was the hero now that Big Brother and all of his corrupt government were finally over. It has been twenty years since the rebellion and the people have not been happier, light seems to have returned to the streets and I am happy that Winston made that difference. Things would be a lot different if he did not stand up and fight to become the first president of a new order on that the government is afraid of the people. A government can only go so far before the people decide enough is enough and revolt against the government. For we hold these truths to be self-evident.*

The first thing we notice when we read the story is a certain freedom with the source material. What is presented here is an alternative ending to George Orwell's novel. In the original story, the protagonist Winston Smith is resisting the party doctrine of super-state Oceania through his journals, something that is highly offensive and will be answered with death penalty. He starts a love affair with Julia, thinking the Thought Police - Oceania's intelligence on people who

might challenge authority - is not aware of his rebellion and his affair. When Winston and Julia get caught, Winston is severely beaten and tortured after which he is to be rehabilitated for reintegration into Oceania's society. The story above takes place during the torture-sessions Winston had to endure. Instead of taking the beatings, Winston stands up and defends himself from the beatings the Thought Officers would give him. He strikes them down, and rampages out of the Ministry of Secrets to establish a new order where the government is afraid of the people. First of all, it is not clear if Banker has read the original story correct. For example, there is no Ministry of Secrets. The Ministry where Winston is held in the original story is thought to be the Ministry of Love, one of the four ministries in Oceania. Also, it would be almost impossible for Winston to escape the ministry for several reasons: he was not aware of how the ministry was structured and therefore could not possibly coordinate a successful escape - telescreens would be able to see him trying to dress up incognito and see through his ruse. However, in fan fiction, what is and what is not possible does not matter. This is fanfic describing something that does not happen in the original story. James Masters (2012) explains his motivation for writing this alternative ending at the beginning of his fanfic:

> *Hey guys I have posted a little story to keep you busy, I just finished reading 1984, and good book in itself but the ending was something to be desired for. I honestly hope you can read 1984 by George Orwell. Well you know the drill I do not own anything of George Orwell except for the printed copies of Animal Farm and 1984.*

It should be noted that the author of this piece turns to the knowledge of his audience when disclaiming the copyrights of Orwell's heritage. This is an example of how fan fiction is mostly written by fans for fans. In addition, the lack of professionalism (without judging its value) shows in the writing. Spelling mistakes are common throughout the text and there are several other mistakes that show the story is written by a fan, more than a professional.

In the following part of the paper some works of fan fiction accompanied by irony are represented and certain extracts taken from these works come under study.

Irony in fan fiction

The famous scene from the cartoon *The Lion King* called *What Ghost Mufasa Should Have Said to Simba* (2013) by Super Fanfic Entertainment depicts how Rafiki leads Simba to a pool of water and asks him to look into it. At first, Simba sees nothing, but then he sees the image of his father. Mufasa's ghost rises and addresses his son from the sky, telling Simba that he is the one true king. And that is all Mufasa's ghost says in the cartoon. We propose to pay attention to the title of the fan fiction, it says: *What Ghost Mufasa should have said to Simba*. That is, according to the author, in the cartoon, the ghost of Mufasa left something unfinished in his speech.

> *Mufasa then reappeared again quickly. "Oh….and one more thing you should probably know. Scar was the one who killed me. He threw me back into the stampede." Simba then made an angry face. "SCAR!?HE….HE WHAT!?"*

The author clearly speaks ironically about the creators of the cartoon who, in his opinion, have missed an important detail. But if analyzed without relying on the author's own thoughts, the whole situation is ironic for Scar who kills Mufasa since Simba wants to take revenge. This leads us to poetic Irony.

There is another example, this time of structural irony. We already realize: Simba was convinced that it was he who was to blame for the death of his father and not Scar. And Mufasa's words *Oh….and one more thing you should probably know* hint at Simba's lack of intelligence, who was obviously surprised to hear this.

> *"Why didn't you tell me Scar murdered you sooner!?" Simba said angrily. "Well for starters, you were just a cub, you didn't have the strength to take him on." Simba looked at the ground. "Huh….oh yeah."*

This is of course an ordinary dialogue and an ordinary question if we surely do not forget the fact that Mufasa died when Simba was still small, which once again leads to Simba's lack of intelligence, but not only Simba's. In the cartoon when Rafiki asks Simba to look at his reflection in the water and says that Mufasa lives in him, it means that what the alleged ghost of Mufasa says are in fact Simba's forgotten thoughts. Let us pay attention to the punctuation of the sentence *Why didn't you tell me Scar murdered you sooner*

(!?). This punctuation is actually for readers pointing to the obviousness of the answer (again for readers). So, it is not only *structural irony* but also *sarcasm.*

During the reign of Scar in the cartoon, stocks of food and water were empty, hyenas swarmed in the kingdom. And at the same time, while Mufasa was alive he kept telling Simba that he was the Future King. But here Mufasa admits that the one who killed him and tried to kill his son was not a bad king at first but he gradually spoiled everything and that is why he decided to appear and tell Simba that Scar had killed him and the real king was Simba. We must also pay attention to the fact that Mufasa speaks casually using slang (*screw things up*) that is not characteristic of his character in the cartoon. Here we deal with verbal irony**.**

> *Plus you seemed really happy with your new life with Timon and Pumba. I figured I'd let you know when Scar completely screw things up, which he did. Believe it or not, he wasn't a bad king at first. But the problems slowly increased.*
> *"Sorry father. Just one last question. What's death like?"*
> *"Painful…and a little stupid." "Stupid?" Simba said puzzled.*
> *"How come Zazu can survive being sat on by a heavy rhino, but I die in a stampede?"*
> *Simba shrugged. "Cartoon logic."*

Zazu is an uptight, red-billed hornbill that served as King Mufasa's majordomo, and the begrudged caretaker of Simba. When Simba and Nala (lioness cub) escaped among the animals to the elephant cemetery, Zazu was supposed to watch over them but lost them of his sight and began to move around animals that were ten times larger in size. But when Mufasa (the lion) got in a stampede, he was injured and died. In example 6 the author of the fanfic teases the *Cartoon logic* which has become a fairly common statement on the Internet.

Now let us discuss another example from Fanfiction net – *Fairy Tale Stereotypes* by Foosemittee (2013).

> "***I am tired,"*** *the innkeeper's daughter growled, "****of these unrealistic tales****. **Tell them to your children, but don't tell them here!"*** *The group of travelers turned towards her.*
> ***"What's the problem with fairy tales?" a young, haughty lad asked****. The innkeeper's daughter smirked.*

"You must know little of the ways of men," she replied. "Or the ways of princes."

"Enlighten us," he replied.

"Well, princes and peasants don't kiss, for one," the girl announced, rearranging her skirts daintily. "And if, perchance, a prince were to want to 'kiss' a peasant, well…he wouldn't be considering marriage, exactly."

"Probably'd have other things on his mind," another woman agreed. *There was quite a bit of laughter at this.*

"And a prince can marry who he chooses," a hooded stranger added. **The happy group looked up.**

"True," the innkeeper's daughter agreed, though she would have admitted that she knew nothing of princes if she had been asked.

"…what they do, you see, is they choose the most beautiful maiden, and then they claim she has a title so that other commoners won't be lining up to try to seduce them," the stranger said quietly.

"And that, ladies and gentlemen," the innkeeper's daughter announced, "is why you should never trust a prince! Honestly, that can't be true, can it?" she asked the stranger. **He stood, drawing back his hood and revealing his golden grown.**

"You'd best start believing in fairy tales, girl," he growled. "You're in one." Suddenly the moonlight shone into the room, lighting on everyone present. The innkeepers daughter reeled in shock, and then the whole room turned into pirates - I mean, fairies!

In the *Sleeping Beauty*, the one who awakens Aurora from her wretched curse and saves the day is Prince Philip. In *The Little Mermaid* the one who provides Ariel with refuge and a future life of luxury is Prince Eric. In *Cinderella* the one who gets her out of the mud and into wealth is Prince Charming. Surely, there exists a common trend. Fairy tales are a world of imagination and pleasure of a child, but they also serve as a source of inspiration and role model. Morality lies in the fact that the good always wins at the end, the prince comes and saves the heroine. But of course, morality lies not only in that, but also in being kind to everyone, being able to forgive, not

letting the bad ruin your heart. Surely, not every child understands the essence of fairy tales if we do not bring it to them. Mostly, they get inspired by what they see or by what they are told.

> **"I am tired,"** *the innkeeper's daughter growled,* **"of these unrealistic tales. Tell them to your children, but don't tell them here***!" The group of travelers turned towards her.*

Let us pay attention to the phrase *unrealistic tales* from the above passage by Foosemittee (2013). What is the meaning of the word *tale* in general? It can be explained as an imaginative narrative of an event – a story or an intentionally untrue report (Tale, 2011). Surely, it depicts something unrealistic. The author uses the phrase that contradicts itself. So, we have contradiction and verbal irony. *Tell them to your children, but don't tell them here*! is sarcasm as the innkeeper's daughter thinks that children believe in *unrealistic* tales.

Let us also consider the following examples:

> *"What's the problem with fairy tales?"* **a young, haughty** *lad asked. The innkeeper's daughter smirked.*
> **"Well, princes and peasants don't kiss, for one,"** *the girl announced, rearranging her skirts daintily. "And if, perchance, a prince were to want to 'kiss' a peasant, well…he wouldn't be considering marriage, exactly."*
> **"Probably'd have other things on his mind,"** *another woman agreed. There was quite a bit of laughter at this.*
> *"And a prince can marry who he chooses," a hooded stranger added.* **The happy group** *looked up.*
> *"True," the innkeeper's daughter agreed, though she would have admitted that she knew nothing of princes if she had been asked.*

A young, haughty lad – that is why the innkeeper's daughter smirked. *Haughty lad* is a jargonic way to say *an arrogant guy*. Here we witness verbal irony.

The utterance *Well, princes and peasants don't kiss, for one* points to the obscene thoughts of the innkeeper's daughter about princes, then she says that a prince can kiss the peasant but that does not mean that he is going to marry her (situational irony). The words of the other woman *Probably'd have other things on his mind* show the indecency and the lack of intelligence and manners of the

women in the story, not only the princes they are talking about. In the last two examples we see structural irony as the characters are obviously not aware of what they are talking about, and this is proved in the last example. *The happy group* is the group that was laughing at what the other woman had said earlier. *The happy group* is an example of sarcasm pointing to the ignorance of the people in the room. What is said by the innkeeper's daughter is her own fantasies and she is not the expert on princes. So she lightly agrees with a stranger who says that princes can marry anyone. Her remarks show that princes could not marry commoners.

In the following example the stranger (the future prince) uses verbal irony. He admits that the princes choose the most beautiful girls, and if they do not get a title, then the commoners, as he puts it, may seduce them. That is, for him the title is still important and at the same time he admits what the innkeeper's daughter and *the other woman* had said before.

> *"...what they do, you see, is they choose the most beautiful maiden, and then they claim she has a title* **so that other commoners won't be lining up to try to seduce them," the stranger said quietly***.*

In the next example another case of verbal irony is observed as the innkeeper's daughter is still not sure which side she is on.

> *"And that, ladies and gentlemen," the innkeeper's daughter announced, "is why you should never trust a prince! Honestly, that can't be true, can it?" she asked the stranger.* **He stood, drawing back his hood and revealing his golden grown.**

The example below is a vivid case of sarcasm. The author of the fanfic mocks all happy endings in tales and claims that all fairy tales roughly end the same way. The author hints that people in the room instead of fairies could become pirates, but since this is a fairy tale, of course, they should turn into fairies.

> *"You'd best start believing in fairy tales, girl," he growled. "You're in one." Suddenly the moonlight shone into the room, lighting on everyone present. The innkeeper's daughter reeled in shock, and then the whole room turned into pirates - I mean, fairies!*

Conclusion

The thorough study of fanfic literature, its specific peculiarities, aims and goals, as well as ways and aims of expressing irony namely in fanfic, has brought us to the conclusion that irony is a broad concept with numerous cultural and artistic manifestations such as criticism, sarcasm, humor and may represent various intellectual and emotional states such as criticality, self-criticality, inquisitiveness, amusement, resentment, anger, boastfulness, etc. Fan fiction is closely related to fandom and is usually described as a derivative of a certain media artifact. This means that there ought to be a source-text (if we see every artifact as text, be it literature, TV-shows, videogames, etc.) which creates a response – fan fiction. Irony - widely used in fanfic - is understood by readers who are familiar with the original work. Since it is difficult to express emotions, namely irony, in the written language, fanfic writers may give hints in the form of intonation, context, etc. Nearly all types and sub-types of irony can be found in fanfic: dramatic irony, sarcasm, poetic irony, structural irony, etc.

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ՀԵԳՆԱՆՔԸ ՖԱՆՖԻՔՈՒՄ

Զարուհի Անտոնյան

Ֆանֆիք գրականությունը ներկայումս մեծ հետաքրքրություն է առաջացրել ժամանակակից աշխարհում՝ հատկապես երիտասարդության շրջանում: Ֆանֆիքը ստեղծագործության տեսակ է, որը գրվում է գրքերի, սերիալների, կինոնկարների երկրպագուների կողմից: Ինչպես ցույց են տալիս մեր դիտարկումները հեգնանքի կիրառությունը չափազանց բնութագրական է այս նորաստեղծ ժանրին: Հեգնանքը լայն հասկացություն է, որն ունի բազմաթիվ մշակութային և գեղարվեստական դրսևորումներ՝ քննադատություն, հեգնանք, հումոր, ծաղրերգություն և նույնիսկ ողբերգություն: Այն կարող է ներկայացնել մտավոր և հուզական տարբեր վիճակներ, ինչպիսիք են քննադատությունը, ինքնաքննադատությունը, հետաքրքրասիրությունը, զվարճանքը, հիասթափությունը, զայրույթը, պարծենկոտությունը և այլն: Առանձնակի ուշադրության է արժանի այն փաստը, որ այս ժանրի ստեղծագործությունների լեզուն և ոճը, այդ թվում՝ հեգնանքի լեզվական դրսևորումները ընդգծված ազդեցություն են գործում ընթերցողի խոսքի վերարտադրության վրա: Սույն ուսումնասիրությունը մասնավորապես բացահայտում է ֆանֆիկում հեգնանքի արտահայտման ինչպես եղանակներն ու միջոցները, այնպես էլ պատճառները:

Բանալի բառեր. *ֆանֆիք գրականություն, ֆանտաստիկայի երկրպագություն, խոսքային հեգնանք, իրադրային հեգնանք, դրամատիկ հեգնանք, սարկազմ:*

SARCASM AS A BREACH OF LINGUISTIC POLITENESS: SOME THEORETICAL ASSUMPTIONS

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The current paper is devoted to the analysis of sarcasm as a breach of principles of politeness. The aim of the paper is to elicit the peculiarities of sarcasm as an exception to the *Politeness Principle* suggested by G. Leech (2014) and its conversational function incorporated into the *Irony Principle* as mock politeness. The Politeness Principle demonstrates that sarcasm is apparently its exploitation as in the case of sarcastic utterances the illocutionary goal opposes the social goal thus providing breach in the model of politeness. The Irony Principle illustrates an explanation of polite utterances appearing as impolite arguing that polite interpretations of such utterances are unsustainable. To support the theory certain examples are analyzed retrieved from an American Depression-era author John Dos Passos's novel "1919". As a matter of fact, the debate is around the question whether sarcasm is an apparent exploitation of polite implicature of utterances or it is a category of impoliteness appearing as mock politeness.

Keywords: *sarcasm, conversational irony, politeness, Politeness Principle, Irony Principle, impoliteness.*

Introduction

Sarcasm or conversational irony as referred to by many theorists (Leech, 2014; Gibbs & Colston, 2007) is an apparent exception to the *Politeness Principle* (PP) at the same time actually being an exploitation of it. Leech (2014) argues that the "Irony strategy" is a second-order strategy rooted in violations of the *Politeness Principle* which is analogous to Grice's (1975) *Cooperative Principle* (p. 100). In order to grasp a complete understanding of the above-mentioned argument we need to elicit the pragmatic conception of the *Politeness Principle* and find out its relations to sarcasm as a breach of linguistic politeness which is the main concern of the current research. Conversational irony is a term that is preferred by different theorists over

sarcasm to limit the denotation of the term irony. Irony is apparently referred to as a non-verbal phenomenon. In literary studies irony is classified in the group of rhetorical devices or figures of speech. The *Irony Principle* suggests that the conversational function of irony exposes its infelicity conditions by impolite behavior implicating that polite interpretations of impolite utterances are unsustainable. Ironic interpretations of the utterances may be considered as breaches of Quality and Quantity maxims in the sense that they indicate overstatement and understatement of truth.

The object of the current research is the study of sarcasm from a pragmalinguistic point of view to discover its relations with politeness principles. The research is inclined to review the Irony Strategy to provide some explanations of sarcasm as a category of impoliteness. For this purpose, descriptive and contextual methods of analysis are applied in the present study. The novelty of the research is determined by the fact that sarcasm is viewed as a breach of politeness principles as it is debatable whether sarcasm is a category of politeness conveying impolite implicature as an overstatement of truth, or a category of linguistic impoliteness as an understatement or attitude clash.

The politeness principle

The model or theory of *politeness* was first proposed to be adopted by Leech in 1983 and then restated in 2014. Leech's model is strongly contradicted by Brown and Levinson's seminal exposition of politeness (1987). The most highlighted contradiction lies under the definitions of positive and negative faces as pragmatic categories. Brown and Levinson's definitions are as follows:

Positive face: the positive consistent self-image or personality (crucially including the desire that this self-image be appreciated and approved of) claimed by interactants.

Negative face: the basic claim to territories, personal preserves, rights to non-distraction - i.e. to freedom of action and freedom from imposition (Brown, & Levinson, 1978, p. 61).

These definitions are considered to be universalist claims of Western societies and are rejected by Eastern critique (Gu, 1990; Mao, 1994; Ide, 1993; Matsumoto, 1988; Wierzbicka, 1991/2003). Commonly referred to as "universal maxims" these claims never got accepted by the majority of theorists and were criticized. Leech argues the idea of "universal principles" and states that a model of politeness should be generalizable to various cultures and provide the basis for studying (im)-politeness in different languages and

societies (Leech, 2014, p. 83). The conception of politeness between societies may vary yet without being greatly separated. Polite communication assumes that the speaker is taking into consideration both individual and group values. It is generally assumed that in Eastern societies group values are stronger, whereas in Western societies individual values are of greater relevance.

Despite all the criticism, Leech's restatement of the treatment of the principles of politeness is the basic model to comprehend the notion of politeness as a pragmatic phenomenon. According to the theory, politeness is a restriction examined in human communicative behavior, affecting the speakers to avoid communicative offense or discord, and increase communicative comity or concord. Politeness is an aspect of goal-oriented behavior. To say that the speaker is being polite in using a specific utterance is to say that the speaker's goal in using that utterance is to convey an impression of politeness towards other people. However, politeness is concerned with avoiding discord and fostering concord, only insofar as these are manifested through communication, especially through what meanings are expressed or implicated (Leech, 2014, p. 87-88). To project this conception to the idea of sarcasm or conversational irony as a mock politeness we need to take into account the two kinds of politeness scale. The two ways of looking at politeness are as follows:

Pragmalinguistic politeness scale: We can order utterances on a scale of politeness while keeping context invariant. For example, out of context, on the pragmalinguistic scale of politeness, we can judge that *Can I borrow your camera?* is more polite, as a request, than *Lend me your camera*, and is less polite than *Could I possibly borrow your camera?*

Sociopragmatic politeness scale: This is politeness relative to norms in a given society, group, or situation. Unlike the absolute or semantic scale, it is sensitive to context and is a bidirectional scale. Hence it is possible that a form considered more polite on the pragmalinguistic politeness scale is judged less polite relative to the norms for the situation. For example, *Could I possibly interrupt?* could be understood as "too polite," say, if spoken to family members monopolizing the conversation; it would probably be interpreted as sarcastic and hence offensive (Leech, 2014, p. 88).

Thus, the model of politeness stretches the first reference to sarcasm as an offensive utterance interpreted in sociopragmatic politeness scale. This means that the goal-oriented behavior of the speaker to appear polite may be breached if the utterance could be understood as "too polite" in an unexpected context,

hence providing the implication of the speaker to mean the opposite of what is uttered, i.e. appearing sarcastic.

According to Leech (1983), there are certain maxims (Tact and Modesty) to represent the goals speakers pursue to maintain communicative concord. This assumes that there are some illocutionary goals that we want to achieve in our linguistic communication. But besides this, there are also certain social goals of communication, like to maintain strong communicative relations, and illocutionary goals may sometimes match or oppose the social goals. If we want to maintain good relations, we say something polite. In this case the illocutionary goals match the social goals. But if we make a request or criticize, the illocutionary goal opposes the social goal. Now, in the case of sarcastic utterances the illocutionary goal opposes the social goal, thus providing breach in the model of politeness and can be viewed as negative politeness. This kind of politeness may involve a negative purpose and intend to avoid a direct offense or verbal aggression. And the reason to use this kind of politeness is to mitigate the degree to which the speaker's goals are imposed on the hearer.

The further study of politeness principles shows that the concept of politeness should not be oversimplified, as in practice, politeness is a matter of degree and can be conditioned by different factors. Here, it is important to mention the pragmatic category of horizontal distance like the communication between familiar interlocutors. When the horizontal distance is reduced, the need for politeness is also reduced, hence like Grice's *Cooperative Principle,* the *Politeness Principle* can be violated, exploited or suspended (Leech, 2014, p. 99), and sarcasm or conversational irony is ascribed to be one of those exploitations conveying more of an impolite communicative behavior.

As mentioned in the introductory part of the research, sarcasm is an apparent exploitation of the Politeness Principle and is referred to as *mock politeness*. Culpeper treats sarcasm as a category of impoliteness. According to him sarcasm or mock politeness is performed with the use of politeness strategies that are obviously insincere, and thus remain surface realizations. Sarcasm is mock politeness for social disharmony and is clearly the opposite of banter which is mock impoliteness for social harmony (Culpeper, 1996, p. 356-357). Thus, sarcasm is contrasted to banter, as being a category of impoliteness, it actually mocks by polite behavior, whereas banter mocks by impolite behavior. Leech states that if you must cause offence, at least do so in a way which doesn't overtly conflict with the Politeness Principle, but allows the hearer to arrive at the offensive point of your remark indirectly, by way of an

implicature (Leech, 1983, p. 82). He believes that this is a starting point to go further in considering the function of conversational irony and the variety of effects it can have. In particular, this declaration does not explain why people opt for sarcasm, rather than simply choosing direct face attack – impoliteness and rudeness.

The irony principle: mock politeness

The term sarcasm is mainly used by theorists to limit the denotation of the term *irony*, which can be broadly encountered in many contexts. Irony generally refers to non-verbal phenomena. In literary studies, irony is referred to as a rhetorical device or a figure of speech. Some writers as John Dos Passos used the conversational function of irony as a linguistic technique by which two or more contrasting meanings challenge one another.

What is the conversational function of irony? To tighten up the definition we need to state the Irony Principle suggested by Leech. In order to be ironic, the speaker expresses or implies a meaning that associates a favorable value with what pertains to other persons, mainly the addressee, or associates an unfavorable value with what pertains to the speaker. At the same time, by means of the first meaning and the context, the speaker more indirectly implies a second, deeper meaning that cancels out Meaning I by associating an unfavorable value with what pertains to the other person, or associating a favorable meaning with what pertains to the speaker. The derivation of Meaning II from Meaning I is by means of two paths of inference: first, Meaning I is infelicitous (i.e., pragmatically untenable in context, often because of violation of the Cooperative Principle) and therefore to be rejected; and second, given that the meaning is infelicitous and in accordance with the Politeness Principle, the obvious way to make sense of it is to look for a related interpretation that is felicitous and not in accordance with the Politeness Principle – which is what the Irony Principle provides. The Irony Principle is a second-order principle because it is impossible to understand a remark to be ironic unless we understand it as superficially observing the Politeness Principle (Leech, 2014, p. 233).

The Irony Principle apparently involves an explanation of polite utterances appearing as impolite arguing that polite interpretations are unsustainable. In addition, the ironic interpretations may be supported by the notion of pragmaticalization. Grice's (1975) example: "You're a fine friend" (p. 53), may have both polite and ironic interpretations. As an ironic interpretation the

utterance may be considered as a violation of Quality Maxim implicating that the hearer might be the opposite of friendly. Leech suggests a change of word order in Grice's example to: "A fine friend YOU are"; specializing in an ironic interpretation as an example of pragmaticalization (Leech, 2014, p. 234). The positioning of the intonational stress on YOU reinforces the ironic interpretation of the utterance.

It is worth mentioning that sarcastic utterances may also provide infelicity of the apparent meaning emerging from intentional exaggeration which in literary studies is ascribed as the rhetorical device of *hyperbole*. Now, hyperbole is apparently a breach of Quality Maxim in the sense that it indicates an overstatement of the truth. To support the theory let us consider some examples of the usage of hyperbole retrieved from John Dos Passos's Depression-era novel "1919" to implicate the mock politeness that appears as a sarcastic utterance:

> (1) *SPECIAL GRAND JURY ASKED TO INDICT BOLSHEVISTS* (Passos, 1932, p. 248).

The deliberate exaggeration in the example appears as an infelicity condition of the apparent meaning of the utterance and a breach of Quality Maxim, as overstatement of the historical truth exposes the sarcastic intention of the utterance to express mock politeness. Another expression of an overstatement appears in the following example:

> (2) *The cavalree artileree*
> *And the goddamned engineers*
> *Will never beat the infantree*
> *In eleven thousand years* (Passos, 1932, p. 17)

Passos's sarcastic overstatement about the "unbeatable" infantry is an apparent breach of Quality Maxim as well as a violation of politeness principles. The expression "eleven thousand years" is an infelicitous statement considering the context that it appears in. In another example Passos uses an overstatement such as "eighty year old boy" referring to the historical unjust conditions:

> (3) *EIGHTYEAROLD BOY SHOT BY LAD WITH RIFLE*
> (Passos, 1932, p. 90).

All these examples are utterances with apparent infelicitous meanings being used as deliberate exaggerations by the author and convey an impolite implication as though appearing polite.

The Irony Principle presupposes two triggers for conversational irony: *understatement* and *attitude clash* (Leech, 2014, p. 237). Conversational irony was previously characterized in the paper as polite interpretation appearing untenable in context – basically because of its apparent breach of the Politeness Principle, and the contradiction between what is uttered and the attitude of the speaker no matter whether expressed through tone of voice, intonation, or other nonverbal signals. As a whole, these can be considered as "triggers" of the ironic interpretation. In Grice's terms, understatement occurs when the speaker makes obviously inappropriate claims providing less information than needed to describe some phenomena (Grice, 1975, p. 53). This apparently is a breach of the Quantity Maxim where people try to be as informative as they possibly can, and give as much information as is required, and no more. In another example from Passos's "1919" we see how the sarcastic usage of understatement breaches the maxim of Quantity:

> (4) *WAR DECREASES MARRIAGES AND BIRTHS* (Passos,
> 1932, p. 91).

The second trigger for ironic interpretation of the utterance is the *attitude clash*. Culpeper introduces the attitude clash as a case where the apparent polite meaning and the impolite meaning of conversational irony appear alongside in the same utterance (Culpeper, 2011, p. 174). For instance, in the utterance *thanks for nothing* the polite expression *thanks* meet the attitude clash of the impolite criticism *nothing*. The sarcastic interpretation of the utterance breaches the politeness principles involving both polite and impolite implicatures. The attitude clash does not fully comply with the essence of conversational irony as the polite and impolite meanings both appear overt in the context. However, it is significant to mention that the sarcastic interpretation emerges from the impolite part of the utterance, like in the following example where Passos demonstrates two opposite attitudes towards the same issue:

> *(5) Oh the oak the ash and the weeping willow tree*
> *And green grows the grass in North Amerikee* (Passos, 1932,
> p. 28).

In the first line the elements "the oak", "the ash", "the weeping willow tree" convey a negative interpretation of the utterance and do not positively correlate with the expression represented in the second line – "green grows the grass", which apparently exposes the implied sarcastic meaning.

Conversational irony is inclined to be more complex, creative, witty and entertaining than a direct application of impoliteness. Sarcasm appears at different levels of delicacy and seriousness. It generally has its target but it should not be confused with direct face-attack. It primarily demonstrates a controlling behavior by the speaker. The sarcastic utterances can be considered as implicit threats but are relativity innocent in their undisguised meaning. Sarcasm works in favor of the speaker both offensively and defensively. Offensively, it achieves its impolite goal towards other people, in a way that can be interpreted as face-depriving both by the hearer and by other people present. Defensively, it means the speaker cannot easily be accused of causing offense. As a matter of fact the speaker can always claim or imply that the undisguised "innocent" interpretation is intended.

Conclusion

Summing up the outcomes of the current research it becomes apparent that sarcasm is a manifest breach of politeness as a pragmatic category. The analysis of *Politeness Principle* suggested by Leech provides insights on the exploitations of politeness considering sarcasm or conversational irony as one of them. It has been revealed that in sarcastic utterances the illocutionary goal opposes the social goal thus providing a breach in the model of politeness and can be viewed as negative politeness. This kind of politeness involves a negative purpose and is intended to avoid a direct offense or verbal aggression.

As a category of impoliteness, sarcasm or mock politeness is performed with the use of politeness strategies that are obviously insincere, and thus remain surface realizations. Leech's *Irony Principle* exposes the conversational function of irony considering polite utterances as impolite and arguing that polite interpretations are unsustainable. Ironic interpretations of utterances imply breaches of the Quality Maxim, provided by the infelicity condition of overstatement of truth, and the Quantity Maxim by understatement and attitude clash. Being an apparent breach of politeness, sarcasm or conversational irony tends to be more complex, creative, witty and entertaining than a direct application of impoliteness appearing on different levels of delicacy and seriousness.

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ՍԱՐԿԱԶՄԸ ՈՐՊԵՍ ԼԵԶՎԱԿԱՆ ՔԱՂԱՔԱՎԱՐՈՒԹՅԱՆ ԽԱԽՏՈՒՄ. ՈՐՈՇ ՏԵՍԱԿԱՆ ԴԻՏԱՐԿՈՒՄՆԵՐ

Հայկ Դանիելյան

Սույն աշխատանքը նվիրված է սարկազմի վերլուծությանը որպես քաղաքավարության սկզբունքների խախտում: Աշխատանքի նպատակն է բացահայտել սարկազմի առանձնահատկությունները որպես` Լիչի կողմից առաջարկված, *Քաղաքավարության մոդելի* բացառում և *Հեգնանքի ռազմավարության* շրջանակներում` սարկազմի խոսակցական գործառույթ: Քաղաքավարության սկզբունքը ցույց է տալիս, որ սարկազմն այդ սկզբունքի ակնհայտ շահագործումն է, քանի որ սարկաստիկ ասույթների դեպքում խոսակցության նպատակը հակադրվում է սոցիալական նպատակին` դրանով իսկ հանգեցնելով քաղաքավարության մոդելի խախտման: Այն կարող է դիտվել որպես բացասական քաղաքավարություն: *Հեգնանքի սկզբունքը* պնդում է, որ քաղաքավարի ասույթներն անքաղաքավարի են թվում այն դեպքում, երբ քաղաքավարի մեկնաբանություններն անկայուն են: Ի պաշտպանություն այս տեսական դրույթների հողվածում ներկայացվում են օրինակների որոշ վերլուծություններ, որոնք վերցված են ամերիկյան դեպրեսիայի դարաշրջանի հեղինակ Ջոն Դոս Պասոսի «1919» վեպից: Ըստ էության, բանավեճը ծավալվում է այն հարցի շուրջ, թե արդյո՞ք սարկազմը արտաբերված խոսքի քաղաքավարի ենթատեքստի ակնհայտ շահագործում է, թե՞ անքաղաքավարության կատեգորիա, որը հանդես է գալիս որպես քաղաքավարության ծաղրանք:

Բանալի բառեր. *սարկազմ, խոսակցական հեգնանք, քաղաքավարություն, քաղաքավարության սկզբունք, հեգնանքի սկզբունք, անքաղաքավարություն:*

MULTIMODAITY IN CONTEMPORARY COMMUNICATION

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Communication and representation have always been about more than language. Since the times of Ancient Greece and Rome, people have been sure that language is not the only tool of communication. This means that there are more factors involved in and contributing to successful and productive interaction. The role of language is invaluable, however, the spatial, aural and visual aspects of communication should not be overlooked or underestimated. Multimodality is about the choices of modes and the social effect produced by the mentioned aspects of communication. Modern technologies directly influence multimodality, offering new and newly emerging modes or meaning-making resources. Thus, this paper focuses on illustrating contemporary communication realized through more than one mode or, in other words, *multimodal ensemble*. The article reveals that each mode can add something special to the meaning and its perception that others cannot. It presents a thorough study of mode, multimodality and its key concepts as well as the interrelation between multimodality and new digital technology. The *article also highlights the factors contributing to the enhancement of meaning and provides examples that are meticulously discussed through Case Study and Multimodal Analysis methodology to discover all the modes and media resources applied to the creation of meaning.*

Keywords: *multimodality, monomodality, mode, multimodal ensemble, meaning-making, meaning potentials, digital media.*

Introduction

The term *multimodality* has been chosen for various means of meaning-making. In fact, it is an interdisciplinary approach deriving from social semiotics that views communication as more than language and an integrated whole of meaning-making ways. Multimodality offers concepts, methods and framework for the study of aural and visual aspects of communication and spatial aspects

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of the environment. It aims at challenging the widespread opinion that language is the only major form of communication and focuses on studying the interaction and connection between different modes. Thus, it can be stated that language in its written and spoken forms is still considered to be of utmost importance, however, as part of the *multimodal ensemble*.

It has been proved that most of our communication process relies on non-verbal means (Bezemer & Mavers, 2011). Thus we can conclude that static as well as moving images, emoticons, the tone and pitch of voice and gestures can contribute to the perception of a particular message if chosen carefully to fit the context. Today there is an increasing use of technologies to communicate something and to influence people. Hence multimodality in digital technologies needs to be thoroughly studied. This kind of study should concentrate on various modes, their meaning potentials and constraints posed by this or that type of technology and the multimodal ensemble which can be applied via technology in public communication.

To achieve our goal and understand the factors included and their influence on the audience – two examples have been discussed. The first example concentrates on a piece from the Encyclopedia Britannica (2021), while the second one studies a YouTube program called *Dr. Oz* (2020). Two methods of analysis have been used in the article. The first is the method of Multimodal Analysis and the second – Case Study.

Theoretical assumptions on multimodality

Scholars studying multimodality adhere to such disciplines as linguistics, media studies, semiotics, psychology, education, sociology. All of them have a common interest or object of study as they want to understand what the different ways or modes of meaning-making are (Bezemer, 2008). Multimodality can be defined as various means and forms of meaning-making with language in its oral and written forms as part of the *multimodal ensemble*. Social semiotics is considered to be the main source of multimodality.

Multimodality came to attention due to Hodge and Kress (1998) and later Kress and van Leeuwen (2006). They brought different modes other than language to attention preparing grounds for multimodality. Kress and van Leeuwen studied visual texts to reveal semantic resources, meaning potentials and their organization to visually convey discourses and ideologies. Some core ideas are taken from linguistics: *turn taking, composition and coherence*. With the growing interest in multimodality scientists have also searched for other

resources to make reliable analyses. Such fields as sociolinguistics, art history, musicology, iconography, film history are also studied.

Multimodality aims at detecting the choices of modes that people make and the social effects they leave on meaning. The notion of context is of great importance here as all the meaning-making modes are chosen to suit the context in terms of design and selection. There is a strong connection between the social context and the signs, modes and meaning-making resources selected to convey meaning.

Kress (1993) comes up with the idea of the *motivated sign,* emphasizing the social character of meaning. The idea is simple: we make choices according to the social context. Speaking about multimodality Jewitt (2008) states that the latter is a response to the modern demand to consider more than language in communication in the era of constantly developing digital technology. Understanding the variety of modes in communication presented by digital technology like signs and writing, is essential to distinguish new types of texts and interactions in relation to the spatial, content and genre conventions.

According to Bezemer and Mavers (2011) multimodality relies on three main theoretical assumptions:

Firstly, communication and representation are realized through combinations of various modes (gestures, language, space, voice, etc.). All the factors or meaning-making resources contribute to better communication.

Secondly, meaning-making resources are socially shaped. This means that they should be used in a particular society to express a certain meaning. The frequency of use in the social life of this or that culture makes the mode more articulate. The selection of modes is of vital importance to communication and creation of meaning.

Finally, people express meaning through mode selection and configuration. The idea that modes are interrelated should be highlighted here.

In their work called *Reading Images* Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) claimed that there were Mctimes when Western culture was dominated by monomodality. They argued that there was one main mode in all texts and writing genres. That mode was language. To prove their assumptions – among the examples they drew attention to newspapers, books, official documents which totally lacked pictures and colors. The same was true about art: pictures all used canvas and oils, musicians all dressed alike and it was only the soloist and the conductor that could use body language. Even the disciplines studying different art forms were monomodal in essence using language as the only

mode to speak about language, music, art. The spheres of musicology, linguistics and art history were among the many fields confirming their opinions.

It was not long ago that there was a shift from monomodality to multimodality not only in mass media but also books, university, government and business documents. Now we can see pictures, colors and page design (layout and typography) which make the information more pleasant, comprehensible and impressive. Artists representing different branches of art have started to search for modes that would allow them to cross boundaries.

When speaking about multimodality we should not forget about semiotics. It is a well-established fact that the same meaning can be expressed via different semiotic modes. In other words, language should be looked at from the social functional perspective as a system of possible *choices* and *meaning potentials* (Halliday, 1978; (Jewitt, 2009).

The key concepts to multimodality

Jewitt (2008) separates six key concepts to multimodality. They are
- ✓ mode,
- ✓ semiotic resource,
- ✓ materiality,
- ✓ modal affordance,
- ✓ multimodal ensembles,
- ✓ meaning functions/functional theory of meaning.

A channel or a resource can be called a **mode** if it is widely accepted and commonly used by the community. Halliday (1978) argues that to be considered a mode, resources should meet the following criteria: they should be meaningful, help to build social relationships and be coherent in a text. Well-established modes include gestures, gaze, image, writing, posture, etc. Mode is a set of meaning-making resources shaped by culture and society. According to Jewitt (2009, p. 254), a mode consists of elements and norms which express "well-acknowledged regularities" in a certain community.

Actions, materials and artifacts used to communicate are the **semiotic resources**. The connection between mode and form is highly stressed in semiotic resources. The resources such as gestures, facial expressions, posture and smiles, messages, etc. can be physiological and technological. They have the ability to convey meaning owing to their past uses and a number of affordances due to the possible uses.

Materiality refers to the way in which modes are used to express meaning, such as the written text, sound, color, etc. They are different from each other in terms of meaning-making potentials and constraints.

Kress (2009) defines **modal affordance** as the potentialities and constraints of modes to express meaning in a certain situation. It is about the ability to represent, express and communicate meaning due to the well-established social, cultural and historical use and perception of a certain mode. From this perspective, according to Jewitt (2009, p. 254), each mode is partial, and to communicate effectively one needs to apply several modes at the same time.

The **multimodal ensemble** refers to the simultaneous use of several modes in interaction. All of them are used to represent certain meaning more clearly. Each of the modes involved carries just part of what is intended to be said, and multimodality studies the impact of each mode as well as the interplay between the modes in the ensemble.

Multimodality relies on the **meaning functions/functional theory of meaning**, according to which, meaning is a social action expressed through modal choices. The choices are made in accordance with the content of what people want to convey, social relations between the interlocutors and the textual organization.

At the beginning of the 20th century linguistics was considered a branch of a wider science called *semiology* (Saussure, 2013). Since then efforts are being made to reveal the different factors contributing to the creation of meaning. With multimodal approach, however, it has become evident that not a single element or factor contributes to the **meaning-making** processes but rather a set of means that usually appear together: "image with writing, speech with gesture, maths symbolism with writing", etc. (Bezemer & Jewitt, 2010, p. 181). Multimodality suggests the idea that means of meaning-making do not appear in isolation. Moreover, they tend to appear together most of the time creating an inextricable whole. With the introduction of digital technologies it has become more common to use several modes at once to create meaning, and it has become more difficult to separate one from the other. That is why multimodality and multimodal ensemble should be considered essential when analyzing meaning.

Traditionally, language was considered the most important and powerful means of meaning-making and also the one which can serve various communicative functions, it is a tool, available to great masses of people. There

was a clear division between verbal and non-verbal factors included in the process of meaning-making. However, new technology came to illustrate the fact that none of the tools can be considered more important than the other. They are just different ways of expressing the same thing. The use of several modes at once makes it easier for the audience to understand the message. Thus, it is not by chance that scholars have noticed the interplay between the two means (verbal and non-verbal) and tried to understand what potentials and limitations each of them has. To sum up, there are verbal and non-verbal semiotic resources and if one wants to study meaning, it is important to go through all the levels of meaning-making.

Multimodality also focuses on **situated actions**. This means that it discusses both the social contexts and means of meaning-making. This approach suggests that the selected resources or means of creating meaning in a particular situation are more important than all the available ones. Consequently, multimodality enables us to study, analyze and theorize the different ways contributing to the meaning-making process. It aims at finding connections between available semiotic resources and their meaning in a particular social context (Jewitt, 2009, p. 250).

Different scholars studying multimodality choose different terms to refer to this phenomenon. Kress (2011) prefers *multimodality,* other scholars choose *multimodal discourse, multimodal communication* or *multimodal interaction* (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006; Turk, 2013). There are also different terms for *mode* itself. It can be referred to as a *semiotic resource* or simply *resource*. In general there are no clear-cut boundaries between these resources and they are considered to be an inseparable whole.

Digital technologies in multimodal ensemble

While other modes of communication, such as gesture and gaze, have been recognized and studied extensively (McNeil, 1992), multimodality, as already mentioned, investigates the interaction between communicational means and challenges the prior predominance of spoken and written language in research (Scollon & Scollon, 2009). Speech and writing continue to be understood as significant but are seen as parts of a multimodal ensemble.

The study of language and other resources has always been a matter of great interest. Even a long time ago people wanted to understand the relations existing between speech and gestures or gaze. Multimodality questions the widespread opinion that language is the most powerful means of meaning-

making. If that were true, then how could people having hearing disorders or those who could not speak, or even babies converse and communicate? Considering these examples we can conclude that communication has always been multimodal – not only language but also gestures, facial expressions and other modes have their important role to play in achieving a meaningful communication process. The opinion that language is the only powerful means or mode of communication is the result of the fact that linguistics has a long history and there are various means of describing language. On the other hand there has been little research to find out about the properties of scent, color, gesture, gaze, etc. Most of our communication process relies on non-verbal means (Bezemer & Jewitt, 2010). This means that images/moving images, emoticons, the tone and pitch of voice and gestures can contribute to the perception of a particular message if chosen carefully.

Nowadays, scientists are more interested to find out how people make meaning in a particular context to achieve their goals in communication. And again, though multimodality does not deny the fact that language has an important role in meaning-making, it states that language is one of the resources in the multimodal ensemble, so it is more important to understand the situational use of the resources and the purpose for which they are chosen. People select a set of modes for expressing their ideas. Therefore, the interaction between the chosen modes is essential.

Though communication has always been multimodal, the introduction of digital technologies has created new challenges for social science research and analysis. Scholars have to research new environments and tools used for data collection, representation and storage. The study of digital texts, multimodal inventories, environments is of great importance as it can reveal the potentials and constraints of modern technologies in terms of the representation of information and communication**.** Digital technology and the internet have resulted in the emergence of new modes. Digital media has contributed to the increase in people's interest in various modes, their configurations and interactions. One mode contributes to the better understanding of another mode for they are always in an interplay (Jewitt, 2009, p. 252). Thus, new digital technologies have their direct and serious influence on multimodality as they offer new modes of communication. In other words today, more than ever, there is an increasing use of technology to communicate something and to influence people. Hence multimodality in digital technologies needs to be thoroughly studied, concentrating on various modes, their meanings, potential

and constraints posed by this or that type of technology and the multimodal ensemble which can be applied via technology in different registers or discourse types of communication, including public communication.

Lemke (2002) and Zammit et al. (2007) have examined the ways of organizing texts, such as creating hyperlinks or layering and the impact on people's navigation of digital texts. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) attempted to examine the dynamics of the connection of image and language. In fact, they had studied visual articulation of meaning earlier in their works, and now many other scholars tried to observe the relations between image and text, image and writing, color and layout of texts (Jewitt, 2009, p.259).[1]

Let us discuss the example of Encyclopedia Britannica (2021)[2]. As soon as one enters the site, various colorful pictures, headlines and an eye-catching layout provoke interest. Everything here is planned carefully to attract the reader or to trigger curiosity towards the information available on the page. All the details including the font, the color of subtitles, the pictures and videos contribute to the better understanding of information. If there was only the text or the image, the data wouldn't be impressive and appealing. Even the position and the territorial relationship between the text and images is of utmost importance.
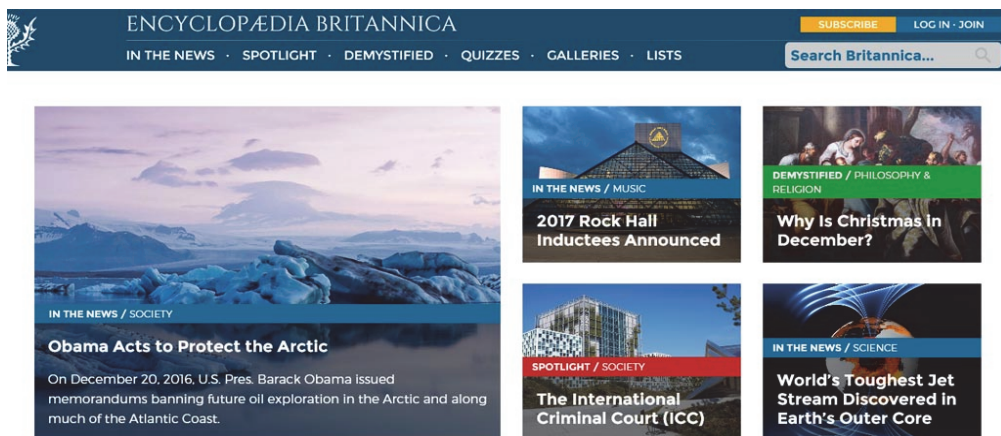
Picture 1

Multimodal ensemble: Encyclopedia Britannica

Public communication is about understanding, planning, realizing and assessing successful communication campaigns in relation to public service. It

aims at informing, convincing, relationship building, encouraging open dialogue which serves the public interest. This goal is generally achieved with the help of modes of persuasion and rhetorical strategies or appeals.

The idea of ethos, logos and pathos as three essential components of public communication defined by Aristotle (1954) in 350 BC, is often used in speech, writing and advertisements. **Ethos** is an appeal to credibility. It refers to the necessity of establishing credentials as a presenter of a certain subject matter. To be convincing and to attract more people the presenter should show the authority, right or qualification to introduce the subject. The audience should believe in what is said and be sure it is trustworthy. The presenter can succeed showing that s/he is a significant figure or someone competent and knowledgeable in the field by referring to a relevant stock of terminology. Being introduced by another authority or described as genuine will be another asset. **Pathos** is an appeal to human emotions. It comes in various forms, such as simile, metaphor, a hint at injustice[3]. Pathos is especially effective when there is an agreement in terms of the underlying values between the speaker and the listener, the writer and the reader, etc. Pathos can also appeal to the listener's hopes and imagination. **Logos** is the simulation of logic. Logos supports the speaker's ideas via facts and figures. Using data and information, it contributes to the creation of the image of a knowledgeable speaker, which in its turn can enhance ethos. However, not every piece of information is a complete truth. Sometimes the speaker can deliberately use manipulation, false, misleading or inaccurate information to enhance pathos **(**Roberts, 1984). More than ever, today multimodality has greatly enhanced persuasion and rhetorical strategies suggested by Aristotle. With the application of multimodal approach it is possible to create a repository of meaning potentials which might be helpful when using technology in all types of communication, especially in public contexts. This goal can be achieved via the systematic description of semiotic resources and modes, modal affordance, materiality and organizing principles of applications and devices introducing the idea of creating networks, or mapping the meaning potentials of modes.

Multimodality has discovered and developed new semiotic resources. The process is connected with changes in society and the social need for novelties or new uses of existing resources. Among the examples can be mentioned the use of digital technology to reshape human voice in terms of tone and rhythm. As far as texts and ways of linking and layering printed texts are concerned, they have also been significantly revised by digital technology.

Nowadays there is a wide range of TV programs which successfully combine different modes and new digital technology. Their target is general public and the aim is to inform people and influence human behavior. In this respect, let us have a look at a TV show called *Dr. Oz* launched by Oprah Winfrey's Harpo production and Sony Pictures Television (Dr. Oz, 2020). The episodes are also available on *Youtube*. The aim of this TV show is to popularize knowledge on health. To achieve the goal a number of multimodal elements are used. To make information more digestible real life experiments are made on people and special manikins. In each episode the studio is designed with placards, manikins, human skeletons, etc., chosen in accordance with the topic of interest to make people understand the essence of the problem, the reasons and solutions. The program has an innovative format. It is sometimes interrupted by a video of an expert to share his experience or some real-life stories. The host of this Daytime Emmy Award-winning show is Dr. Oz himself who is Vice-Chair and professor of surgery at Columbia University. He also directs the Cardiovascular Institute and Contemporary and Complementary Medicine Program at NY Presbyterian. He is usually dressed in a smart suit and a shirt or a medical uniform. The guests are usually doctors or experts in various fields. In many episodes the audience also takes part in some real life experiments and assists the host to reveal the whole truth about the issue. The program is quite popular among different age groups. Essential information is usually presented on a large screen in the studio. We can see that the colors, uniforms, visual materials, videos all contribute to the better comprehension of the situation under discussion. The title of the show *Dr. Oz* itself is very impressive as the host himself is a prominent doctor and a university professorBelow is presented an episode from the mentioned show with Dr. Oz whose character fills the viewer with the confidence that whatever is said and illustrated in the program is reliable and trustworthy.

Linguistic mode being part of the multimodal ensemble is still dominant as the whole show has a format of conversation, so turn-taking is one of the essential aspects of this kind of communication. Also, the information is usually coherent to make it easier and more comprehensive for the listener. Information is mainly presented using necessary terminology in a logical sequence. To enhance the perception of academic language for the listeners, the hosts usually interrupt the expert to ask questions of general interest.
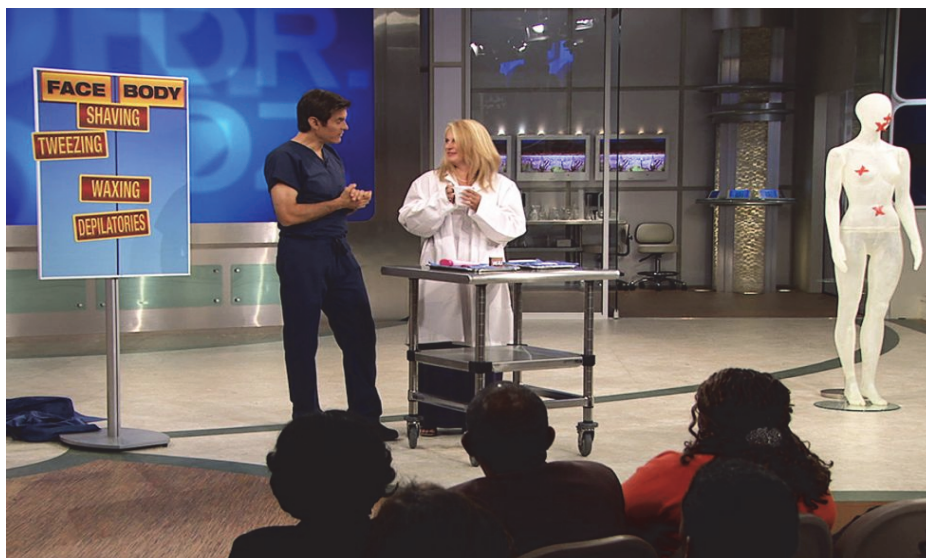
Picture 2
Multimodal ensemble: Dr. Oz

Conclusion

Thus, we can conclude that communication (more than ever today) is usually realized through a combination or amalgamation of modes each of which contributes to the better understanding of the message. With the invention of modern digital technology new modes have appeared making the information exchange process more feasible and interesting. Multimodality aims at detecting the choices of modes that people make and the social effects that they leave on meaning. Mutimodality thoroughly studies what can and cannot be done using technology, hence providing useful, obvious and explicit information in terms of new modes. It points out ways of redesigning and using semiotic innovations. On the whole, the thorough study and awareness of various modes and the effects created by them can help people make better choices for conveying messages.

Notes

1. Jewitt (2008) tried to explore the basic connections between a variety of modal resources, such as color, gesture, gaze, movement, sound. The author showed how digital technologies have changed the ways in which students and

teachers interact and exchange information. His study has revealed that new technology has reshaped the variety of modes, semiotic resources, materiality and modal affordance.

2. Encyclopedia Britannica (2021) has an ample supply of multimodal articles at https://www.britannica.com/, see for example, https://www.britannica.com/biography/Alexander-the-Great.

3. According to Merriam-Webster online dictionary the words pathetic, empathy and sympathy originated from the same Greek word – pathos meaning "emotion", "experience" or "suffering". The word was borrowed into English in the 16th century. Retrieved from; https://www.merriam-webster.com/-dictionary/pathos; https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/apathy

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ԲԱԶՄԵՂԱՆԱԿԱՅՆՈՒԹՅՈՒՆԸ ԺԱՄԱՆԱԿԱԿԻՑ ՀԱՂՈՐԴԱԿՑՈՒԹՅԱՆ ՄԵՋ

Անի Սիմոնյան

Հաղորդակցությունը ավելին է, քան միայն լեզվի միջոցով տեղեկության փոխանցումը, քանի որ մանրակրկիտ ընտրություն է կատարվում տեղեկատվության հաղորդման ձևերի ու միջոցներ միջև։ Այն բոլոր եղանակները, որոնք օգտագործվում են տեղեկատվության հաղորդման համար, կազմում են բազմեղանակային ամբողջություն։ Տեղեկատվական նոր թվային տեխնոլոգիաների զարգացմանը համընթաց՝ առաջանում են նոր ձևեր, որոնք տեղեկություն հասարակության ավելի ու

ավելի լայն շերտերին են հասցնում: Հաղորդակցության բազմեղանա-
կայնությանը վերաբերող գիտելիքների տիրապետումը օգնում են
ժամանակակից հասարակությանը արդյունավետ հաղորդակցվել և
ընտրել տեղեկատվության հաղորդման ճիշտ ձևեր ու գործիքներ:

Բանալի բառեր. *բազմեղանակայնություն, միաեղանակություն, բազ-
մեղանակային ամբողջություն, իմաստի ստեղծում, իմաստային հնա-
րավորություններ, լրատվական թվային զանգվածային միջոցներ:*

INTERPRETATION OF OMITTED WORDS OR THE UNSAID INFORMATION IN EMILY DICKINSON'S POETRY

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The use of omissions by Emily Dickinson is one of the major characteristics of her poetry. She tried to reach maximum ellipsis and achieve the tightest structural compression. The unique feature in her use of omission is that most of the unsaid information in her poems is portrayed with the help of dashes. They indicate a missing word, phrase, emphasize a break, or they depict a sudden change in thought. Throughout the author's writing, the imagery and metaphors are drawn from her observations of nature and imagination. Emily's use of specific words resulted in one - inability of comprehending her poetry with just one reading. The present article focuses on the examination of the omitted words in Emily Dickinson's poetry. The analysis shows that she refined and removed inessential language and punctuation from her poetry. In many of her poems, abstract concepts and material things are used to describe one another, but the relationship between them remains elusive and uncertain.

Keywords: *ellipsis, compression, omitted information, punctuation marks, poetry, ambiguity.*

Introduction

As a keen observer, Emily Dickinson used images from nature, religion, music and everyday activities to explore universal concepts such as love, death, wonders of nature, immortality and self-identity. One of Dickinson's unique skills as a poet was her ability to express abstract ideas through concrete images. She created familiar, ordinary contexts in her poems and then drew great significance from them. She expressed her ideas through a variety of personas and ideas, thus showing various aspects of belonging such as connection, commitment, alienation and recognition. Emily Dickinson's poetry is well-distinguished by the lack of rhyme and regular meter, the use of omitted

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words and compression. Although her poetry is considered to be incomprehensible and unintelligible by some people, many think of her irregular poetic forms as original attempts at liberating American poetry from its heritage. Her poetry was the precursor to the spirit of modernity with transcendentalist influence. Her simple language derives rich meanings from common words.

Dickinson's poetry definitely represents her personal individualism and her views about conformity. Despite her poems being short, they are considered quite intense as she says too much in very few words. She is often obscure, making her poems inexplicable and sometimes enigmatic. Emily Dickinson's quest for the essence of experience affected her style. She left out linking words, dropped verb and noun endings. Very often she punctuated her poems with dashes, rather than with the array of periods, commas, and other punctuation marks that were more expected. At her best, by compressing the language, she produced breathtaking results. One explanation why the critics of the twentieth century found her so fascinating was her indifference towards the rules of grammar and sentence structure (Halliday, & Hasan, 2001).

In this article we are going to examine her use of omitted words, vocabulary, style, rhythm and punctuation marks which are as special as her lifestyle.

The language and style in Emily Dickinson's poetry

While experimenting with words, Dickinson tried to eliminate as many of them as possible. She was an economizer. She sought maximum omission, the tightest structural compression her language could achieve.

> *One need not be a Chamber — to be Haunted —*
> *One need not be a House —*
> *The Brain has Corridors — surpassing*
> *Material Place —*
> *Far safer, of a Midnight Meeting*
> *External Ghost*
> *Than its interior Confronting —*
> *That Cooler Host.*
>
> *Far safer, through an Abbey gallop,*
> *The Stones a'chase —*
> *Than Unarmed, one's a'self encounter —*
> *In lonesome Place —* (Dickinson, 1960, p. 333)

Dickinson either writes in short, simple, subject-verb-object sentences or in highly complex ones. The first one is typical of most of her poems. Successive short sentences allow a particularly quick switch from metaphor to metaphor, from an event to conclusion, etc. For instance, in ***My life has stood - a Loaded Gun*** the rapid sentence and stanza movement draws attention to the shifts from line to line and provides the reader little syntactic breathing space in which to consider the implications of the shifts. The poem is so dazzling and baffling as each stanza provokes its own interpretation as well as the need to link its direction with that of the proceeding line or lines.

> *My Life had stood – a Loaded Gun –*
> *In Corners – till a Day*
> *The Owner passed – identified –*
> *And carried Me away –*
>
> *And now We roam in Sovereign Woods –*
> *And now We hunt the Doe –*
> *And every time I speak for Him*
> *The Mountains straight reply –*
> *And do I smile, such cordial light*
> *Upon the Valley glow –*
> *It is as a Vesuvian face*
> *Had let its pleasure through –* (Dickinson, 1960, p. 369)

Dickinson was fascinated by language. She loved reading dictionaries and enjoyed the words and their definitions. This interest provided a number of her poems their form, which actually are definitions of words, for example, ***Pain has an element of blank, Renunciation is a piercing virtue,*** or ***Hope is the thing with feathers***.

She uses the dash to mark or point out a missing word or words, or to replace a comma or period. Quite often she changes the function of the part of speech: for instance, adjectives and verbs are used as nouns as in ***We talk in careless – and in loss***, where careless is an adjective used as a noun. She prefers capitalizing interior nouns, not just words at the beginning of a line. Her reasons for that are not quite clear.

Coming to the **dashes**, it can be said that while Dickinson was far from being the only person to use them, she might have been one of the few poets to

depend upon it. Dashes were used to indicate a missing word or phrases, as in the poem ***My Reward for being, was This.***

> *My Reward for Being, was This—*
> *My Premium—My Bliss—*
> *An Admiralty, less—*
> *A Sceptre—penniless—*
> *And Realms—just Dross—* (Dickinson, *1960, p.* 163)

Dashes were also used to replace a comma and emphasize a break as in the poem ***I never saw a Moor —I never saw the Sea—***

> *I never saw a Moor —*
> *I never saw the Sea —-*
> *Yet know I how the Heather looks*
> *And what a Billow be —*
>
> *I never spoke with God*
> *Nor visited in Heaven —*
> *Yet certain am I of the spot*
> *As if the Checks were given* (Dickinson, 1960, p. 480).

In the poem ***My period has come for Prayer —No other Art— would do,*** the dashes express a sudden change of thought:

> *My period had come for Prayer—*
> *No other Art—would do—*
> *My Tactics missed a rudiment—*
> *Creator—Was it you?*
>
> *God grows above—so those who pray*
> *Horizons—must ascend—*
> *And so I stepped upon the North*
> *To see this Curious Friend—* (Dickinson, 1960, p. 274)

This type of writing was definitely against the accepted writing style of her period. While analyzing the use of the dash in Emily's poetry, it is important to visualize the works exactly as Emily wrote them in order to understand the functioning of the dash in its original context. For instance, in the poem ***The***

***Soul that hath a Guest**,* addressed to her friend Susan, there are several dashes to view:

> *The Soul that hath a Guest*
> *Doth seldom go abroad —*
> *Diviner Crowd at Home –*
> *Obliterate the need –*
>
> *And Courtesy forbids*
> *The Host's departure – when*
> *Upon Himself – be visiting*
> *The Emperor of Men —* (Dickinson, 1960, p. 335)

When analyzing the use of punctuation throughout this poem, it is easy to notice the different lengths of the dashes at the end of the lines. The longer dashes or the dashes that appear to convey more emotions and are placed after the second and the ending line. The dash in the line ***Doth seldom go abroad—*** can mean **t**hat Emily's heart will not wander or leave Susan because it is already full of love**.** It may also be considered a subconscious act on Emily's behalf to express her emotions associated with Susan. The dashes can undergo changes when they impart strong emotions. The final dash of the poem more than likely symbolizes the completion of a thought. So while the first dash is used due to the emotional excess, the last one occurs for the completion of a thought. As for the dashes in the middle, they express no real sign of having any emotions behind them. These dashes are mainly used to separate a continuing line of thought, such as the modern day use of "..." in text messages (Wylder, 2004).

Compression in Emily Dickinson's poetry

As Samuel Levin claims, one of the main features differentiating poetic language from ordinary language is the use of compression (Ross. 2002). Using the verses of Dickinson as his test model, he argues that the omission of a part (or parts) is often non-recoverable in poetry; the omitted part cannot be recovered from the deep structure of the sentence. Ordinary speech, on the contrary, allows only recoverable omissions.

Compression characterizes not only Dickinson's syntax but also the structure of her poems. Her stanzas and the poems themselves are shorter than those of her contemporaries. While language compression by Dickinson takes

all kinds of form, it tends to function in three complementary ways. First, compression enhances the poem's ambiguity and a number of meanings; it helps the poet to express more than one thought at a time or to disguise one thought behind another. In other words, it allows Dickinson to present what may be considered unpopular or dangerous thoughts and to express complex feelings. Second, compression may convey a sense of withheld power, that is to say the poet may conceal her strength. Not to show one's power may make it seem greater. Third, compression may indicate untold wisdom. Obscure revelation seems to hold deep meaning (Miller, 1988, p. 24)

Much of the compression of Dickinson's poetry can be recovered under the rules of ordinary language use. This kind of omission is similar to ellipsis in meter: **the poet might omit syllables, as doing so makes the use of some metrical effects possible (mostly keeping the proper pattern and number of syllables in a line) without affecting the clarity or meaning.** The poet omits some syllables which makes it possible to use certain metrical effects. Hence the proper pattern and number of syllables in a line is kept, without affecting the clarity or meaning. Very often Dickinson removes an auxiliary verb, a repeated subject, a verb, or a pronoun to maintain the rhythm of the line, to emphasize its meaning, or avoid redundancy. For instance, in the last stanza of the poem *My life has stood* much of the omitted language is easily recoverable.

> *Though I may live longer than He [may live]*
> *He must [live] longer than I [live]*
> *For I have but the power to kill,*
> *Without [having] the power to die* (Dickinson, 1960, p. 369).

Like recoverable omission, non-recoverable deletion may serve to increase the density of a poem. It may also affect a poem's meaning by creating syntactic or logical ambiguity. In *This was a poet* there are several ways to recover the omitted information of the first line. One possible way is the following:

> *This was a Poet – It is [the fact] That [this was a poet who]*
> *Distills amazing sense*
> *From ordinary meanings*
> *And [distills an] Attar [that is] so immense…*
> (Dickinson, 1960, p. 215)

Another possible version of recovery could be ***This was a Poet - It is That [the poet which]***. The recovery of the omitted information here is inseparable from the interpretation of the poem. In non-recoverable omissions, this is always the case.

Dickinson's most characteristic type of non-recoverable omission is phrase omission providing logical links between the statements or stanzas. In ***He fumbles at your Soul*** there is no explanation of how the couplet ***When Winds take Forests in the Paws—/The Universe—is still—*** concludes or summarizes the preceding lines. It can be said that what is omitted between the sentences or phrases in Dickinson's work is most frequently non-recoverable or multiply recoverable depending on the reader's interpretation of the poem.

Conclusion

We can conclude that in the interpretation of poetry, the reader's state of mind is definitely an essential aspect in the process of literary communication. A writer may create a work of literature that depicts the dynamics of life as expressed in nature and society, yet the reader may not understand or respond to them as fully as the writer would expect. Thus it can be said that interpreting poetry is a complex process with all the interrelated aspects and characteristics of the given poem and, of course, the consciousness of the reader. Analyzing Emily Dickinson's poetry is firmly linked to the consciousness of every reader. The possible explanation to her uses of dashes of different lengths is that they convey emotions of different intensity.

It can be said that Emily Dickinson's poetry is challenging as it is radical and original in its rejection of most traditional nineteenth-century themes and techniques. Her poems require active engagement from the reader because she seems to leave out so much with her elliptical style and remarkable contrasting metaphors. These gaps are filled with meaning if the readers are sensitive to her use of **expressive means** such as personification, allusion, symbolism, and startling syntax and grammar.

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ԲԱՑ ԹՈՂՆՎԱԾ ԲԱՌԵՐԻ ԿԱՄ ՉԱՍՎԱԾ ՏԵՂԵԿԱՏՎՈՒԹՅԱՆ ՄԵԿՆԱԲԱՆՈՒԹՅՈՒՆԸ ԷՄԻԼԻ ԴԻՔԻՆՍՈՆԻ ՊՈԵԶԻԱՅՈՒՄ

Մարինա Յաղուբյան

Բաց թողնված բառերի օգտագործումն Էմիլի Դիքինսոնի պոեզիայի հիմնական հատկանիշներից է: Չասված տեղեկատվության մեծ մասն արտացոլված է կետադրական նշանների միջոցով, հատկապես՝ գծիկ-ներով: Ըստ այդմ, սույն հոդվածը նվիրված է Դիքինսոնի բանաստեղ-ծություններում բաց թողնված բառերի ուսումնասիրությանն ու մեկնա-բանությանը: Դրանք նշում են բացակայող բառը, արտահայտությունը, շեշտադրում են դադարը կամ՝ պատկերում իմաստի հանկարծակի փո-փոխությունը: Վերլուծությունը ցույց է տալիս, որ երբեմն դժվար է ան-միջապես հասկանալ բաց թողնված բառերի իմաստը համատեքստից: Թեև վերացական հասկացությունները բանաստեղծություններում օգ-տագործվում են մեկը մյուսին նկարագրելու համար, բայցևայնպես, նրանց միջև կապը մնում է անորոշ:

Բանալի բառեր*. բաց թողնված բառեր, սեղմում, չասված տեղե-կատվություն, կետադրական նշաններ, պոեզիա, երկիմաստություն:*

MYENGLISHLAB AS ONE OF THE GROUNDBREAKING BLENDED LEARNING TOOLS

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Online learning is one of the most rapidly growing trends in educational use of digital technologies. The article touches upon the importance of MyEnglishLab as one of the newest tools for blended English language learning. Due to the pandemics of the 2020 many learners began to implement different tools of digital technology to an increasing extent. An effective and appropriate tool for learning English aimed at developing communication skills allows to increase individualization of educational activity, to optimize mastering language structures and grammatical rules, and also to overcome some obstacles of both oral and written competences of the students. An interactive platform is one of the newest blended learning tools that combines different English language learning activities in a variety of formats. It is a web-based system providing learners 24 hours a day, 7 days a week online access to the teacher-managed course content, supports different learning styles, provides students with a large number of supervised practices. The platform MyEnglishLab contains lexical and grammatical tasks, audio materials listening and reading as well as watching videos. Tasks are performed in three stages: the formation of lexical and grammatical skills; improvement of language skills and using those phrases and sentences that were consolidated in the first stage in the dialogue with a computer; development of skills to use lexical and grammatical knowledge acquired during the previous two stages. The platform has options for choosing the number of attempts to perform both test exercises and training.
In this article we present a research carried out among the freshmen of Yerevan State University Faculty of European Languages and Communication.

Keywords: *online teaching and learning, language learning, blended learning, social interaction, the English language, interactive platform, MyEnglishLab.*

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Introduction

The English language undergoes significant changes in the last few years, and there is a need to solve a number of didactic problems for students of philology: to develop writing and reading skills by using materials of different levels of complexity, enhance effective listening skills based on authentic audio texts; improve writing skills through replenishing the vocabulary (both active and passive) of modern foreign language with special attention to cross-cultural communication which reflects a certain stage of development, to enrich the knowledge of the students with cultural knowledge, which includes speech etiquette, features of culture and traditions of the country, whose language is being studied, improve knowledge of grammar by performing tests, to form a stable motivation of cognitive activity, to form skills of global thinking, instill the need of using English for the purpose of real communication through the implementation of the latest techniques and technologies.

The most effective way of learning English is first of all solving didactic goals which can be achieved through the use of blended learning. However, the problem of using the latest multimedia technologies that allow to combine all types of materials in a single resource for effective training of students under the guidance of a teacher, remains insufficiently studied. It determines the relevance of the chosen topic. We should hasten to add that the effective platform MyEnglishLab can be integrated with the Moodle system which finally enabled to distribute the study materials to students in the experimental group within one system.

The *purpose* of our study is to analyze the role and importance of the interactive platform MyEnglishLab in the process of mixed learning of English by students of philology. The *objectives* of the present study are to provide the students with available material and information. There are different approaches to defining the essence of the concept of "blended learning". Kurkan offers the combination of traditional formal learning tools – working in classrooms, studying theoretical material – with informal ones, for example, with discussions via e-mail and Internet conferences (Kurkan, 2015, p.489). Purnima uses the term "blended learning" to describe solutions in which she considers important to combine different ways of presenting training content, such as courses based on Web technologies, EPSS (Educator Performance and Support System) and knowledge management techniques. She also uses it to describe learning that combines different types of training activities, including face-to-face training, online e-learning and self-learning in the workplace

(Purnima, 2002). A blend is an integrated strategy for delivering on promises about learning and performance. Blending involves a planned combination of approaches such as coaching by a supervisor, participation in an online class, breakfast with colleagues, competency descriptions, reading on the beach, reference to a manual, collegial relationships, and participation in seminars, workshops, and online communities (Rossett, Douglis & Frazee, 2003). Roger Schank – one of the most highly respected thinkers, writers and speakers in the training, learning, and E-learning community, demonstrates steps and strategies proven to excite employees, make them want to learn, and decrease training costs while increasing productivity. Schank's approach also involves learning from failure. He defines blended learning as the use of E-learning and classroom learning (Schank, 2002). Moebs and Weibels define blended learning as a "combination of distance and traditional communication in integrated learning activities"(Moebs & Weibezahl, 2006). Blended learning provides the possibility of using different methods of presenting the material for work in a traditional classroom, combined with distance learning to achieve the objectives of the course. At the same time Graham defines blended learning as an approach that integrates traditional learning and computer-mediated learning in a pedagogical environment (Graham, 2005). The model of blended learning in the modern educational environment can be divided into three main components that function in a constant relationship: 1. *Full-time training (face-to-face)* which presupposes the traditional format of classroom (teacher – student); 2. *Self-study learning* which is the independent work of the students; 3. *Online learning (online collaborative learning)* with the work of students and teachers online which is one of the modern tools for blended learning all over the world today.

On some effective methods of blended learning

The object of research is the use of the interactive platform MyEnglishLab in English classes as the main element of blended learning. Descriptive, comparative and generalizing methods are used while carrying out the following research. Analysis of lexicographic definitions with elements of componential analysis is used to determine the meaning of the concept "mixed teaching".

   MyEnglishLab – an innovative online platform providing thousands of different activities with learning English in various formats, provides individual feedback; allows to perform tasks 24/7; supports different learning styles;

provides students with a huge number of controlled computer-based practices anywhere and any time. The platform contains the following aspects:

- *lexical*, aimed at the formation of lexical competence through learning a certain stock of lexical units, idioms and proverbs and using them in their own speech. Lexical competence combined with socio-cultural and sociolinguistic awareness of the students is a reliable basis for the implementation of speech.

- *grammatical,* the goal of which is completing different sentences with the correct tense forms of the verbs in brackets and finding the grammatical mistakes, etc.

- *writing,* when the learners are expected to write some symbols characterizing The Armenians and the British (e.g. Golden Eagle as the national animal of Armenia, Lion as the National Animal of England, etc.). As a result of regular training in written expression, students gain experience in choosing the necessary words and phrases. It is well known that oral communication can be developed through prepared speech, for written speech is often a prerequisite for the development of internal speech.

- *listening* to a passage and trying to write the plot of the text is a very effective exercise for not only developing the learners' listening competences but also memorizing the key words and syntactic constructions of the audiotext. On the other hand the effectiveness of listening is related to mandatory performance of auditory skills, which helps to achieve the understanding of the audiotext as a whole.

- *reading* which presupposes the reading of a passage, answering the questions and choosing the correct answer, selecting the best summary and completing the sentences with the words or phrases in the text. Reading is one of the most important types of communicative and cognitive activities.

- *watching the video* materials which increases the level of motivation to learn a foreign language (in our case English), gives an opportunity to work with authentic samples in English.

Implementation of tasks on the interactive platform MyEnglishLab is a three-stage process:

Stage 1 is the formation of lexical and grammatical skills on the basis of topical texts. At this stage, students learn new vocabulary and grammar, improve language skills of listening and repeating phrases and sentences.

Stage 2 is the improvement of language skills through using the phrases and sentences assimilated by students at the first stage of learning. Students

perform tasks aimed at a kind of computer verification of options with the correct answer.

Stage 3 is the development of skills for using lexical and grammatical knowledge acquired at the previous two stages. Students are offered assignments using authentic audio and video materials. In addition to exercises, the teacher can also assign a test based on the material already covered. This gives an opportunity to check the quality of the knowledge of a significant number of students for a very limited time; assessment in this case is more objective and at a pre-planned level. The teacher can see the results of the tasks on the personal page of each student, which contains information on the number of completed tasks, the percentage of the correct answers, and finalize his/her assessment. All grades can be exported, giving a chance for archiving the results and student involvement in the performance of the tasks.

Working with a computer not only increases the students' motivation to learn, but also avails the teacher of an opportunity to obtain additional information about the work of each student: how much time he spent on each task, the number of attempts, etc. Every time a student makes a mistake, *MyEnglishLab* responds with feedback and encourages students to learn from their mistakes and try again. It is important to note that such work can significantly reduce the time for inspection tasks, track every individual student and adjust the degree of complexity of the tasks. In addition, the computer allows to completely eliminate one of the most important reasons for a negative attitude to learning – learning failure due to misunderstanding of the material or "gaps" in knowledge. MyEnglishLab is based on the principles of individualization and differentiation (the teacher can choose and offer tasks of a certain complexity). Among the main didactic functions implemented by *MyEnglishLab* is cognitive, developmental (promotes development of such necessary cognitive processes as perception, logical thinking, memory, imagination), training (possibility to train independently and test your level of knowledge and skills with certain topics, refine them and complete the proposed tasks), diagnostic (the teacher is able to quickly control and find out the level of mastering the topic by students), communicative (stimulating the use of oral speech with students which helps them overcome the fear of failing).

Conclusion

The main task of higher education today is providing effective and high-quality training of students which is impossible to accomplish in the modern world

without the use of modern approaches to learning, for they make classes productive and interesting not only for students who are free to use modern electronic devices but also for teachers who try to optimize the learning process management.

As our research study has shown, students of philology using MyEnglishLab in their English courses reached better results in grammar, vocabulary, reading and listening skills through modern and efficient learning digital environment in comparison with students using conventional paper-based materials. We can consider it not only a question of acquiring certain skills, but also of reformulating the relationship between knowledge, practice and sustainability experience. One of the modern methods of teaching foreign languages to philologists with the active use of information technologies is blended learning with an efficient use of the interactive platform MyEnglishLab. The latter is an effective and appropriate tool for blended learning of a foreign language (in our case English) aimed at developing communicative abilities, which allows to increase the individualization of educational activities, to optimize the acquisition of language structures and grammatical rules, as well as to overcome the monotony of the lesson. Using the interactive platform MyEnglishLab helps to fulfil a range of methodological, didactic, pedagogical and psychological tasks and increases the efficiency of the teaching process, develops different types of language activities, serving as a kind of steady and safe motivation for foreign language students of philology.

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MYENGLISHLAB-Ը ՈՐՊԵՍ ԽԱՌԸ ՈՒՍՈՒՑՄԱՆ ԱՌԱՋԱՏԱՐ ՄԻՋՈՑ

Մարիաննա Օհանյան

Սույն հոդվածն անդրադառնում է առցանց ուսուցման աննախադեպ աճին և նորագույն հարթակների կիրառմանը կրթական համակարգում: MyEnglishLab-ը համարվում է անգլերեն լեզվի խառը ուսուցման նորագույն գործիքներից, որը կիրառվել է ԵՊՀ միջմշակութային հաղորդակցության անգլերեն լեզվի ամբիոնի առաջին կուրսի ուսանողների ուսուցման գործընթացում: Ուսուցման այս ժամանակակից հարթակը միտված է հաղորդակցական հմտությունների զարգացմանը, կրթական գործունեության անհատականացմանը, ինչպես նաև նպաստում է բանավոր և գրավոր հմտությունների որոշակի խոչընդոտների հաղթահարմանը: Այս հարթակի ակտիվ կիրառությունը հնարավորություն է տալիս տրամադրելու ուսուցման տարբեր ձևեր, այդ թվում՝ ուսուցման գործընթացը վերահսկող պրակտիկա:

Բանալի բառեր. *առցանց ուսուցում, լեզվի ուսուցում, խառը ուսուցում, սոցիալական փոխազդեցություն, անգլերեն լեզու, ինտերակտիվ հարթակ, MyEnglishLab:*

COMMUNICATING MORALITY TO AUDIENCES:
SYMBOLIC INTERACTION IN FILMS
(with reference to G. Martin's *A Game of Thrones*)

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Through research methodology of case study the present paper promotes the connection between Symbolic Interactionism and film theory, the symbolic film world and the audience's emotions, intellect and behavior. My purpose of focusing on the modern theory of Symbolic Interactionism is justified by the notion that the mentioned theory provides an ideal concept to achieve the objective of shaping the perceptions of massive audiences into possible positive directions, creating shared positive symbols in the society and making people react to the given symbols accordingly via film media. The analysis of the film version (*A Game of Thrones*) of George R. R. Martin's series of epic fantasy novel *A Song Of Ice and Fire* (1996-2019) discloses the firm connection between Symbolic Interactionism and film theory, between symbolic interaction and communicating morality to audiences.

Keywords: *Symbolic interaction, symbols, film media, communicating morality to audiences, socialization/interaction, behavior, A Game of Thrones.*

Introduction

In the modern era the film media strongly impacts people's perceptions and influences them not only emotionally and intellectually, but also behaviorally. Film as a type of media and a powerful tool of communication, presents the reality of life with its positive and negative aspects and impacts massive audiences. The aim of a film presenting the results of both good acts and bad acts is to let audiences recognize the truth. Presenting only positive aspects of life without comparing them with the negative ones, would not lead to the comprehension of the true meaning of goodness. Thus, films can portray

symbolizations of all sorts of human behaviors either good or bad, and influence the audience's morality effectively. The film morality is a major concern for communicating morality in general and developing goodness in society in particular. Therefore, if used skillfully, a film could serve through creative persuasion techniques as a way to make people think and act positively. The modern theory of Symbolic Interactionism provides an ideal concept to achieve the objective of shaping audiences' perceptions into possible positive directions because it is a perspective of creating shared positive symbols in the society and making people react to the given symbols accordingly. This is the reason why there exists a firm connection between Symbolic Interactionism and film theory, between symbolic interaction and communicating morality to audiences via film media. Now let us discuss Symbolic Interactionism in general and its connection to film theory in particular.

The symbolic interactionism theory in films

The key scholars that originated and contributed to the theory of Symbolic Interactionism in early and mid 20th century are G. H. Mead, C. H. Cooley and H. Blumer. According to Mead, people are social products, their selves are purposive and creative and develop through interaction tradition (Mead, 2005; Griffin, Ledbetter, & Sparks, 2015). Cooley argues that society and individuals could only be understood in relationship to each other, a relationship that includes the self and the natural and symbolic interaction (Major Theories of Symbolic Interactionism: Charles Horton Cooley (1864-1929)). Mead's student Blumer was the theorist who coined the term *symbolic interactionism* and presented it to the world. His approach is based on the notion that social reality is constructed in each human interaction through the use of symbols, such as words, gestures, images and characters that have meanings and are handled in and modified through an interpretative process used by the person in dealing with the symbols s/he encounters (Blumer, 2005).

Hence, the sociological theory of Symbolic Interactionism is a frame of reference to better understanding of how individuals interact with one another to create natural and symbolic worlds, and in return, how these worlds shape socialization/interaction and individual behaviors (West & Turner, 2014). Socialization, in its turn, represents the processes of teaching and learning, internalizes the norms and ideologies of the society, teaches morals and ethics, and is a central influence on behavior, beliefs and actions of adults and children

who perceive things through the meaning of symbols (Clausen, 1968; Burke & Stephens, 1974; Cromdal, 2006). In other words, interaction usually leads to desirably positive moral outcomes, to individual views and behaviors that are considered acceptable and normal in the society. Therefore, the key elements of Symbolic Interactionism, i.e. interaction and individual behavior, depend on the shared understanding and interpretations of meaning within social context in both natural and symbolic environments.

Observing the perspective of symbolic interaction and Blumer's approach, scholars claim that cinematography has a strong influence on human senses (Harper & Rogers, 2011; Sutthithepthamrong, 2019) and can result in behavioral intervention: moral and emotional impact, behavioral influence and behavioral change (Ellis, Englebrecht & Streeter, 1983; Wiley, 2003). In other words, symbolic interaction means conveying meaning to audiences through film symbols. Even though symbols do not present the real aspect of things, the audience believes in the meaning of the symbol presented.

In addressing symbolic interaction in relation to movies and film, Harper and Rogers (2011) explain that actors have selves, they present symbols using their ability to take on the roles of others. The audience perceives the characters as real selves and communicates with them. Self, then, becomes a necessary component for the mind able to communicate, change and develop. Communicating morality to mass audiences and their positive development depend on three simple features:
- ✓ the variability of the media's content;
- ✓ the variability in audience's responsiveness;
- ✓ the interdependent connection of all forms of communication (Blumer, 2005).

The **content** usually relies on the demands of the audience, and filmmakers try to present films to satisfy their audiences. However, even when presenting negative aspects (not mentioning the positive ones) communication of morality to audiences should be the main concern, and ethics should be symbolized to serve moral values. The **responsiveness** of the audience depends on people's ability to understand and interpret the content of the film correctly. As moral standards and intelligence are not the same for everybody, responses are different. However, despite the fact that variable factors (age, sex, religion, education, morality, etc.) are different, the perceptions of good and evil, moral and immoral are at large universal. The **interdependent connection** of all forms of communication envisions that different communication modes and

forms intertwine and merge in today's huge communicative processes, and the audience interacts with those selected, imitating and developing role integration. Social roles are gained from perceiving and observing symbolic meanings in real life after watching a film or TV media. Then the individual relates the roles to the accepted norms of behavior. Denzin (1991) argues that the creation and generation of stereotypical roles and ideologies through films and impact of video versions of reality are not only upon self but on the society as well. As negative stereotypical roles can also be imitated and strongly influence audiences, presenting the negative habit of a character should be extremely concerning and should be done very skillfully to evoke opposite/positive sentiments.

Now let us focus on how symbolic interaction and symbolic meanings function to render morality to audiences in the innovative fantasy series *A Game of Thrones*.

Behind the symbolism of *A Game of Thrones*

Though technology is rapidly growing today (a good example of the fantastic growth is the mentioned film itself), people are still seeking moral insights of the human mind and actions. Therefore, moral symbols are still preserved in a time of technological globalization and tend to improve human physical, mental, spiritual, and moral well-being.

An overview of the series under consideration shows that it accurately reflects the empirical world in which the symbolic interaction influence is operating; that sensitivity of the audience towards the film is great; that the communicated morality enters the experiences of the audience and is in line with the audience's foregoing perceptions and considerations of what is moral and immoral. Evidently and undoubtedly, the film presents the reality of life, including positive and negative aspects. And again, this is a good technique in communicating morality because showing only the positive aspect without comparing it with the binary definition of bad, could preclude audiences from comprehending true meanings. Hence, presenting symbol options to approach and influencing target audiences, makes morality a major concern for developing goodness in the mass audiences of the mentioned feature film.

There are numerous symbols and innumerable symbolic representations of the desired outcome in the film, and we will discuss only the most striking ones. Among them the symbol of the **direwolf** – the sigil of the House Stark – is a moral symbol of children and adults caring for animals and nature. In return

to this care, Robb's wolf, Grey Wind, helps him defend Bran from wildlings and fights fiercely in the battle. Man and wolf's devotion makes the wolf a fitting symbol for the house as a whole. In addition, Jon's lone albino wolf symbolizes his own feeling of being a bastard outsider in the family. However, this symbolic character overcomes inferiority, thus demonstrating that a strong willpower and devotion to moral values are worthy tools in any situation.

The **Iron Throne** made of swords communicates brutality necessary to gain power. This symbol represents forceful military power, danger, treason, betrayal, inhumane actions. The physical discomfort of sitting in the throne reminds that rule and power are not easy pleasures but tremendous responsibility. Finally forged by the fiery breath of the dragon, the throne symbolizes termination of any formidable power, thus communicating the morality that no power is eternal and worth the obsessive effort to achieve it, and that the aim does not justify the means.

Dragons are usually considered to be magical symbols. The sad thing about them is that they are extinct, and this means they also symbolize lack of creativity, imagination, fiction in this world. Dragons are the desirable past that we can never come across again. They also teach us to preserve the good values and the legacy of the past and awaken them in the present or future. Dragons are also a symbol of power that shifts over time: the one who owns it at the moment without considering past mistakes, may not achieve success again.

The **seasons** (summer and winter) last for years, and nobody knows how long they are going to last although the scholarly-minded maesters at the Great Citadel are trying to keep track of seasonal changes. Symbolically, summer indicates a young life - relatively pain-free and fear-free. The older members of the Night's Watch mention that the new recruits still *smell of summer* - untested, weak, inexperienced, unprepared to face dangers of the north and winter. The symbolic value of winter is harshness and ruthlessness, i.e. maturity (A Game of Thrones Symbols, Allegory and Motifs, 1999-2021). The House of Stark slogan *Winter is Coming* – repeated constantly in the film – is a warning symbol intending to make people get ready in time to face dangers and enemies, hardships, any kind of evil and even death.

Crows and ravens are first of all a symbol of communicating morality and interacting with the audience through associations of devotion to homeland (the Night Watch soldiers wearing black and defending the borders of their country are called *crows*). Traditionally, as well as in the film, they also symbolize wisdom (Bran's mentor is a prophetic three-eyed crow). They see the whole

world from the height and, as heralds or messengers, are responsible for communication between people separated from each other physically.

What I would consider a general and universal symbol for *A Game of Thrones* is its most compelling evidence of being a **political symbol** of all times. The power games have always been relevant, both in the past and at present when the world is grappling more cynically for new divisions and influences. Symbolically communicating through ravens and flying on dragons, the film characters face the same political scenarios and problems as we do in the real world: inequality, injustice, corruption of power, poverty, discrimination, dictatorship and tyranny, hazards to public safety, wars, crises, recessions, etc. In addition, religion and politics get mixed in the real world as controversially as they do in the film.

A Game of Thrones is a powerful tool that can shape the way of society and play a crucial role in social and behavioral development of audiences by communicating numerous moral values. The concept of symbolic interaction can help shape audiences' perceptions into possible positive directions. Hopefully, the symbolic audiences – film interaction, the mighty morality communicated to us via *A Game of Thrones* will help modern audiences perceive the symbol of White Walkers as an eternal threat to the world and motivate leaders and society to do only what is right.

Conclusion

The film media acts as a powerful tool that can compellingly impact massive audiences. Film words, light, sound, music, color, time, space, symbolic meanings are components combined onscreen to powerfully impact the perceptions of audiences. Therefore, a film is a way to make people think positively through different interactions, including symbolic interaction. The study of the theory of Symbolic Interactionism and symbolic interaction in the film *A Game of Thrones* shows that the film provides an ideal concept to achieve the perspective of creating shared symbols in our society; people think a certain way about the given symbols and tend to react accordingly. The present study shows that

- ✓ audiences are influenced by symbolic interaction and a cinematographic sense of vision;
- ✓ communicating morality to film audiences using symbolic interaction would be an option for creating an ideal world;

- ✓ the symbols in the mentioned film are connected with universal human vice and virtue;
- ✓ literary symbols created by the novelist, science fiction and fantasy writer G. Martin make a strong emotional, cognitive and aesthetic impact on the audience;
- ✓ the symbols in *A Game of Thrones* are related to power, knowledge, brutality, evil, courage, honesty, change, the past, wisdom, the value of communication, wealth, strength, reason, family values, dishonesty, loyalty, treason, etc.;
- ✓ the complex set of the film symbols interacts with mass audiences to give meaning to the world in the perspective.

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ԽՈՐՀՐԴԱՆՇԱԿԱՆ ՓՈԽԱԶԴԵՑՈՒԹՅԱՆ ՏԵՍՈՒԹՅՈՒՆ. ԲԱՐՈՅԱԿԱՆ ԱՐԺԵՔՆԵՐԻ ՍԵՐՄԱՆՈՒՄԸ Չ. ՄԱՐՏԻՆԻ *ԳԱՀԵՐԻ ԽԱՂ* ՖԻԼՄՈՒՄ

Գայանե Մուրադյան

Սույն հոդվածում խորհրդանիշերի փոխազդեցության տեսության լույսի ներքո քննարկվում է նշված ֆիլմում առկա խորհրդանիշերի ազ-դեցությունը հանդիսատեսի հույզերի, բանականության և վարքի վրա՝ հնարավոր դրական ընկալումներ և բարոյական նորմեր ձևավորելու ակնկալիքով: Վերլուծությունները, լայն առումով, բացահայտում են խորհրդանիշերի փոխազդեցության և կինոյի տեսության, ֆիլմերի և բարոյական արժեքներ ձևավորելու գործընթացի սերտ և անբաժանելի կապը:

Բանալի բառեր. *խորհրդանշական փոխազդեցություն, խորհրդանիշ, ֆիլմ, բարոյական արժեքներ, հաղորդակցություն, վարք, Գահերի խաղը:*

A CROSS-CULTURAL STUDY OF REFUSAL STRATEGIES OF AMERICAN AND ARMENIAN ENGLISH SPEAKERS

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Several studies have been carried out on refusal strategies that native and non-native English speakers employ to mitigate potential threat to listener's face when forming refusals to various speech acts, such as requests, offers, invitations, etc. This study adds the perspective of Armenian English speakers in using such mitigation strategies. The objective of the study is to identify similarities and differences in the use of various politeness strategies used in refusal acts by native English speakers (NES) and Armenian non-native English speakers (ANNES) with the aim of establishing the extent of cultural impact on pragmatic competence of ANNES. Language data was collected among 24 Armenian English speakers of high level of English proficiency and 15 American English speakers. A modified version of the Discourse Completion Test (DCT) developed by Beebe, Takahashi, and Uliss-Weltz (Beebe et al., 1990) was used to collect data. Along with considerable similarities in the use of politeness strategies in refusals between the two groups which indicate the high degree of pragmatic competence of ANNES, the analysis of the data also revealed some differences which attest to certain impact of the Armenian culture on this competence. The differences are mainly observed in frequency of use and in the content of the same strategies used by the two groups.

Keywords: *refusal acts, face threatening acts, politeness strategies, cross cultural studies, EFL.*

Introduction

Cross-cultural communication skills are required whenever people from different cultures and speaking different languages get to communicate with each other. Getting invited or being offered or requested are common acts in our everyday life, and often times people feel the need to refuse such acts they

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receive. As human beings, we have the want and expectations to be appreciated and respected. Thus, it is important to acquire pragmatic knowledge of the communication style of the cultures with representatives of which one gets into contact, the English speaking culture in our case. One needs to know what refusal form is appropriate in a given situation, i.e. to develop deeper cultural awareness, as well as pragmatic competence in cross cultural communication. Refusing should be expressed in a way not to offend the interlocutor and it is practiced by different politeness strategies.

Several studies have already testified to the existance of pragmatic transfer from native language (L1) to foreign language (L2), thus we do not set a goal to prove that such transfer takes place in non-native English speakers' communication style. The *aim* of this study is to investigate the extent of such sociocultural impact on the pragmatic competence of Armenian foreign language speakers. Our *objective* is to explore the cultural differences or similarities in making refusals between Armenian and American cultures, specifically identifying similarities and differences in the use of politeness strategies in forming acts of refusal by U.S. native and Armenian non-native English speakers. Refusals were chosen for our investigation since they are intrinsically face threatening acts and call for certain mitigation strategies to redress threat to hearer's face, i.e. the public image of the interlocutor.

Refusal is, by nature, one of the most offensive speech acts, and, it is apt to damage the interlocutor's face if not performed politely. Therefore, various politeness strategies are employed to cushion its negative impact. Each language, however, realizes politeness differently. For example, being direct can be regarded as polite in a certain culture, but it might be considered impolite in another. Hence, to avoid breakdowns in communication, it is important to explore how cultural background can affect one's choice of language means and strategies in forming various speech acts, including acts of refusal and, ultimately, one's pragmatic competence in communicating in L2. This gains special importance today with current technical advancement and social media communication trends that make cross cross-cultural communication an integral part of our life.

The material was collected through a total of 39 questionnaires based on a modified DCT test, which elicited 72 refusals from Armenian and 45 refusals from American English speakers. The questionnaire consisted of three invitations to persons of different social statuses to which the respondents were requested to refuse. Thus the pragmatic factor of social status is another focus

of our investigation. The relatively small sampling size allows for only limited generalizations of the results. Nonetheless, a number of noteworthy patterns of certain similarities and differences were observed between the two cultures, which testify to the cultural impact on L2 use.

Refusal acts

Good communication requires not only linguistic knowledge, but also an understanding of social, cultural and other pragmatic factors in a situation. Our choice of language means can make a big difference in maintaining relationships, conveying our intentions and expressing our feelings accurately. According to Yule (1996), pragmatics has more to do with the analysis of what people mean by their utterances than what the words or phrases in those utterances might mean by themselves. This perspective then raises the question of what defines the choice of language means to form the speech acts we intend to perform. Distance between interlocutors, cultural and social background, status, gender, educational level are only a few of the important pragmatic factors that influence the choice.

Searle and Vanderveken define the speech act of refusal as follows: "The negative counterparts to acceptances are rejections and refusals. Just as one can accept offers, applications, and invitations, so each of these can be refused or rejected" (Searle, & Vander- veken, 1985, p.195). According to *Merriam-Webster Dictionary* (2005), *refusal* means expressing oneself as unwilling to accept, to do or comply with, or deny. Therefore, refusal is a face threatening act. Hence, there is a need to put politeness strategies into action in order to mitigate the threat, i.e. to soften what the hearer might regard as an infringement on him/her.

The speech act of refusals represents one type of dispreferred response. Refusals are one of the relatively small number of speech acts which can be characterized as a response to another's act, rather than as an act initiated by the speaker (Houck & Gass, 1999, p. 2). They occur as negative responses to other acts such as requests, invitations, offers, and suggestions (ibid.). In response to requests, invitations, offers, and suggestions, acceptance or agreement are usually preferred, and refusing or rejecting are not. Refusals or rejections can mean disapproval of the interlocutor's idea and therefore, a threat to the interlocutors face, hence they are often formed indirectly or are accompanied by mitigation or explanation. On the other hand, acceptance or agreement tend to be formed by direct strategies.

Refusals have been one of the most studied topics in pragmatics and are very important because of their communicative role in everyday social interaction. They are considered to be face-threatening acts because they contradict the listener's expectations. As stated above, they are often realized through indirect strategies, thus they require a high level of pragmatic competence (Chen, Lei, & Yanyin, 1995). They are considered to be a speech act by which "a speaker fails to engage in an action proposed by the interlocutor" (ibid., p. 121).

Furthermore, what is considered an appropriate refusal behavior may vary across cultures and pragmatic transfer is likely to occur as learners rely on their cultural values "in carrying out complicated and face-threatening speech acts like refusals (Beebe et al., 1990, p. 68). Therefore, appropriate understanding and production of refusals require a certain amount of culture-specific knowledge. The interlocutors are socially expected to know when to use the appropriate form of refusals in a certain context. Depending on ethnicity and cultural-linguistic values, the speaker must know the appropriate form and its function. On the whole, refusals are complicated due to the fact that they are influenced by some social factors, namely, age, gender, level of education, social distance, and power (Fraser, 1990; Smith, 1998) and because they require sequences of negotiation. In addition, it is even hard to reject requests, suggestions, and offers in a foreign language due to the fact that misunderstandings may arise if one does not use pragmatic knowledge appropriately. More crucially, refusing others' suggestion, offer and request without hurting their feelings is of great importance since the "inability to say 'no' clearly has led many non-native speakers to offend their interlocutors" (Ramos, 1991).

Politeness strategies in refusal acts

As discussed above, refusals are commonly believed to be delicate speech acts to perform, since positive responses such as acceptance and agreement are usually preferred. For this reason, refusals often involve various indirect strategies to be polite and avoid a failure in interpersonal relationships, which requires a high level of pragmatic competence (Salazar-Campillo, 2009). Therefore, it is important to examine the concept of politeness in more detail in order to see how it may influence refusals. An important issue to be considered by speakers is to acknowledge and respect interlocutor's individuality and freedom of choice and their system of values and beliefs.

In an early attempt to classify the realization of refusals, Rubin (1983) claimed that there were the following 7 ways of refusing across a number of cultures:

1. be silent, hesitate, show a lack of enthusiasm;
2. offer an alternative;
3. postponement;
4. put the blame on a third party or something over which you have no control
5. avoidance;
6. general acceptance with excuses;
7. say what is offered is inappropriate.

The most influential and best known study on refusal strategies, though, is Beebe, Takashaki and Uliss-Weltz's *Pragmatic Transfer in ESL Refusals* (1990) with its famous taxonomy of these strategies. The authors examine how Japanese learners of English refuse requests, invitations, offers and suggestions by means of a Discourse Completion Test (DCT). Their classification is divided into semantic formulas, i.e., those expressions used to perform a refusal, and adjuncts, that is, expressions which accompany a refusal but which cannot by themselves be used to perform a refusal. On the basis of an analysis of native speaker refusals, Beebe and Takashaki were able to show that they are performed by means of fairly limited set of direct and indirect "semantic formulas". Individual refusals are made up of different selections from these formulas in accordance with the status and power relationships holding between speaker and hearer. Semantic formulas with both components – main acts and adjuncts - developed by Beebe and Takashaki are illustrated as follows:

Direct

A. Performative (e.g., "I refuse.")

B. Nonperformative

    1. "No"

    2. Negative willingness/ability (e.g., "I can't."; "I don't think so.")

Indirect

A. Statement of regret (e.g., "I'm sorry. . ."; "I feel terrible. . .").

B. Wish (e.g., "I wish I could help you. . .").

C. Excuse, reason, explanation (e.g., "My children will be home that night."; "I have a headache.").

D. Statement of alternative (e.g., "I'd rather. . ." ; "I'd prefer. . .").

E. Set condition for future or past acceptance (e.g., "If you had asked me earlier, I would have.").

F. Promise of future acceptance (e.g., "I'll do it next time"; "I promise I'll. . ." or "Next time I'll." using "will" of promise or "promise").

G. Statement of principle (e.g., "I never do business with friends.").

H. Statement of philosophy (e.g., "One can't be too careful.").

I. Attempt to dissuade interlocutor (such as threat or statement of negative consequences to the requester e.g., "I won't be any fun tonight." to refuse an invitation).

J. Acceptance that functions as a refusal:

    1. unspecific or indefinite reply,

    2. lack of enthusiasm.

K. Avoidance:

1. non-verbal (silence, hesitation, inaction, physical departure),

2. verbal (topic switch, joke, repetition of part of request, etc., postponement (e.g., "I'll think about it.").

Adjuncts to a refusal do not form part of the refusal itself, but they are external modifications of the main refusal.

A. Statement of positive opinion/feeling or agreement ("That's a good idea. . ."I'd love to. . .").

B. Statement of empathy (e.g., "I realize you are in a difficult situation.").

 C. Pause fillers (e.g., "uhh"; "well"; "oh"; "uhm").

 D. Gratitude/Appreciation.

Due to their face-threatening nature, refusals are especially sensitive, and a pragmatic breakdown in this act may easily lead to unintended offence and/or breakdown in communication. Refusals by nature are complex; they are often negotiated over several turns and involve some degree of directness and indirectness, usually varying in the degree of directness and indirectness depending on the status and age of the interlocutors and the cultural context.

According to Houck and Gass (1996), when one decides not to accept an initiated act, she/he can generally take three possible refusal approaches:

- ▪ rejection,
- ▪ postponement,
- ▪ proposal of alternative.

As Houck and Gass (1999) state, part of the complexity of refusals lies in the fact that they may involve a long negotiated sequence and, because they function as a second pair part, they preclude extensive planning on the part of

the refuser. Due to the complex nature of refusals as dispreferred seconds, refusals were not approached as a speech event involving a long negotiated sequence.

Cross-cultural study of refusal strategies mitigating threat to face

Cross-cultural studies on refusals show that different cultures perform refusals differently. Their degree of directness in refusals, their sensitivity to social variables, and their performance in terms of the content of strategies might vary.

Several cross-cultural refusal studies have clearly shown that there are differences between the American and the non-American refusals in terms of the order, frequency, and the content of the semantic formulas and adjuncts. These studies suggest that in general, Americans tend to be direct because they see directness as being honest and as an individual right to refuse (e.g., Beebe et al.,1990; Chang, 2009; Chang, 2011; Kwon, 2004). Differences in clarity and content of reasons and excuses were also shown to exist between the Americans and non-Americans. Reasons and excuses given for the refusal are often inappropriate from an American viewpoint because they are unclear or untrue (Beebe et al., 1990; Chang, 2009; Chang, 2011; Kwon, 2004). In American culture, if one lies or makes up a reason, one would lose face, but one does not lose face even if he/she refuses honestly as long as the interlocutor's feelings are taken into account and refusal is mitigated or negotiated for an acceptable alternative. This may be the reason why the excuse or reason for a direct refusal by Americans is generally clear and honest. On the other hand, refusals in other cultures are less direct than the Americans', as a direct refusal seems to threaten the hearer's face and thus damage relationship (e.g., Beebe et al., 1990; Chang, 2009; Kwon, 2004). Therefore, a direct refusal statement is often avoided, and instead a variety of other strategies (indirect and adjunct) are employed to maintain politeness. Our findings reiterate these results in regard to the content of reason/excuse for refusals to invitations: Americans tend to provide more honest reasons for refusals than Armenians: e.g.

> 1. *I would love to have dinner with you. I hope you know how much I enjoy spending time with you and how much I care about you. . .***But after the last time with _____(your husband) I'm not sure if it's a good idea for me to join you for this dinner party. What do you think?*** *. . . How about if I*

don't join you for the party and instead we meet for a walk and lunch on Sunday? (NES to friend)

2. *Alice, Thank you for the invitation. I look forward to working with you once the contracts are signed-* **but our Board of Directors and our tax accountants have determined that accepting such individual gifts is inappropriate and possibly a violation of our corporate tax rules.** *Let's meet for coffee sometime and catch up.* (NES to person of lower status)

3. *Thank you for the invitation. I would come with great pleasure, but* **my mother is coming from overseas and I need to collect her from the airport**. *Wish you a nice and enjoyable evening.* (ANNES to friend)

As for sheer numbers of the use of either specific or general reasons, and the direct strategy of expressing negative ability (*I can't, I am afraid I won't be able to*), there are no apparent differences in the two groups of responses. Interestingly, though, our findings revealed a difference in the content of direct refusal acts formed by the two groups: if direct refusals expressed by negative ability were similarly used by the two groups, direct refusals expressed by the performative verbs *refuse* or *turn down* were observed only with Armenian English speaking respondents: e.g.

1. I am really thankful for your invitation. But **I am afraid I have to refuse**, because I have some problems. I will be glad if you invite me next time. (ANNES to person of higher status)

2. Dear Mr. … I am very pleased that you have invited me too. It would be my pleasure to come, but I sincerely apologise to disappoint you. I have an important appointment that day**. I will have to refuse this time.** (ANNES to person of higher status)

3. I really appreciate it but I think for now **I have to turn you down** as I am and will be pressed for time in the near future. As soon as I am free, I will let you know. (ANNES to person of lower status)

Research findings also reveal a distinct difference in the use of politeness strategy of *offering an alternative* in refusal acts by the two groups (NES and

ANNES): only 6 % of Armenians as opposed to 38 % of Americans included an offer of alternative in their refusals to invitations: e.g.

> 1. *Let's talk over the possibilities of purchasing your business's products in the afternoon sometime soon. For example, how about meeting next Wednesday or Thursday afternoon in my office or at the coffee shop downstairs. I'm free those days between 3:00 and 5:00. (NES to person of lower status)*
> 2. *When you have recovered from the party, let's get together for coffee and catch up. Do you think next Thursday might work? (NES to a friend)*
> 3. *What if we two have lunch during the week at (the restaurant that we two love to attend).(ANNES to friend)*

Notably, Americans used the strategy of offering an alternative only in refusals to friends and persons of lower status but not to persons of higher status.

Instead of the strategy of offering an alternative, Armenian English speakers used other adjuncts or politeness strategies more frequently compared to American speakers, including:

> a) the strategy of *promise or vague promise of future acceptance:* e.g.
> 1. *I will be glad if you invite me next time.* (ANNES to person of lower status)
> 2. *Maybe we can meet next time.* (ANNES to friend)
> 3. *As soon as I am free, I will let you know.* (ANNES to person of lower status)
> b) the strategy of *set condition for past acceptance:* e.g.
> 1. *If I had known it earlier, we would have cancelled all our plans so as to come to your party.* (ANNES to person of higher status)
> 2. *You should have told me earlier as I have already booked a table at a restaurant to celebrate my parent's 25th wedding anniversary.* (ANNES to person of higher status)
> c) the use of the adjunct of *apology:* e.g.

> 1. Sorry dear, I wish I could make it, but I can't. (ANNES to friend)
> 2. I am so sorry, but I am already invited to the wedding of my cousin. (ANNES to person of higher status)

In order to mitigate the refusal, another common strategy – *expressing a positive opinion or feeling* - is often used in Americans' refusals (e.g., Beebe et al.,1990; Chang, 2009; Chang, 2011; Kwon, 2004). The analysis of the material of this research supports this finding – specifically 70% of Americans versus 53% of Armenians used this strategy to soften possible threat to interlocutor's face caused by refusal to their invitation: e.g.

> 1. … I'll have my assistant contact you in the next few weeks to set up a meeting to finalize the contract. Thank you again for the invitation. **I can tell you are a person of good taste—that is such a fine restaurant.** (NES to inferior)
> 2. Thank you! **I'm honoured to be among the top executives invited to your home. That is wonderfully spontaneous of you and [wife] to host a party next Sunday.** I am afraid I cannot be so spontaneous. (NES to superior)
> 3. **That sounds great!** Oh actually though, I think we got plans already. (NES to friend)

Despite the slight difference in numbers, there is no apparent difference in the use of form and content of this mitigating strategy in the refusals formed by Armenian respondents: e.g.

> 1. I have guests today, **otherwise I would accept your invitation with great plesure**. (ANNES to inferior)
> 2. *Thank you very much for the invitation.* **I am honoured to be invited to the party and am very excited for having the chance to meet your spouse.** *Unfortunately…* (ANNES to superior)
> 3. **That's a really great idea!** … **I would love to visit you for sure but**… (ANNES to friend)

In regard to the use of the politeness strategy of *adding gratitude/appreciation* as an adjunct to the refusal act, this research finds almost similar use in percentage of the two groups, with Americans using this

strategy a little more frequently (62%) than Armenians (44%). However, the distribution of this quantity is different in different situations, depending on social status. If Armenians used gratitude in 58 % of refusals made to persons of lower status, 90 % of Americans did so. On the other hand, less than 20 % of Americans included gratitude in refusal acts made to friends, as opposed to 33 % of the refusals made to friends by Armenians. As to the use of gratitude in refusals made to persons of higher status, it was found in 78% of refusals by Americans and in 48% of refusals by Armenians. Thus, according to our results, Americans rarely use gratitude as a politeness strategy when refusing friends, but will almost deffinitely include it in refusals made to persons of lower or higher status, whereas Armenians tend to have less variation along social line and will typically include gratitude in their refusal as a politeness strategy in almost every second refusal (58%).

In terms of Americans' sensitivity to relative social status, the studies show mixed results. Beebe et al. (1990) found that Americans refused differently based on whether the interlocutor was of equal or unequal status, however, Kwon (2004) reported that American participants did not change their approach significantly according to the distance and power of interlocutors. Our findings concur with the results produced by the study of Beebe et al. (1990). For instance, our discussion above on Americans' use of the strategy of offering an alternative only with inferiors but not with superiors is one evidence supporting the claim of differences in NES' refusal strategies depending on social status factor.

Regarding non-American's sensitivity to relative social status, several patterns were reported. In some cultures, such as Japanese and Iranian, it appears that different refusal strategies are used depending on whether the social status of the interlocutor is high, equal, or low (Beebe et al., 1990). In other cultures such as Korean and Mexican, it is reported that they are highly sensitive to a higher status person when refusing (Félix-Brasdefer, 2008; Kwon, 2004). Armenian respondents proved to be less sensitive to social status in terms of types of politeness strategies they used in refusals. The discussion of the gratitude strategy above is one evidence showing similar percentage of usage of this strategy to refuse people of different social statuses. However, the content of the same strategy often varied depending on that status: For instance, the same strategy of *statement of positive opinion* was different in content depending on whether the Armenian English speaker refused a person of higher or lower status: e.g.

*1. Thank you for the invitation, but **no need to take the trouble.** We can discuss the issue at my office.* (ANNES to person of lower status)
*2. Dear boss **it would be a great honor for me to join** your little party with my spouse. Unfortunately…* (ANNES to person of higher status)
*3. Thank you very much for the invitation. **I am honoured to be invited** to the party, and am very excited for having the chance to meet your spouse. Unfortunately…* (ANNES to person of higher status)

In another cross-cultural study, Nelson et al. (2002) investigated similarities and differences between Egyptian Arabic and American English refusals. Results indicated that both groups use similar strategies with similar frequency in making refusals, counter to Al-Issa's (2003) findings where Jordanians used more indirect strategies than Americans. The findings, however, suggest that although methods such as the DCT may be appropriate for collecting pragmalinguistic data, they fail to reveal the sociopragmatic complexities of face-threatening acts (e.g. refusals). The Egyptians indicated that they would not make refusals in some of these situations, like refusing an invitation from their boss. Notably, in our research, it was an American respondent who refused to make a refusal to the invitation of the boss. Thus, the sociopragmatic complexities that indicate the participant's informed decision not to refuse an invitation from their boss cannot be revealed by using the DCT alone.

More recently, Felix-Brasdefer (2008) examined refusals in two sociocultural contexts of Mexico and Dominican Republic, based on the same DCT test method. The results showed that although situational variation was the norm between both groups, the Mexicans used significantly more refusal strategies in relation to the status of interlocutors. It is, therefore, likely that L2 learners may rely on their language pragmatic knowledge to perform the target language refusals which may result in pragmatic failures.

As discussed previously, several studies suggest that English learners' L2 pragmatic competency is clearly affected by their L1 pragmatic strategy use, and they appear to find the characteristics of American refusals problematic; for example, by not giving clear refusal statements and by providing reasons that could be interpreted as dishonest (Bardovi-Harlig & Hartford, 1991; Beebe et

al., 1990; Chang, 2009; Chang, 2011; Kwon, 2004). Other factors that may affect L2 pragmatics include proficiency level, the length of residency in the target community, and the learner's first language (L1). There is mixed evidence that the higher proficiency-level of English learners will transform to a higher pragmatic competency in the L2 (Houck, & Gass, 1999). A single study by Félix-Brasdefer (2004) suggests that the length of residency in the target community affects the development of refusal strategies that are appropriate in the target language. According to Félix-Brasdefer (2004), learners who spent less than 5 months abroad tended to refuse directly and briefly, while the learners who spent 9 months or more in the target community demonstrated refusal strategies that were similar to the patterns of the native speakers.

Conclusion

Analysis of the results of the current research demonstrated many similarities in the use of politeness strategies by American and Armenian English speakers in their refusals to invitations, especially in regard to the *types* of politeness strategies and adjuncts that they used to cushion intrinsic threat to the face of interlocutors by their refusals.

However, the findings also revealed certain differences between the use of politeness strategies by the two groups, specifically:

1) *in frequency* of use of the same types of politeness strategies by representatives of NES and ANNES. For instance, more Americans include the strategy of offering alternative in their refusals than Armenians. On the other hand, more Armenian respondents use the strategies of *offering set condition for past acceptance, promise for future acceptance*, and *offering apology* than American respondents. Additionally, Americans rarely use gratitude as a politeness strategy when refusing friends, but will almost definitely include it in refusals made to persons of lower or higher status, whereas Armenians tend to have less variation along social line and will typically include gratitude in their refusal as a politeness strategy in almost every second refusal (58%);

2) *in the content* of one and the same strategy. For instance, Americans tend to provide more honest reasons for refusals than Armenians. Besides, if direct refusals expressed by negative ability are similarly used by the two groups, direct refusals expressed by the performative verbs *refuse* or *turn down* are observed only with Armenian English speaking respondents;

3) *in the use* of the same strategies *along social line* by the two groups. Armenian respondents proved to be less sensitive to social status, using the same types of politeness strategies in refusals to persons of different status. However, the content of the same strategy often varied depending on that status, and this indicated commonness of usage by the two groups.

To sum up, being a complex task, refusing requires a high level of communicative competence in a foreign culture. The findings of this research demonstrate that, even if not to a high degree, Armenian English language learners' own culture impacts this competence. In order to avoid pragmatic failure, speakers need to understand fully both socio-cultural strategies used by most native speakers and the rules for their appropriate implementation. Consequently, learners' exposure to the way refusals are realized in different contexts is of utmost importance in EFL instructional settings.

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ԱՄԵՐԻԿԱՑԻ ԵՎ ՀԱՅ ԱՆԳԼԻԱԽՈՍՆԵՐԻ ՄԵՐԺՄԱՆ ՌԱԶՄԱՎԱՐՈՒԹՅՈՒՆՆԵՐԻ ՄԻՋՇԱԿՈՒԹԱՅԻՆ ՔՆՆՈՒԹՅՈՒՆ

Գոհար Հովսեփյան

Խնդրանքը, առաջարկը կամ հրավերը մերժելիս բնիկ և ոչ բնիկ անգլերեն խոսողների կողմից լրտղի հասարակական վարկին հասցվող հնարավոր սպառնալիքը մեղմելու նպատակով մերժման ռազմավարությունների կիրառման բազմաթիվ ուսումնասիրություններ են կատարվել:

Սույն հետազոտությունը եղած ուսումնասիրություններին ավելագնում է հայ ոչ բնիկ անգլերեն խոսողների կողմից կիրառվող մեղմացուցիչ ռազմավարությունների համեմատությունը ամերիկացի բնիկ խոսողների կողմից կիրառվող ռազմավարությունների հետ: Հետազոտությունը խնդիր է դնում բացահայտել ամերիկացի և հայ անգլերեն խոսողների կողմից մերժման ակտերում տարբեր քաղաքավարական ռազմավարությունների կիրառման միջև նմանություններն ու տարբերությունները՝ հայ անգլիախոսների գործաբանական հմտությունների վրա իրենց մշակույթի ազդեցության աստիճանը պարզելու նպատակով: Լեզվական նյութը ձեռք է բերվել անգլերենի խորացված իմացությամբ 24 հայ և 15 ամերիկացի անգխախոսներից, որոնց խոսքի քննությունը դիսկուրսի լրացման թեստի (DCT) կիրառմամբ բացահայտել է զգալի նմանություններ և տարբերություններ՝ վեր հանելով մի կողմից հայ անգլիախոսների գործաբանական հմտությունների բարձր աստիճանը և մյուս կողմից հայկական մշակույթի որոշակի ազդեցությունը խոսքում մերժման ռազմավարությունների դրսևորման վրա: Ընդ որում՝ տարբերությունները հիմնականում դիտվում են միևնույն ռազմավարությունների կիրառման հաճախության և բովանդակության մեջ:

Բանալի բառեր. *մերժման ակտեր, հասարակական վարկին սպառնացող ակտեր, քաղաքավարական ռազմավարություններ, միջմշակութային հետազոտություններ, անգլերենը որպես օտար լեզու:*

ORWELLIAN IDENTITY IN STYLE
(pragma-stylistic approach to the translations of G. Orwell's *"Animal Farm"*)

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The article focuses on transformations which occur in Russian and Armenian translations of G. Orwell's allegorical novella *Animal Farm* with special reference to pragma-stylistic analysis of both the source and the target texts. The aim of the analysis is to reveal the so-called Orwellian identity in style and to determine the means of its manifestation in both translations. Viewed from the perspective of pragmatic analysis of the original and the target texts, the Russian translation can be characterized by unnecessary additions to the plain text and tends to be pompous in some cases while the Armenian translation is closer to the style of the source text and tends to remain faithful to its intent. At large, both the Armenian and Russian versions of the fable have retained the chief pragmatic orientation and have almost the same impact on the target reader as the original one: persuasive message, rhetorical narration, manipulative nature.

Keywords: *Orwellian, pragma-stylistic analysis, transformation, persuasive message, rhetoric narration, manipulative nature*.

Introduction

The term *Orwellian* is widely used in different contexts and is differently defined depending on the situation it comes to determine. In general, it is described as an adjective relating to the work of the British novelist George Orwell, especially the totalitarian state depicted in *Nineteen Eighty-four* (English terms dictionary, 2015). It is also defined as an adjective relating to a political system in which the government controls or interferes in nearly every aspect of personal life (Usage of the words and phrases in modern English,

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2013). A rather full and extended definition of the term is suggested by Wikipedia (Orwellian, 2021) according to which *Orwellian* is an adjective describing a situation, idea, or societal condition that George Orwell identified as being destructive to the welfare of a free and open society. It denotes an attitude and a brutal policy of draconian control by propaganda, surveillance, disinformation, denial of truth (*doublethink*), and manipulation of the past, including the *unperson* – a person whose past existence is expunged from the public record and memory, practiced by modern repressive governments.

Very often the term *Orwellian* is used in situations describing G. Orwell's language or style of writing, though the term *Orwellian language* has lately acquired a different connotation. It is mostly used to specify the language chosen to hide or to invert the truth. In any case, while speaking about G. Orwell's identity in language, the term *Orwellian style* is more than relevant to determine his uniqueness in dystopian literature for its straightforwardness and the unusual manner of allegorical significance.

The allegorical sense of Orwell's books does not hinder the language, on the contrary, his books are simple in manner and in the choice of linguistic means. In his famous essay *Why I write?* G. Orwell suggests a number of rules he has followed throughout his writer's career:

- *Never use a metaphor, simile, or other figure of speech which you are used to seeing in print.*

G. Orwell appreciates individuality and unique approach to every type of a literary problem, that is why he considers imitation dangerous and *lamentable* for the language because the phrase or any kind of linguistic unit loses its real meaning and value.

- *Never use a long word where a short one will do*.

G. Orwell values simplicity in literature. If you could convey your message to the reader in a straightforward manner without using confusing structures and manipulative figures of speech, that is something deserving appreciation.

- *If it is possible to cut a word out, always cut it out.*

This rule derives from the former one. Proofreading is the very phase determining whether there are extra words in the literary piece, they serve a particular purpose or not, if not they can be removed.

- *Never use the passive where you can use the active.*

G. Orwell believes that, for the most part, the passive voice as a grammatical category adds unnecessary confusion to the writing, though it has become a characteristics of the English language.

- *Never use a foreign phrase, a scientific word, or a jargon word if you can think of an everyday English equivalent.*

For most of his career as an author, G. Orwell has written for the common, ordinary people. He believes that an author should do his/her best to appeal to the reader and make the work as easy to understand as possible.

- *Break any of these rules sooner than say anything outright barbarous* (Orwell, 1946).

As a conclusion he declares that these rules are by no means fixed, even admitting that he does not always obey these rules. He writes that for certain he has again and again committed the very faults he has been protesting against (ibid.).

G. Orwell is fascinated by the relationship between morality and language. The so-called Orwellian style of simplicity in manner and choice of language means is rather vividly depicted in the allegorical novel *Animal Farm*, where the author uses animals on an English farm to describe communist regime in the Soviet Union. Some animals are directly associated with the leaders of the Communist Party: the pigs Napoleon and Snowball, for instance, are images of Joseph Stalin and Leon Trotsky, respectively. G. Orwell uses the fable form for a variety of aesthetic/literary and political reasons. In order to better understand this, it is useful to know at least the basics of Soviet history under the rule of the Communist Party, starting with the October Revolution of 1917. Napoleon expels Snowball from the farm and, after the windmill collapses, uses Snowball in his purges just as Stalin used Trotsky. Similarly, Napoleon becomes a dictator, while no one ever hears from Snowball again. G. Orwell was inspired to write *Animal Farm* by his experiences in a Trotskyist group during the Spanish Civil War, and Snowball has a more responsive portrayal than Napoleon. Though *Animal Farm* was written as an attack on a specific government, namely the Soviet Union, its general themes of harassment, oppression, suffering and injustice encircle even a wider range; it is relevant for any time and epoch. Modern readers also can see G. Orwell's book as a

powerful tool for fighting against and knowing the nature of any political, military or rhetorical power that tends to control human beings unjustly right the way Stalin did once consolidating his power with brutal intensity, killing or imprisoning his perceived political enemies and running the purge of about twenty million Soviet citizens.

It is also important to focus on the transformations, which occur in Russian and Armenian translations of G. Orwell's *Animal Farm* with special reference to pragma-stylistic analysis of both the source and the target texts, and this is specifically done in this article. The aim of the analysis is to reveal the so-called Orwellian identity in style in the mentioned allegorical novella and to determine the means of its manifestation in both translations.

Why pragma-stylistic approach to translation transformations?

According to E. Nida, "translation consists in reproducing in the receptor language the closest natural equivalent of the source language message, first in terms of meaning and secondly in terms of style" (Nida, 1984, p. 40).

To K. Reiss's firm belief, translations should respect the function of the source text type, for translation of informative texts should completely transfer the information content of the source text, whereas in the case of expressive texts the focus of translation should be the artistic aspects of the source text. Operative text translation should achieve the same psychological effect on target readers' behavior as the source text has on its readers (Reiss, 2014, p. 24-47).

Emotive text translation requires proper initial stylistic analysis. I. Arnold suggests the following approach: "Stylistic analysis can be carried out by focusing either on the driving forces of the writer's creative process, that is, from the author, or on the reader's perception of the text itself. The first approach coincides with literary stylistics, whereas the second one – with the style of decoding" (Arnold, 2002, p. 13). The difference between the tasks of the author's stylistics and the stylistics of perception lies in the fact that the former is more interested in the author than in his/her work, considering the work as a kind of consequence, the reasons for which must be sought. The stylistics of perception and, therefore, the stylistics of decoding, consider the literary work as a source of impressions for the reader. The vocabulary, the linguo-stylistic means which carry the emotive charge of the text, have the utmost impact on the reader and function within the particular genre chosen by the author as the most suitable form for transferring his/her ideas.

Writer's style is identified with two more categories as well: the categories of implicitness and explicitness. The translation process which consists of various phases of transfer, is largely dependent on these categories. Implicitness and explicitness as textual specificities are the result of the author's *choice*, his/her preference, subsequently, his/her individual style. Generally speaking, it is the author who decides to provide his/her message in a more or less implicit manner. However, no matter how original the author's style is, the very topic and the matter under consideration require anyhow the type of writing, its textual categories and its accessibility for perception, thus identifying the particular audience to whom the writing is addressed.

The interpretation and translation of the original text starts with revealing and understanding the cause-and-effect relationships between the events, the importance of the problems raised, the author's attitude, etc. presented with a specific bunch of lexical units, syntactic structures and stylistic tricks. The categories of implicitness and explicitness sometimes can lead to ambiguity or misinterpretation so inadmissible for a proper translation. But the analytical aspect is more specific to this part.

What type of analysis of the source text is needed to achieve an accurate and basically exact transformation of the author's cognition and the manner of its representation in the target text? To answer the question, one should keep in mind that the socio-cultural context around the source text is materialized in it by means of language media used by the author and determines his approach towards the situation described – the utterance itself and the target recipient consequently. Hence, the discourse analysis of the socio-cultural situation together with language media used by the author and the certain impact on the recipient based on its pragmatic value are of great importance for any type of translation. Moreover, the discourse and pragmatic analyses of the source text bring forth another type of analysis considerably valuable for an emotive text translation – stylistic analysis of the language media, which comes to combine the previous two (discourse and pragmatics) to specify the aesthetic value and the definite effect the text generates in a certain situation for a certain recipient.

A pragma-stylistic approach to target text analysis of
G. Orwell's *"Animal Farm"*

To characterize Orwellian manner in the allegorical fable *Animal Farm* from the pragma-stylistic perspective one can definitely indicate that it combines caustic reporting with a tone of generous anger that determines G. Orwell's

subsequent writing. The language used in it as well as its form and structure are very important for storytelling. G. Orwell uses *persuasive language*, *circular narrative* and *allegory*, which are particularly significant. The novella is written in ten chapters, but thematically it can be divided into three parts: the dream, the rebellion and the Napoleon regime. The notion of the narration being circular can be explained relying on the fact that Napoleon's regime represents the same dictatorship as Mr. Jones's.

Since the requirements for the article format are rather limited, one example will be illustrated hereinafter to specify the main tips of Orwellian style, to compare its Armenian and Russian translations by A. Emin and I. Polotsk respectively, and to analyze the consistency, value and interchangeability with the source text in the target cultures.

> *Now, comrades, what is the nature of this life of ours? Let us face it: our lives are miserable, laborious, and short. We are born, we are given just so much food as will keep the breath in our bodies, and those of us who are capable of it are forced to work to the last atom of our strength; and the very instant that our usefulness has come to an end we are slaughtered with hideous cruelty. No animal in England knows the meaning of happiness or leisure after he is a year old. No animal in England is free. The life of an animal is misery and slavery: that is the plain truth*. (Chapter 1, p. 3).

Compared with the speeches of other animals living on the farm, this pig's speech and manners are more elaborate and sophisticated, and this derives from its intricate intentions. In this very extract the beginning is set with *a rhetorical question*. This device is meant to make other animals question their position on the farm. Old Major, the pig, represents the image of a good politician, he questions the feelings of the audience, *shakes* their views upon the existing setting and then provides the answer immediately. This rhetorical device is used to encourage and make the animals rebel. Old Major asks the question and gives the answer he wishes, persuading them that he is right. Almost every animal on the farm is illiterate, and the leader pigs take advantage of this and use words and expressions the illiterate animals do not understand: *miserable, laborious, slavery, hideous cruelty, atom of our strength, keep the breath in our bodies.* The style of the speech is rhetorical. Instead of saying *our life*, *this life of ours* is used. The pig emphasizes that they are a community using the

pronouns *we*, *us*, *our*, *ours* to generalize the issue, to make everybody feel part of the existing regime. In the same extract G. Orwell uses *anaphora* repeating in two sentences the negative clause *No animal in England.* This stylistic device is widely used in oratory, it makes speech more persuasive and powerful. Repetition stamps the idea into the head of each representative of the audience. Besides, negation makes the device even stronger and to the point.

The Armenian translation of the same extract sounds as follows:

> *Ուրեմն, ընկերներ, ի՞նչ է իրենից ներկայացնում մեր*
> *կյանքը: Եկեք ծուռ նստենք, բայց շիտակ խոսենք. մեր*
> *կյանքը ողորմելի է, տքնաջան և կարճատև: Մենք*
> *ծնվում ենք, մեզ մի բուռ լափ են տալիս՝ ինչ է, թե*
> *շունչներս չկտրենք, նրանց, ովքեր ընդունակ են,*
> *անխնա բանեցնում են, քամելով ուժերի վերջին*
> *կաթիլը, և այն նույն պահին, երբ մեր պիտանի-*
> *ությունը սպառվում է, մեզ հրեշավոր անգթությամբ*
> *մորթում են: Մեկ տարին բոլորած և ոչ մի կենդանի*
> *Անգլիայում չգիտե, թե ինչ է երջանկությունը կամ*
> *հանգիստը: Անգլիայում և ոչ մի կենդանի ազատ չէ:*
> *Կենդանու կյանքն անցնում է թշվառության և ստրկու-*
> *թյան մեջ՝ ահա զուտ եղելությունը:*

The rhetorical question will be analyzed first: the Armenian structure in this very interrogation sounds plain, but it was meant to sound powerful in the original. It would be better to keep the component *nature – բնույթ* in the target text to sound closer to the mood and spirit of the propaganda setting. The following variant may be suggested: *ո՞րն է բնույթը մեր այս կյանքի.* A direct translation from the source text is provided, it both sounds better in accordance with Armenian grammar and stylistics and conveys the style of the original writing.

The verb *to face* in the source text, which is an indicator of the simplicity of Orwellian writing style is transferred into the target text with the phraseological unit *ծուռ նստել, շիտակ խոսել* which is too specific to the Armenian linguo-cultural reality. That is why it is inconsistent with English reality of the original and Orwellian simple style. It would be better to keep the simplicity of the linguistic unit: *Let us face it – Եկեք հասկանանք/Եկեք*

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տեսնենք. Besides, the expression *իրենից ներկայացնել* has penetrated into Armenian as a result of the Russian influence (in Russian: *являть собой*, *являться*).

The modifiers given to the word *life* are well transferred into Armenian: *miserable – ողորմելի, laborious – տքնաջան, short – կարճատն.* The word *food* of the original is translated into Armenian as *լափ* by means of *specification*. It is fair to mention that the word *լափ* is the watery food for dogs, and in its figurative usage the word may mean food of low quality. But not every animal is given a watery smash, let alone the herbivorous ones which can be given smashed potatoes with whey, but not always. If Orwell wanted to mention the quality of the food, he would use a more specific word, but in this particular case it is unnecessary. The most important thing in the sentence is the quantity of the food given, but not the quality.

In the Armenian variant the original figurative expression *to keep the breath in one's body* is adequately transferred through the phraseological unit *շունչը փչել* in the antonymic structure *ինչ է, թե շունչներս չփչենք.* The same structure is used in the Russian translation. The figurative expression *to the last atom of one's strength* is appropriately translated into Armenian with the participial phrase *քամելով ուժերի վերջին կաթիլը,* which conveys the exact meaning of the original expression, and the word *քամել – squeeze* intensifies the hyperbolic setting.

For the expression *hideous cruelty* A. Emin came up with the expression *հրեշավոր անգթություն* which, as well as its Russian variant, is a proper choice.

The stylistic device of anaphora is lost in the target text, while the repetition is preserved with the phrase *Անգլիայում և ոչ մի կենդանի.* The loss of the stylistic device is a violation of the source style, the preservation of which would make Old Major's speech sound more logical and well-founded in the translation.

The Russian translation of the same extract sounds as follows:

> *Итак, друзья, в чем смысл нашего с вами бытия? Давайте посмотрим правде в лицо: краткие дни нашей жизни проходят в унижении и тяжком труде. С той минуты, как мы появляемся на свет, нам дают есть ровно столько, чтобы в нас не угасла жизнь, и те, кто*

> *обладает достаточной силой, вынуждены работать до последнего вздоха; и, как обычно, когда мы становимся никому не нужны, нас с чудовищной жестокостью отправляют на бойню. Ни одно животное в Англии после того, как ему минет год, не знает, что такое счастье или хотя бы заслуженный отдых. Ни одно животное в Англии не знает, что такое свобода. Жизнь наша – нищета и рабство. Такова истина.*

The Russian translation tends to be high in style. It uses structures such as *нашего с вами*, which makes the speech more poetic and emphasizes the idea of community. The translator uses a word wider in the meaning, *бытие (в чем смысл нашего с вами бытия?)*, which is praiseworthy, because it strengthens the question and forces every animal to think over their well-being not only at present, not only in the past, but in the future as well. The verb *to face* in the source text, is used for starting the explanation and giving the answer to the rhetorical question. In the target text the phraseological unit *посмотреть правде в лицо* definitely contains the equivalent component *face* (*лицо*, which is a noun**),** but it changes the meaning and the intent of the unit. Old Major has not started talking about unfair things yet, he is just breaking down the situation into questions. The Russian version cuts the pace and immediately submits that something is wrong. The verb *face* is used to mean to recognize and deal with straightforwardly, and the pragmatic value of the verb *to face* is completely presented in the source text. The speech tends to represent a *clear* picture of the existing situation, whereas the Russian phrase *посмотреть правде в лицо*, meaning to soberly assess the situation and recognize the actual state of affairs, gives the impression that the animals are aware of their delusion, though, in fact, they are not. It would be better to use a more neutral expression instead, such as *обратить внимание*.

In the second line of the source extract one can view several attributives to the word *life*, namely *miserable*, *laborious*, *short*. Orwell provides direct modifiers in a simple sentence. The Russian translation is more poetic and pathetic, the translator uses an addition to make the speech more elaborate instead of writing *наша жизнь несчастна, утомительна и коротка* (which is a direct translation from English). I. Polotsk prefers to add *дни нашей жизни* (*days of our life*) to replenish the gap which exists in Russian related to the plural form of the word *жизнь – life* with the component *days* (*дни нашей*

жизни – days of our life) gives the effect of considering life as a whole and feeling oneself as part of the community. The Russian variant (*унижение)* which is a unit of another part of speech (a noun) deviates in its meaning from the source text,. The word *misery* indicating a state of suffering and want is translated into Russian as *унижение* which implies interference from a superior side. The modifier *miserable* is better to be replaced by *мизерный* or *ничтожный*. For the English word *laborious* there is *тяжкий труд*, which can be viewed as a good choice of the word for it contains the component of labor as well.

The figurative expression *to keep the breath in one's body*, is replaced by an antonymic expression *в нас не угасла жизнь*. This is a figurative combination of compatible words (we are used to saying *жизнь угасает – life fades away* in Russian) and well suits the context in the present extract both stylistically and semantically.

Old Major's speech, though delivered to a simple audience, tends to be as figurative and colorful as possible. Orwell uses the expression *to the last atom of one's strength* hyperbolically intensifying the meaning behind the unit. It is translated into the Russian set expression *до последнего вздоха* which means *to death*. But the English unit is more about losing one's strength which is not so intensive as the Russian one that implies the end of somebody or something. The use of the Russian expression *до последних сил* could be considered a better choice, closer to the original in the meaning and indicating the notion of *strength – сила*.

The Russian translation *чудовищная жестокость* of the metaphorical expression *hideous cruelty* adequately conveys the idea of the fears of animals towards humans who usually try to hide their terrible deeds.

Inconsistency is observed in the translation of the word *leisure* which is presented in Russian through *заслуженный отдых* (*a well-earned rest*) as the latter is wider in sense. The addition of *заслуженный* is not appropriate as the English word *leisure* is not associated with the idea of deserved or well-earned.

The stylistic device of *anaphora*, which is characteristic of oratory is preserved in the target text with the same negation structure: *Ни одно животное… Ни одно животное...* Moreover, the translator uses complex sentences with subordinate clauses in the target text, repeating even the verb *to know – знать*, which rather intensifies the repetition, and makes the Russian speech sound persuasive.

In contrast to the Russian variant the Armenian translation provides a more proper equivalent *(hանգիստ)* for the word *leisure.*

The source text is not abundant with synonyms, and cognates such as *misery* and *miserable* can be observed here**.** But both the Armenian and the Russian texts violate Orwellian simplicity: in Russian *унижение* is used, which is given proper consideration above, and *нищета* at the end of the extract, in Armenian – *ողորմելի* and *թշվառություն* accordingly.

In the last sentence of the source extract the collocation *the plain truth* is translated into Russian as *такова истина*, which is suitable and sounds simpler like the Armenian collocation *զուտ եղելություն.* The word *եղելություն* is not only an event that has already happened but also expresses one action, one setting and also the existing situation. Old Major speaks about a situation which has had a long duration and is still true.

Conclusion

The language that George Orwell used in his allegorical fable *Animal Farm* is simple, clear and perceivable. Descriptions and dialogues are led to a minimum. G. Orwell avoids sentimentality, and even the heart-breaking and emotionally stressed parts of the text are straightforward in style. The author focuses on telling the story, providing a clear view upon the matter under consideration, thus making the lesson to be taught to the society even more comprehensible. Through the image of the pigs in the fable, George Orwell shows the power of political manipulation.

The pragma-stylistic analysis of source and target texts has been used, i.e. a lot of language means, speech units and devices as well as various expressive means used by George Orwell in the fable have been considered from both pragmatic and stylistic perspectives. The Russian translation can be characterized by unnecessary additions to the plain text, tending to be even pompous in some cases. The Armenian translation is closer to the style of the source text and faithful to its intent. At large, both the Armenian and the Russian versions of the novella have retained the chief pragmatic orientation of the original and provide almost the same impact on the target reader: persuasive message, rhetorical narration, manipulative nature.

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ՕՐՈՒԵԼՅԱՆ ՈՃԱԿԱՆ ԻՆՔՆՈՒԹՅՈՒՆԸ
(Ջ. Օրուելի «*Անասնաֆերմա*» վիպակի թարգմանությունների ոճագործաբանական քննություն)

Գայանե Գասպարյան
Հասմիկ Կարապետյան

Հոդվածում ուսումնասիրության առարկա են դարձել Ջ. Օրուելի «*Անասնաֆերմա*» այլաբանական վիպակի հայերեն և ռուսերեն թարգմանություններում տեղ գտած փոխակերպումները, որոնց ոճագործաբանական վերլուծությամբ հեղինակներին հաջողվում է վեր հանել և սահմանել այսպես կոչված, օրուելյան ոճական ինքնությունը և որոշել դրա դրսևորման միջոցները հայերեն ու ռուսերեն թարգմանվածքներում։ Բնօրինակ և թիրախ տեքստերի գործաբանական վերլուծության տեսանկյունից, հայերեն և ռուսերեն տարբերակները պահպանել են

հիմնական գործաբանական արժեքը և գրեթե նույն ազդեցությունն են ունենում թիրախ ընթերցողի վրա՝ պերսուազիվ ուղերձ, ճարտասանական շարադրանք, մտաշահարկային բնույթ:

Բանալի բառեր*. օրուելյան, ոչագործաբանական վերլուծություն, փոխակերպում, պերսուազիվ ուղերձ, ճարտասանական շարադրանք, մտաշահարկային բնույթ:*

THE EASTERN PHILOSOPHER AND THE WESTERNIZED PROPHET

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Gibran Khalil Gibran is one of the few Lebanese authors who has bridged the East and the West and is justifiably considered a citizen of the world. His book of highly estimated prose poems, *The Prophet* is one of the most widely read books of the 20th century. It reveals Gibran's philosophy about different aspects of life, mainly the precept in the Gospel of Matthew about the importance of the human sense of mutuality which summarizes a Christian's duty towards his/her neighbor and states a fundamental ethical principle. In addition to this golden rule, *The Prophet* reflects Gibran's beliefs in Christianity. Being a true mirror of the Sufi mysticism of Islam, it also shows his idealistic opinion on pantheism. From this perspective, the research will focus on the combination of his beliefs in Christianity, Islam, and pantheism in *The Prophet,* as well as his firm conviction in creating the united and unique structure of a Christian-Muslim synthesis which he deeply adhered to.

Keywords: *Christianity, the Gospel, Sufi, Islam, the Quran, pantheism, Prophet Almustafa, East and West.*

Introduction

Gibran Khalil Gibran, a pioneer in the world of literature and philosophy, born in Bsharri, North Lebanon towards the end of the 19th century, was of poor parentage, and suffered chaos and struggles throughout his life. He migrated to the States at an early age, and on a turning point in his life, when he was twenty-one. In Boston, at a friend's studio, he encountered a benevolent called Mary Elizabeth Haskell who changed his life forever. Mrs. Haskell, a philanthropist and patron of arts, was so impressed with Gibran's skill in arts that she sent him to Paris to study painting, paying his full scholarship. Later,

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she edited and published all his books encouraging him to dive deeper not only in painting but also in literature and philosophy.

Later in his writing career, Kahlil Gibran not only made Mary Haskell's wish come true, but also became one of the most commercially successful poets of the 20th century. His works are read internationally, especially his masterpiece, *The Prophet*, which has been translated into more than 100 different languages and dialects, making it one of the top translated books of all time.

Gibran was a Lebanese Arab, so his mother tongue was the Arabic language. However, living in the United States, he also wrote in English, thus becoming a bilingual writer. Some of his works are written in English and some others in Arabic, but all his works have been translated to both languages. By the time he wrote *The Prophet*, Gibran had become a prolific writer in both Arabic and English. He was an accomplished illustrator and artist, and the president of the New York based Arab émigré writers group. He was also one of the four members of the Pen League (a group of writers who helped preserve the heritage of early immigrant poets such as Mikhael Naimy, Nasib Arida, Abd Al-Masih Haddad, Jaoudat Haidar, and Elia Abu Madi).

The Prophet occupies a unique place in world literature. It is a work of remarkable compassion, insight, hope, and inspiration. It has a timeless message that combines the dignity of Christianity and the wisdom of Sufism (Oxford Islamic Studies Online, 2021). Receiving a copy of *The Prophet*, in October 1923, Mary Haskell prophesized its success saying *"*this book will be held as one of the treasures of English literature. And in our darkness we will open it to find ourselves again, and the heaven and earth within ourselves. Generations will not exhaust it, but instead, generation after generation will find in the book what they would like to find – and it will be better loved as we grow riper and riper" (Hilu, 1972, pp. 416- 417).

The book consists of twenty-six poems recited by Almustafa, a prophet in the city of Orphalese. The short poems refer to different themes such as love, marriage, children, eating and drinking, work, joy and sorrow, clothes, buying and selling, crime and punishment, laws, freedom, reason and passion, pain, self-knowledge, teaching, friendship, talking, time, good and evil, prayer, pleasure, beauty, religion, and death. Nearly in one hundred years *The Prophet* was sold in millions of copies worldwide, and never went out of print (Sammons, 2014).

Although *The Prophet* was not effectively completed until 1922, when Gibran was plagued with ill health, his first thought of writing *The Prophet* had been in his teens. In a letter to May Ziadeh, his Lebanese pen pal, whom he had never met, yet dearly loved, Khalil Gibran had confessed:

> *As for The Prophet, this is a book which I thought of writing a thousand years ago, but I did not get any of its chapters down on paper until the end of last year. What can I tell you about this prophet? He is my rebirth and my first baptism, the only thought in me that will make me worthy to stand in the light of the sun. For this prophet had already written me before I attempted to write him, had created me before I created him, and had silently set me on a course to follow him for seven thousand leagues before he appeared in front of me to dictate his wishes and inclinations (cited in Bushrui & al-Kuzbari,1995, p. 23). This book is only a small part of what I have seen and of what I see every day, a small part only of the many things yearning for expression in the silent hearts of men and in their souls* (ibid., p. 73).

The questions which may now be raised to discuss Gibran's work are: Does *The Prophet* reveal Gibran's adherence to the West where he lived or his adherence to his Eastern origin? Does the Prophet disclose Gibran's pantheism? Is the Prophet Almustafa a Christian Messiah or a Sufi Muslim? These questions will be answered by exploring Gibran's idealism (related to his cultural identity torn between the East and the West), his Christian and Muslim perceptions, and his pantheism.

Gibran's cultural identity torn between the East and the West

Throughout his masterpiece*, The Prophet*, Gibran bridges the East and the West. In the East, in the Arabic-speaking world, he is considered the genius of his age, while in the West Gibran's works have been compared to those of Blake, Dante, Tagore, Nietzsche, Michelangelo, and Rodin (Bushrui, 2015). Gibran's popularity as an oriental writer is unprecedented, and along with the works of T. S. Eliot and W. B. Yeats, *The Prophet* is today the most highly regarded poem of the twentieth century (ibid.).

Being a Lebanese Maronite Christian, the Bible (King James Version (KJV), 1994) has been Gibran's inexhaustible source of influence (Bushrui & Jenkins, 1998). However, Gibran, as an Arab, was also influenced by Sufism which is a form of mysticism in Islam and is often referred to as the internalization and intensification of Islamic faith and practice. Sufis strive to constantly be aware of God's presence, stressing contemplation over action, spiritual development over legalism, and cultivation of the soul over social interaction (Oxford Islamic Studies Online, 2021).

It was Gibran's knowledge of Lebanon's bloody history with its destructive sectarian struggles between the Christians and the Muslims that formed his belief in the **fundamental unity of religions** (Jason, 2003) creating in him a new character – the Christian Sufi.

In a city that lay between the sea and the plains, a prophet called Almustafa wandered in the fields and among the people. He was a poet, a seer, and someone who loved all the people in the city and whom they all loved, old and young. As he moved around, young women got obsessed by him, yet no woman dared to fall in love with him. The priests and priestesses said: "Much have we loved you. But speechless was our love, and with veils has it been veiled" (Gibran, 1923, p.13). Though people considered him a part of the city, yet they all had the consciousness that his existence among them was temporary and the day of his departure was soon to arrive. Every day the prophet waited for the distant ship, but the ship did not appear. "Almustafa, the chosen and the beloved, who was a dawn unto his own day, had waited twelve years in the city of Orphalese for his ship that was to return and bear him back to the isle of his birth" (ibid., p.7). He longed for his home, and waited for twelve years to leave Orphalese. On the day of the prophet's departure the seeress Almitra told him: "Deep is your longing for the land of your memories and the dwelling place of your greater desires; and our love would not bind you nor our needs hold you" (ibid., p. 14). So, when out of the blue horizon, the ship came towards the city, everyone knew that the ship was for the hermit.

Prophet Almustafa's longing for the ship to take him away, can be compared to Gibran's longing for the East during his life in the West. In fact, due to their circumstances as exiles, most of the Mahjar poets wrote about their feelings of homesickness, their awareness of being outsiders, and their dual cultural experience (Badawi, 1975, p.184). Gibran loved the West which had raised him from his poverty and had given him a new life with new promises but, as he stated, the West was not higher than the East, nor was the West lower

than the East (Gibran, 2015). Thus, he asserted his adherence to the East without denying his admiration for the West. His yearning for the East (especially for Lebanon) and his Lebanese heritage made him declare that if Lebanon had not been his homeland, he would have chosen that country for a homeland. Yet the Lebanon that Gibran created in his mindset, was completely different from the real Lebanon. Thus, he wrote in his poem:

> *You have your Lebanon and its dilemma. I have my Lebanon and its beauty. Your Lebanon is an arena for men from the West and men from the East…*
> *Let me tell you who are the children of my Lebanon.*
> *They are farmers who would turn the fallow field into garden and grove.*
> *They are the shepherds who lead their flocks through the valleys to be fattened for your table meat and your woolens.*
> *They are the vine-pressers who press the grape to wine and boil it to syrup…*
> *They are the ones who are steadily moving toward perfection, beauty, and truth.*(Gibran, 1920)

Therefore, with all his love that was torn between the East and the West, Gibran always remained an easterner in manners and a Lebanese in his feelings with a unique "Lebanon" belonging to him and dwelling in his mind and in his heart.

Is Gibran's Prophet Almustafa – a Christian Messiah or a Sufi Muslim?

Bushrui and Jenkins (1998) consider *The Prophet,* a work of remarkable compassion, insight, hope, and inspiration, with a timeless message that combines the dignity of the Christian Bible with the wisdom of the Sufism of Islam, a creation phrased with simplicity and rhythmical quality that renders it accessible to a wide readership, making it a masterpiece of all times. The book owes its broad appeal partly to the universality and timelessness of its message and partly to the power of its poetry representing an appeal for a return to, and a reconciliation with nature, emphasizing the relationship that binds individuals to their environment and fellow creatures. Gibran makes them all become the inhabitants of the one and only world bound together by life and death. Accordingly,

> *Those who err are not alone, and those who reach the sublime heights share it with all; our destiny lies in the way we act toward one another, and the salvation of the individual is the salvation of the society. Thus Almustafa sets out his own version of the golden rule common to all great religions: that we must do as we would be done by.*(ibid.)

It is clear that Prophet Almustafa emphasized the golden rule (to do others what you would like them do to you) as common in most of the great religions. It is a fact that Prophet Almustafa himself was **a combination of Christianity and Islam mingled together in an artistic form**. To prove this right, I will mention different verses from both the Christian Holy Gospel as well as the Islamic Holy Quran that reveal the golden rule in which Gibran's Almustafa believed. For example, the Gospel of Mathew says: "Judge not, that ye be not judged. For with what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged: and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again" (Mathew, 7:1-3, KJV). Another verse from the same Gospel says, "Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them: for this is the law and the prophets" (Mathew, 7:12, KJV). Moreover, the Gospel of Luke says: "And as ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them likewise (Luke, 6:31, KJV). It also says: "Judge not, and ye shall not be judged: condemn not, and ye shall not be condemned: forgive, and ye shall be forgiven" (Luke, 6:37, KJV). All these verses from the Gospel reveal the same golden rule which Gibran's Almustafa believed in.

In the Holy Quran this golden rule is revealed in many occasions and in different suras (chapters). For example, the sura of The Imrans says: "The day will surely come when each soul will be confronted with whatever good it has done. As for its evil deeds" (The Imrans, 3:30). The Sura of The Earthquake says: "On the day mankind will come in broken bands to be shown their labors. Whoever does an atom's weight of good shall see it, and whoever does an atom's weight of evil shall see it also" (The Earthquake, 8:7). The sura of The Cow says: "Attend to your prayer and pay the alms-tax. Whatever good you do shall be rewarded by Allah. He is watching over all your actions" (The Cow, 2: 110). The sura of The Clear Proof says: "But those that embrace the faith and do good works are the noblest of all creatures. Allah will reward them with the Gardens of Eden, gardens watered by running streams, where they shall dwell

forever. Allah is well pleased with them and they with Him. Thus shall the God-fearing be rewarded" (The Clear Proof, 98:8).

Thus, it is clear that both the Gospel and the Quran have included the golden rule of doing to others as you would like to be done to. Other forms of this rule include doing good and getting rewarded, doing bad and being punished. It is also clear that Gibran's Almustafa is both a Christian Messiah and a Sufi Muslim. As Gibran once declared, he himself kept Jesus in one half of his bosom and Muhammad in the other (cited in Sammons, 2014). Apparently, Prophet Almustafa (one of the names also given to Prophet Muhammad), symbolizes a union of Christianity (which is Gibran's religion at birth) and Islam (to which Gibran was so closely related).

The Prophet and Gibran's pantheism

For Gibran, the East and the West, the pagan and the believer in God, the ancient and the modern, the past and the present come together to reaffirm his faith in the unity of being. Thus, along with his Christian and Islamic beliefs, *The Prophet* reveals some of his beliefs in **pantheism**, which is the keynote of *The Prophet*, as is in much of the works of the Romantic poets. Like all great writers, Gibran endeavors to show how opposites can be reconciled (Bushrui & Jenkins, 1998). Thus, Prophet Almustafa speaks of different opposites such as the good and the evil, joy and sorrow, life and death, past and present, and eve and dawn. Speaking of the good and the evil, for example, Prophet Almustafa says:

> *You are good when you are one with yourself.*
> *Yet when you are not one with yourself you are not evil.*
> *For a divided house is not a den of thieves; it is only a divided house.*
> *And a ship without rudder may wander aimlessly among perilous isles yet sink not to the bottom.*
> *You are good when you strive to give of yourself.*
> *Yet you are not evil when you seek gain for yourself.*
> *Yet when you are not one with yourself you are not evil.*
> (Gibran, 1923, p.73)

Moreover, Gibran believes that joy and sorrow are not only opposites, but they also feed on each other, hence, Almustafa says:

> *Your joy is your sorrow unmasked…*
> *When you are joyous, look deep into your heart and you*
> *shall find it is only that which has given you sorrow that is*
> *giving you joy.*
> *When you are sorrowful look again in your heart, and you*
> *shall see that in truth you are weeping for that which has*
> *been your delight.* (ibid., pp. 35- 36)

For Gibran, life and death are sources of one another. Thus the prophet says:

> *You would know the secret of death.*
> *But how shall you find it unless you seek it in the heart of*
> *life?*
> *The owl whose night-bound eyes are blind unto the day*
> *cannot unveil the mystery of light.*
> *If you would indeed behold the spirit of death, open your*
> *heart wide unto the body of life.*
> *For life and death are one, even as the river and the sea are*
> *one.*(ibid., p. 90)

Furthermore, for Gibran, the ancient and the modern, as well as the past and the present come together to reaffirm his faith in the unity of being. Thus speaking of time, Almustafa says:

> *You would measure time the measureless and the*
> *immeasurable.*
> *You would adjust your conduct and even direct the course of*
> *your spirit according to hours*
> *and seasons.*
> *Of time you would make a stream upon whose bank you*
> *would sit and watch its flowing.*
> *Yet the timeless in you is aware of life's timelessness,*
> *And knows that yesterday is but today's memory and*
> *tomorrow is today's dream.*(ibid., p.70)

Likewise, he says of parting and gathering, as well as of eve and dawn: "Shall the day of parting be the day of gathering? And shall it be said that my eve was in truth my dawn?" (ibid., p. 10). He believes in oneness of the whole

world. The poet who is speaking in the voice of the hermit Almustafa is himself the representative of the reconciliation of all these opposites at all levels. Moreover, like the romantic poets, Gibran also believes in the idea of transcendentalism. For him, every man is a longing – the longing of the divine. Every man bears within him the longing and the fulfillment which is God, and the road leading to this fulfillment. As Gibran tells his soulmate, Mary Haskell, "the whole prophet is saying just one thing: you are far greater than you know, and all is well" (Gibran, 2020).

Along with his belief in transcendentalism, the keynote of the prophet, as mentioned above, is pantheism (Bushrui, 2012). Pantheism has the view that everything is part of an all-encompassing, immanent God. It is the belief of reality identical with divinity, the belief in God. Moreover, the central belief in pantheism is that God is latent within everyone as a Greater Self, and that this is attained through aspiration, or yearning, which is comparable to prayer in religion, and through successive reincarnations. Life is a journey, and God is both the starting point and the destination (ibid.). This idea is revealed when hermit Almustafa is asked about crime and punishment and he tells the people of Orphalese: "…as a single leaf turns not yellow but with the silent knowledge of the whole tree, So the wrong-doer cannot do wrong without the hidden will of you all. Like a procession you walk together towards your god-self" (Gibran, 1923, p. 49).

It is worth mentioning that the Gospel of Psalm gives almost the same meaning when it says, "the earth is the Lord's, and the fullness thereof, the world and they that dwell therein" (Psalm, 24:1, KJV). Thus, according to the Gospel, God is the creator of the earth and all that dwells in it. Whilst, in the Sura of Divorce, the Quran says: "It is Allah who has created seven heavens and earths as many. His commandment descends through them, so that you may know that Allah has power over all things and that he has knowledge of all things" (Divorce, 65:12). Like in the Gospel, the Quran says that God is the sovereignty and supremacy of the heavens and the earth and all that is between them, and unto him is the journeying. The journeying represents the condition of full awareness when the soul has embarked on the path leading to its desired union with God, and the enlightened wayfarer Almustafa offers directions for anyone who would undertake such a journey (Bushrui, 2012).

Thus, a man's journey in life represents the embankment and escalation on the path leading towards the unity of the soul with God Almighty, Creator of heaven and earth. Implicit here is Ibn Al-Arabi's Sufistic theory of journeying

towards God Almighty and the unity of religions. To him revelation is universal and every prophet has transmitted an aspect of God's will to humankind. Therefore, if we examine the inner contents of all religions by journeying inwardly from the external forms towards the inner one, we will find a transcendent unity that they all emanate from the same supreme center (ibid.).

It can be concluded that *The Prophet* reveals Gibran's solitude in pantheism to which the Gospel, The Quran, and Ibn Al Arabi's sufistic theory all point.

Conclusion

Thus, it can be deduced that Gibran's torn cultural identity which is a mixture of the Maronite Christian and the Sufi Arab, helps him create Prophet Almustafa who is a manifestation of Gibran himself, a combination of the East and the West, an Arab in origin and an American in nationality. It can also be inferred that *The Prophet* summarizes Gibran's philosophy of life along with his mature ideas related to Christianity and Islam which create a Christian-Muslim synthesis. Throughout *The Prophet* Gibran reveals a unique being who is both a Christian Messiah and a Sufi Muslim with an eastern identity armed with the doctrine of pantheism. Accordingly, through his curio, Gibran proves himself to be the Christian poet as well as the Sufi prophet lost in the dilemma of his eastern solitude producing a masterpiece that has so far occupied an unparalleled and unique place in world literature.

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ԱՐԵՎԵԼՅԱՆ ՓԻԼԻՍՈՓԱՆ ԵՎ ԱՐԵՎՄՏԱԿԱՆ ԴԱՐՁԱԾ ՄԱՐԳԱՐԵՆ

Վիքի Չափարեան

Ջիբրան Խալիլ Ջիբրանը լիբանանցի այն սակավաթիվ հեղինակներից
է, որին հաջողվել է կամրջել արևելքն ու արևմուտքը, և արդարացիորեն
կարող է իրեն աշխարհի քաղաքացի համարել: Նրա արձակ բանաս-
տեղծությունների գիրքը` *Մարգարեն*, բացահայտում է Ջիբրանի` կյան-
քի տարբեր կողմերի վերաբերող փիլիսոփայությունը, որը հիմնված է
Մատթեոսի Ավետարանի պատվիրանի վրա. «Ուրիշներին արա այն,
ինչ կցանկանաս, որ քեզ անեն»: Պատվիրանն ամփոփում է քրիստոնե-
յայի պարտքը հարևանի նկատմամբ և համարվում է էթիկական հիմնա-
րար սկզբունք: *Մարգարեն* նաև բացահայտում է Ջիբրանի քրիստոնեա-
կան հավատքը` որպես իսլամի սուֆիական միստիկայի արտացոլանք,
ինչպես նաև պանթեիզմին վերաբերող նրա մոտեցումները: *Մարգարեն,*
այսպիսով, քրիստոնեության, իսլամի և պանթեիզմի համադրություն է,

քրիստոնյա-մահմեդական միասնություն, որին խորապես հավատում է Ջիբրանը:

Բանալի բառեր. *քրիստոնեություն, ավետարան, սուֆի, իսլամ, Ղուրան, բնապաշտություն, մարգարե Ալմուստաֆա, արևելք և արևմուտք:*

R. LEMKIN'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN INTERNATIONAL LAW AND INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL LAW

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This article presents the significance and impact of Lemkin's concept of genocide on the development of international law. We will randomly present the jurisprudence of international courts such as the ICJ, the ICC, the ICTY and the ICTR, which analyzed the concepts of genocide, including cultural heritage crimes. Residual functions of the ICTY, including oversight of sentences and consideration of any appeal proceedings initiated since 1 July 2013, are under the jurisdiction of a successor body, the International Residual Mechanism for Criminal Tribunals (IRMCT). The article also invites attention to the impact on R2P and the human rights, as well as international state responsibility and the individual responsibility.

Keywords: cultural genocide, ICC, ICTY, ICTR, ICJ, R2P, Katyn massacre.

Introduction

The article deals with Raphael Lemkin's contribution to the development of modern international law and international criminal law. The principal aim of this research consists in showing why the lacking part of the Genocide Convention, i.e. the cultural genocide is important nowadays. We explain the reasons why this part was omitted during the preparatory work for the drafting of the text of the Convention on the prevention of genocide.

We present the application of the Genocide Convention in proceedings before the International Criminal Court (ICC), the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) and the International Criminal Tribunal for

Yugoslavia (ICTY) as well as the Application of the Genocide Convention in a procedure before the International Court of Justice (ICJ) in The Hague**.**

I have applied the method of observation, including textual observations of Lemkin's texts where he speaks about the importance of the concept of cultural genocide to be included in the

Convention on the prevention of Genocide which unfortunately didn't happen. I also implement the method of analysis in the study of different cases of cultural genocide. The method of deduction helps me reveal how important it is for the International Criminal Court to prevent further cases of cultural genocide through strict decisions.

Preparatory work for the drafting of the text of the Convention on the prevention of genocide

Raphael Lemkin first used the new term "genocide" in 1943, and introduced his concept in his 1944 book *"Axis Governments in Occupied Europe"*. The UN General Assembly unanimously adopted Resolution 96/I on Genocide Crime in Lake Success, NY, 11.12.1946, proposed by R. Lemkin.

The first sentence of the resolution, written by Lemkin, says:

> *Genocide is a denial of the right to exist for entire human groups, just as murder is a denial of the right to life of an individual human being. Such a denial of the right to exist shakes the conscience of man, causes a great loss to humanity in matters of cultural and other contributions represented by these human groups, and is also contrary to moral law and to the spirit and purposes of the United Nations.* (Lemkin, 1946, pp. 188-189)

This resolution became a fundamental starting point for the two-year travaux préparatoires, which eventually led to the adoption of the "revolutionary" Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide of December 9, 1948. All the time, Lemkin lobbied for the adoption of the Convention. To this end, before its adoption, in Paris he met with the Papal Nuncio, Cardinal Angelo Roncalli, later Pope John XXIII. He noted:

> *The human life and religion are sacred things that cannot be the subject of political haggling.... I enclose the report of the Special Committee on the Crime of Genocide. Unfortunately,*

> *Article 3, which represents the soul (l'âme) of the entire convention, was rejected at first reading. Let us hope that through your initiative it will be restored and even changed so that the United Nations can declare that man lives not only with bread, but also in need of spiritual nourishing* (Raphael Lemkin Collection, Box 6, folder 2, p.154).

Cardinal Roncalli writes in his Memoirs: "On October 27, 1948 in the afternoon, I spoke for an hour with Prof. R. Lemkin, who informed me about the *Genocide* and it interested me very much." (Roncalli, 2006, p. 563).

Unfortunately, we do not know whether there has been any initiative on the part of the Nuncio to restore Article 3 to the Convention.

The issue of cultural genocide

Documents from the preparatory work for the Convention testify to Lemkin's long struggle in upholding the concept of cultural genocide, and Lemkin himself wrote in the Memorandum of the Convention: "Cultural Genocide is the most important part of the Convention." (Korey, 2001, pp. 41-43). In his words:

> *World culture is only as strong and vital as the spiritual forces which are brought to it by various contributing peoples. If these peoples are annihilated, their cultural heritage is also destroyed. The destruction of a people by genocide results in an immediate, irretrievable loss to world culture'.* (Lemkin, 1946, p. 364)

As Balakian rightly points out (Balakian, 2013, pp. 59-70), in 1948 Lemkin continued to conceptualize his notion of genocide as encompassing three primary domains: physical existence, biological continuity (through procreation) and spiritual or cultural expression. Lemkin himself said about the cultural genocide:

> *Cultural genocide can be accomplished predominately in the religious and cultural fields by destroying institutions and objects through which the spiritual life of a human group finds its expression, such as houses of worship, objects of religious cult, schools, treasures of art and culture. By*

> *destroying spiritual leadership and institutions, forces of spiritual cohesion within a group are removed and the group starts to disintegrate. This is especially significant for the existence of religious groups. Religion can be destroyed within a group even if the members continue to subsist physically.* (Raphael Lemkin Collection, Box 6, folder 2, p-154)

As is well known, there were two versions of the draft Convention, the first of May 1947 prepared by the Secretariat and the second version of April 1948 ad hoc Committee of the ECOSOC draft (Morsink, 1999, p. 1021; Schreiber, 2013, pp. 252-275). The concept of cultural genocide was covered in the first version in Article I, 3, and in the second version in Article III. In the final version, adopted on December 9, 1948, the definition of genocide was severely stripped down and cultural genocide disappeared from the draft Convention. Why did this happen? The United States and France were opposed from the outset, while only Poland, the Soviet Union, Venezuela, Siam, China and Lebanon supported it, suggesting that this issue be discussed in the debate on human rights and the protection of minorities. Another proposal was that instead of the Convention, cultural genocide should be included in the text of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which was to be adopted a day later, on December 10, 1948, but that didn't happen either.

As already mentioned, Lemkin was very keen on Article 3 (cultural genocide) to be included in the Convention, as he also wrote to Cardinal Roncalli in Paris on October 30, 1948:

> *Cultural genocide is based on acts of violence directed against persons of religion or culture, such as clergy and intellectuals, and against objects of worship, religious buildings and cultural objects. This concept can be formulated legally with almost the same accuracy as it was for the enemies of religion and culture. However, the line of defense in this case is less strong and favorable than the attack line. I am sure, Your Excellency, that you will be able to strengthen the spirit of state leaders who in most cases have good will but who are awaiting an initiative and spiritual direction.* (Lemkin, Op.cit. Box 6, folder 5, p. 154) (Transl.: Ewa Sałkiewicz-Munnerlyn)

The Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide was adopted unanimously on December 9, 1948, without abstentions, by the 3rd UN General Assembly at its session in Paris, the day before the universal declaration of the adoption of human rights occurred (Głogowska-Balczerzak, 2013, pp. 79-97; Gasparyan et al, 2016; Luck, 2018, pp.1-38).

The issue of cultural genocide was referred to again in 1984, when the possibility to amend the Convention was discussed in the Subcommittee on the Prevention of Discrimination and the Protection of Minorities. The UN Special Rapporteur B. Whitaker proposed the adoption of an optional protocol to address cultural genocide, but this proposal was not accepted.

As is well known, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights does not regulate the cultural dimension of genocide, but contains only a general right to free participation in the cultural life of a society. It was only adopted in 1966 when a provision (Article 27) concerning the cultural rights of ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities was introduced in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

Unfortunately, the concept of cultural genocide does not function in instruments of international law, either binding (e.g. agreements) or soft law (e.g. declaration). There are voices in the doctrine about the need to create a document that obliges states to criminalise cultural genocide. This document would be part of the international criminal law, with all the consequences, while the guarantees on national minorities contained in the human rights instruments created other protection mechanisms (Nersessian, 2005, pp.7-8)[1].

It should be noted that recently national courts have been dealing with the issue of cultural genocide, even though, as highlighted above, there is no legal regulation in the Convention on the Prevention of the Crime of Genocide. In a 2015 report, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in Canada found that the policy adopted from 1883 to 1998 against the children of indigenous Canadian (Aboriginal) people was a cultural genocide (Honouring the Truth, 2015). The Guatemalan court, judging Jose Rios Montt for his genocidal actions, also emphasized the importance of cultural genocide (The Trial of Efrain Rios Montt, 2018). Hallmarks of cultural genocide are borne in the systematic annihilation of the Mayan Ixil ethnic group and the destruction of their culture, particularly when women, and especially those who were pregnant, were deprived of their lives as well as the possibility of passing on knowledge of culture and history to their future generations.

The International Criminal Court which deals with cases of individuals accused of genocide, not States, in 2010 issued an arrest warrant against the Sudanese President Omar Al-Bashir, accused of committing a crime of genocide (Second decision, 2019).

Although the concept of cultural genocide was rejected in the course of the work on the Convention, international tribunals in the process of applying and interpreting the existing definition of genocide highlighted the important role of cultural considerations. Thus, for example, the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR)[2] held that the intention constituting a subjective element of genocide (mens rea) could be revealed by a certain pattern of action taken by the perpetrators (Wierczyńska, 2015; Heidrich, 2013, pp. 159-182; Szpak, 2012). Such a pattern is the repeated actions aimed at destroying the cultural heritage of particular ethnic, religious, national or racial groups, which may indicate a particular intention and constitute an integral part of the fact that these acts constitute genocide.

Similarly, in the case KRSTIC[3] the International Criminal Tribunal for former Yugoslavia (ICTY) took as evidence the specific intention of the individual responsible for the crimes of genocide, attacks on cultural and religious objects and symbols, and in this particular case considered as evidence of the intention to destroy the group, the deliberate destruction of mosques and houses belonging to its members. In the same case, the ICTY noted, however, that despite the development of customary law, the definition of genocide remains invariably limited to activities aimed at the physical or biological destruction of a protected group (Wierczyńska, 2006-2008, pp. 83-93; Wierczyńska & Jakubowski, 2016, pp. 39-60).

Thus, it becomes obvious that the concept of cultural genocide still remaining unregulated by the Convention, leaves room for the further realization of genocidal intentions and the perpetration of other genocidal crimes against humanity.

Application of the Convention in a procedure before the International Court of Justice (ICJ) in the Hague

The International Court of Justice, in its judgment from February 26, 2007 in the Application of the Convention and Punishment of the crime of genocide (Bosnia and Herzegovina v. Serbia and Montenegro) (Case concerning application of, 2007, p. 43), Destruction of historical, religious and cultural

property (paragraphs 335-344), quoted the view of the ICTY concerning the actions of the perpetrators and determined that some of the crimes committed during the war in Yugoslavia were something more than crimes against humanity or war crimes.

With regard to the prevention of genocide in the context of responsibility for protection, it is necessary to recall the order of the International Court of Justice in the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina v. Serbia, in which the Court ordered Serbia to "take all measures within its means to prevent the commission of the crime of genocide" (Order on interim measures, 1993 p. 52; Sałkiewicz-Munnerlyn, 2009).

In one of its reports, the International Campaign for Tibet in the context of China's cultural genocide in Tibet, stressed that actions known as cultural genocide could be the first step to committing the most serious crimes, citing the Doctrine of Responsibility for Protection (R2P). One has to agree with Schabas' view, that the principle of responsibility for protection is an excellent complement to the obligation to prevent the crime of genocide contained in Article I of the Convention (Schabas, 2006).

It should be stressed out that the definition of genocide has not changed to this day. Both Article 4 of the ICTY, Article 2 of the ICTR and Article 6 of the ICC have adopted the definition of genocide from the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. This means that the statutory definition does not refer to cultural groups as protected groups and cultural genocide is not sanctioned by the statutes of those Tribunals. This definition is widely recognised by the international community and is a rule of customary law. This was underlined by the ICJ in Case concerning armed activities in the territory of the Congo (Case concerning armed activities, 2006, pp. 1-54), Jurisdiction of the Court and admissibility of the application, Judgment of 3 February, 2006, paragraphs 58 and 60, ruling that the prohibition of genocide is the *norm of jus cogens and* that the provisions contained in the Convention *impose erga omnes obligations* on States (Application of the Convention, 2007, p. 6).

International law prohibits the deliberate destruction and looting of cultural goods during armed conflicts. This prohibition is based on Treaty Law and International Customary Law (ICL) rules. Since the end of World War II, such acts committed by individuals during armed conflicts (both international and non-international) can be considered war crimes or crimes against humanity that correspond to international criminal responsibility. In particular, this is

apparent from the 1954 Hague Convention on the protection of cultural goods in the event of armed conflict (Article 28) and additional protocols to the Geneva Conventions of August 12, 1949, concerning the protection of victims of armed conflict and protocol II to the 1954 Hague Convention adopted in 1999, also applicable to non-international armed conflicts (Article 24)[4].

A vivid example of cultural genocide is the genocide of the Armenian culture – the culture of the oldest Christian country in the world where Christianity spread as early as AD 40. The genocidal actions were committed by Turquie in the form of the destruction of religious shrines in Ani, the mediaeval Armenian capital, particularly in the 11th-century church of Ani, as well as in the monastery complexes of Van – region of Aghbak, St. Bartholomew the Apostle Monastery – an Armenian monastery built in the 13th century AD and today located near the town of Başkale in Van Province, Turkey. One can state with no doubt that the destruction of all those monuments was a terrible and irreparable damage caused to the valuable world heritage of mankind. Moreover, during the Armenian genocide in 1915-1917, more than 2,300 Christian monuments, including the early 4–5th centuries, were looted, burned and destroyed by the Turks.

Recently there has been cultural genocide in Nagorno-Karabakh, during the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan. As a result of the 44-day war, launched by Azerbaijan with the direct involvement of Turkey and foreign terrorist fighters against Artsakh (Nagorno-Karabakh) on September 27, 2020, the Armenian cultural and religious heritage appeared to be under an imminent threat of destruction and/or appropriation. As it was shown in a position paper on crimes against cultural property, submitted by the delegation of the Republic of Armenia at the 14th United Nations Congress on Crime Prevention in 2021, throughout the war, the Armenian cultural and religious monuments, including the Holy Saviour Ghazanchetsots Cathedral of Shushi, Artsakh, and Hellenistic and Armenian archaeological site of Tigranakert, an ancient city founded by Armenian king Tigranes the Great in 95-55 BC, were deliberately targeted and partially destroyed. These attacks are a blatant violation of the 1954 Hague Convention and its Protocols and the International Humanitarian Law. But this was not anything new for the Azerbaijani side for the most notorious act of cultural genocide conducted by Azerbaijan has been the destruction of several thousand engraved cross-stones (khachkars) and tombstones of the medieval Armenian cemetery of Old Jougha (Julfa) in Nakhijevan during 1997-2006 (Maghakian & Pickman, 2019). In fact, this was the largest number of

khachkars formerly located at the Armenian cemetery in Jougha which contained approximately 10,000 khachkars in 1648, whereas in 1998 only 2,700 khachkars remained. Between 1998 and 2006, Azerbaijan destroyed the entire medieval Necropolis. It is not by chance that the expert group of the Switzerland-Armenia Association (SAA) defined the crime committed in Jougha as ethnocide (Accountability for destruction, 2012; Sawa, 2019).

Another obvious fact of destruction can be mentioned in connection with the Turkish invasion of Cyprus in 1975, where more than 500 churches and monasteries were looted and destroyed: more than 15,000 icons of saints, innumerable sacred liturgical vessels, gospels and other objects of great value have literally vanished. A few churches have been turned into mosques, museums, places of entertainment or even hotels, like the church of Ayia Anastasia in Lapithos. At least three monasteries have been turned into barracks for the Turkish army (Ayios Chrysostomos in the Pentadactylos Mountains, Acheropoiitos in Karavas and Ayios Panteleimonas in Myrtou).

Many genocide trials have not been concluded with a final judgment, such as the Katyn massacre, before the European Court of Human Rights (Case of Janowiec, 2013).

Concepts such as R2P (Responsibility to Protect) were created as a continuation of protection against the crime of genocide, in the event of mass violations of human rights (Kułaga, 2014, pp. 102-124). The importance of the responsibility to protect in the context of the crime of genocide is confirmed by the fact that the issue in the UN system has been placed in the competence of the UN Secretary-General's Special Adviser on the crime of genocide. The Commission on Intervention and Sovereignty of States, the author of the concept, stated in its report that R2P has multiple international legal sources (The Responsibility to Protect, 2001, pp.47-57). They can be found in the norms of sovereignty, in the Charter of the United Nations, and in international treaties on humanitarian law and human rights. The latter group includes the Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide of 1948, the Geneva Conventions of 1949, together with the two Additional Protocols of 1977, the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the 1966 Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the Statute of the International Criminal Court. This understanding of R2P is equally confirmed by the Special Adviser to the Secretary-General for genocide, pointing to Article 1 of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide as a source of state responsibility for the protection of its own

people[4]. Similarly, the United Nations Secretary-General confirms in a 2009 report that R2P is the result of the existing international law (Report of the Secretary-General, 2009)[5].

Conclusion

The influence made by Raphael Lemkin on the development of modern international law and international criminal law is enormous. Although Article III (cultural genocide) was not included in the Convention, the interest in this issue did not disappear. It led in the 1970s and 1980s to a new discussion and to the establishment by the United Nations in 1982, of the Working Group on Indigenous Populations as a subsidiary organ of the Sub-Commission on the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights (Study of the problem, 1982).

It should be emphasized that the return of cultural genocide to the international debate took place in the framework of human rights, not the Genocide Convention, as demanded in 1948. In 1993, the Working Group produced the Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (E/CN.4/Sub.2/1993/26).

According to Article 7, "indigenous peoples have the collective and individual right not to be subjected to ethnocide and cultural genocide". It then called for the "prevention of and redress for" a number of acts, beginning with "any action which has the aim or effect of depriving them of their integrity as distinct peoples, or of their cultural values or ethnic identities" (UNCHROR, 45th Sess., Annex 1)

The Draft Declaration was debated and amended several times and finally the reference to cultural genocide was deleted. The General Assembly adopted the Declaration in 2007 by a vote of 143 to 4 (with 11 abstentions). The four against were the same countries that had opposed Article III almost sixty years earlier (Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and the United States) (The United Nations Declaration, 2007)[5]. Later, these countries decided to support the Declaration (DESA- Department of Economic and Social Affairs Indigenous Peoples) which does not refer explicitly to cultural genocide, but refers to the protection of the world's cultural heritage. According to Article 7(2) of the Declaration, "indigenous peoples have the collective right to live in freedom, peace and security as distinct peoples and shall not be subjected to any act of genocide or any other act of violence, including forcibly removing children of the group to another group" (The United Nations Declaration, 2007). This

aspect of cultural genocide was retained in the Genocide Convention. In the past, in countries like Australia and Canada, the indigenous children had been removed from their families and communities for reeducation and cultural assimilation, and it had resulted in charges of cultural genocide (Akhavan, 2016; Moses, 2010; Morsink, 1999, pp. 1009–1060; Mako, 2012, pp. 175–94; Francioni, 2004, pp. 1209–1228; Short, 2010, pp. 831–846).

We can also find examples that some of the armed groups destroying the world cultural heritage have been engaged in the abduction of children in an attempt to separate them from cultural and religious ties.

The Convention does not set out the nature and extent of the prevention obligation. Article IV of the Convention says: "Persons committing genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in Article III shall be punished, whether they are constitutionally responsible rulers, public officials or private individuals". It is up to states to establish domestic law that would allow them to be found guilty of genocide, regardless of whether they are constitutionally responsible members of the government, public officials, or private individuals (Ben-Naftali, 2009, pp. 36-44).

After the massacres in the Balkans, Somalia, or Rwanda and Srebrenica in 1995 (Bieńczyk-Missala, 2019), the UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan argued, that the twenty-first century must be the century of prevention (Annan, 1998), and proclaimed the need to adopt a "culture of prevention" and to look through a "prevention lens" when undertaking development activities (Prevention of armed conflict, 2001).

The legacy of R. Lemkin can also be seen in the concept of the responsibility to protect (R2P), presented in the report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty of 2001 (The Responsibility to Protect, 2001). The issue of state sovereignty and the obligation to prevent the situations of mass suffering has been given a new approach. This idea of the International Community concerning the responsibility of states for protection of civilians, has been adopted by the UN General Assembly in the Final Document, during the United Nations World Summit in 2005. The preventive support to states for civil protection has been announced and the necessity to develop early-warning capabilities and UN prevention instruments has been recognized. It is worth recalling, that these provisions have been adopted by consensus by all member countries of the UN (The 2005 World Summit Outcome, 2005).

During the International Conference of the Great Lakes Region in 2006,

the Protocol on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, War Crimes and Crimes Against Humanity and All Forms of Discrimination were adopted (Bieńczyk-Missala, 2018, pp. 70-78). Also, the International Court of Justice, in the case - Application of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (Bosnia and Herzegovina v. Serbia and Montenegro), indicated the interim measures of protection for Bosnia and Herzegovina against former Yugoslavia (now Serbia) (Sałkiewicz-Munnerlyn, E, 2009). Later, in the same case in 2007, the ICJ confirmed the obligation of the FRY to prevent the genocide in Srebrenica in June 1995 and ruled that FRY had not complied with its obligation to prevent genocide and had not imposed a penalty on perpetrators as provided for in Article I of the Convention. The ICJ noted that the prevention obligation applies to all parties. It is not territorially limited, and refers to an immediate and effective action using all necessary funds (Application of the Convention, 2007, p. 43).

R. Lemkin's works also influenced the concept of state sovereignty and its limitation in case of a humanitarian intervention, especially for humanitarian reasons. It was one of the most controversial issues, since the interventions in Somalia in 1993, Kosovo in 1999, and Libya in 2011. He believed that in case of genocide, the crime of crimes, the international community must provide assistance to victims. It needs to intervene, if the state itself, cannot or does not want to help and intervene. We can say, he was in favour of humanitarian intervention to protect lives (Jacobs, 2010, p. 153-164).

Notes

1. David Nersessian in his *"Rethinking Cultural Genocide Under International Law, Human Rights Dialogue: Cultural Rights"* mentions that it is necessary to refer to the issue of cultural genocide once again: "It is hardly a satisfactory situation and it is time to revisit the issue put aside by the Convention's drafters through a new treaty dealing specifically with cultural genocide. These efforts should be preceded by a comprehensive analysis of state practice and the opinion juris to ascertain the current status of cultural genocide under customary international law. The need is patent. Cultural genocide is a unique wrong that should be recognized independently, and that rises to the level of meriting individual criminal responsibility. After all, if indeed the highest values of a society are expressed through its criminal laws, what message is being conveyed by not labeling acts of cultural genocide as

criminal? Perhaps a message better left unsent" (Cf. "Cultural Rights", Spring 2005, Series 2, No 12, p. 7-8).

2. In the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) the prosecutors were Climent Kayishema and Obed Ruzindana. Cf. Case No ICTR-95-1-T, par. 89.

Retrieved 04.05.2021 from https://unictr.irmct.org/sites/unictr.org/files/-case-documents/ ictr-95-1/appeals-chamber-judgements/en/010601.pdf

3. The Prosecutor at the International Criminal Tribunal for former Yugoslavia (ICTY) was Radislav Krstic. Cf. Case No IT-98-33-T, par. 580.

Retrieved 04.05.2021 from https://www.icty.org/x/cases/krstic/tjug/en/krs-tj010802e.pdf

4. The discussion of the question of the responsibility of any contracting country referred to the Convention of genocide itself: "The Contracting Parties confirm that genocide, whether committed in time of peace or in time of war, is a crime under international law which they undertake to prevent and to punish". Cf. Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. Retrieved from https://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/crimeof-genocide.aspx

The Draft Declaration is included as Annex I of the Report of the Working Group on Indigenous Populations on its Eleventh Session, 23 August 1993, UN Commission on Human Rights, 45th Session, Agenda Item 14. E/CN.4/Sub.2/1993/26, 8 June 199.

For the votes, see A/61/PV.107, 13 September 2007. The Russian Federation, Ukraine, Georgia, and eight developing countries abstained.

Cases with Da'esh in Iraq and Boko Haram in Nigeria, both groups were engaged in the abduction of children, targeted by religion. Cf. White House, Office of the Press Secretary, Statement by the President, August 7, 2014; and U.S. Department of State, Statement of Secretary of State John Kerry, March 17, 2016.

5. In his report of January 12, 2009, the Secretary-General indicates that "Under conventional and customary international law, States have obligations to prevent and punish genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity. Ethnic cleansing is not a crime in its own right under international law, but acts of ethnic cleansing may constitute one of the other three crimes. The Summit's enunciation of the responsibility to protect was not intended to detract in any way from the much broader range of obligations existing under international humanitarian law, international human rights law, refugee law and international

criminal law and implementing the responsibility to protect" (Cf. Report of the Secretary-General, 12 January 2009, A/63/677, points 2 to 3).

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Ռ. ԼԵՄԿԻՆԻ ՆԵՐԴՐՈՒՄԸ ԺԱՄԱՆԱԿԱԿԻՑ ՄԻՋԱԶԳԱՅԻՆ ԻՐԱՎՈՒՆՔԻ ԵՎ ՄԻՋԱԶԳԱՅԻՆ ՔՐԵԱԿԱՆ ԻՐԱՎՈՒՆՔԻ ՁԱՐԳԱՑՄԱՆ ՄԵՋ

Էվա Սալկինիչ-Մյուններլին

Հոդվածում քննության են առնվում ցեղասպանություն հասկացության լեմկինյան մեկնաբանության նշանակությունն ու ազդեցությունը միջազգային իրավունքի զարգացման վրա: Ներկայացվում է միջազգային այնպիսի դատարանների գործունեությունը, ինչպիսիք են Արդարադատության միջազգային դատարանը, Միջազգային քրեական դատարանը, Նախկին Հարավսլավիայի միջազգային քրեական տրիբունալը, Ռուանդայի միջազգային քրեական տրիբունալը, որոնք հանգամանորեն վերլուծել են ցեղասպանությանը առնչվող հասկացությունների ու երևույթները, այդ թվում` մշակութային ժառանգության նկատմամբ տեղ գտած հանցագործությունները: Հարավսլավիայի հարցերով միջազգային քրեական տրիբունալի մնացյալ գործառույթները, ներառյալ պատիժների վերահսկողությունը և 2013 թվականի հուլիսի 1-ից սկսած

ցանկացած բողոքարկման վարույթի քննարկումը գտնվում են իրավահաջորդ մարմնի` Քրեական տրիբունալների միջազգային մնացորդային մեխանիզմների իրավասության ներքո:

Հոդվածում անդրադարձ է արվում նաև Պաշտպանության պատասխանատվության և մարդու իրավունքների ազդեցության, ինչպես նաև Միջազգային պետական պատասխանատվության և անհատական պատասխանատվության խնդիրներին:

Բանալի բառեր. *մշակութային ցեղասպանություն, Միջազգային քրեական դատարան, Նախկին Հարավսլավիայի միջազգային քրեական տրիբունալ, Ռուանդայի միջազգային քրեական տրիբունալ, Արդարադատության միջազգային դատարան, պաշտպանության պատասխանատվություն, Կատինի ջարդը:*

Երևանի պետական համալսարան

Անգլերենի ուսումնասիրության հայկական
ասոցիացիա (Անգլերենի ուսումնասիրության եվրոպական
ֆեդերացիայի անդամ)

ԱՆԳԼԻԱԳԻՏԱԿԱՆ ՀԵՏԱԶՈՏՈՒԹՅՈՒՆՆԵՐԻ ՀԱՅԿԱԿԱՆ ՀԱՆԴԵՍ

Yerevan State University

**Armenian Association for the Study
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ARMENIAN FOLIA ANGLISTIKA