International bilingual journal in Humanities & social Sciences

Millennium ອດლວຣດუອດ

Academy for Digital Humanities - Georgia Vol.2 2024

The Peer-reviewed Bilingual Scientific Online Journal of the Academy for Digital Humanities in Humanities and Social Science

დიგიტალური ჰუმანიტარიის აკადემია - საქართველოს

ორენოვანი საერთაშორისო ახალგაზრდული სამეცნიერო რეფერირებადი ონლაინჟურნალი

მილენიუმი

Millennium

Volume 2

The peer-reviewed bilingual scientific online journal **Millennium** was initiated by the founders of the Academy for Digital Humanities and is designed for young researchers working in Humanities and Social Sciences – master students, doctoral students and postdocs. Millennium aims to promote the academic development of a new generation of scientists by creating an academic platform for young researchers working in the Humanities and Social Sciences to publish scientific papers.

დიგიტალური ჰუმანიტარიის აკადემიის რეცენზირებადი ელექტრონული ბილინგვური სამეცნიერო ჟურნალი "მილენიუმი" დაარსდა დიგიტალური ჰუმანიტარიის აკადემიის დამფუძნებელთა მიერ და განკუთვნილია ჰუმანიტარიასა და სოციალურ მეცნიერებებში მოღვაწე ახალგაზრდა მკვლევართათვის - მაგისტრანტების, დოქტორანტებისა და პოსტდოქტორანტებისათვის. ჟურნალი "მილენიუმი" მიზნად ისახავს მეცნიერებებში თაობის აკადემიური განვითარების ხელშეწყობას - ჰუმანიტარულ დარგებსა და სოციალურ მეცნიერებებში მომუშავე ახალგაზრდა სპეციალისტებისათვის აკადემიური პლატფორმის შექმნას სამეცნიერო ნაშრომების გამოსაქვეყნებლად.

Scientific Council:

Chairman of the Scientific Council: Manana Tandaschwili (Germany)

Members of the Scientific Council: Jost Gippert (Germany), Gerd Carling (Germany), Iryna Gurevych (Germany), Sergey Kim (Switzerland), Emzar Jgerenaia (Georgia), Vakhtang Litcheli (Georgia), Nana Loladze (Georgia), Rati Skhirtladze (Georgia)

Secretary of the Scientific Council: Sarah Dopierala (USA)

სამეცნიერო საბჭო:

სამეცნიერო საბჭოს თავმჯდომარე: მანანა თანდაშვილი (გერმანია)

სამეცნიერო საბჭოს წევრები: იოსტ გიპერტი (გერმანია), გერდ კარლინგი (გერმანია), ირინა გურევინი (გერმანია), სერგეი კიმი (შვეიცარია), ემზარ ჯგერენაია (საქართველო), ვახტანგ ლიჩელი (საქართველო), ნანა ლოლაძე (საქართველო), რატი სხირტლაძე (საქართველო).

სამეცნიერო საბჭოს მდივანი: სარა დოპიერალა (აშშ)

Editorial Board:

Mariam Kamarauli (Editor-in-Chief), Eka Kvirkvelia (Editor), Mzia Khakhutaishvili, Maia Kuktchishvili, Ketevan Datukishvili, Mariam Rukhadze, Giorgi Jgharkava (Executive Secretary), Mariam Gobianidze, Zviad Zalikiani.

სარედაქციო საბჭო:

სარედაქციო საბჭო: მარიამ ყამარაული (მთავარი რედაქტორი), ეკა კვირკველია (რედაქტორი), მზია ხახუტაიშვილი, მაია ქუქჩიშვილი, ქეთევან დათუკიშვილი, მარიამ რუხაძე, გიორგი ჯღარკავა (აღმასრულებელი მდივანი), მარიამ გობიანიძე, ზეიად ზალიკიანი.



- © Academy for Digital Humanities Georgia
- © დიგიტალური ჰუმანიტარიის აკადემია საქართველო

ISSN 2960-9887 (Online)

Content / სარჩევი:

II.

I. Digital Kartvelology / დიგიტალური ქართველოლოგია

Giorgi Jgharkava , Digital Processing of Proverbs in Kartvelian Languages – Theoretical and Technological Framework	5
გიორგი ჯღარკავა , ქართველურ ენათა ანდაზების კვლევა ციფრულ ეპოქაში – თეორიული და ტექნოლოგიური ჩარჩო	
DOI: https://doi.org/10.62235/mln.2.2024.7991	
Mariam Kamarauli, Digital Methods of Comparative Manuscript Research: The Martyrdom of St. Febronia	44
მარიამ ყამარაული , ხელნაწერთა შედარებითი კვლევის დიგიტალური მეთოდები: წმ. ფებრონიას წამება	
DOI: https://doi.org/10.62235/mln.2.2024.7992	
David Maisuradze , Georgian Paleographic Fonts and their Role in Scientific Studies	66
დავით მაისურაბე , ქართული კალიგრაფიული შრიფტები და მათი მნიშვნელობა სამეცნიერო კვლევებისათვის	
DOI: https://doi.org/10.62235/mln.2.2024.7993	
Corpus Linguistics / კორპუსლინგვისტიკა	
Mariam Gobianidze, The Issue of Equivalence of Aphorisms in the English Translations of Shota Rustaveli's "The Knight in the Panther's Skin" (based on one aphorism)	84
მარიამ გობიანიძე, აფორიზმის ეკვივალენტობის საკითხი შოთა რუსთაველის "ვეფხისტყაოსნის" ინგლისურ თარგმანებში (ერთი აფორიზმის მაგალითზე)	
DOI: https://doi.org/10.62235/mln.2.2024.7994	
Julian Hasche, Corpus-linguistic Analysis of Verba Sentiendi in "Vepxistqaosani" in Georgian and Basque	102
იულიან პაშე, გრძნობა-აღქმის ზმნების კორპუსლინგვისტური ანალიზი "ვეფხისტყაოსნის" დედანსა და პოემის ბასკურ თარგმანში	
DOI: https://doi.org/10.62235/mln.2.2024.7997	
Mariam Rukhadze, Semantical Analyses of Deverbal Functional Elements from a Corpus-linguistic Point of View	119
მარიამ რუხაძე, ნაზმნარი ფუნქციური ელემენტების სემანტიკური ანალიზი კორპუსლინგვისტურ ჭრილში	

DOI: https://doi.org/10.62235/mln.2.2024.7999

III. Language Technologies / ენის ტექნოლოგიები

Marc-Daniel Rahn, Can Counting Words make Sense? A Simple
Application of Visual Tools for Basic Machine Learning in Linguistics
მარკ-დანიელ რანი, აქვს თუ არა სიტყვების დათვლას აზრი?
ვიზუალური ხელსაწყოების მარტივი გამოყენება საბაზისო
მანქანური სწავლებისათვის ლინგვისტიკაში

DOI: https://doi.org/10.62235/mln.2.2024.8000

IV. Political Linguistics / პოლიტიკური ლინგვისტიკა

Tatia Tstetskhladze, Anastasia Kamarauli, Contemporary Georgian
Political Speech from Gender and Party Perspectives
თათია ცეცხლაძე, ანასტასია ყამარაული, თანამედროვე
ქართული პოლიტიკური ზეპირმეტყველება გენდერულ და
პარტიულ ჭრილში

DOI: https://doi.org/10.62235/mln.2.2024.8002

V. Comparative literature studies / შედარებითი ლიტერატურათმცოდნეობა

Nino Sabadze, The Problem of the Face of the Dragon in Caucasian and
European Mythological-epic texts
ნინო საბაძე, გველეშაპის სახის პრობლემა კავკასიურ და

215

ევროპულ მითოეპიკურ ტექსტებში

DOI: https://doi.org/10.62235/mln.2.2024.8003

VI. History / ისტორია

Ioseb Schengelia, On the History of a Castle in Samegrelo (Chakvinji Castle)

იოსებ შენგელია, ერთი ციხესიმაგრის ისტორიისათვის სამეგრელოში (ჭაქვინჯის ციხე)

DOI: https://doi.org/10.62235/mln.2.2024.8004

Contemporary Georgian Political Speech from a Gender and Party Perspectives

Tatia Tsetskhladze

(Batumi Shota Rustaveli State University) tatiatsetskhladze19@gmail.com | ORCID: 0009-0009-0849-0423

Anastasia Kamarauli

(FH Upper Austria Hagenberg University)
a.kamarauli@web.de || ORCID: 0009-0008-2258-8307

DOI: https://doi.org/10.62235/mln.2.2024.8002

Abstract: This paper investigates contemporary Georgian political speeches through the lens of gender and party affiliation, analysing linguistic strategies and rhetorical styles used by different political actors. Despite a long-standing interest in political language in Georgia, systematic politolinguistic research remains underdeveloped, particularly in applying digital methods. The study highlights various aspects that are relevant for the analysis of political speeches and presents corresponding tools.

Using quantitative and qualitative methodologies, including sentiment analysis and argument analysis, the study identifies notable differences in speech patterns. Female politicians like Salome Zurabishvili and Tako Charkviani, utilise more accessible language, more frequently employ personal pronouns, and focus on emotional appeals. In contrast, male politicians like Irakli Kobakhidze and Nika Melia exhibit more argumentative structures and a focus on factual statements, reflecting analytical and policy-oriented communication styles. The study's findings highlight the importance of considering gender and party affiliation in analysing political language, offering insights into the interplay between linguistic choices and political strategies in Georgia's evolving democratic landscape.

Keywords: Georgian political speech, corpus linguistics, politolinguistics

Introduction

If we deal with politics, we inevitably also deal with language, since language is the central instrument of politics. If we want to understand political dynamics, we have to deal with political communication, above all with the political language of politicians or political actors themselves. Since politics affects all areas of life, including private life, political language has an all-encompassing influence on society. Language, as a central tool of politics, is therefore crucial for the organisation and management of societies. The analysis of political language helps to understand how political language can regulate the perception and behaviour of society and thus also influence the political decisions of the people. Today, the discipline of politolinguistics deals in particular with the semantic and pragmatic analysis of political communication, which includes rhetorical analysis, discourse analysis, argument analysis, and sentiment analysis.

Even more than 30 years after the dissolution of the Soviet Union, post-Soviet countries are still in the process of transforming from a totalitarian-authoritarian system to democracy, with varying levels of success in the respective countries. This means that the political dynamics are still very high and are subject to a strong process of change. The linguistic analysis of

political speech in these countries is therefore essential for comprehending these transformation processes. It makes it possible to understand how politicians manage to steer the politics of these countries in one direction or the other.

For a broad-based study, it is necessary not only to choose classic analysis methods, but also to use the possibilities of digital analysis (i.e. Digital Humanities) in order to process large amounts of data. The combination of quantitative and qualitative analyses ensures versatile results, taking into account many, if not all, aspects and thus providing a more comprehensive overall picture.

1. State of Research

The discipline of political linguistics examines the role of language in political contexts. It analyses how political actors use language to construct and spread power, ideologies and identities. Political linguistics involves the study of speeches, debates, election campaigns and political texts in order to understand how rhetorical strategies and linguistic patterns contribute to influencing public opinions and political actions. Compared to its "parent disciplines", it is a relatively new discipline that in its early stages dealt primarily with the language of totalitarian systems, such as that of National Socialism in German-speaking countries, and later with the differences in the political language of East and West Germany.¹

With the increasing use of the Internet, especially social media, the subject matter of political linguistics has expanded. The analysis of online discourses and the investigation of linguistic dynamics in social networks are now central fields of research.² The extensive use of various media has resulted in a significant increase and continuous generation of data relevant to science, creating the need for effective methods to process this vast amount of information. In addition, the increasing polarisation of political debates has increased interest in researching political language and thus in politolinguistic analyses, especially in the context of hate speech against political opponents but also against minorities.³ With the advent of digital technologies and Digital Humanities,⁴ political linguistics has made a significant leap forward, as it has now become possible to analyse large text corpora⁵ or digitally available text data and to (automatically) identify patterns and trends⁶ in political communication. This makes it possible to ideally combine quantitative and qualitative methods.

Thus, Digital Humanities, Politolinguistics, and Corpus Linguistics are methodologically intertwined. Digital Humanities provides the digital infrastructure and tools, Corpus Linguistics offers the analytical frameworks, and Politolinguistics applies these methods to specific research questions about language and politics.

A prominent tool in digital language research is the use of Corpus Linguistics software such as *AntConc*⁷ and *Voyant Tools*⁸, which enable researchers to systematically analyse large amounts of text. But special corpora for individual languages are also increasingly proving to

¹ For an overview of politolinguistic research see Niehr (2014).

² See, for example, Engesser, Fawzi & Larsson (2017) or Barberá et al. (2015).

³ See Meibauer (2013) and Jaki & Steiger (2023).

⁴ See Jannidis, Kohle & Rehbein (2017).

⁵ See Kupietz & Schmidt (2018) and Perkuhn, Keibel & Kupietz (2012).

⁶ The method of text mining is particularly important here. See Berry (2010) and Lemke (2016).

⁷ A corpus analysis toolkit for concordancing and text analysis,

https://www.laurenceanthony.net/software/antconc/.

⁸ https://voyant-tools.org/.

be a valuable politolinguistic tool. The various tools usually offer similar functionalities such as word frequency analysis, collocation analysis and sentiment analysis, which provide valuable insights into the linguistic characteristics of political speeches. In addition to linguistic analysis, the inclusion of metadata is also interesting, as it enables a deeper contextualisation of the results and thus increases the knowledge gained. Depending on the context, various parameters are suitable for politolinguistic analysis: age, gender, party affiliation, religious affiliation, ethnicity, class affiliation, educational level, etc.

Research on gender-specific language examines the differences in the way men and women communicate, especially in political contexts. With the rise of gender studies, this aspect has also been studied in political linguistics. Previous studies show that female politicians more often use emotional and narrative elements in their speeches, while male politicians tend to use a more aggressive and analytical language. A study by Karpowitz and Mendelberg (2014) shows that women are more likely to use cooperative and community-oriented language styles in political discussions, while men are more likely to exhibit competitive and dominant language patterns. These differences can be attributed to social-cultural expectations and gender role models that influence the communication behaviour of men and women. However, recent research has shown that these gender differences are diminishing over time. An analysis of debates in the British House of Commons from 1997 to 2019 found evidence that female MPs are increasingly adopting agent-oriented and less community-oriented styles, indicating a shift towards the traditionally male-dominated style of political communication. ¹⁰

In addition to gender, party affiliation is also an interesting parameter for politolinguistic analysis because it provides deeper insights into the complexity and diversity of political communication. Party affiliation reflects different ideological positions and political goals. These differences often manifest themselves in the language and rhetoric that politicians use. For example, studies have shown that conservative and progressive parties use different linguistic strategies and focuses to address and mobilise their voters. Analysing the language of politicians from different parties can reveal how certain issues and narratives are framed in a party-specific way. This helps to understand how parties reinforce and spread their ideologies and political messages through linguistic means.

By combining gender and party affiliation, researchers can conduct more complex and nuanced analyses. This combination makes it possible to examine how gender-specific communication styles differ within the same party or how female politicians from different parties use common linguistic strategies to overcome specific challenges.

Digital Humanities, Politolinguistics and Corpus Linguistics have traditionally been strong in quantitative analysis, leveraging computational tools to analyse large datasets and uncover patterns in language use. These fields excel at quantifying aspects such as word frequency, collocations, and syntactic structures, making them ideal for large-scale studies of political speeches, media coverage, and other text genres. However, there is a growing trend to integrate these methods with qualitative analysis, particularly through argument mining¹² and

⁹ The aspect of gender in politics and political language has been extensively researched in recent years. There are numerous publications on the subject and even special academic journals such as *Politics & Gender* (Cambridge University Press, https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/politics-and-gender) that are dedicated to this topic.

¹⁰ See Hargrave & Langengen (2021).

¹¹ See Schoonvelde et al. (2019).

¹² See Berry (2010), Lippi & Torroni (2016), Palau & Moens (2009) and Lawrence (2019).

sentiment analysis.¹³ Argument mining involves identifying and extracting argumentative structures occurring in texts, such as claims, premises, and conclusions, adding a qualitative dimension by exploring the logical and rhetorical strategies used in political discourse. Similarly, sentiment analysis not only quantifies the emotional tone of texts but also qualitatively assesses the sentiment conveyed, providing insights into public sentiment and emotional appeals in political communication. The integration of quantitative and qualitative approaches enhances the depth and richness of the analysis, allowing researchers to explore not just what is being said but how and why it is being communicated. This dual capability makes these fields particularly valuable for comprehending the complexities of language in social and political contexts.

2. Researching Georgian Political Speech

Politolinguistic research is still in its infancy in Georgia, although the topic of political language in Georgia has been dealt with for a long time. A very strong polarisation is mentioned again and again and there are already some studies on political speeches, for example concerning past election campaigns. What has been missing so far, however, is the systematisation of politolinguistic research and the concretisation and application of digital methods for this purpose.

The prerequisite for such an analysis is that the political speeches are available in digital form and, ideally, annotated (i.e. enriched with linguistic information). Annotated corpora, including the Georgian National Corpus (GNC), help with this.

With several sub-corpora, the GNC¹⁶ documents the Georgian language in all its stages of historical development and makes it available in digital form for scientific research. The political sub-corpus includes texts from the period of the Democratic Republic of Georgia (1918–1921), collected speeches of individual politicians since the second independence in 1991, and texts of debates and dialogues as well as parliamentary sessions. The texts in the GNC are fully grammatically annotated, ¹⁷ i.e. all words are determined with regard to their morphosyntactic properties so that they can be searched for and filtered using such properties. It is possible to select different sub-corpora in the Corpus list; the texts contained in this selection are then listed in a Text list and can be viewed individually.

Two search modes can be selected for searching: "Basic search" and "Advanced search". The results can then be further filtered, by selecting individual texts, authors or time periods. The Advanced search enables even more complex search queries (e.g., on certain authors or on the use of certain morphological categories). In addition, the search using so-called regular expressions is available for both search modes. The results of the search query submitted under "Query" are listed under "Concordance" (document locations). They can be represented as "Key word in context" (KWIC) or in a wider context.

As in most corpora, the GNC can also be searched for collocations (adjacent occurrences of words) or co-occurrences (common occurrences of words). The "Wordlist" shows the frequency of individual words.

_

¹³ See Wankhade/Rao/Kulkarni (2022) and Siegel/Melpomeni (2020).

¹⁴ See Melikidze, , Rao & Kulkarni (2022), Media Development Foundation (2018) and Kuprashvili (2019).

¹⁵ See, for example, Taliuri (2022).

¹⁶ http://gnc.gov.ge/.

¹⁷ Hirschmann (2019), 22–23.

While the GNC offers a powerful resource for linguistic research by providing digitally annotated corpora, it primarily functions as a tool for linguistic rather than interdisciplinary analysis. This limitation means that the GNC, in its current form, does not fully support the comprehensive needs of fields like politolinguistics, which require not only linguistic annotation but also the integration of metadata such as speaker demographics, political context, and discourse types.

For example, politolinguistic analysis often involves metrics that assess rhetorical strategies, argumentation patterns, and sentiment, which are not readily extractable using GNC's basic functionalities. Consequently, researchers may need to resort to other tools or manual methods for these aspects of analysis. Tools like sentiment analysis software, argument mining algorithms, or specific corpus linguistic software capable of deeper discourse analysis are sometimes necessary to fill these gaps.

Thus, while the GNC provides a robust foundation for linguistic data, the lack of integrated interdisciplinary tools necessitates additional steps or resources for comprehensive politolinguistic research. This situation underscores the need for future developments in the GNC or similar platforms to incorporate broader analytical capabilities that cater to the complex needs of interdisciplinary studies.

2.1 Methodology and Approach of the Present Study

This study has the following aim: on the basis of a specific question as an example, qualitative and quantitative methods of politolinguistics are to be tested in the context of political speeches in Georgia. The results will then be used as a starting point to consider what exactly is needed to carry out interdisciplinary analyses. For this purpose, two aspects were included in the study as additional analysis parameters: gender and party affiliation. Specifically, the aim was to examine whether linguistic differences can be identified with regard to these affiliations. Studies from the perspective of gender and/or party affiliation are pivotal in politolinguistics, but other starting points for the investigation could also have been of interest, such as age, educational level, or origin (ethnic, socio-economic, etc.).

When examining political texts, especially when using a comparative approach, certain principles must be adhered to in order to obtain meaningful results. The underlying material, i.e. the collection of political texts, should be representative in order to avoid distortion, which means specifically that ideally all parties should be represented. The sample must also be balanced, for example by comparing the politicians of the governing party with the politicians of the opposition parties. In addition, there should be a thematic balance, but here one aspect needs to be emphasised in particular. The corpus itself should cover a wide range of political topics, but for the comparative study one should use political speeches with the same or at least a similar thematic focus and length. Put more simply, it makes little sense to compare a political speech that deals with agricultural issues with a speech that is about protecting women in society.

For this purpose, a small sample of four Georgian politicians was selected, consisting of two women (one from the government and one from the opposition) and two men (also one from the government and one from the opposition). The idea was to see whether they reveal special features, which could then be used as a reason for a larger-scale study.

The selected politicians are:

• Irakli Kobakhidze (male)

- o Speaker of the party Georgian Dream
- o Chairman of the Parliament of Georgia
- o Representative of the government
- Resource: interview¹⁸

• Salome Zurabishvili (female)¹⁹

- o President of Georgia
- o Representative of the government
- Resource: interview²⁰

• Nika Melia (male)

- o Leader of the party National Movement
- o Representative of the opposition
- o Resource: talkshow²¹

• Tako Charkviani (female)

- o Leader of the party Law and Justice
- o Representative of the opposition
- o Resource: interview²²









2.2 Quantitative Analysis

In principle, it is advisable to start with a quantitative analysis. Quantitative results often allow us to make a decision in which direction we should move with the qualitative analysis. For the quantitative analysis we chose the following elements: token-type relations, use of functional elements, and frequency of tokens (verbs including TAM features, nouns/substantives, personal pronouns 'I' and 'my'). In the quantitative analyses we focused on sentiment analysis and argumentative structures. The four speeches under concern are not included in the GNC, therefore the quantitative evaluations were carried out using the KWIC program.²³ The output is illustrated in the following tables.

¹⁸ Interview in the show *Aktualuri tema* on *First Channel* of 23.07.2022: https://ltv.ge/video/interviu-irakli-kobakhidzestan-3/ (30.07.2024).

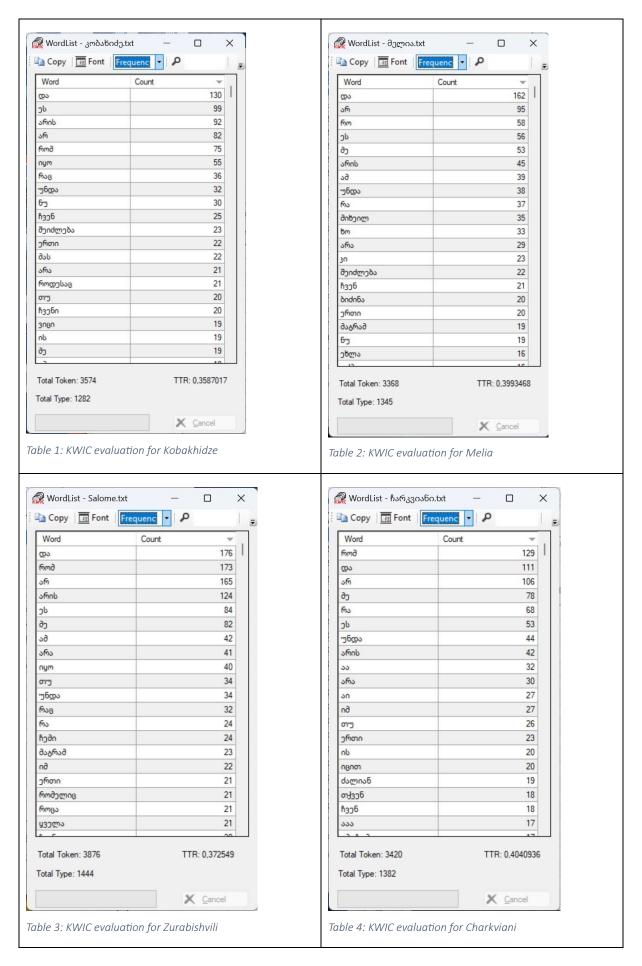
¹⁹ Although she was elected president as an independent candidate, she relied on the support of the party *Georgian Dream* and as head of state she was counted as part of the "government" for our study.

²⁰ Interview in the show *Dgis tema* on *First Channel* of 21.07.2022: https://ltv.ge/video/interviu-saqartvelos-prezidenttan-dghistema-live/ (30.07.2024).

²¹ Talkshow *Kviris Pormula* on Channel *Pormula* of 31.07.2022: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qWWWuJPDK7o (30.07.2024).

²² Interview in the show *Aktualuri shabati* on *First Channel* of 11.06.2022: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I5aoN7N0WDk (30.07.2024).

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



2.2.1 Token-type Relation

A token is a single instance of a character sequence (string) in a text corpus. A token can be a single word, a punctuation mark, or a number. For example, the sentence *I eat an apple*. contains five tokens: *I, eat, an, apple* and the full stop.

A type (or token type) is a unique form or stem that occurs in the corpus. It represents all instances of that word or stem in the text. For example, if the word *apple* appears five times in the corpus, it is a type that corresponds to five tokens.

The token-type relationship is the ratio between the number of tokens and the number of types in the speech. A high token-type relationship in a person's speech indicates a diverse and varied vocabulary. This can mean that the person is able to use a wide range of words and expressions in his or her communication. A low token-type relationship indicates that the person tends to repeat certain words or phrases frequently. This indicates more limited linguistic variation in his or her speech.

The token-type relationship can also say something about the specific language style of a person. For example, a person who uses a lot of specific technical terms is likely to have a higher token-type relationship, while someone who uses more general words in his or her communication may have a lower token-type relationship. A higher token-type relationship can also indicate a more formal or literary language, while a lower token-type relationship can point to a more informal or colloquial sort of communication.

2.2.2 Frequency of Functional Elements

Functional elements, also known as function words or grammatical elements, are words or word groups in a language that primarily serve to establish grammatical functions and structure in a sentence or text, typically conveying grammatical information rather than carrying specific lexical meaning. The quantitative analysis of functional elements can provide information about the linguistic register and style of the speaker, the coherence and context of the text, as well as its redundancy and clarity.

2.2.3 Frequency of Lexical Units and their Grammatical Features

a) Verb

The frequency of verbs in a person's communication can provide various kinds of information about his or her communication style and messages. A frequent use of verbs is characteristic for a style of communication that tends to be active and action-oriented. People who use lots of verbs tend to describe their actions, activities, and experiences in detail. The frequency of verbs can also provide information about the emphasis on actions versus states or characteristics. People who use verbs more frequently may tend to focus more on action and changing states.

b) TAM

Tense, aspect and mood (TAM) are linguistic concepts used to describe the features of verbs that convey time, the nature of an action or state, and the speaker's perspective or attitude towards the action or state. These features help the listener to clarify when an event occurs, whether it is ongoing or completed, and how the speaker relates to it.

- 1. **Tense** refers to the time when an action takes place, such as past, present, or future. It answers the question of 'when' an event happens.
- 2. **Aspect** describes the nature of the action in terms of its flow or completeness. For example, an action can be ongoing (imperfective aspect), completed (perfective aspect), or habitual. This helps to understand 'how' an action unfolds over time.
- 3. **Mood (or modality)** reflects the speaker's attitude towards the action, expressing possibility, necessity, permission, or obligation. It includes the use of subjunctive moods to express doubts, wishes, or hypothetical scenarios, and of the imperative mood to give commands.

Taken together, these elements allow speakers to convey not just the factual details of an event but also its temporal context, its completeness, and their subjective stance towards it. This combination enriches communication by adding layers of meaning to verb phrases in a sentence.²⁴

c) Nouns

The frequency of certain nouns can indicate a person's interests and priorities, and they can act as key terms or buzzwords to emphasise certain ideas or concepts. The use of technical terms or specialised nouns can indicate a speaker's expertise in a particular area, and the choice of particular nouns can indicate his or her emotional reactions or attitudes.

d) Pronouns I and my

The frequency of using 'I' and 'my' in communication can provide some information about the speaker's communication style, perspective and self-assessment.²⁵ A high frequency of 'I' and 'my' may indicate a kind of communication that tends to be self-centred. It may indicate a desire to express oneself, share one's perspectives, or emphasise personal experiences. A frequent use of 'I' and 'my' can also indicate confidence and a strong sense of self.

2.2.4 Visualisation

In political science, the visualisation of data and results is crucial because it makes complex information more easily accessible and understandable. Graphs, charts, and maps allow large amounts of data to be grasped at a glance and make it easier to identify patterns and relationships that would be difficult to see in pure text or table formats. These visual representations not only support the analysis and interpretation of data but also enhance communication by making the findings more engaging and easier to convey to both academic and non-academic audiences.

These principles are of great importance in political linguistics, whose analyses often generate large and complex data, for example from political speeches, debates and social media posts. Visualisations such as word clouds, network diagrams and time series analyses can help to make linguistic patterns and trends in political texts comprehensible: word clouds can highlight frequently used words in political speeches, making the key themes and rhetorical focuses of a politician visible; network diagrams can clarify the relationships between different political actors and topics by showing the links and interactions in discourses; and time series

²⁴ For the use and relevance of TAM in political speech see Havas & Chapp (2016) and Boicu (2007).

²⁵ See Alavidze (2017).

analyses can show how the use of certain terms or topics increases or decreases over time, indicating changes in political communication.

Since the GNC does not provide any visualisation tools, *Voyant* was used to display the evaluations. *Voyant* is a web-based text analytics platform used for performing text analysis and visualisation. It offers various tools and features that enable users to gain insights into the structure, content, and patterns of texts. Some of these features are word frequency analysis, text visualisations, concordance analysis, etc. *Voyant* can also calculate some metrics such as vocabulary density, readability indexes and average numbers of words per sentence. The "Readability Index" is used to evaluate the readability or understandability of a text. The purpose of this index is to measure the difficulty level of a text and determine how easily it can be understood by a specific audience. *Voyant* is thus a very useful tool for quantitative analysis.

2.3 Qualitative Analysis

The qualitative analysis is more difficult, especially since some concepts of the Georgian language have not been fully researched. Therefore, the qualitative analysis of Georgian data is essentially theory-based and largely "hand-made".

2.3.1 Argumentation Structures

Arguments consist of one or more premises and a conclusion. Arguments can be easily identified by their structure using lexical markers such as 'because', 'therefore', etc. In the simplest cases, it is sufficient to look for argument markers to locate the arguments in a text. In more complex cases, argument mining methods must be used. The prerequisite for this is that argument structures in the respective language have been sufficiently researched and classified.

In some languages, including Georgian, arguments can also be used without explicit lexical markers. This is the reason why argument structures cannot be easily determined using digital quantitative methods in Georgian. In the given cases the arguments were detected using simple text analysis and evaluated only according to their frequency. The number of these lexical markers was compared to the total number of sentences in order to assess the level of argumentation in each speech. This relation was then used to evaluate how populist a speech is, since one of the characteristics (which, however, does not always apply) is a low use of argumentation and a greater use of emotional appeals and simplified statements.

2.3.2 Sentiment Analysis

Sentiment analysis is used to identify and evaluate the emotions, attitudes and opinions expressed in a text. It gives us information about the speaker's mood and feelings as well as his or her opinion and evaluation. There are various ways to measure sentiment. When analysing larger data sets, a sentiment dictionary is used (if one is available for the language under concern). The respective words are assigned a weighting between -1 for negative and +1 for positive.

In the case of the Georgian language, as with argument analysis, basic research is still pending, so that no sentiment dictionary is currently available. Therefore, the sentiment evaluation was also carried out "manually". The texts were examined sentence by sentence and an attempt was

made to categorise them semantically and pragmatically as to negative evaluations, rhetorical questions, categorical negative assessments, facts, criticisms, and so on.

3. Main Findings

Below we present a quantitative and qualitative analysis of speeches of the four selected politicians. In particular, we present the token-type relations and the frequency of tokens: functional elements, verbs (both lexically and with grammatical features such as TAM), nouns and pronouns.

3.1 Quantitative Findings

The differences in the number of types and proportions may indicate different linguistic styles or speech strategies used by politicians. Politicians with a higher proportion of unique words may use more diverse language to convey their messages and highlight different aspects of an issue. A lower proportion may indicate that the speaker repeats his or her key messages and themes more frequently, which in political speeches may be a strategy to emphasise important points. But personal speaking style and experience can also have an influence on the token type proportion.

The number of words in the texts varies slightly between the four politicians. As Table 5 shows, Salome Zurabishvili has the highest number of tokens (3870), while Nika Melia has the lowest (3368). The number of unique words also varies, with Salome Zurabishvili having the most (1444) and Irakli Kobakhidze, the fewest (1278) unique words.

The politicians of the government have a slightly lower type-token relation than the politicians from the opposition parties. Nika Melia and Tako Charkviani both have the highest proportion (40%), indicating that their texts have greater lexical diversity. Irakli Kobakhidze has the lowest proportion (36%), indicating that he repeats the same words more often. It is noticeable that the token-type relationship is significantly higher for opposition politicians.

With Zurabishvili, it is worth taking a closer look. She has the highest token and the highest type rate, but the token-type relation is relatively low. Given her career, it would have been reasonable to assume before-hand that she possessed a larger, if not the largest, vocabulary but the results show the opposite. One explanation could be that she came to Georgia, i.e., into a completely Georgian-speaking environment, only in the early 2000s and therefore at a later age.

Politician	Token	Type	Relation
Kobakhidze	3569	1278	36%
Melia	3368	1345	40%
Zurabishvili	3870	1444	37%
Charkviani	3414	1378	40%

Table 5: Token-type relations

The results show very clearly how important the empirical approach is, as incorrect assumptions can be eliminated at an early stage. It also shows the need to always put the results into context, since the values themselves are not meaningful without contextualisation and relationing.

3.1.1 Frequency of Tokens – Functional Elements

Table 6 shows that the functional elements that were used most frequently were $\cos da$ ('and'), $\sin ar$ ('not') and $\sin ar$ ('if, when, that'), although at least in Kobakhidze's case $\sin ar$ ('is') was also very common. $\cos da$ 'and' is most often used by Zurabishvili, least by Charkviani. $\sin ar$ ('not') is most often used by Zurabishvili, least by Melia. $\sin ar$ ('if, when, that') is most often used by Zurabishvili, least by Kobakhidze.

Kobakhidze uses 'is' permanently whereas it is not found to the same extent in the others' speeches. Interestingly, for Kobakhidze, რომ *rom* ('if, when, that') is not one of the most common functional elements.

The frequent use of $\cos da$ ('and') by Salome Zurabishvili and Nika Melia might indicate that they use many complex sentences and lists in their speeches to connect several points and support their statements. The high frequency of the negator $\sin ar$ ('not') in Salome Zurabishvili's speech could indicate that she often criticises political opponents or defends her own positions. Tako Charkviani and Salome Zurabishvili use the word $\cos ar$ ('if, when, that') frequently, which might indicate that they tend to introduce reasons or explanations in their speeches.

Politician	Kobakhidze	Melia	Zurabishvili	Charkviani
Token	3569	3368	3870	3414
Functional elements	და (130)	და (162)	დ ა (176)	რომ (129)
ciements	ეს (99)	არ (95)	რომ (173)	და (111)
	არის (92)	რო/რომ (65)	არ (165)	არ (106)
	არ (82)	ეს (56)	არის (124)	მე (78)
	რომ (75)	მე (53)	მე (82)	ეს (53)
Σ	478	431	720	477

Table 6: Frequency of functional elements

All in all, Zurabishvili stands out because she uses functional elements most often, which in turn contrasts with her token-type relation, which was lower. Kobakhidze uses the functional elements analysed less frequently in general, suggesting that his speeches are more concise.

The analysis of the frequency of functional elements in the speeches of the four Georgian politicians shows certain differences, thus indicating different linguistic styles and

rhetorical strategies. These differences may also indicate different approaches to political communication and different strategies towards their target groups.

3.1.2 Frequency of Tokens – Verbs

In the given research sample, the choice of verbs used is as expected. The seven most frequently used verbs (Table 7) all play a central role in political persuasion. These are: ყოფნა/არსებობა ('be'), ქონა/ყოლა ('have'), თქმა ('say'), განხორციელება ('implement'), ცოდნა ('know'), ნდომა ('trust'), დაპირება ('promise'), კეთება ('do, make'), (საუბარი 'talk'), მიღება ('receive'), მოთხოვნა ('demand'), დაცვა ('protect'), ციხეში სიკვდილი ('die in prison').

The use of verbs also depends on the respective position and situation, which is evident with Kobakhidze using the verb 'implement' (განხორციელება). Since Kobakhidze is a member of the government, it is not surprising that he often uses it and at the same time it is understandable that the others use it less. Zurabishvili in her position as president has no executive power and probably therefore uses this word less often.

Politician	Kobakhidze	Melia	Zurabishvili	Charkviani
Token	3569	3368	3870	3414
Frequent verbs	ყოფნა (171)	ყოფნა (93)	ყოფნა (205)	ყოფნა (67)
verbs	ქონა/ყოლა (39)	თქმა (41)	თქმა (19)	თქმა (27)
	თქმა (37)	ქონა/ყოლა (23)	ცოდნა (15)	ცოდნა (24)
	განხორციელება (19)	ცოდნა (17)	ქონა (14)	ნდომა (21)
	ცოდნა (8)	ნდომა (15)	მიღება (12)	ციხეში სიკვდილი (7)
	ნდომა (7)	კეთება, საუბარი (8)	ნდომა (6)	დაპირება (5)
	დაპირება (5)	არსებობა (7)	მოთხოვნა (4)	დაცვა (5)
Σ	286	204	275	156

Table 7: Frequency of verbs (seven most frequently used verbs)

What is striking is that government politicians use the verb 'be' significantly more often than opposition politicians. This could have various reasons:

- As government officials, Kobakhidze and Zurabishvili may more frequently use the verb 'be' to confirm and legitimise government statements and positions. This could help strengthen their own authority and that of the government.
- Government officials often need to emphasise facts and current conditions to justify
 or explain policy decisions. The verb 'be' is apt for representing existing situations
 or realities.
- In their role, they may more frequently need to defend and justify positions, which includes using 'be' to strengthen arguments and deflect criticism.

 Government politicians often use normative statements that describe conditions as they should be or are. This could help to put a normative force behind their policy statements.

3.1.3 Frequency of Tokens – TAM of Verbs

The TAM analysis (Table 8) does not provide very clear results. However, here are some observations: The most frequently used tense it the present. Regarding aspect, durative forms are most commonly used. Regarding mood, we see that the subjunctive is used very often.

There seem to be no gender-specific differences in TAM. The only thing that stands out is that women use the acrist tense more often (see below). Tako Charkviani applies the present tense most frequently (159 times), indicating that she often speaks about current events and present conditions. Salome Zurabishvili follows with 148 times, also indicating a strong emphasis on the present. The future is mostly used by the opposition politicians, which suggests that they often talk about future plans and visions. This can be a sign of a strategy to gain voters for themselves and to win them over to their political goals/plans.

Salome Zurabishvili uses the agrist most frequently (101 times), indicating that she often refers to past events, possibly to highlight achievements or draw lessons from history. Melia uses the agrist less frequently (45 times), indicating that his speeches are less focused on the past, which is surprising, since it would be expected that an opposition politician would comment more frequently on the government's past actions.

Tako Charkviani and Salome Zurabishvili use the subjunctive more frequently (79 and 92 times, respectively), indicating that they often speak about possibilities, desires, or hypothetical situations. Kobakhidze uses the subjunctive the least (53 times), which indicates a more direct and less hypothetical speech strategy.

The use of the perfect tense is low overall, which suggests that the speakers place less emphasis on reported or hearsay information (evidentiality) and instead focus more on current topics and events.

Politicians	Kobakhidze	Melia	Zurabishvili	Charkviani
Token	3569	3368	3870	3414
Verb	524	339	418	412
Tense	Present: 80 Aorist: 63 Future: 20 Perfect: 9	Present: 127 Aorist: 45 Future: 47 Perfect: 9	Present: 148 Aorist: 101 Future: 41 Perfect: 15	Present: 159 Aorist: 82 Future: 47 Perfect: 5
Aspect	Durative: 46	Durative: 30	Durative: 23	Durative: 18
Mood	Subjunctive: 53 Modal: 23	Subjunctive: 69 Modal: 24	Subjunctive: 79 Modal: 34	Subjunctive: 92 Modal: 33
	უნდა (Perf. 5/Fut. 18)	უნდა (Perf.0/Fut.24)	უნდა (Perf.4/Fut.20)	უნდა (Perf.5/Fut.28)

Table 8: Frequency of TAM categories of verbs

3.1.4 Frequency of Tokens – Nouns/Substantives

The most common nouns or nominal phrases for each politician are:

Kobakhidze: პრეზიდენტი 'president' (41), ელჩი 'ambassador' (30), ვიზიტი 'visit' (28), მთავრობა 'government' (26) საქართველო 'Georgia' / ჩვენი ქვეყანა 'our country' (25), პოზიცია 'position' (25), კონსტიტუცია / კონსტიტუციური 'constitution(al)' (24), სახელმწიფო 'government' (15), მოსამართლე 'judge' (15), საგარეო პოლიტიკა / ურთიერთობები 'foreign policy / relations' (15), ინფორმაცია 'information' (14), ქვეყანა 'country' (14), საელჩო 'embassy' (13)

Melia: მიხეილ სააკაშვილი 'Mikheil Saakashvili' (35), პოლიტიკა / პოლიტიკური 'politics/political' (26), პარტია 'party' (22), ბიძინა ივანიშვილი 'Bidzina Ivanishvili' (20), ნაციონალური მომრაობა / პარტია 'National Movement / Party' (18), (ისტორიული, ეგზისტენციალური) ბრმოლა '(historical, existential) struggle' (17), პოლიტიკური ცხოვრება / პროცესები / პატიმრები / საქმიანობა / ორთაბრმოლა 'political life / processes / prisoners / activities/ combat' (16), პოლარიზაცია 'polarisation' (16), ტყვე/ტყვეობა 'prisoner/captivity' (12), (მისი, ოლიგარქიული, ავტოკრატიული, ბიძინა ივანიშვილის, ეს) რეჟიმი '(his, oligarchic, autocratic, Bidzina Ivanishvili's, this)' regime (8), (ნომერპირველი (3)) ამოცანა '(number one (3)) problem' (7), პროცესი 'process' (7), არჩევნები 'elections' (7), დამარცხება 'defeat' (6), ოპოზიცია 'opposition' (6), ციხე 'prison' (6)

Zurabishvili: ევროპარლამენტი / ევროპა / ევროპული 'European Parliament / Europe / European' (39), საქართველო / ქვეყანა 'Georgia / the country' (21), ელჩი 'ambassador' (16), ოპოზიცია 'opposition' (15), 12 პუნქტი '12 points' (13), პრეზიდენტი 'president' (12), შეთანხმება 'agreement' (11), კრიტიკა 'criticism' (11), უმრავლესობა 'majority' (11), სამუშაო ჯგუფი 'working group' (10)

Charkviani: საქართველო / ქართველი ხალხი 'Georgia / Georgian people' (39), დასავლეთი / დასავლური 'West / western' (23), ოპოზიცია / ოპოზიციონერი 'opposition/oppositionist' (18), ქვეყანა (= საქართველო) 'the country (= Georgia)' (17), 12 პუნქტი 12 'points' (17), პროცესი 'process' (13), რეფორმები 'reforms' (11), არჩევნები 'elections' (8), პოლიტპატიმრები 'political prisoners' (8), ბერკეტი 'lever' (8)

Kobakhidze most often addresses or refers to the President. Melia mentions Saakashvili and Ivanishvili very often, and his list also suggests that his focus is on the "rivalry" between the two parties.

It is noticeable that the name of Georgia is not among the most frequently used nouns. It is also noticeable that women refer to Europe much more often than men. It should be particularly emphasised that Charkviani, interestingly, chooses a different term for Europe – the West or the Occident.

3.1.5 Frequency of Tokens – Pronouns ('I' and 'my')

Examples for usage of 'I' and 'my':

Kobakhidze:

• 'I':

- o მე რაც ვიცი 'what I know'
- o მე როგორც ვიცი 'as far as I know'
- მე რაც ვნახე 'what I saw'
- o მე რაც გადავამოწმე 'what I checked'
- o მე მგონია 'I think so'
- o შეიძლება მე არ მომწონდეს 'I may not like it'
- მე ვიცი 'I know'

• 'My':

- o პრეზიდენტის რეზიდენციაში ჩემი მისვლა 'my visit to the president's residence'
- o ჩემი პოლიტიკური გზავნილი 'my political message'
- o ჩემი პოლიტიკური გუნდის წევრი 'member of my political team'

Melia:

• 'I':

- მე ვისურვებ 'I would like to'
- o მივესალმები 'I greet you'
- მე მესმის 'I understand'
- o მე მეშინია 'I'm afraid'
- o მე ვუზიარებ 'I share'
- მე მგონია 'I think so'
- o მე ვუსმენდი 'I was listening'
- მე ეჭვი არ მეპარება 'I have no doubt'

• 'My':

- o ჩემი ხედვა, ჩემი პოზიცია 'vision, my position'
- ჩემი საუბარი 'my conversation'
- ჩემი დაპირება 'my promise'
- o ჩემი ამოცანა 'my task'

Zurabishvili:

• 'I':

- o მე არ ვიცი 'I don't know'
- o მე არ მინახავს 'I haven't seen it'
- o მე რაც მახსოვს 'as I remember'
- მე მგონია 'I think so'
- o მე მოვუწოდებ 'I call'
- o მე დარწმუნებული ვარ 'I am sure'
- o მე მივიღებ გადაწყვეტილებას 'I will make a decision'

- o მე ვეთანხმები 'I agree'
- მე მახსოვს 'I remember'
- o მე მაქვს ჩემი პასუხი 'I have my answer'
- მე მიმაჩნია 'I consider'
- o მე ხომ წავედი 'I went'
- o მე ხომ ხელი მოვაწერე 'I signed it'
- ი მე ამას ვერ შევაფასებ 'I can't rate it'
- მე მინდა მათ მივმართო 'I want to address them'
- o მე შევთავაზე 'I suggested'

• 'My':

- o ჩემი პირადი პოზიცია 'my personal position'
- o ჩემი ადმინისტრაცია 'my administration'
- o ჩემი სათქმელი 'my point'
- o ჩემი ერთადეთი მიზანი 'my only goal'
- o ჩემი გადასაწყვეტი 'it's up to me'
- o ჩემი შესაფასებელი 'my assessable'
- o ჩემი პასუხისმგებლობა 'my responsibility'
- o ჩემი (ყველა) კრიტიკა 'my (all) criticism'
- ჩემი ურთიერთობების გამოყენება 'using my relationships'
- ჩემი კითხვა 'my question'
- o ჩემი დისკრეცია 'my discretion'
- o ჩემი კრიტერიუმი 'my criterion'
- o ჩემი საქმე 'my business'
- o ჩემი სურვილი 'my wish'
- ჩემი ჩასვლის მიზანი 'the purpose of my arrival'
- o ჩემი პასუხ(ებ)ი 'my answer(s)'
- o ჩემი ფაქტები 'my facts'
- ჩემი ბრალი 'my fault'
- ჩემი როლი 'my role'
- o ჩემი შესაძლებლობა 'my opportunity'
- ჩემი ჩასვლა პარიზში 'my arrival in Paris'

Charkviani:

• 'I':

- o მე ვფიქროზ 'I think'
- o მე ვიმედოვნებ 'I hope so'
- o მე ვთვლიდი 'I considered'
- o მე ვემხრობი 'I favour it'
- o მე დამზლოკეს 'I was blocked'
- მე ვხედავ 'I see'
- o მე არ მიყვარს 'I don't love'

- o მე არ მომწონს ფარისევლობა 'I don't like hypocrisy'
- o მე ტყილები არ მიყვარს 'I don't like woods'
- o მე გულწრფელად გეტყვით 'I'll tell you honestly'
- მე არ მეშინია 'I'm not afraid'
- მე ასე გავიზარდე 'this is how I grew up'
- o მე მგონია 'I think so'
- ე მე ვერ ვხვდები 'Ii can't understand'

• 'My':

- o ჩემი დამოკიდებულება 'my attitude'
- o ჩემი მეგობრები 'my friends'
- o ჩემი ბავშვობის ტკივილი 'the pain of my childhood'
- o ჩემი ცხოვრების ნატვრა 'the dream of my life'
- ჩემი მოღვაწეობა 'my work'
- o മുറ്റി പ്രാപ്പാട്ടാട് 'my country'
- o ჩემი პერსონალიტი (პიროვნება) 'my personality'
- o ჩემი დასაცავი 'my protector'

Table 9 shows a significant difference between the genders because as we can see, female politicians either have a stronger personality or they are more inclined to share their personal view of things. Salome Zurabishvili and Tako Charkviani both use the pronoun θ₀ *me* ('I') most frequently, which could indicate that they highly personalise their speeches and perhaps emphasise their own role and perspective. This could be aimed at establishing a personal connection with the audience and reinforcing their positions and beliefs. Salome Zurabishvili also uses the pronoun β₀θ₀ *chemi* ('my') relatively frequently (24 times), which could indicate a stronger emphasis on personal ownership or responsibilities. Irakli Kobakhidze uses both pronouns the least, which may indicate that his speeches are less self-centred and perhaps more focused on collective or objective statements. Nika Melia uses the pronoun θ₀ *me* ('I') more often than Kobakhidze, but less than Zurabishvili and Charkviani, which may indicate a balanced mix of personal and objective language.

Politicians	Kobakhidze	Melia	Zurabishvili	Charkviani
Token	3569	3368	3870	3414
მე/I	19	53	82	78
ჩემი/my	3	9	24	8

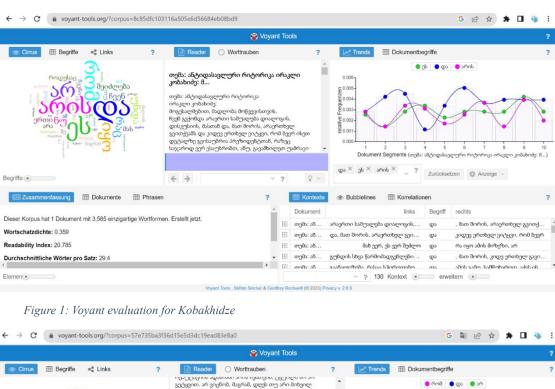
Table 9: Frequency of pronouns

The frequent use of 'I' and 'my' could be part of a strategy to make speeches more personal and authentic. This can help build trust and closeness with the audience. A lesser use

of the pronouns 'I' and 'my' could indicate that the speaker prefers a more distant, factual or institutional perspective, possibly to emphasise neutrality and objectivity.

3.1.6 Voyant Visualisation and Evaluation

Interestingly, using Voyant leads to a distortion of the data. As the respective evaluations show in figures 1–4, Voyant comes to a slightly different result for the number of tokens than KWIC. This is due to the fact that not all tools treat punctuation marks equally. This is the reason why in the following evaluations the number of tokens for the respective speeches differs from those above. The fact that punctuation marks are not always treated in the same way highlights the problems that arise when using different tools to analyse speeches. This is a strong argument for trying to use only one tool if possible to avoid distorting the data.



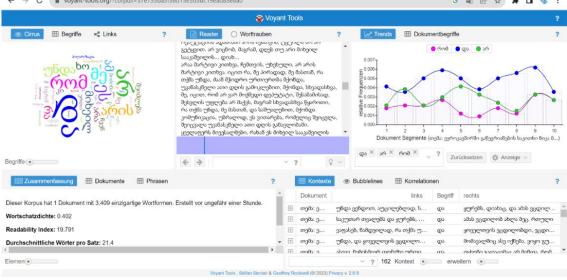


Figure 2: Voyant evaluation for Melia

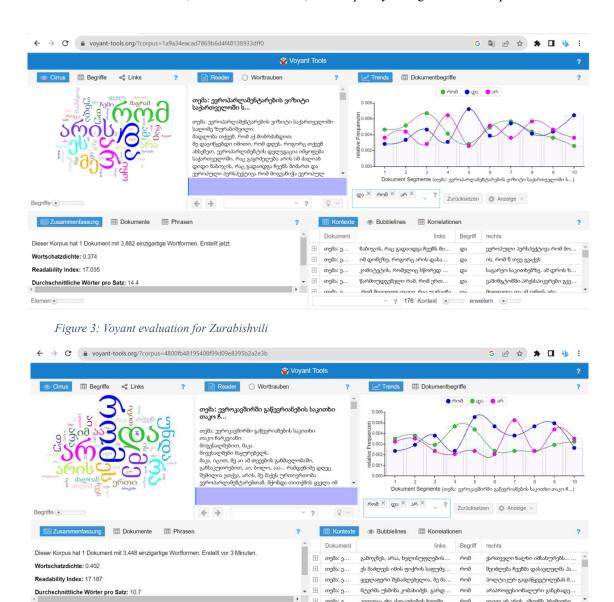


Figure 4: Voyant evaluation for Charkviani

3.1.7 Overview - Differences in Gender and Party Affiliation

As shown in Table 10, Salome Zurabishvili uses the most unique word forms (3882), which suggests a rich and diverse way of expressing herself.

129 Kontext

Salome Zurabishvili has the lowest readability index²⁶ (17.035), which indicates that her texts are the easiest to read and understand. With the highest number of unique word forms and the lowest readability index, Salome Zurabishvili shows a rich and accessible language that likely aims to appeal to a wide audience. Irakli Kobakhidze has the highest index (20.785), indicating more complex and potentially harder to understand texts. Irakli Kobakhidze has the lowest density (0.359), which suggests a more frequent repetition of the same words. He uses the most words per sentence on average (29.4), indicating a more complex sentence structure. His more complex and longer sentences, as well as the lower vocabulary density and the higher

_

²⁶ The "Readability Index" is used to evaluate the readability or understandability of a text. The purpose of this index is to measure the difficulty level of a text and determine how easily it can be understood by a specific audience.

readability index, indicate more formal and potentially harder to understand language. This could reflect his target audience and his position as a government official. In contrast, Tako Charkviani uses the shortest sentences (10.7 words per sentence), indicating a simpler and more direct sentence structure; her short sentences and high vocabulary density indicate direct and concise language that may aim for quick comprehensibility and effectiveness. Nika Melia and Tako Charkviani both have a higher vocabulary density (0.402), which means that they use a higher number of unique words relative to the total number of words. But in absolute numbers Nika Melia has the least count (3409), which could indicate a rather limited lexical diversity. He exhibits a moderate number of unique word forms and a higher vocabulary density, indicating a balanced and well-structured style of speech that emphasises both detail and clarity.

Government politicians like Kobakhidze and Zurabishvili could use more complex structures to underline their authority and competence, while also being careful to keep their messages understandable. Opposition politicians like Melia and Charkviani could use simpler and more direct language to mobilise broader support and convey their messages more clearly and succinctly.

Overall, the following conclusions can be drawn from the findings in Table 10: The analysis of the readability index and average of words per sentence shows clear differences between the male and female politicians. Salome Zurabishvili and Tako Charkviani, the two female politicians, have lower readability indexes and shorter average sentence lengths than their male counterparts Irakli Kobakhidze and Nika Melia.

The analysis of unique word forms and vocabulary density shows differences between government politicians and opposition politicians. Government politicians such as Salome Zurabishvili and Irakli Kobakhidze use a greater variety of words, while opposition politicians such as Nika Melia and Tako Charkviani have a higher vocabulary density.

The differences in the readability index and average sentence length between male and female politicians show that female politicians tend to give clearer and more easily understood speeches. Government politicians use a greater variety of words, while opposition politicians have a higher vocabulary density, indicating different communication strategies: government politicians tend to use more detailed and formal expressions, while opposition politicians speak more concisely and focused.

Politicians	Kobakhidze	Melia	Zurabishvili	Charkviani
Unique word forms	3585	3409	3882	3448
Vocabulary density	0,359	0,402	0,374	0,402
Readability index	20,785	19,791	17,035	17,187
Average of words per sentence	29,4	21,4	14,4	10,7

Most common words	და (130)	და (162)	დ δ (176)	რომ (129)
words	არ (82)	არ (95)	რომ (173)	დ δ (111)
	რომ (75)	რომ (65)	არ (165)	არ (106)

Table 10: Frequency overview

3.2 Qualitative Findings

3.2.1 Semantical-Pragmatical Comparison of Sentences

As Table 11 shows, Nika Melia uses the most negative ratings (63), which suggests that he often criticises or highlights negative aspects in his speeches, probably in relation to political opponents or grievances. Tako Charkviani and Irakli Kobakhidze use the least negative ratings (38 and 37, respectively), which could indicate a less confrontational or negatively oriented rhetoric.

Nika Melia uses rhetorical questions most frequently (25), suggesting that he applies this technique to provoke the audience to think or imply a particular response. The others use this technique less frequently (17,18 and 19), which may indicate a less interactive or suggestive style of speech.

Nika Melia also uses the most categorical negative evaluations (20), which indicates a strong and definitive criticism in his statements. Salome Zurabishvili and Tako Charkviani hardly use this form of evaluation at all (1 and 2), which could indicate that they prefer positive or neutral formulations.

Nika Melia mentions the highest number of facts (19) while Tako Charkviani only mentions four. Melia's frequent mention of facts could indicate that he prefers a more fact-based argument. This may serve to support his positions and criticisms with concrete information and numbers, which can reinforce credibility and authority. Charkviani's infrequent mention of facts could mean that she focuses more on emotional appeals, general statements or narrative elements rather than using specific facts. This could be aimed at reaching the audience emotionally or addressing a broad, unspecified topic. The number of facts (or fake facts) mentioned is particularly interesting if we want to judge how populist a speech is.

Interestingly, the number of criticisms is almost equal to the number of facts for the respective politicians. Here too, Melia stands out, as he is by far the most critical. From this it can be assumed that his political strategy is based on attacking his opponents.

Regarding the remaining semantic-pragmatic patterns, it is noticeable that female politicians use explanations and requests much more frequently than their male colleagues. Here Melia stands out with high scores in all areas.

Regarding the gender differences, it is noticeable that the male politicians outrange the female politicians when it comes to categorical negative assessments and the number of facts.

Politicians	Kobakhidze	Melia	Zurabishvili	Charkviani
Negative evaluation	38	63	44	37
Rhetorical question	17	25	19	18
Categorical negative assessment	13	20	1	2
Fact	11	19	7	4
Criticism	9	17	7	5
Other	assumption (7) self-assessment (7) call (7) intention (6) positive evaluation (5) question (5) request (5) welcome (2) prediction (2) hope (2) explanation (1) reprimand (1) desire (1) thanks (1)	positive assessment (16) explanation (15) assumption (11) desire (9) call (9) pathetic (8) accusation (3) greetings (1)	explanation (38) call (17) assumption (9) Prediction (6) thanks (4) intent (2) positive evaluation (2) rebuke (1)	explanation (27) call (18) self-assessment (9) prediction (6) positive evaluation (5) assumption (5) desire (4) thanks (3) accusation (2) greeting (2) irony (1)

Table 11: Comparison of Sentences

3.2.2 Comparison of Argumentative Structures

Table 12 shows that Irakli Kobakhidze has the highest proportion of sentences with argumentative structures (56%). This suggests that his speeches are heavily argumentative, possibly with the aim to explain and defend complex issues. Tako Charkviani has the lowest proportion (24%), indicating that her speeches rely less heavily on formal argumentation. This

could indicate that she follows a more narrative or emotional communication strategy. Nika Melia and Salome Zurabishvili have moderate proportions of argumentative structures (40% and 31%, respectively), which could indicate a balanced mix of argumentative and other rhetoric.

Politicians	Kobakhidze	Melia	Zurabishvili	Charkviani
Number of sentences	111	130	250	308
Number of argumentative structures	62	52	78	74
Percentage ratio	56%	40%	31%	24%

Table 12: Comparison of argumentative structures

In absolute terms, female politicians appear to use more argument structures, but this turns around when we look at this in relation to the number of sentences. This shows again how important it is to always put the absolute values in relation, as only the relative values deliver meaningful results. Applying this, it turns out that male politicians use significantly more argument structures than female ones.

As we mentioned earlier, Charkviani only mentions a few facts. In combination with her low value of argumentative structures, one could conclude that her speeches are more "populist" in nature. Such values help to examine political speeches with regard to their "populism" content, since they allow to measure how much "factual" and how much "emotional" content is comprised in the political speech of the respective politician.

4. Conclusion

The analysis of contemporary Georgian political speech from a gender and party perspective provides valuable insights into the linguistic strategies and rhetorical styles employed by different political actors. The study highlights several key findings:

a) Gender Differences in Political Speech

Female politicians, here Salome Zurabishvili and Tako Charkviani, tend to use clearer and more accessible language compared to their male counterparts, Irakli Kobakhidze and Nika Melia. This is evident from their lower readability indexes and shorter average sentence lengths, suggesting a communication style that prioritises clarity and comprehensibility.

The frequent use of the pronoun $\partial_{\mathfrak{I}}$ me ('1') and $\partial_{\mathfrak{I}}$ me ('1') by female politicians indicates a more personalised approach, which may help in building up a personal connection with the audience. This contrasts with the more collective and less self-centred language observed in male politicians.

b) Party Affiliation and Rhetorical Strategies

Government politicians, such as Zurabishvili and Kobakhidze, show a greater lexical diversity, reflected in their use of a wider variety of unique word forms. This might be part of a

strategy to address a broader array of issues and demonstrate comprehensive knowledge and authority.

Opposition politicians, here represented by Melia and Charkviani, exhibit a higher vocabulary density, suggesting a more concise and focused speech style. This could be a tactical approach to effectively communicate clear and strong messages, essential for rallying support and highlighting opposition viewpoints.

c) Use of Argumentative Structures

The study reveals that male politicians tend to use more argumentative structures than female politicians, both in absolute and relative terms. Irakli Kobakhidze, in particular, uses the highest proportion of argumentative sentences, indicating a preference for detailed reasoning and justification. This might reflect a more analytical and policy-oriented communication style.

Tako Charkviani's less frequent use of argumentative structures, coupled with fewer factual statements, suggests a communication style that might rely more on emotional appeal and narrative rather than structured argumentation. This pattern can be indicative of a more populist style of speech, which often prioritises emotional resonance over detailed logical argumentation.

d) Implications for Political Communication

The differences observed between male and female politicians, as well as between government and opposition members, underscore the importance of considering both gender and party affiliation in politolinguistic analysis. These factors influence not only the choice of language and rhetorical strategies but also the overall approach to public engagement and persuasion.

The data suggest that while government officials may use more formal and complex language to assert authority and competence, opposition leaders seem to prefer a more direct and relatable style to mobilise public opinion and challenge the status quo.

In conclusion, the study provides a comprehensive overview of the linguistic characteristics of Georgian political speech, highlighting the interplay between gender, party affiliation, and rhetorical style. These insights are crucial for understanding how political actors construct their public personas, communicate their messages, and influence public opinion in Georgia's dynamic political landscape.

5. Outlook

This study sets a foundation for more extensive research into the nuances of political speech in Georgia. Future studies could expand the scope to include more politicians, a broader range of political parties, and a wider variety of speech contexts, such as debates, campaign speeches, and media appearances.

Additionally, the integration of advanced digital tools and methods, such as automated sentiment and argument analysis, could enhance the precision and depth of the linguistic analysis. As the field of political linguistics continues to grow, such tools will be invaluable in systematically analysing large corpora of political texts and uncovering deeper patterns in political communication.

References

- 1. **Alavidze 2017**: M. Alavidze, The Use of Pronouns in Political Discourse. *International Journal of Arts & Sciences*, 9(4), 349–356.
- 2. **Baramidze & Rumyantsev 2024**: R. Baramidze & S. Rumyantsev (Eds.), *Presidential elections in the South Caucasus: Political transformations, imagined unity, and memory discourses*. DOI: https://doi.org/10.52340/9789941866418
 - [https://rustaveli.org.ge/res/docs/c1227b08fc14d5528671e956c411939e302ba8ee.pdf# page=5 5 30.07.2024]
- 3. **Barberá et al. 2015:** P. Barberá, J. T. Jost, J. Nagler, J. A. Tucker & R. Bonneau, Tweeting From Left to Right: Is Online Political Communication More Than an Echo Chamber? *Psychological Science*, 26(10), 1531-1542.
 - https://doi.org/10.1177/0956797615594620
- 4. **Berry & Kogan 2010**: M. W. Berry & J. Kogan, *Text Mining: Applications and Theory*. Chicester: Wiley.
- 5. **Bickel 2006**: H. Bickel, Das Internet als linguistisches Korpus. *Linguistik Online*, *28*(3). https://doi.org/10.13092/lo.28.612
- 6. **Bisbee, Larson & Munger 2022**: J. Bisbee, J. Larson & K. Munger, #polisci Twitter: A descriptive analysis of how political scientists use Twitter in 2019", *Perspectives on Politics*, 20(3), 879-900. [https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/perspectives-on-politics/article/abs/polisci-twitter-a-descriptive-analysis-of-how-political-scientists-use-twitter-in-2019/C8A193C3E939C1ABCD4600DFE8AEF79A, 31.09.2024]
- 7. **Boicu 2008**: R. Boicu: Modal verbs and politeness strategies in political discourse. *Analele Universității din București (Limbi și literaturi străine)*, 57(1) 15-28. [https://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/45913/]
- 8. **Bubenhofer 2013**: N. Bubenhofer: Quantitativ informierte qualitative Diskursanalyse, In J. Angermüller, D. Maingueneau, & R. Wodak (Eds.), *Diskurslinguistik. Felder, Probleme, Perspektiven*, 109-134. De Gruyter.
- 9. [https://www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.1524/9783050061054.109/pdf?licenseT ype=restricted 09.07.2024]
- 10. **Cardie & Wilkerson 2008**: C. Cardie & J. Wilkerson, Text Annotation for Political Science Research. *Journal of Information Technology & Politics*, *5*(1), 1–6. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1080/19331680802149590
- 11. **Engesser, Fawzi & Larsson 2017**: S. Engesser, N. Fawzi & A. O. Larsson, Populist online communication: introduction to the special issue, *Information, Communication & Society*, 20(9), 1279–1292. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2017.1328525
- 12. **Gozalishvili 2021**: N. Gozalishvili, The Contested Triangle of Disinformation, Democratization and Populism in Georgia, *Policy Memo No. 42*, Georgian Institute of Politics.

- [https://gip.ge/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/Policy-Memo-42_Gozalishvili.pdf, 30.09.2024]
- 13. **Graziani 2021**: E. Graziani, The language of politics between hate speech and hate crimes. *Online International Journal of Philosophy November 2021 16(32)*. DOI: 10.7413/18281567216 [https://www.metabasis.it/articoli/32/32 Graziani.pdf, 30.07.202]
- 14. **Hansson 2017**: S. Hansson, Analysing opposition—government blame games: argument models and strategic maneuvering, *Critical Discourse Studies*, DOI: 10.1080/17405904.2017.1405051
- 15. **Hargrave & Langengen 2021**: L. Hargrave & T. Langengen, The Gendered Debate: Do Men and Women Communicate Differently in the House of Commons? *Politics & Gender*; 17(4), 580-606. DOI:10.1017/S1743923X20000100
- 16. **Haselmayer & Jenny 2017**: M. Haselmayer & M. Jenny, Sentiment analysis of political communication: combining a dictionary approach with crowdcoding. *Quality & Quantity 51(6)*, 2623-2646. DOI: 10.1007/s11135-016-0412-4
- 17. **Havas & Chapp 2016**: D. A. Havas & C. B. Chapp, Language for Winning Hearts and Minds: Verb Aspect in U.S. Presidential Campaign Speeches for Engaging Emotion. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 7, *Article 899*. DOI: 10.3389/fpsyg.2016.00899
- 18. **Hirschmann 2019**: H. Hirschmann, *Korpuslinguistik eine Einführung*. Stuttgart: Metzler.
- 19.**Jaki & Steiger 2023**: S. Jaki & S. Steiger (Eds.), *Digitale Hate Speech*. J.B. Metzler, Berlin, Heidelberg. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-662-65964-9
- 20. **Jannidis, Kohle & Rehbein 2017**: F. Jannidis, H. Kohle & M. Rehbein (Eds.), *Digital Humanities: Eine Einführung*. Stuttgart : J.B. Metzler.
- 21. **Klein 2014**: J. Klein, *Grundlagen der Politolinguistik. Ausgewählte Aufsätze*. Berlin: Frank & Timme.
- 22. **Kuprashvili 2019**: N. Kuprashvili, Polarization as a Threat for Democracy Analysis of the Media System of Georgia, Athens: ATINER'S Conference Paper Series, No: POL2019-2712. [https://dspace.tsu.ge/server/api/core/bitstreams/e496461c-6e4d-4b17-af5d-716888ab31fc/content 30.09.2024]
- 23. **Kupietz & Schmidt 2018**: M. Kupietz & T. Schmidt (Eds.), *Korpuslinguistik*. Berlin:De Gruyter GmbH.

 [https://ids-pub.bsz-bw.de/frontdoor/deliver/index/docId/7677/file/Kupietz_Schmidt_Korpuslinguistik_20_18.pdf_29.07.204]
- 24. Lawrence & Reed 2016: J. Lawrence & C. Reed, Argument mining using argumentation scheme structures. In *Computational Models of Argument* (Vol. 287, 379-390). Frontiers in Artificial Intelligence and Applications. https://doi.org/10.3233/978-1-61499-686-6-379

- 25. Lawrence & Reed 2019: J. Lawrence & C. Reed, Argument Mining: A Survey. In: Computational Linguistics. 45(4), 765 818. [https://direct.mit.edu/coli/article/45/4/765/93362/Argument-Mining-A-Survey 28.07.2024]
- 26. Lemke & Wiedemann 2016: M. Lemke & G. Wiedemann (Eds.), *Text Mining in den Sozialwissenschaften*. Wiesbaden: Springer VS.
- **27. Lillian 2008**: D. L. Lillian, Modality, Persuasion and Manipulation in Canadian Conservative Discourse in *Critical Approaches to Discourse Analysis across Disciplines* Vol 2 (1): 1–16 [https://www.lancaster.ac.uk/fass/journals/cadaad/wpcontent/uploads/2015/01/Volume-2 Lillian.pdf, 30.07.2024]
- 28. **Lippi & Torroni 2016**: M. Lippi & P. Torroni, Argumentation Mining: State of the Art and Emerging Trends. ACM Trans. Internet Technol. 16(2), Article 10, 25 pages. https://doi.org/10.1145/2850417
- 29. **Lüdeling 2006**: A. Lüdeling, Das Zusammenspiel von qualitativen und quantitativen Methoden in der Korpuslinguistik. *Jahrbuch des Instituts für deutsche Sprache*, 28-48. [https://www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.1515/9783110439083-004/pdf?licenseType=free, 30.07.2024]
- 30. **Matsaberidze 2024**: D. Matsaberidze, The Rotating Populist Discourses of Post-Soviet Georgia: The Nation, the State and the People (1991-2018) in Heinisch, R., Cekikj, A., & Koxha, K. (Eds.). *Perspectives on populism*. Nomos. doi.org/10.5771/9783748917281-139
- 31. **Media Development Foundation 2018**: Media Development Foundation, *Hate Speech*. [http://www.mdfgeorgia.ge/uploads/library/91/file/eng/Hate_Speech-FINAL-ENG.pdf 16.04.2019]
- 32. **Meibauer 2013**: J. Meibauer (Eds.): *Hassrede / Hate Speech. Interdisziplinäre Beiträge zu einer aktuellen Diskussion*. Gießener Elektronische Bibliothek [http://geb.uni-giessen.de/geb/volltexte/2013/9251/, 29.07.2024].
- 33. **Melikidze 2022**: G. Melikidze, (TV) Media Causing Division: The Case of Georgia. *Eastern Europe Regional Studies*.

 [https://test.psage.tsu.ge/index.php/Easternstudies/article/view/282, 30.07.2024]
- 34. **Mendelberg & Karpowitz 2014**: T. Mendelberg & C. Karpowitz, *The Silent Sex: Gender, Deliberation and Institutions*. Princeton University Press, Princeton. DOI: 10.1515/9781400852697.
- 35. **Niehr 2014**: T. Niehr, *Einführung in die Politolinguistik*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- 36. Palau & Moens 2009: R. M. Palau & M. Moens, Argumentation mining: the detection, classification and structure of arguments in text. *International Conference on Artificial Intelligence and Law*. [https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/Argumentation-mining:-the-detection,-classification-Palau-Moens/06e8ffa687c7b4f86c4f65d5fd71cb177a83d87d 29.07.2024]
- 37. **Perkuhn, Keibel & Kupietz 2012**: R. Perkuhn, H. Keibel & M. Kupietz, *Korpuslinguistik*. Fink, Paderborn.

- 38. **Samkharadze 2021**: N. Samkharadze, Between Rhetoric and Action: Right-wing Populism in Georgia's Parliamentary Life, *Policy Memo No. 43*, Georgian Institute of Politics. [https://gip.ge/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/Policy-Memo-43 Samkharadze.pdf 30.09.2024]
- 39. **Samkharadze 2022**: N. Samkharadze, What Does the Polarization in Georgia Look Like and How to Measure it?, *Policy Memo No. 60*, Georgian Institute of Politics. [https://gip.ge/wp-content/uploads/2022/10/Policy-Memo-60-1.pdf 31.07.2024]
- 40. **Schoonvelde et al. 2019**: M. Schoonvelde, A. Brosius, G. Schumacher & B. N. Bakker, Liberals lecture, conservatives communicate: Analyzing complexity and ideology in 381,609 political speeches. *PLOS ONE* 14(2): e0208450. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0208450
- 41. **Siegel & Alexa 2020**: M. Siegel & M. Alexa, *Sentiment-Analyse deutschsprachiger Meinungsäußerungen Grundlagen, Methoden und praktische Umsetzung*. Wiesbaden, Springer Fachmedien.
- 42. **Stefanowitsch 2020**: A. Stefanowitsch, *Corpus linguistics: A guide to the methodology* (Textbooks in Language Sciences 7). Berlin: Language Science Press. [http://langscipress.org/catalog/book/148 28.07.2024]
- 43. **Taliuri 2022**: L. Taliuri, Experience of Georgia: hate speech during electoral processes Legislation, institutional framework and practice, in *Toolkit on combating hate speech during electoral processes*, 65-81. [https://www.cairn-int.info/toolkit-on-combating-hate-speech-during-electoral-processes--9789287192332-page-65.htm 30.07.2024]
- 44. **Tandashvili & Kamarauli 2021**: M. Tandashvili & M. Kamarauli, Introduction to Digital Kartvelology, Iverioni Publishing House, Tbilisi, 2021 (in Georgian). ISBN 978-9941-8-3156-3
- 45. **Wiegand 2011**: M. Wiegand, *Hybrid approaches for sentiment analysis*. [DOI: 10.22028/D291-22705, 27.11.2019]
- 46. **Wankhade, Rao & Kulkarni 2022**: M. Wankhade, A. C. S. Rao & C. Kulkarni, A survey on sentiment analysis methods, applications, and challenges. *Artif Intell Rev* 55, 5731–5780. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1007/s10462-022-10144-1

თანამედროვე ქართული პოლიტიკური ზეპირმეტყველება გენდერულ და პარტიულ ჭრილში

თათია ცეცხლაძე

(ბათუმის შოთა რუსთაველის სახელმწიფო უნივერსიტეტი)

tatiatsetskhladze19@gmail.com || ORCID: 0009-0009-0849-0423

ანასტასია ყამარაული

(ზემო ავსტრიის გამოყენებით მეცნიერებათა უნივერსიტეტი, პაგენბერგი)
a.kamarauli@web.de || ORCID: 0009-0008-2258-8307

DOI: https://doi.org/10.62235/mln.2.2024.8002

შესაგალი

ენა პოლიტიკის უმთავრესი ინსტრუმენტია, ამიტომ თუ გსურთ გაიგოთ პოლიტიკური მოვლენების დინამიკა, აუცილებლად მოგიწევთ პოლიტიკური კომუნიკაციის, უპირველეს ყოვლისა კი პოლიტიკოსების ან პოლიტიკური აქტორების პოლიტიკური ენის პოლიტიკურ კვლევა. ენას აქვს ყოვლისმომცველი გავლენა საზოგადოებაზე, იგი ზემოქმედებას ახდენს საზოგადოების ცხოვრების ყველა სფეროზე, მათ შორის, პირად ცხოვრებაზეც. ამიტომ ენა, როგორც პოლიტიკის ცენტრალური ინსტრუმენტი, გადამწყვეტ როლს თამაშობს საზოგადოების ორგანიზებისა და მართვის პროცესში. შესაბამისად, პოლიტიკური ენის ანალიზი გვეხმარება იმის გაგებაში, თუ როგორ შეუძლია **პოლიტიკურ ენას** საზოგადოების აღქმისა და ქცევის რეგულირება და, შესაბამისად, გავლენის მოხდენა ხალხის პოლიტიკურ გადაწყვეტილებებზე. პოლიტიკური ლინგვისტიკის, როგორც სამეცნიერო დისციპლინის, კვლევის ობიექტი არის პოლიტიკოსთა სამეტყველო ენა, რომელიც მოიცავს პოლიტიკური კომუნიკაციის სემანტიკურ და პრაგმატულ ანალიზს, რიტორიკულ ანალიზს, დისკურსის ანალიზს, არგუმენტაციული სტრუქტურების ანალიზს და განწყობის ანალიზს.

1. მეთოდოლოგია

საბჭოთა კავშირის დაშლიდან 30 წელზე მეტი ხნის შემდეგაც კი, პოსტსაბჭოთა ქვეყნები კვლავ იმყოფებიან ტოტალიტარულ-ავტორიტარული სისტემიდან დემოკრატიულ სისტემად გარდაქმნის პროცესში. ეს კი იმაზე მიუთითებს, რომ პოლიტიკური დინამიკა პოსტსაბჭოთა ქვეყნებში ჯერ კიდევ

ძალიან მაღალია და ექვემდებარება ცვლილებების უფრო ძლიერ პროცესს. ამიტომ ამ ქვეყნებში პოლიტიკური მეტყველების ლინგვოპოლიტოლოგიური ანალიზი აუცილებელია ტრანსფორმაციის პროცესების გასაგებად და, გარკვეულწილად, პოლიტიკური მოვლენების პროგნოზირების მიზნითაც. ამგვარი კვლევები გვეხმარება იმის გაგებაში, თუ როგორ ახერხებენ პოლიტიკოსები პოლიტიკის ამა თუ იმ მიმართულებით წარმართვას და რა პოლიტიკურ-საზოგადოებრივი მოვლენები არის მოსალოდნელი ამ ქვეყნებში.

საკითხის კომპლექსური კვლევისთვის, განსაკუთრებით დიდი რაოდენობის მონაცემთა დასამუშავებლად, აუცილებელია არა მხოლოდ კლასიკური ანალიზის (ფენომენოლოგიური, შედარებითი, კონტრასტული და ა.შ.) მეთოდების, არამედ დიგიტალური ჰუმანიტარიის შესაძლებლობების გამოყენებაც.

დიგიტალური ჰუმანიტარიის წარმოშობა თავად ჰუმანიტარული მეცნიერების შიგნით მიმდინარე კვლევითი პროცესების ტექნოლოგიზებით იყო განპირობებული, რამაც, თავის მხრივ, კვლევის რაოდენობრივი (კვანტიტატიური) და
თვისებრივი (კვალიტატიური) ასპექტები ერთ სიბრტყეში მოაქცია და სათავე
დაუდო დიდი მოცულობის ემპირიული რესურსების (big data) სწრაფი
დამუშავების შესაძლებლობას კლასტერული ანალიზის ავტომატიზების გზით.
რაოდენობრივი და ხარისხობრივი ანალიზის კომბინირება ჰუმანიტარულ
დარგებში უზრუნველყოფს კვლევის ეფიციენტურობას და რელევანტური
შედეგების სწრაფ მიღწევას, რომელიც შესაძლოა არ ფარავს კვლევის ყველა
ასპექტს, მაგრამ მრავალმხრივი ანალიზის მეშვეობით საშუალებას იძლევა
გამოვავლინოთ საკვლევი საკითხის ზოგადი სურათი (თანდაშვილი, ყამარაული 2021:7).

ინტერნეტის, განსაკუთრებით სოციალური მზარდ მედიის, გამოყენებასთან ერთად, პოლიტიკური ლინგვისტიკის საგანი გაფართოვდა. ონლაინდისკურსების ანალიზი და ენობრივი დინამიკის კვლევა სოციალურ ქსელებში დღეისათვის კვლევის ცენტრალურ სფეროს წარმოადგენს. მედიის მრავალფეროვნების ფართო გამოყენებამ გამოიწვია ჰუმანიტარული მეცნიერებისთვის რელევანტური მონაცემების სწრაფი ზრდა და მუდმივი განახლება, რაც იწვევს დიდი რაოდენობის მონაცემების ადეკვატური ფორმით დამუშავების აუცილებლობას.

ამავე დროს, გასათვალისწინებელია, რომ გარდა ლინგვისტური ანალიზისა, განსაკუთრებულ როლს ასრულებს მეტამონაცემების ფაქტორიც,

რომელიც იძლევა შედეგების უფრო ღრმა კონტექსტუალიზაციის საშუალებას და ამით საგრძნობლად ზრდის პოლიტიკური ტექსტების კვლევის შედეგად მიღებული ცოდნის ხარისხს. პოლიტიკური მეტყველების ლინგვისტური ანალიზისთვის ჩვენ მიზანშეწონილად მივიჩნიეთ მეტამონაცემებში, გარდა ტრადიციული პარამეტრებისა (ასაკი, სქესი, განათლება, სტატუსი), დამატებითი პარამეტრების დართვა: გენდერი და პარტიული კუთვნილება.

2. ანალიზი

ჩვენ მიერ განხორციელებული კვლევა ჩატარდა ბალანსირების პრინციპის დაცვით: საკვლევ პირებად ავირჩიეთ ორი მდედრობითი სქესის (სალომე ზურაბიშვილი და თაკო ჩარკვიანი) და ორი მამრობითი სქესის (ირაკლი კობახიძე და ნიკა მელია) პოლიტიკოსი. დამატებით ასევე გათვალისწინებული იყო ბალანსი პარტიული კუთვნილების თვალსაზრისი: მმართველი პარტია ვს. ოპოზიციური პარტიული სპექტრი. საკვლევი მასალა ასევე დაბალანსებული იყო როგორც თემატურად (საკვლევად შერჩეული მასალა გადამკვეთ თემატიკას მოიცავდა), ისე მოცულობის (სიტყვათა რაოდენობა) თვალსაზრისითაც. მეტამონაცემებში დამატებით შეტანილი საკვლევი პარამეტრების (გენდერი და პარტიული კუთვნილება) კომბინაცია შესაძლებელს ხდის გამოვიკვლიოთ, განსხვავდება თუ არა გენდერული კომუნიკაციის სტილი ერთსა და იმავე პარტიაში, ან როგორ იყენებენ ქალი ან მამაკაცი პოლიტიკოსები სხვადასხვა საერთო ენობრივ სტრატეგიებს კონკრეტული გამოწვევების პარტიიდან დასაძლევად.

წარმოებული ჩვენ მიერ თანამედროვე ქართული პოლიტიკური მეტყველების ანალიზმა გენდერული პერსპექტივის და პარტიული გათვალისწინებით გამოავლინა მნიშვნელოვანი ნიუანსები სხვადასხვა პოლიტიკური აქტორების მიერ გამოყენებული ენობრივი სტრატეგიებისა და რიტორიკული სტილის გამოყენების თვალსაზრისით, რომელსაც ოთხ პუნქტად წარმოვადგენთ:

ა) გენდერული განსხვავებები პოლიტიკურ მეტყველებაში

ქალი პოლიტიკოსები უფრო მკაფიო და გასაგებ ენას იყენებენ მამაკაც კოლეგებთან შედარებით. ამას ადასტურებს დაბალი წაკითხვის ინდექსი და მოკლე წინადადებების რაოდენობა მათ მეტყველებაში, რაც მიუთითებს მათ მიერ არჩეული კომუნიკაციის სტილზე, რომელიც უპირატესობას პოლიტიკური სიცხადეს და გაგებინების ანიჭებს გამოსვლის ეფექტურობას. ქალი პოლიტიკოსების მიერ პირველი პირის

ნაცვალსახელების ხშირი გამოყენება (ზურაბიშვილი - 86, ჩარკვიანი - 90) მიუთითებს ქალი პოლიტიკოსების მხრიდან მათ პერსონალიზებულ მიდგომაზე, რაც შეიძლება დაეხმაროს აუდიტორიასთან პირადი კავშირის დამყარებაში. მამაკაცი პოლიტიკოსების მეტყველებაში პირის ნაცვალსახელთა გამოყენების დაბალი სტატისტიკა (მელია - 47, კობახიძე - 22) უფრო მეტი კოლექტიურობითა და ნაკლები ეგოცენტრულობით გამოირჩევა, რაც მათი საკომუნიკაციო სტილის ერთგვარ სტრატეგიად უნდა მივიჩნიოთ.

ბ) პარტიული კუთვნილება და რიტორიკული სტრატეგიები:

სამთავრობო პოლიტიკოსების მეტყველება გამოირჩევა ლექსიკური მრავალფეროვნებით, რაც გამოიხატება მათ მიერ გამოყენებული უნიკალური სიტყვის ფორმების ფართო სპექტრით. ეს შეიძლება იყოს მათი პოლიტიკური მეტყველების სტრატეგიის ნაწილი, რომელიც მიზნად ისახავს საკითხების უფრო ფართო სპექტრისა და ყოვლისმომცველი ცოდნისა და ავტორიტეტის დემონსტრირებას. ოპოზიციური პარტიის პოლიტიკოსები ავლენენ ლექსიკის უფრო მეტ სიმჭიდროვეს, რაც უფრო ფოკუსირებული მეტყველების სტილს ლაკონიური და ოპოზიციური პარტიის წარმომადგენლების მხრიდან ეს შეიძლება იყოს ტაქტიკური მიდგომა მკაფიო და ძლიერი გზავნილებით გაზარდონ კომუნიკაციის ეფექტურობა, რათა, ერთი მხრივ, ხაზი გაუსვან საკუთარი (ოპოზიციური) პარტიის პოზიციის უპირატესობას, მეორე მხრივ კი, დააჯერონ მსმენელი და მოიპოვონ ელექტორატის მხარდაჭერა.

გ) არგუმენტაციული სტრუქტურების გამოყენება:

კვლევა ცხადყოფს, რომ მამაკაცი პოლიტიკოსები უფრო მეტად იყენებენ არგუმენტაციულ სტრუქტურებს, ვიდრე ქალი პოლიტიკოსები. კერძოდ, ირაკლი კობახიძის მეტყველება ხასიათდება არგუმენტირებული წინადადებების ყველაზე მაღალი მაჩვენებლით (50%), რაც დეტალური მსჯელობისა და დასაბუთებისადმი მის დამოკიდებულებაზე მიუთითებს. პოლიტიკურ მეტყველებაში არგუმენტაციული სტრუქტურების მაღალი პროცენტულობა უფრო ანალიტიკური და პოლიტიკაზე ორიენტირებული კომუნიკაციის სტილს შეესაბამება. ქალი პოლიტიკოსების მეტყველებაში არგუმენტაციულო დაბალი მაჩვენებელი გვაქვს (ზურაბიშვილი - 31%, ჩარკვიანი - 24%). თაკო ჩარკვიანის მიერ

არგუმენტაციული სტრუქტურების ნაკლებად გამოყენება განპირობებულია მისი მეტყველების სტილით, რომელიც მეტი ემოციური მიმზიდველობით გამოირჩევა და ნაკლებად შეიცავს ფაქტობრივ განცხადებებს. შესაბამისად, მისი პოლიტიკური მეტყველება უფრო მეტად თხრობით სტილს მოიცავს, ვიდრე სტრუქტურირებულ არგუმენტაციას. თაკო ჩარკვიანის მეტყველება შეიძლება განვიხილოთ როგორც მეტყველების უფრო პოპულისტური სტილი, რომელიც ხშირად პრიორიტეტს ანიჭებს ემოციურ რეზონანსს, ვიდრე დეტალურ ლოგიკურ არგუმენტაციას.

დ) გავლენა პოლიტიკურ კომუნიკაციაზე:

განსხვავებები, რომლებიც შეინიშნება მამაკაც და ქალ პოლიტიკოსებს შორის, ისევე როგორც ხელისუფლებისა და ოპოზიციის წევრებს შორის, ხაზს უსვამს პოლიტიკურ ლინგვისტური ანალიზის პროცესში როგორც სქესის, ისე პარტიული კუთვნილების გათვალისწინების მნიშვნელობას. ეს ფაქტორები გავლენას ახდენს არა მხოლოდ ენისა და რიტორიკული სტრატეგიების არჩევაზე, არამედ საზოგადოების ჩართულობისა და დარწმუნების სტრატეგიების უპირატესობაზე გამომსვლელთა მხრიდან.

3. დასკვნა

შედეგების შეფასება კვლევის ზოგადი გვავარაუდებინებს, დომ ხელისუფლების წარმომადგენლები იყენებენ უფრო ფორმალურ და აგტორიტეტისა კომპლექსურ ენას და კომპეტენციის დასამტკიცებლად, ოპოზიციის ლიდერები კი უპირატესობას ანიჭებენ უშუალო (ემოციურ) და მარტივ სტილს საზოგადოებრივი აზრის მობილიზებისა და სტატუს კვოს გამოწვევის მიზნით. ქალი პოლიტიკოსები პოლიტიკური გამოსვლის დროს უპირატესობას ანიჭებენ სიცხადეს და გაგებინების ეფექტურობას. მათგან განსხვავებით, მამაკაცი პოლიტიკოსები უფრო მეტად იყენებენ არგუმენტაციულ სტრუქტურებს, ვიდრე ქალი პოლიტიკოსები. თუმცა, აქ კუთვნილების საკითხი უნდა იყოს გადამწყვეტი: სალომე ზურაბიშვილისაგან განსხვავებით, თგკო ჩარკვიანის, როგორც ოპოზიციური პარტიის წარმომადგენლის, მეტყველება შეიძლება განვიხილოთ როგორც მეტყველების უფრო პოპულისტური სტილი, რომელიც ხშირად პრიორიტეტს ანიჭებს ემოციურ რეზონანსს, ვიდრე დეტალურ ლოგიკურ არგუმენტაციას.