Batumi Shota Rustaveli State University

Faculty of Humanities

Department of European Studies

Nunu Bakhtadze

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Linguistic Means of Manipulation in Political Discourse

Specialty: Linguistics

Abstract

of the dissertation submitted for Acquiring the Academic Degree of Doctor of Philology

Academic Advisor: Prof. N.Stambolishvili

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General Description of the Thesis

This dissertation is an interdisciplinary study of political speech, in particular, it analyzes the linguistic means of manipulation on the basis of the German and Georgian political discourse. The research is based on the existing scientific theories in the field of three main linguistic postulates: **political language**, **political discourse**, and **linguistic manipulation**.

Although research into the relationship between language and politics has a long history, it is still relevant in today's democratic world. Gradually, the development of modern technologies has affected the behavior and thinking of the society as a whole, as well as changed the agenda of political life and style of activity. Language and politics in the ancient world were discussed only in philosophy and literature, and in modern media, political language is discussed not only by scholars and politicians, but also by media representatives and ordinary citizens through the media. It was through the media that the political language has become multiple-recipient-orientedd (Mehrfachadressiert), and consequently politicians were forced to make information about their activities accessible and comprehensive to all segments of society and to any interested person.

Influencing the public consciousness and "winning the public's heart" are the primary tasks for a politician. They are not so highly credible in society which is due to their use of language as a tool of manipulation; therefore, both politics and manipulation have become an integral part of our daily lives.

The most crucial objective in politics is the management of public events, and it is the political discourse that determines public events. The complexity of public thinking, culture and psychology, in turn, will be revealed in the discourse.

The term **discourse** is a multilayered phenomenon and polysemy is a significant part of it. It is impossible to discuss it within one discipline, as it is overlapping with other neighboring disciplines, which is due to its interdisciplinary nature. Despite numerous researches and scientific theories, its exact definition does not exist to this

day. The diverse views in the scientific community have further complicated its understanding.

Aims and Objectives of the Research: the aim of our research is to analyze linguistic means of manipulation from a linguistic point of view in the German and Georgian political discourses; in particular, compare data from different cultures, the German and Georgian realities, and contrast the linguistic means used in modern parliamentary political discourse based on the political cultures in these two countries; identify the diversity of the language tools and in the context of the consequences of their use to influence political views of the public; show and explain what specific language tools are used to influence public consciousness and trigger certain actions.

The aim of the research is also to identify the types of linguistic means of manipulation in political discourse, to determine their linguistic characteristics; structural and semantic classification of linguistic means, determination of linguistic transformations and their systematization at the lexical, semantic, and pragmatic level.

Based on the objectives of the research, the following tasks have been set:

- Review the theories in the field and define key terms based on these theories;
- Identify the reasons for the transformation and modification of these terms;
- Identify language strategies for influence;
- Identify the specific context to ddetermine in which conditions manipulation is possible;
- Demonstrate language as an instrument of power.

The research focuses on assessing the impact of the political language, and identifying the linguistic means politicians utilize to influence the society.

The **subject of the research** is the parliamentary speeches of the representatives in the German and Georgian political parliaments of the last sessions (2016-2020) and the Bundestag (2017-2021), including the political speech corpus of three pro-government and three parliamentary opposition parties, which includes nearly the entire last four-year sessions.

- The German material was taken from the authentic records of the parliamentary sittings (98 speeches of 6 Parliament Members). The total of 851 units of the anguage manipulation examples were identified.

- The Georgian material is the records provided by the Parliament of Georgia, which were obtained upon the request to provide the public information (73 speeches of 6 Parliament members). The total of 420 units of language manipulation examples have been identified.

The examples were selected on the basis of two prerequisites. In particular, the results of the 2016 Georgian parliamentary and 2017 German parliamentary elections (Bundestag), which, on the one hand, occupied the parliamentary seats in Georgia by the right-conservative, pro-Russian party "Alliance of Patriots", which appeared in the political arena only in 2012, participated for the first time. In the local self-government elections of the year, where he received 4.72% of the total votes. And advanced in the 2016 parliamentary elections and won 6 seats on a proportional list with 5.01% of the vote. On the other hand, a similar scenario developed in Germany in 2017, where the right-wing populist, partly right-wing extremist party AFD (Alternative für Deutschland) registered in 2013 for the first time in 2013 with 4.7% and in 2017 with 12.6% for the majority in German society. Completely suddenly he found himself in the Bundestag.

Research Methodology: The methods applied in the research includede linguistic research and confrontation, according to which a comparative analysis of the linguistic material used in the German and Georgian parliamentary political discourse, namely, means of manipulation; the similarities and differences are revealed based on the analysis respectively.

Another method that was used is corpus linguistic method, which is very relevant in modern humanities studies. This method enables processing volumes of the material duly and efficiently, thus greatly simplifying the research process. It also enables to conduct research in terms of traditional methods using modern technological means, which ensures the systematicity and consistency of research.

Apart from the corpus linguistic research methods, critical discourse analysis is a universal method of thorough study of political discourse allowing identification of social and structural inequalities in political discourse .

The **topicality** of the research: the relationship between language and politics, the creation of public attitudes through language and its study began in antiquity; in the context of modern media, though, it has changed the behavior of society and strategies for the use of language. Recently, researches into political texts has become especially intensive, since it is the political discourse that determines the public consciousness, an the number of scientific papers focus on the political speech is gradually increasing.

Since politics covers almost all areas of human life: culture, science, healthcare, economy, etc., exhaustive study of it is impossible and always provides interesting material for research. In addition to the fact that the issue is topical and interesting, **the novelty** of the paper is also the simile of Georgian political discourse to German political discourse which has not studied so far. Our research will help to fill in this gap. It should also be noted that the research was conducted mainly on the basis of the German scientific theories, which allowed us to share a long and varied practice of political language research.

Practical significance and theoretical value of the research: the research is based on the modern theoretical and methodological framework that creates the expectation that the paper will assist students in the study of stylistics, discourse analysis, political linguistics and other scientific disciplines. The paper will be available for lectures and seminars in all the aforementioned scientific disciplines. At the same time, the analyze material and theoretical generalizations will be of great help to young politicians and any member of society to be able to identify manipulative politicians and protect themselves from their influence.

The structure of the paper: The paper consists of an introduction, four chapters, which are divided into sub-sections, the conclusion, the list of used literature and appendices.

General Description of the Thesis

Chapter I. Language and Politics

The first chapter discusses the history of political language from ancient rhetoric to modern rhetoric, its transformation and socio-cultural foundations of the development of political discourse; The same chapter discusses the relationship between language and politics, language as an important political tool and its influence on the shaping of society, and the development of political linguistics as a relatively new discipline. The pragmatic circumstances that make language a policy tool are discussed.

Discussions about language and politics are still found in the ancient world. The activity of a politician has always depended on his persuasive, argumentative, oratory skills and mastery of rhetorical techniques. The main task of rhetoric was to study the technique of public speaking and the art of speech.

As for contemporary rhetoric, public discourse has become the focus of media attention in the 20th century. After the First and Second World Wars, many public figures tried to evaluate the events and express their own opinion, which highlighted the importance of public speaking. The media has had a huge impact on the development of modern rhetoric. Contemporary rhetoric serves propaganda because, unlike traditional rhetoric, the focus in modern rhetoric has shifted not to argumentative reasoning but to manipulation and persuasive techniques.

Language as the main tool of political activity

Political language has been the subject of linguistics since 1900, when the studies of so-called party slogans (Schlagwortforschung) started.

Language and politics are closely related concepts and it is impossible to separate them. We can be convinced that this is true if we look at the daily activities of politicians: media, parliament, elections, and diplomatic activities - all of them are linguistic actions. Politics - this is a field of activity that deals with the relationship between social groups, its goal is the formation of the state and public life (Tezelishvili 2007). Language is not only a tool of politics, but also a prerequisite for its existence. As Walter Dickman says: "*Action is political as long as it is a linguistic action, where politics is nonverbal, politics ends there.*" (Dieckman1969: 29).

F. Bergsdorf distinguishes five categories of political language:

1. Legislative Jurisdiction (Gesetzgebund Rechtsprechung);

2. Administration (Verwaltung);

3. Negotiation (Verhandlung);

4. Political education (politische Erziehung);

5. Propaganda (Propaganda);

The Strauss classification differs from the Bergsdorf classification and consists of four components:

1. Organizational and procedural language (Organisations-und Verfahrenssprache);

2. The language of discussion, struggle and propaganda (Deliberation, Kampf und Propagandasprache);

3. Special language (Sachbereichsprache);

4. Legal language (Gesetzsprache);

There is also, V. Dickman / J. Kline classification:

1. Institutional (Institutions);

2. Divisions (Ressorts);

3. General interaction (allgemeines Intereaktions);

4.	Vocabulary of ideology (Ideologievokabular)

As we can see, all three of them consider the language of propaganda and ideology as one of the most important categories of political language. Politics is the art of governing society and the state. The management of society in a democratic state is done through language.

According to the above mentioned, it is clear that language is the most important source of legitimacy for a politician, it enables behavior control and social integration..

Language - an instrument of power

As mentioned above, language is an instrument of politics, and politics, in turn, is an action taken to gain and maintain power. Therefore, language is an instrument of power. The understanding of language as an instrument of power became especially active during the Nazi regime in Germany.

In Germany during the Third Reich there was a Ministry of Propaganda headed by I. Goebbels. 1934 On February 2, Goebbels announced the need to create new dictionaries that would be suitable for the modern thinking of their state (modernes Staatdenken) and would imply the traditional meaning of words (Umdeutung).[1]

Based on these events, it became clear that renaming words can change the thinking, thoughts and actions of a society or a particular cultural, economic or political association.

Many scholars became interested in the study of political language after World War II; Many scientific literatures have been created, books have been written about the influence of speech and language, which have not lost their relevance to this day. E.g. „Kampf um Wörten" (Greiffenhagen 1980), „Kommunikatives Handeln" (Habermas 1986), „Politikersprache" (Holly 1990), „Sprache der Politik" (Klaus 1971), „Politik Und Rhetorik" (Koperschmidt 1995), „Ideologie - Sprache – Politik" (Strassner 1987), „Die Politische Rede" (Zimmermann 1969), „Politolinguistik" (Burkhardt 1996), „Besetzen

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[1] *Abstammungsnachweis - The primary meaning was the domestication of animals (Viehzucht), and after the change of meaning (Umdeutung) the genetic origin meant the genealogical evidence of German descent. There were plenty of words that were forbidden to use. They were originally called the "Sprachregelungen" (language norms) and later the "Tagesparolen des Reichspressechefs" (Zollner: 84).*

von Begriffen" (Liedtke/Wengler/Böcke 1991). Scholars have actively begun to investigate the symbolic dimension of the linguistic sign and its role in politics. Also, a systematic analysis of language as a determinant of consciousness and as a controller of behavior.

These studies laid the foundation for the development of new linguistic disciplines, such as, for example, Sociolinguistics, Psycholinguistics, Cultural linguistics, which study the relationship between language and society. Also, as a result of these processes, one of the new branches of linguistics was formed - political linguistics, the main task of which is the study of the use of political language (Sprachgebrauch).

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Linguistics VS Political Linguistics

The term political linguistics was first used by Burckhardt in 1996. Burckhardt calls political linguistics an integral discipline of linguistics, which deals with the critical analysis of political language. Political linguistics is a related discipline of linguistics and political science, studying the semantics and pragmatics of political language: *"Like many other areas of applied linguistics, linguistics of political language is one of the most important and legitimate disciplines of linguistics."*(Burkhardt 2003a: 120 in Niehr 2014:13).

The subject of political linguistics is political language, but what does political language mean? According to Burkhardt, the subject of political linguistics research is as follows:
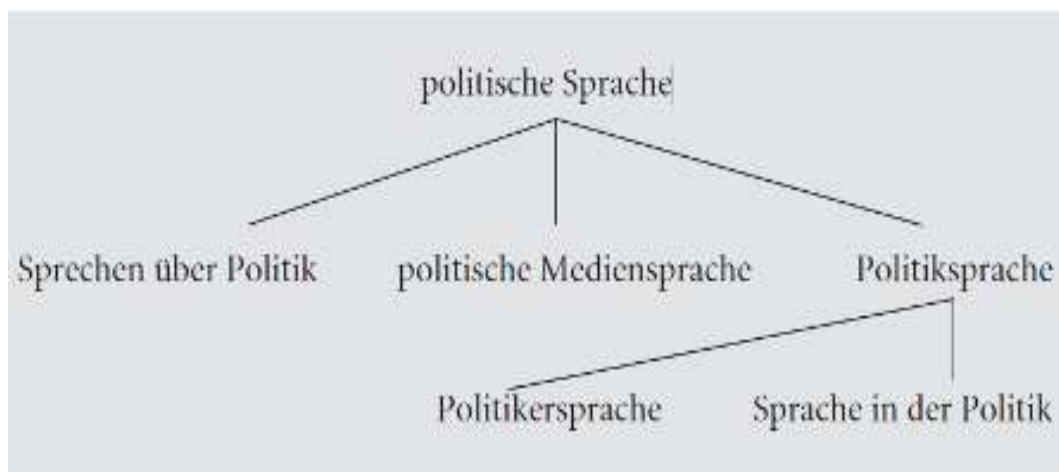
Diagram # 1 Subject of Political Linguistics Research according to Burkhardt.

According to this diagram, the author considers political language as a field of study of political linguistics, which includes conversations about politics, the language of political media, and the language of politics. The language of politics, in its turn, is divided into two directions: the speech of a politician and the language used in politics. There is a heterogeneous attitude in scientific circles regarding the term political linguistics. The term linguistics is also actively used in the Georgian scientific space along with political linguistics. For the purposes of our research, we prefer the term political linguistics.

As mentioned above, the study of political language began with the study of the politics of National Socialism, when there was artificial interference in the use of the language and the introduction of rules and regulations. It was during this period of the 1980s that numerous scientific works on political language were created, *Language and politics; The language of politics; Language in Politics* (see page 11). It was impossible to study political language within the same discipline, which led to a synthesis of research methods of both linguistics and political science. Burkhard rightly notes that, since the main object of research in almost all papers was language, not politics, for example, *Political language, language in politics,* linguistics prevailed in the fusion of these two disciplines, and, therefore, he made his choice between linguistics and political linguistics in favor of political linguistics (Burkhard in: Klein 85.1996). Accordingly, he led political linguistics as a new field of linguistics.

Chapter II. Discourse as an Ambivalent Event

The second chapter discusses discourse, the main theories of discourse, the history of its development and approaches that exist in modern science. We are also talking about different types of discourse, including political discourse. The same chapter discusses the common features of corpus linguistics and discourse that determine the correlation features of corpus linguistics and discourse.

Definition of the concept of discourse

The scientific study of discourse in linguistics began in the 1960s. Despite numerous scientific theories, a complete study of the phenomenon of discourse has not yet been possible, there is still no precise definition of the concept. It is the object of interdisciplinary research and therefore all disciplines define it according to its aims. The study of discourse originally began in philosophy, but later the boundaries of research expanded to include sociology, history, literary studies, linguistics, and so on.

The term 'discursus' Lat. It is a word and here and there it means running, talking, speaking (I. Salia159, 2018).

The theory of discourse, as we have already mentioned, originated in the bosom of philosophical theories. Discussions in its philosophical context in modern philosophy are associated with the names of Jürgen Habermas and Michel Foucault, who revolutionized the linguistic sciences.

I.Habermas believes that the ability to use language purposefully is crucial for a person. The discourse for him is: "*A place to demonstrate communicative rationalism*" *(Schauplatz kommunikativer Rationalität).* In this sense, discourse is an argumentative dialogue in which the assertion of reality and the legitimation of norms are discussed. What is considered reasonable is an intersubjective, that is, a reality recognized by all members of society - "rational discourse."

According to Habermas, the following areas of research in the theory of speech acts are fundamental to the theory of discourse:

· Speech act, comprehension-oriented expression;

· „Strategic actions clearly focused on personal interests ".

In the latter case, in the act of communication, the speaker brings to the fore the propositional, normative and subjective reality and seeks to convince the opponent. If the interlocutor fails to achieve this goal, then the communication between them will not be successful.

Discourse provides an opportunity to reach consensus using the means built in it, which will be recognized by all participants as an inevitable necessity. Participants are trying to create an ideal communication situation, which, according to Habermas, is nothing more than "a voluntary limitation of the motive for finding a better argument and shared truth." *der zwanglose Zwang des besseren Arguments und das Motiv der kooperativen Wahrheitssuche* (Habermas 1981).

Michel Foucault believes that discourse is a reality in a **certain** language and culture, belonging to a **certain** era (our line). There is a certain set of rules of discourse or a special area of knowledge that determines, for example, what can be said, what cannot be said, from what can be said, or what can be said in general. Foucault calls this **practice of discourse**: "*The practice of discourse is a set of anonymous historical rules defined in time and space; It determines the conditions for the influence of the function of expression in a given era and in a given social, economic, geographical or linguistic environment.* " *(*Foucault 1993: 121).

According to Foucault, discourse is a linguistically constructed set of thoughts that has certain concepts and is based on structures and interests of a certain force. Discourse creates reality and structures it. He distinguishes two aspects of discourse:

· Linguistic aspects (discourse);

· Non-linguistic aspects (e.g. political institutions and architecture).

Foucault's main starting point is the historicity of discourse, the combination of public practices and expressions. In his opinion, an expression is more than a sentence; In grammatical analysis, an expression may remain unknowable, but for a verbal action it appears *"as a visible form / body in which it appears"*. Expressions of different forms and times form a combination when they are directed towards the same object, and the combination of such expressions creates discourse. (Foucault 1993:156).

Foucault's opinion is very important, that discourse not only creates social relations, but also uses *knowledge* to establish power. According to Foucault, *knowledge* is a source of power over others because discourse is used to control behavior. The one who owns speech has the power.

Corpus linguistics and critical analysis of discourse as research methods

Discourse analysis was established as an independent discipline in 1972-1974. The term *discourse analysis* Belongs to an American linguist Z. Harris, who in 1952 described his approach to the structural-grammatical analysis of Native American languages with this term.

One of the most important approaches to the analysis of discourse is a *critical analysis of discourse*[2] - it arose at the turn of text linguistics and sociolinguistics. A critical analysis of discourse examines the relationship between power and discourse, in particular, it examines how power is reflected, reproduced and resisted in a socio-political context through text and speech. Its purpose is to study the power asymmetry (Machtanalyse) in society and the forms of its manifestation, as well as the study of language as a social phenomenon that influences the construction of reality. Language and social reality are dialectically related, therefore the methods of discursive research are also eclectic and characterized by heterogeneity of methods and theories (Mautner 2012 : 83).

Regarding the analysis of discourse as a research method, there was an opinion that it is very theoretical and subjective, devoid of empiricism and it is incorrect to generalize the research results. Corpus linguistics, which gives more accurate results based on quantitative data, resolved this issue positively.

Corpus linguistics is one of the modern areas of the humanitarian sciences, which originated at the junction of two fields of science - the humanities and informatics. The first corpus was created in the 60s of the last century - John Sinclair's project "Studies of English Phrases" laid a methodological and qualitatively new theoretical basis for the development of modern corpus linguistics. (Theubert 2012:231).

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2. Ing. Critical discourse analysis; Germ. Kritische Diskursanalyse "Critical Discourse Analysis" is also established in the Georgian scientific literature.

What is a corps? Even theorists of corpus linguistics do not have a unified assessment even in this respect. Some consider this a method of linguistic research (Bubenhofer), others, for example, Tandashvili / Purtskhvanidze, consider it an independent discipline

According to Bubenhofer / Charlotte, corpus linguistics is one of the most important research methods in linguistics, which allows processing large volumes of authentic material in a short period of time and confirming the research hypothesis. (Scharloth/Bubenhofer 2012:196). In their opinion, the following are the main advantages of corpus linguistics:

- Ability to process large volumes of texts;
- Studying not the process of using individual texts, but the language in groups of texts;
- Its empirical nature, the use of quantitative research methods to obtain more accurate results.

Corpus linguistics and discourse critical analysis are closely related methods. The object of study of both is discourse and language in use (Sprachgebrauch); their use gives a very large scale of simile of empirical material, and the result becomes obvious very quickly.

Chapter III. Manipulation - Categorization of a Concept and its Role in Political Communication

The third chapter discusses *linguistic manipulation*. Definitions of the concept are given, and the semantic transformation of the concept is discussed. This chapter is divided into several subsections that discuss the linguistic means used to manipulate and through which the politician influences public consciousness and attitudes.

Manipulation - Definition and Transformation

The word ***manipulation*** is actively used in everyday life. Etymologically, manipulation comes from the Latin word (manus "hand" and plere "execution" (Lay

1977: 17)) and means manual work. Its first meaning had a positive connotation and meant "*dexterous*", "*capable*".

In the dictionary of foreign words of Solomon Tezelishvili, "*manipulation*" is defined as follows: fr. <Manipulation>, lat. <manipulus> 1. Difficult movement during manual or manual work. 2. Trick, machination. 3. Providing oneself with good behavior of people, which is achieved as a result of manipulating their consciousness (Tezelishvili.2007:474).

In the 18th century, the word came to Germany from France through medicine. After the political events of 1945, this word acquired a negative connotation and still expresses the *ability to influence others,* especially in politics.

Theodor Lewandowski explains language manipulation as follows:

"Linguistic manipulations, influence, formation of thought, control of behavior (mostly) embellished or hidden to some extent by the interpretation of facts and emotionality due to the formation of unconscious motivation, which can also be associated with the choice and combination of news information, depending on the interests of a particular groups. Usually language manipulation is both language manipulation and language manipulation" (Lewandowski 1994: 1036).

According to Mel, "manipulation is about influencing people to achieve control of awareness, thinking and emotional state" (Mel in:Lay 1977: 20).

As can be seen from the above definitions, manipulation through language is understood as manipulation of consciousness and thinking aimed at the interests of others, and language is an ideological instrument of manipulation - "language is an instrument of manipulation".

The essence of linguistic manipulation

It is interesting how manipulative communication differs from other types of standard communication. According to Gerhard Wolff, they differ with several characteristics.

During normal communication, communicators exchange information. The purpose of communication in this case is understanding in order to form full-fledged relationships. See Diagram 2.
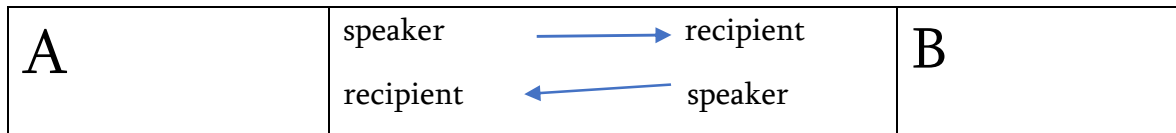
A	speaker ⟶ recipient recipient ⟵ speaker	B

Diagram *2*

The diagram shows the process of a normal communication act where the speaker (A) gives the message and also, the listener (B) has the opportunity to give his message, which creates a continuous cycle of communication. This process has the following characteristics:

· **Symmetric** *(symmetrisch)* – relative equality between the addresser and the addressee;

· **Cyclic** *(symmetrisch)* – all expressions are followed by the listener's response, which then leads to statements from both sides;

· **Expansion** *(komplementär)* – the speaker and the listener expand each other, the act of communication contains subjectively important information that can mean something new to the listener.

Unlike similar communication, linguistic manipulation, in its turn, means a quantitatively and qualitatively asymmetric, acyclic, and abbreviated (limited) communication process in which a competent and homogeneous speaker confronts a large but hierarchically inferior audience. (Wolff, 8: 1978).

For his part, J. Austin's theory of speech acts, which he first published in 1962 based on his lecture material How to Do Things with Words, emphasizes the manipulative nature of language. There are three types of language act:

· *A locutionary act* – is the act of saying something. This is important, and it creates a meaningful expression that is conveyed or expressed.

· *A illocutionary act* – it is performed as an action against saying something, or as something against saying something. The illocutionary expression has a certain power, this is the main purpose of the communicative act, which moves the speaker and expresses his subjective attitude to the object.

· *A perlocutionary act* - this usually creates a sense of subsequent impact on the audience. The effect can be in the form of thoughts, representations, feelings, or emotions. Influencing the addressee is a key feature of perlocutionary expression.

While Austin asserts the manipulative nature of language, in speech act theory he also speaks of the persuasive properties of language. Manipulation and persuasion are often considered synonymous in the literature, but we must distinguish between them in the interest of research.

Gerhard Wolff defines **persuasiveness** as a method of partial and sporadic (random) persuasion used to guide the listener's thoughts and behavior depending on the situation. **Manipulation**, in his opinion, is a global long-term strategy of suddenness, aimed at a deep change in consciousness, while the real goals of the speaker remain hidden (Wolff, 1978).

Regarding the difference between manipulation and persuasion, Van Dyck explains that *"during persuasion, the audience is independent and may or may not believe what the speaker is saying, but during manipulation, the audience is passive, unable to resist, and the listener is manipulated"* (Dijk 2006: 361 in: Black 2011:43).

Although the terms "manipulation" and "persuasive" differ from each other, we believe that persuasive language tools can also be used to achieve the goals of manipulation which are used for manipulation.
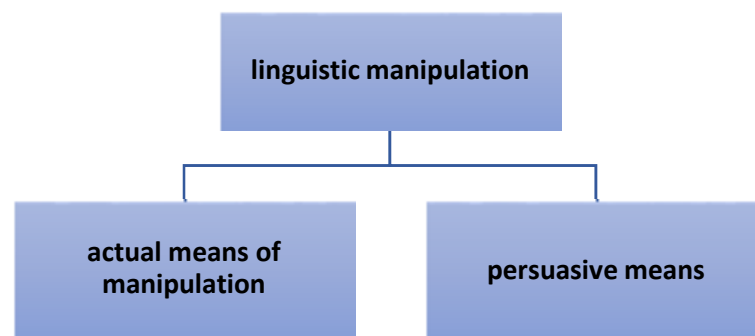

Diagram *3*

Techniques and methods of language manipulation

There are a number of manipulation means available to influence public behavior, e.g. Psychological, technical-material, visual, etc. However, the focus of our research is

on linguistic manipulation, and therefore we will try to discuss language manipulation strategies and methods in more detail.

Gerhard Wolf in his work "Language manipulation" "(Sprachmanipulation)" distinguishes three levels of language manipulation:

1.   Manipulation at the word level;

2.   Manipulation at the sentence level;

3.   Manipulation at the text level.

At the level of word (semantics), language manipulations include, for example, aggregated symbols, slogans, clichés, adjectives, or polarized similes. For example: Dangerous, incomprehensible, bigger, richer, and so on.

Manipulation at the **sentence (syntax) level** includes phraseological-idiomatic expressions, ideologemes, presuppositions, evaluative-expressive words. For example, freedom, prosperity, democracy, so-called Blank forms (Leerformen). As well as expressions that give immediate results e.g. *We all know that ...; We all belong ...; Most of us agree ...; No one is against it.* Expressions like these have a big impact on the listener, especially during asymmetric communication.

As for **the text (functional / intentional) level,** here Wolff refers to various strategies, such as presenting one's own views as if it were in the interests of the listener, as well as discrediting the opponent or approximating the ideas of the opponent, as if speaking in favor of the opponent, but in fact, getting the support from the listener. (Wolf 1978:13-16).

For his part, Rupert Lee discusses the methods and techniques of linguistic manipulation, he believes that the methods of manipulation are neutral, and there are no positive or negative methods as such. They can be used to achieve both positive and negative goals.

1. **Use of numbers and statistics** - when using this method, the listener is powerless to instantly check the accuracy of the numbers used by the manipulator, and is forced to receive the proposed information.

2. **Abstract words / words of evaluative semantics** that do not exist in nature often become tools of ideology. For example, freedom, liberalism, equality and prosperity.

3. **Repetition** is a good way to embellish ideology, as a result of such repetition, the individuality of what is said is erased and a collective style is created. The frequency of information affects the unconscious - once said can distract the listener, make him inattentive, but if he hears it several times, no matter how difficult it is to perceive and understand it, he will definitely remember it.

4. **Citing authorities** - citing well-known public and political figures, quoting. Remembering well-known historical facts has an emotional impact.

5. **Object overloading** - one of the manipulation methods is overloading the listener with redundant information, facts, and numbers. Not declare a direct goal, but think about other additional goals. For example. Military objectives in the region - protecting the rights of minorities (Russia) or saving the world from great danger (terrorism) (lay 1999:12).

6. **Creating Chaos** - Chaos that has less impact is generally more profitable than large impact without Chaos (modeled chronicle) Chaos mit geringer Beeinflussung hat enorme Vorteile gegenüber der Methode "starke Beeinfussung ohne chaos", whereas in Chaos:
    ·   The goal is not clear;
    ·   Actions are out of control;
    ·   Society is tolerant to mistakes;
    ·   Where the goal is not clear, there is no opponent (lay 1999:14)

7. **Disinformation** - deliberate disinformation, deliberate discrediting. As well as groundless accusations and slander.

8. **Superstitions** – preliminary, dominated opinions are also means of manipulation. All speakers will be appreciated accordingly if they confirm the listener's opinion. This technique is the most commonly used one.

9. National stereotypes - stereotypes govern human attitudes, they are patterns of thinking, simplify the process of perception and at the same time perform an important function:

- The existing world is simplified by reducing

- They have a protective function - it is the core of our traditions, through which they *"protect our position in society." (unser Stellung in der Gesellschaft verteidigen (Mikotajczyk 2004:15).*

10. **Hopelessness** - It is easy to manipulate in a hopeless situation, because hopeless person has no purpose and does not try to show effort, a hopeless society is less resistant and therefore easily obeys the leader, does not have its own goals, which creates a favorable environment for manipulation.

11. **Community Needs Orientation** - the manipulator's speech must correspond to existing needs. Focusing on needs leads to great satisfaction. For example, physiological needs - hunger, fear, health; social needs are also important - safety, social recognition, (that you respect) praise, attention. Each of them allows manipulation, if this is not necessary, the manipulator will stimulate it. This method manifests itself in the form of **populism**[3] in politics. The idea of populism is to manipulate ordinary people through themes. It is believed that the appeal to the interests of the people by politicians is insincere, and therefore the term "populism" has a negative connotation.

12. **First definition** - The first definition is especially memorable, it crystallizes in memory and acquires a metaphorical meaning that helps to organize future information and allows for new interpretations. They are easy to understand, show off awareness and can inspire great action. The first use of this word in politics is very important - "He who names things owns them." Definitions create "reality" (Wer die Dinge benennt, beherscht sie. Definitionen schaffen "Realitäten" (Greiffenhagen 1980:13)). Taking possession of the concept is of particular importance in the definition of the ideology of political parties,

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[3] "Populism" is a so-called relational term. Unlike substantive terms, which imply ontological or phenomenological independence, relational terms are constantly changing. Unlike basic ideologies such as liberalism or communism, populism always focuses on new, changing systems.Priester 2012, 3 in Scharloth 2017)

when the party seeks to occupy its own niche in political circles. For example, *European Georgia or pro-Western values.*

13. **Collective symbol** - One of the most effective methods of language manipulation is the use of collective symbols. In politics, language is a symbol of unity with symbols such as history and culture. Through the interaction of language and national identity, language becomes the main instrument of identity. That is why, according to Dieckmann, it is important that communication takes place in the mother tongue - "the one who speaks like me is like me (equal to me), thinks like me, and behaves like me." (Wer so spricht wie ich, zu mir gehört, so denkt wie ich und sich so verhält wie ich (Dieckmann 1969:32)).

As you know, language has not only descriptive meaning, but also emotional meaning. Walter Dieckman, in his work Language in Politics, names several methods that can be used to influence public opinion, while taking into account the following:

· What kind of response will the symbol have in the text? (attention);

· What a valuable opinion will the speaker associate with this word (direction);

· What will be underlined in the speech (intensity).

Manipulation techniques are also:

· Incomplete presentation of information, when we hide our shortcomings, this means that we ourselves are immersed in the world of manipulation;

· Highlighting negative aspects of information to the fore;

· Dissemination of incorrect / inaccurate information that is not based on facts (Fehler oder übermittlung) – mistake made while transmitting information.

Manipulation has an effect when the object thinks that the target of the manipulator is his goal too, the latter does not understand the purpose of the manipulation and the manipulator cannot be perceived.

Frame - One of the most widespread, although relatively new, means of influencing public consciousness is framing, which is the object of research in cognitive linguistics. Elisabeth Welling explains framing as follows: "When our brains are able to

pick up words or ideas, frames of meaning are activated in our brains, which in cognitive linguistics are called frames." (Wehling 2016: 28).

According to her, "words, or rather, frames, pronounced with words, have great power and affect not only our thinking and perception, but also our actions." (Wehling 2016: 37).

Frames are activated in the brain through the language. They regulate the receipt of information, our physical experience and accumulated knowledge about the Universe. Frames are always selective. They highlight specific facts and realities, but hide some information. Frames are activated in the human brain through language, evaluating and interpreting information. Frames guide the thinking and actions of a person, but it goes unnoticed for them.

Metaphor - Metaphor is one of the most commonly used media in political discourse. A revolution of metaphor theory occurred in the early 1980s based on the Lakoff / Johnson conceptual Metaphor Theory. In the given work, the metaphor is considered not only as a linguistic element, but also as a means of cognition and thinking. *"Metaphors are elements not only of language, but also of thought and cognition that cannot be denied. (Lakoff/Johnson2017:11)).*

According to Black, metaphor is vital for political leaders because it is a means of mediating between the conscious and the unconscious. It has unlimited persuasion potential as it influences our opinions, beliefs and values by activating unconscious emotional associations. (Black 2011:98).

Euphemism - The use of euphemisms for manipulation is not new, and its use has become especially relevant since the days of the nationalist regime. Euphemism lat. Euphemismus means beautiful speech, decoration, this, on the one hand, is an integral part of rhetoric, on the other hand, it affects social unity and compensates for taboos, it relies on the stylistic-semantic aspect and interdependence of expression and its substitution or said and considered.

Performative verbs also have a persuasion function - they are a good example of a persuasion function because, if used, the action the speaker is talking about has already been performed. For example: **Please, I promise, I hope**, etc. (Austin1956)

Politics is characterized by **polarization of words / vocabulary**. For example: We and others; Enemy - friend. Although this applies not only to lexical elements, the politician can create a polarized imaginary world based on a certain dichotomy in order to achieve his goal. Such an axiological characteristic evokes an emotional mood in the listener.

Persuasive mechanisms include **simplification and generalization** (Vereinfachung – Generalisierung);

According to Martin Heiko, **composites** have a great power of persuasion through which specific thematic facts can be brought to the fore. The combination of the characteristics peculiar for this party with the already familiar ideas in general has a great influence on the basis of old knowledge. For example: "Free Democrats", "Christian Democrats", etc. (Heiko 2016).

Therefore, in order to achieve the goals of the speaker and influence society, along with other linguistic means of manipulation, means of persuasion also give a successful result.

Based on the examples reviewed, we can conclude that the language provides unlimited possibilities for manipulation. The right method and word for successful and effective manipulation, taking into account the existing context, is crucial.

Chapter IV - Analysis of Empirical Material

The fourth chapter discusses the parliamentary political discourses of Germany and Georgia, and the features of the discourse, in particular their pragmatic-semantic analysis, reveal the linguistic means of manipulation characteristic of the parliamentary discourse of each country, as well as their classification. ... A quantitative analysis of linguistic means of manipulation and an assessment of the obtained statistics in a theoretical aspect are presented.

Parliamentary political discourse

As mentioned above, political discourse is one of the most influential discourses. It determines the present and future development of specific countries. The economic,

political and social development of a country depends on the discourse of politicians. Influential people create an influential discourse that determines the future of a country. There are several types of political discourse, for example: Institutional, administrative, interactive and ideological (Klein 1989). Everyone's goal is to control the minds, thoughts and behavior of the masses of society.

The German and Georgian parliamentary political discourse was chosen as the object of research. Parliamentary discourse is fundamentally different from, for example, pre-election political discourse, when politicians bear almost no responsibility and often their programs remain unfulfilled promises. On the contrary, parliamentary discourse is inevitably accompanied by the results of parliamentary activity, that is, by this or that law, the enforcement of which will be mandatory for everyone in the future. Public support is extremely important for law enforcement. Therefore, our goal is to present the strategy and methods of parliamentarians, with the help of which legislators can influence the public and gain their support.

The convincing, persuasive speech that is most important for a parliamentarian is evidenced by the definition of the term itself: "Parliament is French. *parlement* ← *parler* = the process of speaking, discussion (Tezelishvili 2007). The activity of a parliamentarian is mainly speaking. The importance of speaking in Parliament is also emphasized by the German politician and psychologist Willie Helpach, who calls Parliament **the place of speech** (Redestätte) and the **verbal struggle** (Redeschlacht), which had a greater influence on the formation of public opinion in the early 20th century than (W.Hellpach 1927 14 in Burkhardt 2010, 200).

Parliamentary discourse is characterized by two features: on the one hand, parliamentarians enter into discussions with representatives of other opposing parties and try to convince them of the truth of their views; On the other hand, parliamentary speakers know that their statements, excerpts from the text of the speech can be the subject of public discussion through the media and other social networks, so they not only address parliamentarians, but also indirectly speak with the rest of society. In this case, the communication between the speaker and the general public is asymmetric, and

no one can answer, except for the parliamentarians present, which, as already mentioned, creates a favorable environment for manipulation.
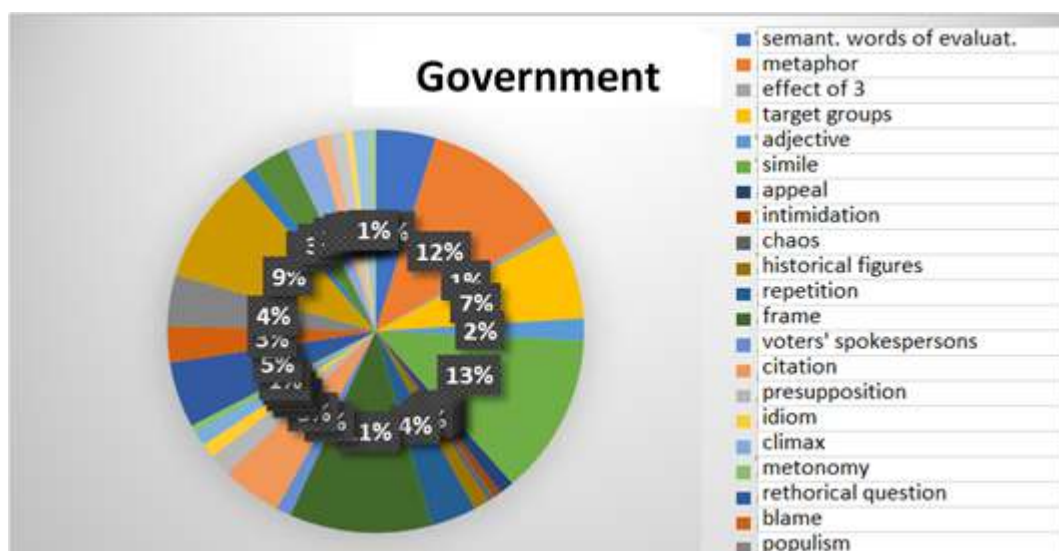
Georgian Parliamentary Discourse

The texts of the parliamentary speeches of Archil Talakvadze, Irakli Kobakhidze and Giorgi Volski, three MPs of the ruling Georgian Dream Democratic Georgia party, were selected as an empirical material for the analysis of the Georgian parliamentary discourse. Also, parliamentary speeches by Giorgi Bokeria, Salome Samadashvili and Irma Inashvili, one MP each from the three opposition parties European Georgia, the United National Movement and the Patriots Alliance.
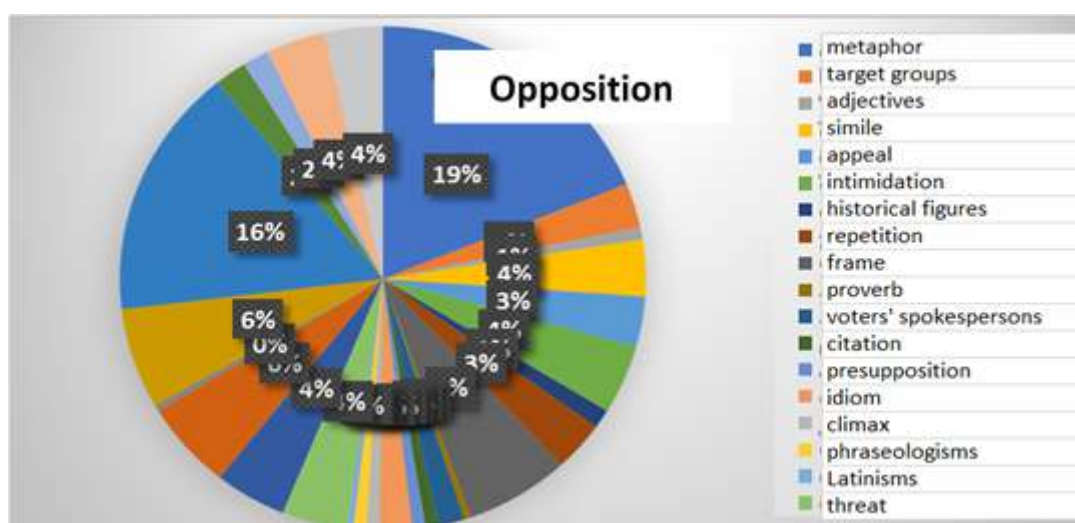
Comparative analysis of Georgian ruling and opposition parties

The purpose of our study was not to assess the personal speech of Georgian politicians. Our interest was to discuss the political discourse of those parties and to analyze the linguistic peculiarities of those who gained the required number of votes in the 2016 elections and won seats in Parliament. Therefore, our goal was to discuss and analyze the language strategy of these parties and to identify the linguistic means by which they influence the thoughts, ideas and, consequently, the actions already taken.

These diagrams show the linguistic means used in the parliamentary political discourse of the government and the opposition to try to influence both the public in the hall and the large part of the public that listens to them through the media.

25

Graph 4

Graph 5

These diagrams show that both the opposition and the majority parties use almost the same means of manipulation, although statistically the number of manipulations used by the opposition is slightly higher than the number of manipulations used by the government (cf. Majority-171, Opposition). However, the types of means of manipulation are almost equal: government - 30, opposition - 27. In both cases, the most commonly used techniques for manipulation are stylistic means of producing a perspective - simile, metaphor and irony (government: simile -13%; metaphor -12%; irony - 9% cf .: opposition: metaphor -19%; irony-16%; simile-4%). However, it should be noted that the government mainly uses the means of simile, while the opposition uses the means of irony, which is a kind of lustration of the language manipulation strategies of the parties in the Georgian Parliament.

The ruling party uses simile as a method of linguistic manipulation for two purposes: positive and negative. The government uses positive similes mainly in relation to the European experience, while negative similes, which outweigh the positive ones, come from the period when the opposition party, in particular the National Movement, was in power. For example:

„ყველგან საქართველოს აქვს **უკეთესი, ხელშესახებად უკეთესი შეფასებები, ვიდრე ეს იყო 2012 წელს და მანამდე**" (Talakvadze);

„2012 წელთან შედარებით ჩვენ ბუნებრივია შედარებაზე აქცენტს არ ვაკეთებთ, იმისათვის არ ვაკეთებთ, იმისათვის, რომ ჩვენ თავი მოვიწონოთ, არ არის საკმარისი ნაცმოძრაობასთან შედარება, იმ უბედურებასთან შედარება, რომელიც იყო შექმნილი **2012 წლამდე**, არაფერს არ ნიშნავს ის, რომ **6-ჯერ უკეთესი** და **20-ჯერ** და **თუნდაც 200-ჯერ უკეთესი** მონაცემები გაქვთ ნაცმოძრაობასთან შედარებით„ *(Compared to 2012, we surely do not focus on comparison, we do not do it to show off, it is not enough to compare with the National Movement, to compare the disaster that was created before 2012, it means nothing whether it **is six times, 20 times or even 200 times better that compared** to the National Movement)* (*Kobakhidze*).

As for the strategy of the opposition parties, they are particularly ironic, especially the representatives of European Georgia and the National Movement parties. They use irony to discredit the opponent. E.g.

„თქვენს შორისაც არის ხალხი, წარმოიდგინეთ, ეგეთებიც კი არიან, ვინც ხვდება, რასაც მე ახლა ვიღასი" **(There are people among you, fancy that, there are even those who understand what I am saying now)** (*Bokeria*).

Frame is the most commonly used method of manipulation in Georgian parliamentary discourse after personal means. Compare: Government - 11%; Opposition - 6%.

*„****მურუსიძეობა, მურუსიზმი****, ასე ვთქვათ, ეს არის მანკიერება, ეს არის მოვლენა, რომელიც ყოველთვის ჭამს მერე იმ ხელისუფლებას, რომელი ხელისუფლებაც მას იყენებს, ავად თუ კარგად და „ქართული ოცნება" აუცილებლად დადგება ერთ მშვენიერ დღეს ასეთი რეალობის წინაშე, რომ მას შეჭამენ ****მურუსიძეები და ჩინჩალაძეები****** (**Murusidzing, Murusism**, so to speak, is a vicious flaw, it is a kind of flaw that eventually always eats up the government that uses it, now or later, and the" Georgian Dream will surely face a reality one day that it will be eaten by the **Murusidzes** and **Chinchaladzes**) (Inashvili)

The main purpose of the means of linguistic manipulation used by political parties is to discredit the opponent, for which politicians resort to various means, especially the representatives of opposition parties who use accusations and threats to discredit the

opponent. For example: *„ეს კრიზისი შექმნათ თქვენ და თქვენს დაქვემდებარებაში მყოფმა ადამიანებმა შემდეგ"* (This crisis, created by you and your subordinates) (Samadashvili);

„მინდა, რომ ძალიან ფრთხილად იყოთ, როცა პასუხს გამცემთ, იმიტომ, რომ აღლა ფიცის ქვეშ არ ბრძანდებით, ანუ ცრუ ჩვენებისთვის ავტომატურად პასუხს არ აგებთ, მაგრამ თქვენი აქ გაკეთებული განცხადებები მომავალში შეიძლება გამოძიებისთვის იყოს მტკიცებულებები" (I want you to be very careful in your response; sinceyou are not under oath now, you are not automatically responsible for false testimony, but **your statements made here in the future may be evidence for investigation**) (Bokeria).

It is also characteristic of opposition parties to instill fear and hopelessness in the society, so that it can be easily managed in the future. (Opposition -4%). E.g.

ქვეყნა იწვის ცეცხლის ალში, მიმოიხედეთ თქვენ გარშემო რა ხდება, დავით გარეჯში, დავით გარეჯთან მიმართებით რა განცხადებები კეთდება, ძალიან შემაშფოთებელი და ძალიან დამაფიქრებელი (**The country is in flames, look what is happening around you**, in relation to David Gareji, what statements are being made about David Garej, **very disturbing and very thought-provoking**) (Samadashvili).

Along with other means of manipulation, populism (cf. government - 4%; opposition - 6%) and focusing techniques (cf .: government - 7%; opposition - 3%), such as police officers, teachers, are actively used in Georgian parliamentary political discourse. Soldiers, women, etc.

„რა არის ბოლოს და ბოლოს ეს ბიუჯეტი, აი, უამრავი ფურცელი მიდევს მაგიდაზე ჩვეულებრივი ადამიანებისთვის, ეს ბიუჯეტი არის მათი ოჯახების კეთილდღეობა, ეს ბიუჯეტი არის ის, რომ მათ შვილებს არ შიათ, ეს ბიუჯეტი ნიშნავს იმას, რომ მათ აქვთ ღირსეული პენსია, ეს ბიუჯეტი ნიშნავს იმას, რომ ამ ადამიანებს აქვთ დაცულობა ჯანდაცვის მიმართულებით, სხვადასხვა სოციალური მიმართულებები და დღეს ჩვენ ვხედავთ, რომ წარმოდგენილი ბიუჯეტი ორიენტირებულია, სამწუხაროდ, არა ამ ჩვეულებრივ ადამიანებზე, არამედ ასევე ისევე, როგორც წინა შემთხვევებში, რადაცა ზოგად ციფრებზე" (What is this budget after all; here I have lots of spreadsheets on the table for ordinary

*people, this budget is the well-being of their families, this budget means **their children** **are not hungry, this budget means they have a decent pension, this budget means that** **these people have protection in the field such as health, different social directions** and today we see that the presented budget is focused, unfortunately, not on these ordinary people, but also, as in previous cases, on some general figures) (Inashvili).*

Thus, we can conclude that both sides of Georgian parliamentary policy are actively using various means of manipulation in the parliament. Both of them mainly prefer pervasive techniques of linguistic manipulation, but also successfully use their own manipulative means. The number and types of language tools used by Georgian politicians in parliamentary discourse are almost equal and similar. The analysis of the empirical material revealed the linguistic strategies of manipulation through which Georgian politicians are able to influence the society. These tools are shown in Diagrams # 4 and # 5.
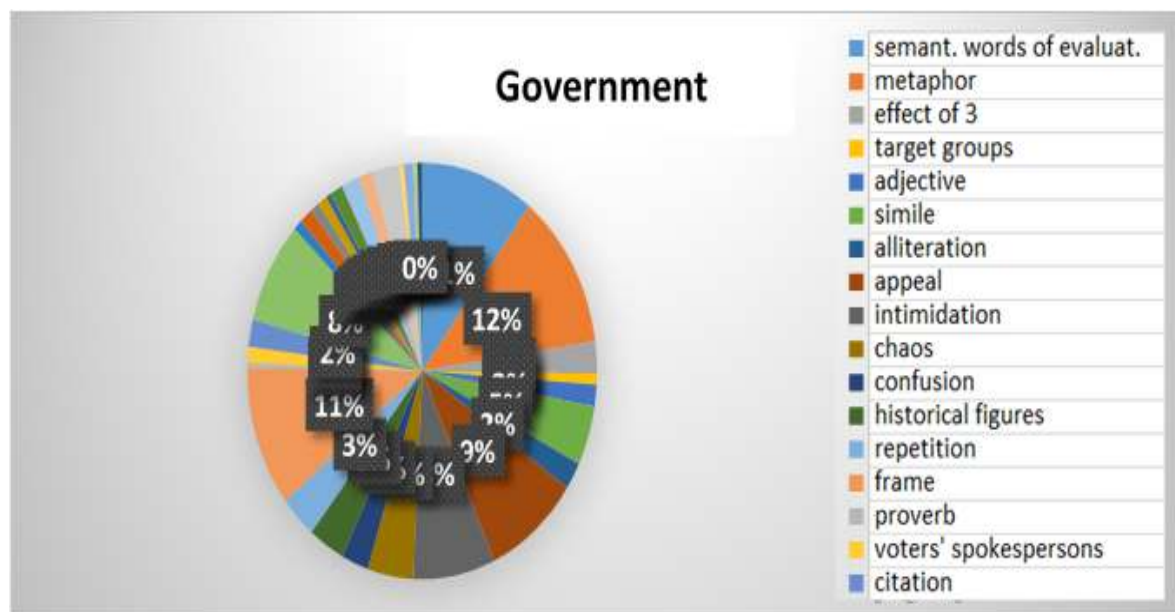
German Parliamentary Discourse

Six parliamentary speeches from the 2017 elections to date have been selected for the German parliamentary discourse survey. As it is known, in the German Parliament - the parliamentary majority in the Bundestag belongs to the coalition, which includes the following parties: Christian Democratic Union **CDU** (Christlich Demokratische Union), Christian Social Union **CSU** (Chrstlich-Soziale Union) and German Social Democratic Party **SPD** (Sozia Deutschlands). One representative from each party was selected for the study: Wolfgang Schaeuble, President of the German Bundestag (CDU / CSU); Volker Kauder (CDU / CSU) and Rolf Mutsenich (SPD) Chairman of the Social Democratic Party faction.
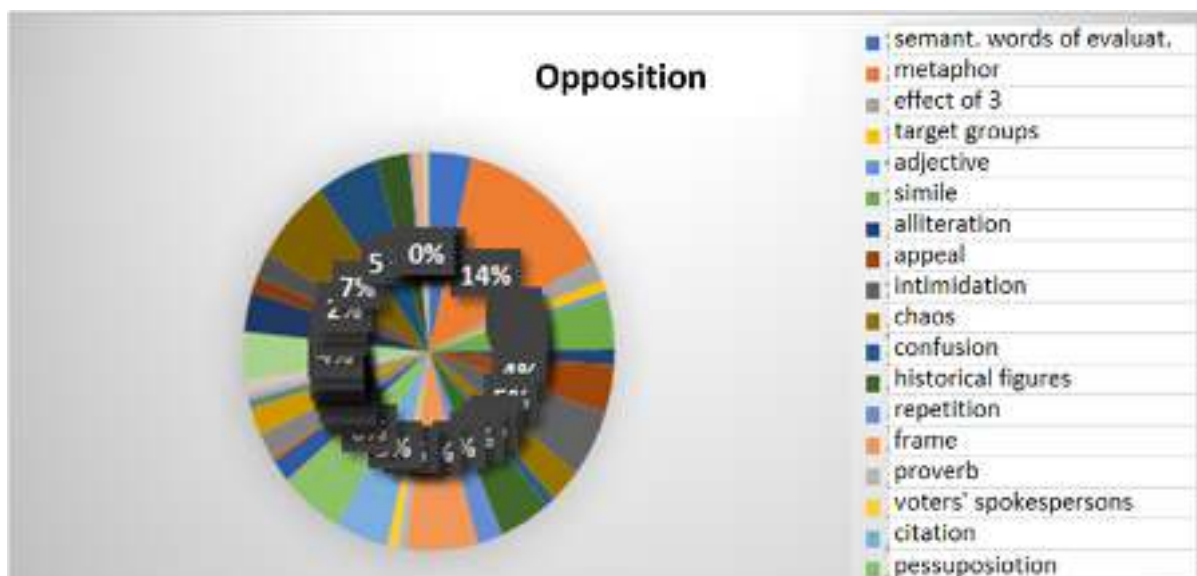
As for the opposition parties, here too, following the principle of proportionality, three parties were selected: the Left (Die Linken), the FDP Free Democratic Party (Freie Demokratische Partei) and the Alternative for Germany AfD (Alternative für Deutschland). Accordingly, the texts of the parliamentary speeches of one of their representatives Sarah Wagenknecht (Die Linken), Christian Lindner (FDP) and Alexander Gauland (AfD) were analyzed.

Acomparative analysis of the German parliamentary majority and the opposition

The various techniques and methods of language manipulation used by both the pro-government and opposition parties in the German Bundestag are given in Figures # 6 and # 7.

Graph 6

Graph 7

From the information given in the above diagrams, it is easy to see that the members of the party represented in the German Parliament (Bundestag) are characterized by the use of various techniques and methods of language manipulation by both the government and the opposition. (Government manipulates 31 types, opposition - 41 types of manipulation). As for the number of their use, 239 means were used by the government and 612 by the opposition. As we can see, the number of manipulation means used by the opposition is almost 3 times more than the means used by the government.

The largest part of the parliamentary discourse of the German coalition majority (12%) comes from metaphors, followed by frames (11%) and lexical units of evaluative semantics, the same ideologues (11%).

„Im Parlament **schlägt das Herz unserer Demokratie**" (Th**e heart of our democracy beats** in Parliament) (პარლამენტში ძგერს ჩვენი დემოკრატიის გული) (Schäuble));

"*Wir brauchen passende Antworten auf die Herausforderungen unserer Zeit, und wir finden sie in den Erfahrungen auch des* **Mauerfalls***. Ich möchte an etwas erinnern: Ich glaube, dass neue* **Mauern immer in den Köpfen beginnen. Das ist das Fatale in unserer Zeit**" *(We need appropriate response to the challenges of our time, and it can be found in the experiences of the fall of the Berlin Wall. I want to remind you something: I believe that* **new walls always start erecting in our minds***. That is the fatal thing in our time)* (ჩვენი დროის გამოქვევებზე ჩვენ გვჭრდება შესაბამისი პასუხი, და პასუხებს ვიპოვით **კედლის დანგრევიდან მიღებული ჩვენს გამოცდილებაში**. მინდა გავიხსენო, ჩემი აზრით, **ახალი კედლები ჯერ თავში იგება**, ეს ჩვენს დროში არის ფატალური) (Mützenich)).

As for the opposition parties, they used metaphor most often - 14%, followed by hyperbole - 7% and frame - 6%.

„*Auch auf den Finanzmärkten* **ziehen** *längst wieder* **dunkle Wolken auf**" *(The financial markets have* **dark clouds gathering** *above them)* (ფინანსური ბაზრების თავზე შავი ღრუბლები იკრიბებიან) (Wagenknecht)).

Although German political parties do not shy away from openly criticizing and discrediting the government, one of the main means of manipulation used by them is the press which is 6%.

In the case of the government, the press (8%) ranks fifth after the calls (9%).

„*Solidarität ist keine Einbahnstraße.Wir sind solidarisch mit Menschen, die bedürftig sind und die Hilfe brauchen; das ist unser Sozialstaatsgebot.* **Zur Solidarität gehört aber auch das individuelle Bemühen, soziale Leistungen nur so lange und so weit in Anspruch zu nehmen, wie es wirklich notwendig ist**" (Solidarity is not **a one-way street**. We show solidarity towards those who are in need and require help; this is our welfare state requirement. However, solidarity also includes the individual endeavor to make use of social services for as long and as much as is really necessary) (სოლიდარობა **არ არის ცალმხრივი გზა,** ჩვენ სოლიდარობას ვუცხადებთ გაჭირვებულ ადამიანებს, ვისაც დახმარება სჭირდება; ეს არის ჩვენი სოციალური სახელმწიფო შეთავაზება. ამასთან, სოლიდარობა მოიცავს ინდივიდუალურ მცდელობასაც, რომ გამოიყენოს მხოლოდ სოციალური სერვისები იმდენ ხანს, რამდენიც საჭიროა (Lindner)).

German opposition parties are also notable for their use of idioms and phraseologies. E.g.

Die SPD kann sich jetzt entscheiden: Wollen wir die Regierungskrise verlängern, oder holen wir als Sozialdemokraten für die Union **die Kastanien aus dem Feuer?**" (The SPD can now decide: do we want to prolong the government crisis, or do we as social democrats pick up the slack for the Union?) (SPD-ს ახლა შეუძლია გადაწყვიტოს: გვსურს სამთავრობო კრიზისის გახანგრძლივება, თუ ჩვენ, როგორც სოციალ-დემოკრატებმა **ვიკისრdrივ სხვისი ტვირთი** (Lindner)). **die Kastanien aus dem Feuer holen** – an idiom with the following direct meaning: წაბლის ცეცხლიდან ამოღება, the meaning: picking up the slack, doing the work others failed to perform.

Provoking feelings of fear and hopelessness in society is typical of both sides of German politics. Compare: Government 8% (18), Opposition 5% (46).

"*Alte* **Gewissheiten und Identitäten werden infrage gestellt**, *und neue, vermeintliche Gewissheiten werden in Stellung gebracht gegen* **zunehmende Sorgen und**

Zweifel. Das menschliche Bedürfnis nach Geborgenheit in vertrauten Lebensräumen trifft auf eine zunehmend als ungemütlich empfundene Welt voller Konflikte, Krisen, Kriege und medial präsentem Schrecken. Vor diesem Hintergrund verschärft sich die Tonlage der gesellschaftlichen Debatten" (Old securities and identities are questioned, and new, supposed securities are brought into position against increasing worries and doubts. The human need for security in familiar living spaces meets a world that is increasingly perceived as uncomfortable; the one full of **conflicts, crises, wars** and these horrors are channeled through the media. In this light, the tone of the social debates is intensifying) (ძველი გარანტიები და იდენტობა ეჭვქვეშ დგება და ეჭვების ფონზე იქმნება ახალი, სავარაუდო რწმენები, რომელიც მზარდი შეშფოთებისა და ეჭვების საფუძველს იძლევა. ჩნდება მზრუნველობისა და დაცულობის ადამიანური მოთხოვნილებები, რომელიც სავსეა **კონფლიქტებით, კრიზისებით, ომებითა** და მედიის საშინელებათა გადმოცემების სავსე სამყაროში, ამ ფონზე საზოგადოებრივი დებატების ტონი მკაცრდება (Schäuble)).

German political parties are also characterized by the active use of historical memory figures and their citation. Their use is particularly characteristic of opposition parties, they testify to both, public figures as well as politicians and well-known writers. Compare: the government is 3% and the opposition is 4%.

"Außenpolitik ist leider kein Wunschkonzert. Oder, um es in Anlehnung an Otto von Bismarck zu sagen: Wir haben nicht Dogmatik, sondern Politik zu treiben" (Unfortunately, foreign policy is not **a dream concert**. I will quote Otto von Bismarck: **we have not dogmatics, but politics**) (სამწუხაროდ, საგარეო პოლიტიკა არ არის საოცნებო კონცერტი. დავესესხები ოტო ფონ ბისმარკს: ჩვენ არა გვაქვს დოგმატიკა, არამედ პოლიტიკა) (Gauland)).

A simile of the German majority and the opposition parties, as can be clearly seen in the diagram, shows that the opposition parties use more frequent and more diverse means of manipulation than the majority coalition. Most of the linguistic means of manipulation used by the ruling parties come from persuasive means, e.g. various stylistic means - **metaphor, repetition, irony, alliteration**. They also successfully use words of evaluative semantics, ideologues such as **freedom, equality, and prosperity**. As

for the opposition parties, their strategies are diverse and rich in both persuasive and self-manipulative means. Unlike the government, they do not shy away from nationalist statements and the polarization of society. They also successfully use the technique of focusing on the needs of society and are distinguished by an abundance of populist expressions.

Based on the analysis of the German parliamentary political discourse, we can conclude that the possibilities of language manipulation are indefinable and even in a democratic state like Germany, politicians, especially opposition parties, use all methods to achieve their goals and do not shy away from polarizing society. The analysis presented in the paper revealed the strategies of the political parties that won the support of the people in 2017 and occupied parliamentary seats.

General Conclusion

The research conducted and the study of the examples in the German and Georgian parliamentary political discourses, the influence of the discourse on the construction of public views, consciousness and le to the better understanding of the actions.

The discourse is a historical phenomenon that is formed on and around a specific issue. The knowledge accumulated in the common collective memory creates a discourse that shapes the society through the constructive means contained within, thus affecting the reality as public perceives it.

The ddiscourse cannot be just created by anyone, it is formed only by subjects with power and authoritative influence and is institutionalized. Possession and management of discourse means possession of power and influence.

The context and pragmatic markers are vital for successful political communication. The shared background knowledge and collective symbols assist the speaker in achieving their own implication goals.
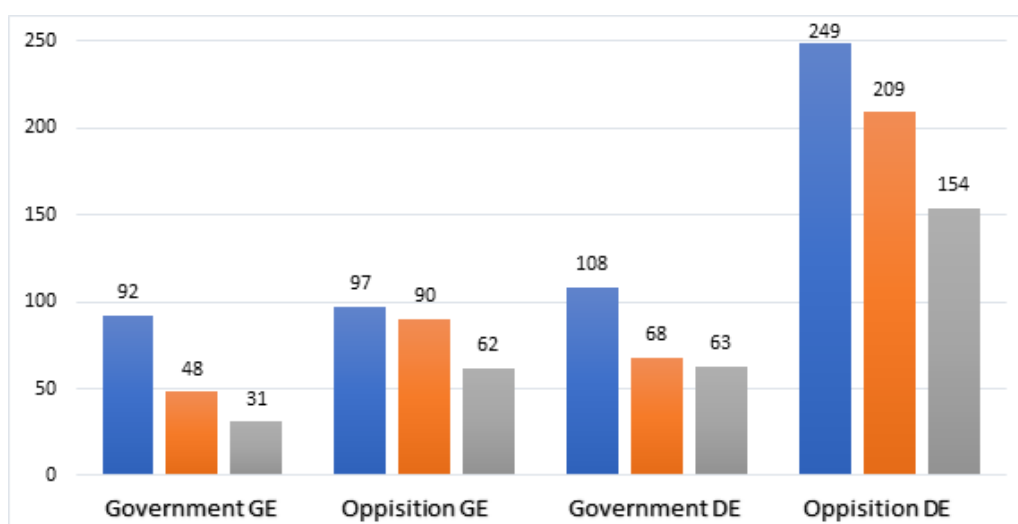
The development and widespread dissemination of the media made political discourse accessible to the wider masses, forcing politicians to report to all sections of society and making their texts available to voters of different interests.

Language is the most legitimate tool for gaining political power. It is the most crucial tool in politics, without which political activity is impossible. Gradually, technological developments have posed new challenges to political language, leading to the modification of political language and the use of language for manipulative purposes instead of argumentation and persuasive speech.

Despite the fact that manipulation and persuasiveness are fundamentally different from each other (persuasive refers to a symmetrical, cyclical act of communication, and manipulation refers to asymmetric, abbreviated communication), persuasive can also be used for manipulative purposes.

The analysis of the empirical material identified the linguistic means the representatives of the German and Georgian political parties use to influence the listener's thoughts and actions in order to achieve their own goals (see Annex 1).

The common indicators of the use of language manipulation tools in the German and Georgian parliamentary political discourse are given in Figure 20.

Graph 20

The use of language for manipulative purposes is typical of both German and Georgian parliamentary discourse. There are universal methods of manipulation, but the

strategies and techniques for their use are different depending on the German and Georgian political culture.

The use of manipulative techniques and methods is especially characteristic of opposition parties, those who want to seize power.

Comparing the German majority and the opposition parties, it was found that the opposition parties use more and more diverse means of manipulation than the coalition majority parties. Most of the linguistic means of manipulation used by the ruling parties come from persuasive means; for example, various stylistic methods such as **metaphor**, **repetition**, **irony**, **alliteration**. They also successfully use words of evaluative semantics, ideologues such as e.g. **freedom, equality, prosperity**. As for the opposition parties, their strategies are diverse and abound in both persuasive and self-manipulative means.

The opposition parties in the German Bundestag, unlike the government, do not shy away from making **nationalist statements** and **polarizing** society. They also successfully use the technique of focusing on the needs of society and are distinguished by an abundance of **populist** expressions. They are also characterized by the use of **frames** and **phraseologies**.

In the Georgian political discourse, a very similar scope of means for manipulation are used by both parties, the opposition and the majority. Their manipulation strategies also do not differ much from each other. According to statistics, the Georgian government mainly uses **simile** of stylistic methods, while the representatives of the opposition parties prefer **irony**, which is a kind of lustration of the language manipulation strategies of the parties in the Georgian Parliament. The use of **frames** is also characteristic of Georgian political discourse.

The Georgian party in government, unlike the German ruling parties, does not shy away from **discrediting** the opposition. The German government focuses on responsibility and mutual tolerance, which is due to a long parliamentary tradition.

It is applicable to both and is typical for Georgian or German political discourse to attest to an authoritative source, albeit with a relatively large number and variety of sources, e.g. Public figures, politicians, writers, etc. German political discourse stands

out, especially the opposition. Representatives of Georgian parties mainly check the statements of international organizations.

Manipulation is the use of language in which the speaker's implicit intent goes unnoticed and the listener gets the impression that his or her goals and those of the speaker are the same.

The word taken out of the context is neutral and has no power to manipulate. The manipulative nature of a word is determined by the context and the person by whom and where the word was used.

The comprehensive study of political discourse is not possible in the frame of a single research; however, the main features of Georgian and German political rhetoric were identified on the basis of this study.

The corpus linguistic research method, which provides an indefinite ability to process large volumes of texts and compare scales, has played a major role in the successful implementation of the research. Although corpus linguistics uses the method of quantitative research, the combination with critical discourse analysis allows qualitative results to become visible on the surface of the text.

Since it is so important, the discourse of political rhetoric always provides an opportunity for a new perspective of research, which is desirable to be implemented in future research.

The main findings and results of the dissertation are presented in the following publication:

1. Manipulation as a Communication Strategy and Linguistic Means for its
   Execution 2021
   Tbilisi Open University, International reviewed multilingual journal, annual
   publication
   ISSN 1987-9067 hard copy) E ISSN 2667-9086 (digital)

2. Euphemisms in Political Discourse
   2018
   3rd Humanities Doctoral Students Conference, Conference proceedings, BSU,
   2017, pp. 83-86
   ISBN 978-9941-462-79-5

3. Linguistic an Extralinguistic Factors of Idioms Origin 2018
   Interdisciplinaires en Sciences humaines (IISH) N 5 pp. 654-664
   ISSN:1987-8753
   http://ojs.iliauni.edu.ge/index.php/eish/article/view/430
4. Persuasive Communication in Political Discourse
   2017
   3rd Humanities Doctoral Students Conference in celebration of the 80th
   anniversary of BSU, Conference proceedings, BSU 2015, pp. 191-195
   ISBN 978-9941-462-47-4

5. Metaphor in Political Communication
   Humanities in Information Society, 2nd International Conference, Conference
   proceedings, Part I, pp. 345-347
   ISSN1987-7625   ISBN 978-9941-434-91-4 (Complete) ISBN 978-9941-434-92-1
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