

Gluttonyms as Components of the Georgian Invective Discourse

Research of Georgian invective discourse has enabled us to distinguish the following groups: obscene vocabulary, insulting-offensive formulae containing obscene lexemes; curse formulae; improvised scabrous verse and menacing formulae. The given paper analyzes a separate group of invective contexts embracing gluttonyms. The majority of such contexts express disrespect rather than aggression.

Analysis of the empirical material has proved that translation of such language units is quite difficult (taking into account the fact that the majority of invective lexemes are not found in any Georgian dictionary). Thus, adequate translation of such units requires not only linguistic, but also linguo-cultural competence of the translator.

Keywords: gluttonyms, invective, Georgian invective discourse, linguo-cultural competence.

Invective as verbal aggression is a universal linguistic phenomenon. It plays a significant role in any culture and is characterized by longstanding specifically national features. As invective is a means of materialization of the emotional aspect of communication, it cannot be excluded from the field of discourse research. The fact that verbal aggression is directly linked to non-standard, obscene (vulgar) vocabulary, the investigation of which is accompanied by certain embarrassment, has led to the neglect of this lexical group and its functions in Georgian dictionaries as well as in the works of Georgian linguists.

In Georgia, there are no dictionaries of vulgarisms like the dictionary of R. Spears [1], which embraces English lexical units expressing cursing, offense, swearing etc. In Georgia, no one has compiled a list of vulgar lexemes like G. Hunold, who created a dictionary of obscene German words [2]. T. Sakhokia's "Obscene Georgian Proverbs and Idioms", which was intended for publication for purely scientific reasons in the 50s of the past century, was prohibited by censorship at that time. The book was published only in 2005, alongside with other examples of the scabrous Georgian folklore, in the collection compiled by V. Kotetishvili [3]. L. Bregadze's "Dictionary of Georgian Jargon" [4] hardly contains any invective vocabulary, to say nothing of the obscene words. The author avoids obscene words, representing their parallel, euphemistic forms.

Scholarly works dedicated to invective appeared in the foreign scientific space only several decades ago. Out of these works, mention should be

made of the book written by American neuro-psycholinguist T. Jey. This book is a complete monograph, distinguished by rich experimental data and modern methodology [5], largely dedicated to the analysis of obscene vocabulary. Another interesting and valuable monograph has been written by Prof. V. I. Jelvis. The book analyzes invective strategies of several dozens of languages [6].

On the one hand, considering the moral aspect of the issue, we should think about the way of expression of emotions, with or without obscene vocabulary. On the other hand, we cannot exclude offensive vocabulary (including obscene words) from the field of linguistic research. Even though the portion of such vocabulary is small, “sterile” representation of language leads to the distortion of its image. Adequate, ideal description of a certain language requires identification and analysis of all kinds of discourse markers.

Research of the folk material, oral speech, contemporary media discourse and prosaic texts has proved that invective, as a form of verbal aggression, has preserved the function of expressing negative emotions in the contemporary discourse (the earliest example of invective is found in the most ancient text of Georgian literature “The Martyrdom of St. Shushanik” (5th century A.D.). However, the scope of use of the invective has increased and it has become more obscene. We have identified the following groups of the invective: obscene vocabulary; offensive formulae containing obscene words; curse formulae (they do not contain vulgar vocabulary, but the aggression towards the addressee causes fear and unpleasant sensations); expromptu – improvised verse (especially acute and scabrous ones have been created by Georgian highlanders. These verses destroy all taboos, and the rivalling improvisers use extremely obscene words); menace formulae and, lastly, the contexts that show disrespect rather than aggression [7, p. 183-193].

The contexts embracing gluttonyms chiefly belong to the latter group. When disrespect is revealed by means of contemptuous tone and mockery, such communicative behavior should be considered as a form of aggression.

In dialogues, in which the addresser aims to tell the addressee that the latter is talking nonsense, a widespread expression is „ეგ არა, **იხვის ტოლმა!**“ – “**ixvis tolma**” (**duck dolma**). For instance, during a video-interview in connection with the Parliamentary elections 2018, the former President was asked what would happen if Salome Zurabishvili won the second tour of elections. Mikheil Saakashvili answered: „ზურაბიშვილის მეორე ტურში გამარჯვება კი არა, **იხვის ტოლმა...** ახლა მთავარია ჩვენ ვიყოთ მობილი ზებულები“ – “zurabišvilis meore ṭurši gamarṭveba ḳi ara, **ixvis tolma...** axla mtavaria čven

viqot mobilizebulebi” – “Zurabishvili winning the second tour is like **duck dolma**... The main thing for us now is to be mobilized”. **Dolma** is minced meat (mostly mutton or beef) with rice, rolled in cabbage or vine leaves, boiled in hot water and enriched with certain spices. The case is that it is never made of duck meat (although some of modern chefs have been inspired by this idiom and prepared this exclusive meal). Therefore, the expression **იხვის ტოლმა ixvis tolma** “duck dolma” means something absurd, inexistent. Recently a contemporary Georgian novel was published under this title. Its authors – M. Mikeladze and B. Khvedelidze represent absurdity as reality.

Another gluttonym found in similar contexts is **ფლავი plavi pilau** (a dish made of boiled rice, added by meat or lard, raisins, other dried fruit, quince, wall-nuts etc.). I will bring another example from a media-text of 2015, related to the above-mentioned President: „ახლან მშველელად „აირაი“ გამოუჩნდა მარგველასვილს, რომლის კვლევების მიხედვითაც, მარგველასვილის რეიტინგი 62 %-ია. არ მჯერა ამ ორგანიზაციის კვლევებისა და რეიტინგისა. გავიაროთ ქუჩაში და ყოველი 100 კაციდან თუ 62 მაინც გაიხსენებს, ვინ არის საქართველოს პრეზიდენტი, ჩემს სიტყვებს უკან წავიღებ. **62 % არა, ფლავი!**“ – “axlaxan mšvelelad “airai” gamoučnda margvelaşvils, romlis kvlebebis mixedvitac, margvelaşvilis reiṭingi 62 %-ia. ar mṭjera am organizaciis kvlebebisა da reiṭingisa. gaviarot kučaši da qoveli 100 ḳacidan tu 62 mainc gaixsenebs, vin aris sakartvelos prezidenti, čems siṭqvebs uḳan čaviyeb. **62 % ara, plavi!**” – “Recently Margvelashvili has been supported by IRI, according to which, Margvelashvili’s rating is 62%. I do not believe in the research and ratings of this organization. If we ask people in the street, and 62 out of 100 recall who is the President of the country, I will apologize for these words. **62% is a pilau!**”. In this case, **ფლავი plavi pilau** is a reduced form of the idioms: „რის ფლავი, რის ჩლავი“ – “**ris plavi, ris člavi**” (what pilau what chlavi) // „არც ფლავი, არც ჩლავი“ – “**arc plavi, arc člavi**” (neither pilau nor chlavi) (Chlavi is pilau cooked without fat) // „რის ფლავი, რის ბოზბაში“ – “**ris plavi, ris bozbaši**” (What pilau, what Bozbashi) (Bozbashi is mutton soup with onion and coriander).

Eggs are ingredients of diverse Georgian dishes. An interesting idiom related to eggs is **ბუს კვერცხები bus kvercxebi** (**Owl’s eggs**). This idiom denotes “nothing” in a mocking way. I will bring an example of a political text found in the Georgian press: „პარლამენტის ყოფილი თავმჯდომარე სუჭუჭუკა კობახიძე უნდა შეემკვას ფრუტუნს იმაზე, რომ „ქართული ოცნება“ 60 %-ს აიღებს. 60 %-ს კი არა, **ბუს კვერცხებს** აიღებს ეგ პარტია!“ – “parlamentis qopili

tavmždomare xučuča k̄obaxize unda šeēšvas prut̄uns imaze, rom “kartuli ocneba” 60 %-s aiyebs. 60 %-s ki ara, **bus k̄vercxeb̄s** aiyebs eg part̄ia!” – “The former Speaker of the Parliament, curly-haired Kobakhidze, should stop chattering that the party “Georgian Dream” will get 60% of votes. This party will get **owl’s eggs** instead of 60%!”. This idiom is frequently used in situations when a visitor comes to someone’s place without bringing as gift. If the host asks what the visitor has brought, the guest answers: **ბუს კვერცხები bus k̄vercxebi** “owl’s eggs”. Why is “owl’s eggs” a synonym of “nothing”? Probably because it is hard to obtain owl’s eggs, and, what is more important, these eggs are never used in meals, at least in Georgian reality.

There are certain disrespectful, mocking expressions related to the approaching death of elderly people: „ცხვარი ჰყავს ვეხზე გამობმული“ – “**cxvari** hqavs pexze gamobmuli” (a sheep is tied to his/her leg), „ფლავისა და ლობიოს სუნი მცემს“ – “**plavisa da lobios** suni mcems” (I can smell pilau and beans), „შილაფლავის სუნი ასდის“ – “**šilaplavis** suni asdis” (he/she smells of mutton pilau) and so on. These idioms are related to the tradition of wake, held on the burial day. Pilau, mutton pilau and beans are the main courses during the wake, and a sheep is killed in order to make mutton pilau.

Similar idioms are used in curse formulae: „შენი ქელეხი მეჭამოს!“ – “**šeni kelexi** mečamos!” (May I eat at your wake), „შენი ლავაში დავხიე!“ – “**šeni lavaši** davxie!” (May I tear your lavash) (Lavash is a kind of thin flat bread), „შე საბრინჯევ!“ – “**še sabrinžev!**” (you are doomed for rice) (Rice is the main ingredient of mutton pilau. Thus, the latter idiom is a wish for the addressee’s death). It should be noted that the communicative value of cursing has significantly decreased in contemporary Georgian. It should also be mentioned that curses have lost their initial magic function and are nowadays used jokingly. Despite the change in their status, analysis of curse formulae reveals numerous specific national peculiarities. For instance, „მჭადი მოგანატრა ღმერთმა!“ – “**mčadi moganaṭra** γmერთმა” (May you be devoid even of corn-bread) (eating corn-bread was considered a sign of poverty), „ლობიო მოხარსულიყოს შენს სახლში აღდგომა დღეს!“ – “**lobio** moxaršuliqos šens saxlši aydgoma dyes” (May you cook beans for Easter) wishes extreme poverty to the addressee. Easter is preceded by Lent, which lasts for seven weeks. During this period, Orthodox Christians chiefly eat beans. Only an extremely poor person, who cannot afford to buy meat, will cook beans on the Easter day. Another important curse is: „შენს თონეში ჭინჭარიმც ამოსულაო!“ – “**šens toneši** činčarimc amosulao!” (May nettle grow in your oven). Cognitive meaning of this curse is to wish complete annihilation of the family. The expression appeared in the old days when

each family baked its own bread in a special, cylindrical clay oven. People burn firewood at the earthen bottom of the oven and, when the embers appear, flat pastry is stuck to the walls of the oven. Nettle (stinging weed) may grow in the oven only if the entire family is dead. Every human being needs bread, and, if nettle grows in the oven, this means there is nobody in the family to light the fire and bake bread.

In invective discourse, gluttonyms are sometimes used as euphemisms. In contemporary jargon, such example is **ქინძი *kinzi* (coriander)**. It is a euphemism for phallus, and represents an extreme swear-word, used both as a form of address and in the absence of the person mentioned. Young people often use verbs derived from this noun: **ქინძაობა *kinzaoba*** (an infinitive form of the verb denoting sexual intercourse), **ქინძაობენ *kinzaoben*** (third person plural form of the verb, denoting that a couple has sexual relationships); verbs derived from nouns, preceded by diverse prefixes: **მიქინძა *mikingza***, **წაქინძა *çakingza*** (vulgar expressions meaning “he had sex with her”). The latter two units also have the meanings of ‘terrible offense’, ‘elimination’. Another interesting collocation is „ქინძზე ჰკიდია“ “***kinzze hkidia***” (**hangs on his coriander**), derived from less vulgar expression „ფეხებზე ჰკიდია“ “***pexebze hkidia***” (**hangs on his legs**). Both these expressions mean “couldn’t care less”.

The above-given analysis proves that such lexical units are difficult to translate. The translator should have both linguistic and linguo-cultural competence in order to translate these lexical units adequately. The translator’s job is complicated by the fact that the majority of such lexemes and language formulae are not found in any dictionary.

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