

KONSTANTIN PRESLAVSKY UNIVERSITY OF SHUMEN
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH STUDIES

THE GLOBAL AND THE LOCAL



УНИВЕРСИТЕТСКО ИЗДАТЕЛСТВО
"КОНСТАНТИН ПРЕСЛАВСКИ"

KONSTANTIN PRESLAVSKY UNIVERSITY OF SHUMEN

**THE GLOBAL AND THE LOCAL:
MODERN TRENDS IN ENGLISH STUDIES
AND TRANSLATION**

**ГЛОБАЛНОТО И ЛОКАЛНОТО:
СЪВРЕМЕННИ ТЕНДЕНЦИИ В
АНГЛИЦИСТИКАТА И ПРЕВОДА**

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Editor*:

Assist. Prof. Desislava Cheshmedzhieva, PhD

Reviewers*:

Prof. Romyana Todorova, PhD

Assoc. Prof. Svetlana Nedelcheva, PhD

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CONTENTS

IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER

Aleksandra Aleksandrova. POLYSEMY AND PROPER NAMES	6
Desislava Cheshmedzhieva-Stoycheva. <i>RADICALS, EXTREMISTS, TERRORISTS</i> ... REFERENCES TO MUSLIMS IN THE BRITISH AND THE BULGARIAN PRESS (A COMPARATIVE STUDY)	14
Deyana Peneva. A GENDER-BASED STUDY OF APOLOGY SPEECH ACTS IN BRITISH AND BULGARIAN TV SERIES	27
Ilina Doykova and Temenuzhka Seizova-Nankova. IDENTIFICATION OF THE CATEGORY OF ADJECTIVE IN ENGLISH. A CORPUS-BASED APPROACH	38
Irina Ivanova. USING TASK-BASED PROCEDURES IN LESSON OBSERVATION	50
Miroslava Tsvetkova. A LOCAL RESPONSE TO THE GLOBAL REALITY OF TEACHING ENGLISH TO PRIMARY SCHOOL LEARNERS. FUNCTIONS AND USAGE OF THE VERB 'TO BE'	58
Radostina Iglíkova. THE REGULATIVE PRINCIPLE OF EFFICIENCY AND WEB CONTENT	63
Rumyana Todorova, Zlatko Todorov. INTERNATIONALIZATION, GLOBALIZATION AND CULTURE IN ADVERTISING DISCOURSE	69
Svetlana Nedelcheva. 'BULGARIZE AWAY!' – COGNITIVE ANALYSIS OF PHRASAL VERBS WITH AWAY (A CORPUS STUDY)	75
Snejana Obeyd. NOMINAL SUBSTITUTE <i>SAME</i>	93
Temenuzhka Seizova-Nankova. SOCIOLINGUISTIC IMPLICATIONS IN CONTEXTS OF USE	99
STUDENTS' WORK	121
Aleksandar Kirilov. TEACHERS' AND STUDENTS' AWARENESS OF THE BENEFITS OF NONFORMAL EDUCATION	122
Alexandra Buchvarova. ETHNICITY AND RACISM IN THE MEDIA: AN ANALYSIS ON SOME OF THE LINGUISTIC DEVICES USED IN	

SOME BULGARIAN AND BRITISH ARTICLES	136
Christina Kyncheva. INTERTEXTUALITY AND DOOMSDAY. A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF BULGARIAN AND ENGLISH PUBLICATIONS IN THE MEDIA	146
Kalin Kolev. EBOLA: THE NEW PUBLIC SCARE. DISEASE IN THE BULGARIAN AND THE BRITISH MEDIA DISCOURSE (A COMPARATIVE STUDY)	156
Mina Lyutachki. ENGLISH – BULGARIAN CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS OF THE FUNCTION OF THE VERB „SIN” IN THE NEW TESTAMENT OF THE BIBLE	165
Nadezhda Stefanova. GLOBAL AND LOCAL PROBLEMS AND PRACTICES IN TEACHING ENGLISH TO YOUNG LEARNERS	186
Nataliya Skarlatova. READING IN A FOREIGN LANGUAGE – PROBLEMS AND SOLUTIONS	199
STUDENTS’ ESSAYS	214
Borislav Bonev. THE FIRE AT THE LIDDELL MANSION	215
Desislava Todorova. A DAY IN THE LIFE OF A FARMER	216
Desislava Todorova. DO YOU THINK YOUR LIFE WOULD BE DIFFERENT IF YOU WERE OF THE OPPOSITE SEX?	217
Peter Dimitrov. IF YOU WOKE UP AND FOUND YOU COULD MAKE YOURSELF INVISIBLE AT WILL, HOW WOULD YOU SPEND YOUR FIRST DAY?	218
Peter Dimitrov. SOMEONE WHO HAS HAD A BIG INFLUENCE ON YOU	219
Radoslav Hristov. WHAT WOULD YOU DO IF YOU SURVIVED A PLANE CRASH OR A SHIP ACCIDENT AND FOUND YOURSELF ON A DESERT ISLAND?	220
Simona Pavlova. A JOURNEY THAT WENT WRONG	221
Vasvie Redzheb. BEING INVISIBLE	222
Ziyneb Yacub. IF I COULD BE INVISIBLE	223

POLYSEMY AND PROPER NAMES

Aleksandra Aleksandrova

Abstract: Polysemy is the ability of a language entity to have more than one meaning. Proper names are traditionally considered arbitrary. They denote a particular person, place or thing and do not have a semantic meaning of their own. In some cases, through the use of metaphor and metonymy, they can denote different entities, thus becoming polysemous, i. e. having more than one meaning or more than one referent. However, the different meanings that can be displayed are determined by the context in which they appear.

Key words: proper names, polysemy, metonymy, context

1. Metonymy and metaphor as a factor for polysemy in proper names

As observed by Marinelli, a polysemic production happens by means of a metaphoric use of a proper name as in „Your Husband is a Croesus¹“, by means of metonymy as in „to read Dante“, or by lexical mechanisms like analogy/synecdoche, as in „he would like to drink a Bloody Mary“ (Marinelli 2015). This paper deals with metaphor and metonymy as a way of producing polysemy.

In *Women, Fire and Dangerous Things* Lakoff states that metonymy is one of the basic characteristics of cognition as „it is extremely common for people to take one well-understood or easy-to-perceive aspect of something and use it to stand either for the thing as a whole or for some other aspect or part of it“ (Lakoff 1987: 94). In his view, metonymy is governed by general principles. For instance, English has a general principle by which a place may stand for an institution located at that place. In the following instance, a place like The Kremlin is standing for the institution located at that place – the Russian government:

The Kremlin threatened to boycott the next round of talks².

In some cases, a name of a state can be used to refer to an institution. The type of metonymy used is called a place-for-institution metonymy. This is evident in sentences like

Will the Pentagon defend U.S.-backed rebels against Russian airstrikes?
(Washington Post, 1/10/2015)

Where *the Pentagon* refers to the institution and not to the building where it is situated.

In other texts, a name of a state can be used to refer to some event that took place on its territory. Then, we can speak of a place-for-the event metonymy, as in the following

¹Examples by the author

²Example by the author

excerpt, where *Crimea* does not stand for the place, but for the event that took place on its territory- the annexation of Crimea by Russia:

Comment: Russia doesn't need to do another Crimea in east Ukraine. All it needs to do is sow chaos. (The Telegraph, 14/04/2014)

The name of a state can also be used to refer to the people who live in that state as can be observed in the following headline, where *Crimea* stands for all the people who live in Crimea and have participated in the referendum:

Crimea votes to secede from Ukraine in 'illegal' poll (The Guardian, 14/03/2014)

This is an example of place-for-the people metonymy. As can be seen, the same name can mean one thing in a certain text and something else in another. In this way, different meanings of the respective name are created. What defines the meaning that is manifested is the context – global and local. Context as a factor in the creation of metaphor and metonymy is discussed by Kovesces (2015). He differentiates between global context and local (immediate) context. The global context is the general knowledge that the whole group shares and that, as a result, affects all group members in using metaphors. This is roughly what Bloor and Bloor call context of culture, namely the traditions, the institutions, the discourse communities, the historical context and the knowledge base of the participants which are „under a process of continuous change” (Bloor, Bloor 2007: 27). The local context is the specific knowledge that pertains to a specific situation involving particular individuals. Kovesces suggests that the global context is a shared system of concepts in long-term memory (reflected in the conventional linguistic usage), while the local context is the situation in which particular individuals conceptualize a specific situation making use of working memory (Kovesces 2015: 53). In his view, it is the local context that works for the creativity in metaphorical conceptualization (Kovesces 2015). According to him, apart from the metaphors that are considered conventional and preexistent in the mind, there are other kind of metaphors that can exist in a certain context and are created by it. He argues that metaphor comprehension can take place only in context, though in large number of cases information about context works together with preexisting conceptual metaphors (ibid. 11).”. As he points out, the cognitive operation and the resulting conceptual systems function in context and the awareness of the context includes awareness of physical context, social context, cultural context, but also awareness of the immediate communicative situation. Context is important not only for the interpretation of metaphors, but also for their creation.

Kovesces examines the effect that some contextual factors have on metaphor conceptualization. These are the immediate physical setting, the entities that participate in the discourse, the immediate cultural context, the immediate social setting and the immediate linguistic context itself. He argues that conceptual materials for metaphorical purposes are recruited not only from bodily experience but also from all of these various contexts and that since the contexts can be highly variable, the metaphors used will be

variable, novel, and unconventional as well. Kovesces terms the creativity that is based on the context of metaphorical conceptualization „context-induced creativity” and the metaphors that result from the influence of the context on that conceptualization „context-induced metaphors”. He explains the mechanism of this kind of metaphorical creation with the variation of the immediate context of discourse. In his view, as it varies from one discourse situation to another, „the linguistic metaphors that are based on the context will also vary” (Kovesces 2015: 115). This principle is valid even more for metaphors and metonymies based on names. As was mentioned earlier, the meaning of a name can vary in accordance with the context – both global and local.

2. Polysemy in place names.

Global context is a factor in the formation of different meanings that a name can have. For instance, the meaning of Ukraine as a synonym of crisis and conflict can be revealed only after the crisis and conflict took place in the country in question.

Venezuela isn't going to be another Ukraine

The similarities between the protests in Ukraine and Venezuela are pretty striking, from impromptu barricades to protesters wielding Molotov cocktails and stones fighting riot police armed with guns and tear gas. In both countries, protesters have died in the past week, though Venezuela's confirmed tally of 13 deaths is smaller than the 88 confirmed killed in the Kiev protests.

There are other similarities, too. Each protest has a jailed prominent opposition figure – former Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko in Ukraine, freed Saturday, and Venezuela's Leopoldo Lopez, arrested last week (The.week.com, 25/02/2014).

The above text, especially the headline, would not have been understood before the conflict in Ukraine took place. „Another Ukraine” is used to mean „another situation of big protests and horrible conflict”, as the name *Ukraine* has become a synonym of crisis, violence and protests. What defines the meaning here is the global context (the political situation and the period in history related to it). Yet, the name *Ukraine* can be used in a text, produced in the same period of time – after the conflict took place. The meaning can also be different, i.e. the name can refer to the government, as in the following excerpt:

...Earlier on Sunday, Russia and Ukraine agreed a truce in the region until Friday, Ukraine's acting defence minister announced, in a move that may ease tension between Moscow and the western-backed government in Kiev ([The Guardian](#), 16 March 2014).

Here the name Ukraine stands for the government of the country. What produced that meaning is the local (immediate) context of the excerpt. There are words and phrases in the text that are related to the topic of politics and government, namely „agreed a truce”, „minister”, „government”. Even without considering the overall political and economic

situation and the time of producing the text, the text receivers can easily process the meaning of *Ukraine* as „the government of Ukraine”.

The difference between the excerpt from the The Week and the one from The Guardian is not only in the different meaning, but also in the different way of creating that meaning. In the first text, the meaning is created through the use of metaphor, while in the second case it is achieved through metonymy state-for-the government, which is a subtype of the state-for-the institution metonymy. As is evident, a proper name can be polysemous just the way other words can be.

There is yet another case of polysemy use in proper names and it is when a name of a country can refer to the people who live on its territory:

Greece votes „No” in overwhelming rejection of bailout proposals

Greece seems to have decisively rejected the bailout terms put forward by its international creditors.

The Greek people have voted an overwhelming ‘No’, supporting the position of leftist premier Alexis Tsipras.

With over 90 percent of the ballots counted, ‘No’ was ahead with around 61 percent of the votes, compared to approximately 39 percent for the ‘Yes’ vote (www.euronews.com, 05/07/2015).

In the above excerpt, Greece stands for the people who live in Greece, and more specifically for Greek citizens (since only people who have citizenship are allowed to vote).

What is also necessary for the understanding of the above text is that the text receiver should be aware of the political situation in the country at the time of publication – for example, s/he should know that some voting took place, as well as why it happened. Therefore, using the global context is necessary for the proper understanding of Greece as „the people who live in Greece”³. However, it is mentioned in the text that „the Greek people have voted”, so the immediate context can also make the referent of *Greece* in the headline clear.

In the media, states are often conceptualized as individuals. They act as good neighbours, they invite each other, welcome each other, judge each other’s actions, help or get cross at each other. Two or more states at some moment unite against another „bad” state, and decide to help „the poor” state at another moment. They have certain kind of relationships. A state sometimes goes through something but manages to survive. States can sometimes get angry over something other states do. Those states, on the other hand, are very careful not to make world superpowers angry:

³ In another context “Greece votes” could mean “Greek MPs voted”, or “Greek ministers voted”, in which case there would be an example of place- for- the institution metonymy.

Европа смята да не дразни Русия

Преди началото на срещата в Рига европейските чиновници заявиха, че те и сега са верни на идеята за „Източно партньорство”. Техните изказвания обаче демонстрират, че Европа не се кани да дразни Русия. В ЕС се налага настроението за по-малко войнствено отношение към Москва (Монитор, 22/05/2015).

Europe does not mean to irritate Russia

Before the beginning of the meeting in Riga, the European officials stated they are loyal to the „Eastern partnership” initiative even now. Their contributions, however, demonstrate that Europe is not about to irritate Russia. In the EU, the prevalent mood is for a less wary attitude towards Moscow.

Here, Russia is conceptualized as an individual capable of having emotions – in this situation it can be irritated. Europe is also conceptualized as an individual, cautious not to irritate another individual. What is interesting here is that Europe and the EU are used synonymously. They are both used to stand for the same thing. In the same way Russia and Moscow are used to stand for the same thing and are used metonymically. They both stand for Russia’s government, or rather Russia’s president, as they are situated in Russia’s capital Moscow. This is a place-for-the-institution metonymy. Europe is equalized with EU in this text. An important factor for the proper understanding of such texts is the global context. One should be aware that Moscow is the capital of Russia, or at least, that there is some connection between them and they relate to the same thing. Otherwise, one can come to the wrong conclusion that EU does not want to irritate two entities – Russia, on the one hand, and Moscow, on the other. The text receiver should also have some idea of Russia and Europe being two different entities. Europe is not used with its geographical meaning (a continent). By „Europe” here one should understand the countries in Western Europe. What is particularly meant by „Europe” in the above text is the EU. They are synonymously used in this context. This is an example of place-for-the institution metonymy. Text receivers should also have some idea of the tension between Russia and the countries from the EU in order to realize why the word „irritate” is used.

It is a common trend for states that share a border to be presented as neighbours. Neighbours sometimes „get along”, but sometimes their relationships are far from perfect.

Why Greece struggles to get along with its neighbours

With its reputation inside the euro zone in shreds, one might expect Greece to seek some friends closer to home. Yet the country is no more popular with its neighbours than it is among thrifty Swabian housewives.

In the above excerpt, a number of examples related to „the state as person” can be found. „Friends” is used for states Greece has good relationship with. Home stands for the state’s territory. „Closer to home” means geographical proximity. „Neighbours” are the countries that are located next to it and which it shares common borders with. „Thrifty Swabian housewives” is a reference to Germany (more specifically a reference to Germany’s PM Angela Merkel who, at the time of the creation of the text, is responsible for the decision whether or not to grant Greece another loan). The expression is an example of intertextuality and in order for text receivers to understand that „thrifty Swabian housewives” is a reference to Angela Merkel, they should rely on their knowledge of the global context.

The following text is yet another example of the state-as-person concept:

How Britain and the US decided to abandon Srebrenica to its fate

New research reveals that Britain and the US knew six weeks before massacre that enclave would fall – but they decided to sacrifice it in their efforts for peace (The Guardian, 04/07/2015).

The names in this excerpt are used for the governing institutions of the two mentioned countries. Actually, it is the governments in office at the time who decided to „abandon Srebrenica”, not the whole countries. Used this way, it can be quite misleading, leaving the impression that all citizens have taken that decision and creating certain generalized ideas about Britain and the US. Such revelations can cause negative attitude towards Britain and the US. On the other hand, it is more convenient and brief to say „Britain and the US” than „the governing parties of Britain and the US at the time of the conflict in Srebrenica”.

3. Polysemy in personal names

Personal names can also be polysemous. The name of a country’s governor can be used literally, on the one hand, or to stand for some institution that is in their control, on the other. This is evident with the use of the controller-for-the controlled metonymy as is the case with the following example:

How Obama came to launch strikes in Syria

President Barack Obama’s policy toward Syria – three years of red lines and calls for regime change – culminated Monday in a barrage of airstrikes on terror targets there, marking a turning point for the conflict and thrusting the President further into it.(www.cnn.com, 23/09/2014)

In this excerpt, Obama and President are used metonymically to stand for the troops that „launch strikes”. Actually, Obama’s policy toward Syria that is said to have thrust the President „further” into the conflict is actually thrusting troops and soldiers into it. The President himself did not take part in the strike. This is an example of the controller-for-the controlled concept. On the one hand, this type of metonymy hides who actually took part in the conflict and who committed those strikes. Text receivers are informed of the

names of the soldiers. On the other hand, however, using this metonymy makes the text comprehensible and easy to process.

In the next excerpt, however, the name *Obama* is used literally:

Obama signs executive order to build world's fastest supercomputer

China's Tianhe-2 became the fastest supercomputer in the world in 2013, beating the American Titan. Obama thinks it's time to bring that title back home.

On Wednesday, he signed an executive order to announce the National Strategic Computing Initiative, which will be responsible for building the world's fastest supercomputer.(money.cnn.com, 30/07/2015)

Here Obama signs the order himself. *Obama* refers to the person who is called Obama. Both abovementioned excerpts exemplify the way personal names can be polysemous. In the second excerpt a state-is-a person metaphor can be found as well (Lakoff 1990). It seems both metonymy and metaphor used with proper names can be viewed as sources of polysemy. As stated by Barcelona, names often originate as descriptions of a given entity on the basis of a different related entity or circumstance (Barcelona 2003). As he points out, proper names are often metonymic in origin, i.e. they refer to a circumstance or distinctive aspect closely linked to their referent. The name eventually becomes a rigid designator for its referent(s) (ibid.). In his view, however, the reverse process can take place as well. As he has stated, when certain descriptions become real proper names, this constrains their grammatical behaviour. When their morphosyntactic behavior „seems to violate these constraints, so that they approximate the behavior of common nouns, again a metonymic motivation can often be discerned. As a result there often is „a metonymically induced change from common nouns to proper names and back to common nouns, hence a „metonymic return ticket” (ibid.) As a result, this process can lead to names having more than one referent, thus leading to polysemy. This is evident in the following excerpt:

A Picasso has just been bought for a record US\$179m, but is it worth it?

The overnight record-breaking sale of Pablo Picasso's Women of Algiers (Version O, 1954-55) for US\$179m at Christie's in New York should come as no surprise.(The Guardian, 12/05/2015)

In the above excerpt, Picasso in the headline refers to a painting created by the artist Picasso. This is an example of creator- for- the creation metonymy. In the text of the article it is used as a „real” proper name and refers to the person Pablo Picasso. As a result, there are two different meanings of Picasso: the artist himself and a painting created by the artist.

Different meanings of names can be caused by double metonymy. Double metonymy is a repeated mapping of the same expression (Dirven 2013:33). In the following headline, *Mercedes* refers to the person who was driving the Mercedes car, produced by the company 'Mercedes'.

Мерцедес блъсна човек във Варна (<http://www.bnews.bg>, 25/05/2015)

A Mercedes hit a person in Varna.

Therefore, there is a double metonymy: producer-for-the produced and controller-for-the controlled.

In another context, *Mercedes* can have a different meaning- it can stand for the Mercedes team:

Lewis Hamilton has 'no confidence' in Mercedes for Japanese Grand Prix. ([The Guardian](#), 22/09/2015).

To sum up, we can say that proper names in texts can be used literally, metonymically, or metaphorically. As a result, a proper name can have more than one meaning. The new meaning is created by metonymy and metaphor and determined by context, either global or local, since meaning changes with context. As a result, proper names become polysemous. Although metonymy and metaphor used with names can cause some generalizations and incorrect assumptions, they make understanding of text and information processing easier.

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RADICALS, EXTREMISTS, TERRORISTS ... REFERENCES TO MUSLIMS IN THE BRITISH AND THE BULGARIAN PRESS (A COMPARATIVE STUDY)

Desislava Cheshmedzhieva-Stoycheva

Abstract: *The paper presents a general overview of the theoretical background on the topic of Muslim radicalization. It is part of a bigger project on the image of Muslims in the Bulgarian and the British press and provides the analysis of the most frequently encountered terms associated with Muslims. The paper has been provoked by the processes observed in Muslim diasporas in Europe in general and in Bulgaria in particular and the way these events get covered in the media. The main issue that the paper addresses is whether or not there is any difference in the application of terms like terrorist, radical, extremist, etc. to individuals part of the society subject of representation of the respective media and to individuals which are considered foreign to the society being presented, e.g. members of terrorist groups functioning in other countries.*

Key words: *media discourse, Muslims, radicals, extremists, radicalization*

I. Introduction

As a natural consequence of the processes of globalization, economic crisis, armed conflicts and the so-called Arab spring the flow of Muslims to Europe and the States, territories considered religiously predominantly Christian (in the widest sense), increased. This brought the religious Other in the focus of public attention and the media as well.

The general stereotype associated with Muslims, and actively fuelled by the press, especially ever since the events from Sept. 11, 2001 (World Trade Center, The Pentagon in the USA), March 2004 (Madrid), July 7, 2005 (London metro, UK), and the most recent one of Jan. 8, 2015 (Charlie Hebdo, France), to name but a few, has been of terrorists and fanatics (see Said 1997; Richardson 2004). However, while the image of Muslim terrorists at the beginning of the century has been associated more with threat coming from outside, the events around the attack on the London metro and Charlie Hebdo, among many others have prompted the development of the stereotype of Muslims as a threat coming from within (see Hoffman 2014: 5ff)⁴. Media and various analysts started talking about the threat posed by Muslim communities within various countries in Europe and the USA and the undergoing process of radicalization. Terms like *radicals*, *extremists*, *jihadists*, *Islamists*, in addition to the existing *terrorists*, became part of the nominative chain used in media discourse on Muslims.

⁴ Hoffman (2014: 5ff) actually discusses various evidence suggesting that the attack on the London Metro was not a result solely of home-grown terrorists but carefully plotted and acted out campaign of Al'Qaeda.

In addition, the topic piqued the interest of psychologists, forensic investigators, sociologists and all scholars who in one way or another were affected by the phenomenon of an Islaam which was getting more visible and was also growing radical. There were various theories about the process of radicalization, the profile of terrorists, and ultimately the possible ways to tackle Islamic extremism as a result of the other studies (see Whine 2007; Hoffman 2014). Linguistically, however, the process of radicalization and its presence in the press is not so widely discussed. The reason for this might be, as stated by Horgan (2005: ix) that media have mostly the function to inform about and not analyse a phenomenon. As he states „The press simply relates events. It does not seek to explain them and even less to instruct. But then, that is not its role”. Still, having in mind the analysis sections in various newspapers, the editor’s columns, as well as some interviews, it might be argued that media are actually trying to get to the essence of the issue and provide a kind of explanation.

It should, however, be taken into consideration that media as a mirror of reality as well as its creator, are influenced by the processes going in a specific society and can therefore reflect these realities in a different way. As Ranstorp (2010: 1) states in reference to radicalization for example:

It is also clear that the radicalization processes are becoming more challenging to address as it is simply not just a linear progression, a complex combination of push–pull factors or that people move in and out of roles and functions. While violent radicalization has gradually emerged at the top of the EU counterterrorism agenda, it has been accompanied by a relatively embryonic understanding about the processes and interplay of factors that contribute to radicalization that are playing out differently in Paris, Rome, London or Copenhagen in terms of the underlying causes, nature and direction of the radicalization forces. (Ranstorp 2010: 1)

So, using Ranstorp’s understanding of the process of radicalization as being unique in the different countries, it could be stated that its presentation in the different media discourses would be different due to exactly the same reasons presented in the quote above.

Looking at the data available on Muslim communities in the UK and Bulgaria, one could clearly see the differences which could contribute to different presentation of the phenomenon.

Although, Islam is viewed as the second largest as well as the fastest growing religion covering about a quarter of the population (see PewForum 2011; PewResearch 2011), „[r]eligious adherence, which used to be more or less a characteristic of a specific group, is no longer a constant” (Cheshmedzhieva-Stoycheva 2015: 106). We are witnesses of second or third generation immigrants who identify with a specific ethnic group, e.g. French, German, British, while at the same time show allegiance with the confessional group of their ancestors.

Based on the data from the Census in 2001 the number of Muslims in the UK is estimated at 1.6 million in England and Wales, while 42 000 live in Scotland. However,

due to the voluntary nature of the question on religious adherence, it is assumed that the numbers are much higher (see Whine 2007). The figure that the government agrees on is 2 million. In 2011 the number has increased by a million and it is estimated as 2.7 million (see CensusReport 2015). Looking at the country of origin it is stated that:

Over two thirds are from the Indian subcontinent, but only from a limited number of areas. Indian Muslims are primarily from Gujarat; Pakistani Muslims tend to be from the poorer districts of Kashmir and the Punjab. The 2001 Census also showed that almost 55 percent of Pakistanis and 46 percent of Bangladeshis were born in the UK. The Muslim population is one of the youngest in the United Kingdom. (Whine 2007: 25; see also CensusReport 2015)

In addition, as stated by Hoffman:

Islam, which is primarily South Asian in character in the UK, has become a powerful identifying force among Muslims. Interviews suggest that British Muslims are very integrated into a global Muslim *umma*, or community. Events in Palestine, Iraq, Afghanistan, Chechnya, and the Balkans have provided the driving force for activism and recruitment. Religion, not ethnicity, defines many second- and third-generation British Muslims. (Hoffman et al. 2007: viii)

The situation in Bulgaria is different. The number of Muslims based on the poll in 2011 is 577,139 or 7.8% of society. Ethnically the group is comprised of Turks – 444,434, of which 420,816 – Sunni and 21,610 – Shi'a, Bulgarians and Pomaks – 67,350, Roma (Gypsies) – 42,201 (see Wikipedia/En/). The biggest Muslim group, the Bulgarian Turks, have been in Bulgaria for more than six centuries⁵ and are nowadays mostly encapsulated within their group and organized by their own party – the Movement for Rights and Liberties. Thus they have representation in society; they feel protected both politically and culturally. Interesting enough, Muslim radicalization applies to another ethnic group, which actually jives with the profile of terrorists-to-be, i.e. the ethnic group of Roma.

Sociology looks into the processes which prompt people to join social movements, such as Islamic activism, and as some of the reasons for such a choice of group belonging they point out „growing sense of social anomie, despair, and anxiety” (Wiktorowicz 2004: 6). Such group movements were seen as „escapist coping mechanisms through which individuals regain a sense of belonging and empowerment” (op. cit.)

Looking at these theories, it can be concluded that radical ideas find fertile soil for their development in individuals or groups of individuals who feel dispossessed, rejected, outcast and socially or politically excluded, people who feel that they do not belong. In this aspect while first, second or third generation Muslim in the diasporas in the UK

⁵Bieber (2000) states that Muslim presence in the Balkans is recorded during the 13th century but the more significant presence dates from the Ottoman conquest. Still other sources mention that Muslim presence in Bulgaria had been observed as early as mid-ninth century when there were Muslim missionaries sent to the country (see Wikipedia/En/; Norris 1993)

might fit the profile to a big extent, in Bulgaria it is not Turkish or Bulgarian-Mohammedans who fit the profile of subjects susceptible to radicalization, but Bulgarian Roma. This particular group is sought for and wooed by political parties only at the time of elections. In addition, the bigger part of the group is illiterate, low in their standard of life, non-defined in their religious adherence (some members of the group define themselves as Christian, others as Evangelists, still others as Muslim). Converting or choosing Islam over other religions gives them prestige in addition to financial benefits. They began translating radical literature, organizing their own mosques, changing their appearance.

Based on all this the major assumption this paper seeks to confirm is the fact that radicalization in Bulgarian media will be mostly presented as a characteristic of Bulgarian Roma while in the British media the phenomenon is expected to be associated mostly with the Asian Muslim diaspora in the UK. Stemming from this assumption is the idea that the term *radicals* will be primarily attached to members of these two major groups in the respective countries.

Another main issue that the paper addresses is whether or not there is any difference in the application of terms like *terrorist*, *radical*, *extremist*, etc. to individuals part of the society subject of representation of the respective media and to individuals which are considered foreign to the society being presented, e.g. members of terrorist groups functioning in other countries.

Using Critical Discourse Analysis as a major approach together with Content analysis and comparative linguistics the paper analyses the representations of Muslim radicals in the British and the Bulgarian media and the associations or feelings such representations provoke.

The paper is a part of a bigger study on the image of Muslims in the British and the Bulgarian media and it is based on a corpus which consists of Bulgarian and British newspapers the publications of which formulate the object of the study. The newspapers analyzed include the Bulgarian newspapers: Dnevnik (Dn), Standart (St), 24 chasa (24ch), Trud (T), and Novinar (N). The British newspapers include The Independent (In), The Guardian (G), The Daily Mail (DM), The Daily Telegraph (DT), and The Mirror (M).

It was mostly the electronic versions of said newspapers which were used as sources for the corpus. The newspapers selected are representatives of both the serious as well as the tabloid press which provides a better foundation and objectivity of the study.

The period of publications covered is Sept. 2014 – July 2015. The total number of publications on Muslims is: 949 in the Bulgarian newspapers and 1128 in the British newspapers. The articles selected for analysis were coded as Muslim/radicals or radicalization and were then extracted out of the total number of publications thus providing a total of 374 articles in Bulgarian and English (250 in Bulgarian and 124 in English) which present the immediate corpus of the paper.

II. Analysis

The analysis of the references to Muslims used in the corpus of Bulgarian and British articles could be summarized in the following chart:

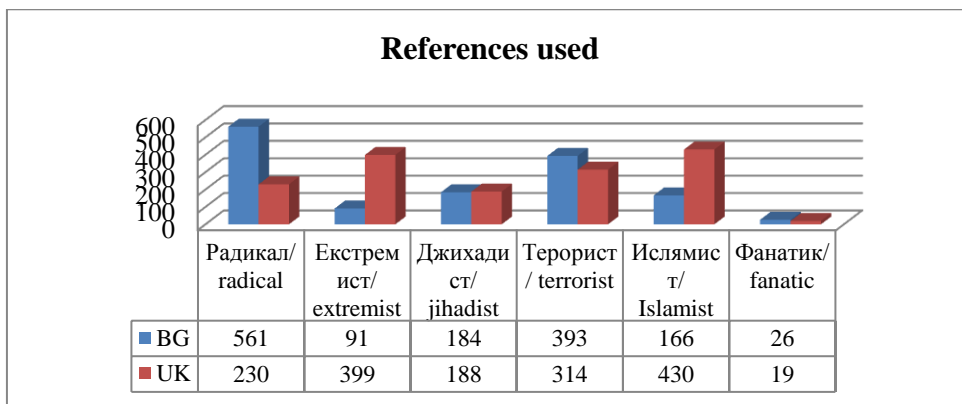


Chart 1. References to Muslims in the Bulgarian and the British publications

The comparison of references reveals some differences which account for the different perception of Muslims in the Bulgarian and the British media discourse. As could be clearly seen from the chart the foremost reference to Muslims used in the Bulgarian press is of *radical/ radicals*, followed by *terrorist*. *Jihadist* and *Islamist* share the third place with similar results.

The differences in the references to Muslims used by the British media are not as big as in the Bulgarian media discourse, however, preference is given to *Islamist*, followed by *extremist* and *terrorist*, while *radical* comes fourth.

The reference which is used the least in both of the analysed media discourses is *fanatic*.

Looking at some of the easily accessible English dictionaries and thesauruses, like Thesaurus.com and Dictionary.com, we could see that the semantic field developed around the notion of *terrorist* as one of the main associations of Muslims in the media (see Richardson 2004), consists of lexemes such as *bomber*, *guerilla*, *radical*, *rebel*, and *thug* as immediate synonyms. However, the corpus for this study does not feature the use of *guerilla*, *rebel* or *thug* attributed to Muslims in either of the countries reviewed, and *bomber* is sporadically attached to members of ISIS. At the same time, *terrorist* “a person, usually a member of a group, who uses or advocates terrorism” is presented as part of the semantic field of *radical*, defined as “a person who advocates significant, often extreme change” (see Thesaurus.com).

Based on the definitions of the terms used, it could be concluded that the Bulgarian media favours and promotes the association of Muslims as advocates of extreme

changes which in its essence is void of negative connotations. The reference used most extensively in the analysed British media on the other hand, although void of negative connotations, has the flair of urgency and scare as *Islamist* is generally defined as “a supporter or advocate of Islamic fundamentalism” (Dictionary.com). Another difference which is obvious in the two references used is the lack of religious connotation in *radical*, while the second one *Islamist* is closely connected with a specific religious adherence.

Looking at the uses of the references in examples taken from the media we come up with headlines such as: [1] Tackling *Islamist extremism*: What the UK can learn from Denmark /h/ The Scandinavian country’s radical Aarhus model aims to rehabilitate *jihadis* with counselling and reintegrate them into society /sh/ (In/ 20.07.15). The reference is usually used in combination with *extremism* as a noun phrase referring to the ideology preached by ISIS and the lure many young people fall prey to. At the same time, one must not forget that extremism is not a one way street and is not applicable only to Islamist ideologies. As stated by Ranstorp (2010: 9) “we sometimes forget the close-knit continuity between opposite poles of extremism (right-wing and Islamic extremism) that constantly feed off each other”. Supporting one form of extremism can easily provoke the development of another or other forms of extremism. This is evident in one of the headlines used in the British media in which Islamic extremism is compared to fascism:

[2] David Cameron launches 5 year-plan to tackle *Islamic extremism* in Britain /h/ ‘It is an extreme doctrine subscribing to intolerant ideas’ /sh/ Young Muslims are drawn to *fundamentalist Islam* in the same way young Germans were attracted to *fascism* in the 20th century, David Cameron will suggest today, as he sets out a five-year strategy to combat *Isis-inspired radicalisation*./ (In/ 20.07.15)

Paraphrasing the headline, it could be stated that Islamic extremism today is the new fascism of the 21st century and the associations with fascism could provoke fear in those familiar with the exhibitions of this far-right ideology. The similarities between the two do not end here. Islamic extremism as some of the examples explicitly show (cf. [1], [5]), is intertwined in the discourse of war. The main idea presented explicitly in the media is that the West is at war with Islam (in the most generic sense). This is metonymically suggested through the use of the name of UK’s prime minister David Cameron and his plan to “tackle” Islamic extremism, through the use of the generalized idea of the West standing for various countries which have joined efforts to reduce the possibility for extremist ideas to be instilled in some of their subjects or through the use of military lexis: e.g. combat, fight, tackle, enemy, struggle, etc. (see [1], [2], [3], [5]).

[3] *Isis threat*: David Cameron to discuss plans to *tackle ‘common enemy’* with Indonesia and Malaysia on trip to South East Asia /h/ In his recent *counter-terror speech*, Mr Cameron called the fight against *Islamic extremism ‘the struggle of our generation’* /sh/ [...] (In/ 26.07.15); [4] David Cameron *extremism speech*: Read the transcript in full /h/ The PM outlined plans for a new *Extremism Bill* to prevent *radicalization* /sh/ The Prime Minister has vowed to tackle the “*poison*” of extremism in a speech laying down the

Government's strategy for the next five years./l/ (In/ 20.07.15); [5] Australian MP George Christensen tells protesters – 'we are at war with radical Islam'/h/ Christensen warns it is 'foolishly naïve' to allow a culture of appeasement to fester /sh/ (In/ 19.07.15).

The examples clearly show the idea of War waged against Islamic extremism and Islamic ideology. They try to create the negative image of the religious Other by presenting them as enemies and associating Muslims with terrorists. Thus the main aim is to stigmatise radicalism and denigrate Islamists. At the same time, however, this rhetoric of war against Islam is one of the „narratives” used extensively by more radical members of the community in order to convert moderate Muslims to being more extreme or radical in their views. The language of the media further supports the historical evidence used by radical preachers as a „narrative of humiliation” of „West's aggressive design from conflict zones: Palestine, Iraq, Afganistan, Chechnya, Kashmir [...] Reinforcing these are the metaphorical wars – disputes over headscarf; Mohammed cartoon and countless other controversies. All these conflicts and controversies, big and small, act like streams feeding a single river.” (Ranstorp 2010: 11; see also Korteweg et al. 2010: 32) Thus the media and their belligerent language justify this idea of humiliation of Islam and could trigger the process of radicalization. All this gives Ranstorp the reason to conclude that „Terrorism is invariably the 'propaganda of the deed' and the media has often been charged as being the 'oxygen' of terrorism” (Ranstorp 2010: 15).

Other publications try to shed light on the definition of *Islamist extremism*:

[6] Crackdown on prayer groups in schools after revelation a 17-year-old was found 'preaching' *Islamic State ideology* in a Sydney playground /h/ NSW government will conduct an audit of public school prayer groups. It follows allegations a teen was preaching *Islamic extremism* at school The 17-year-old attended Epping Boys High School in Sydney NSW Police will launch *training for education department on radicalization* /sh/ (DM/ 28.07.15).

The phrase is used mostly in articles about the counter-terror measures to be undertaken by the British government in order to prevent any possible attacks on behalf of ISIL/ ISIS or other terrorist groups associated with them. Another group of articles featuring the use of the same phrase has to do with the possibility of radical Islam being preached in Australian and British schools. Thematically both groups of examples lead to the process of radicalization of Muslim diasporas and the possibility of stimulating home-grown terrorism, which again is another public scare that gets easily fueled by the media.

As stated by Springer the threat is a substantial one as „Islamic radicalism is defined as a sometimes violent movement seeking to radically change local, national, and global social and political landscapes. Radical Islamists believe such actions are justified by the tenets of Islam, thereby making it God's will.” (Springer et al. 2009: 18). The idea of threat and danger is reflected in the British media through the direct naming of the threat, i.e. ISIS, through the need of legislative measures to fight it, thereby by

criminalizing Islamic extremism, as well as through the discourse of war used extensively in the presentations on the topic, as well as through the discourse of medicine (see [4] „poison”).

There are also some interesting comparisons achieved through intertextual references to fiction characters: [7] Western leaders have been treating *Islamic extremism* like ‘*Lord Voldemort*’ /h/ *Counter-extremism expert* says the failure to name and shame *Islamist ideology* for what it is has led to youngsters joining Isis in their hundreds /sh/(In/ 20.07.15). The intertextual reference is intriguing as it uses a well-known character in the Harry Potter series. It is interesting that the literary image of Islamic extremism is presented as Lord Voldemort the negative figure of highest rank and the main opponent to the main positive character Harry Potter. The lead of the publication clarifies one aspect which is used for the intertextuality to be activated: “Islamic extremism has been treated like a ‘Lord Voldemort’ taboo subject in Britain”/l/ (In/ 20.07.15), so no one dares talk about it and when they do it is usually through euphemisms. Another aspect is the invisible nature of Lord Voldemort as the wizards fear him but they do not always see him. Another line in which the similarity is activated is based on the appearance of the Dark Lord: i.e. his hideous look. Both qualities could be attributed to Islamic extremism.

The examples above show the interchangeable character of the references used. Extremism can lead or be a result of radicalization. Islamism and radicalization can be the next step to jihadism or terrorism. So all references are interconnected but they all refer to Muslims or to people of the same religious adherence.

Looking at the examples from the Bulgarian media discourse it could be stated that the same principle of interchangeability of references is observed:

[8] Ахмед Муса и негови обкръжени обвинени в *радикален ислям*/h/ [...]По-голяма част от обвиняемите – 10 души– са роми от Пазарджик (‘Ahmed Musa and his closest companions charged with radical Islam /h/ [...] A bigger part of the charged, 10 people, are Roma from Pazardzhik’ – St. 02.07.15); [9] Отмениха условните присъди на *муфтиите за радикален ислям* /h/ (‘The sentences of the muftis accused of preaching radical Islam were suspended’ – St/ 01.07.15);[10] Арести за *джихадистки проповеди* във Фейсбук (ОБЗОР) /h/ (‘Arrests for jihadi sermons in Facebook’ – St/ 31.03.15); [11] Ахмед Муса и 13-те му „пророка” на съд за *пропаганда на война и радикален ислям*/h/ (‘Ahmed Musa and his 13 prophets tried for war and radical Islam propaganda’ – T/ 02.07.15); [12] Задържаните за *радикален ислям* остават в ареста /h/ (‘Those charged with radical Islam remain in custody ‘ – N/ 26.11.15).

However, the collocation *radical* enters into most frequently is with *Islam* as in *radical Islam*. *Jihad* and its derivatives are used mostly as clarification to *radical Islam* and the act of radicalization. Despite the different collocation the terms are used interchangeably in reference to both local (Ahmed Musa/ Moses) as well as foreign Muslims (e.g. members of ISIS)

Seemingly as a confirmation to the statement made in the Introduction that radicalization as a process is mostly associated with the members of the Roma ethnic group in Bulgaria, most of the publications dealing with Bulgarian radicals talk about Ahmed Musa⁶, a Roma, and some other imams who are of Roma ethnic background as well, who are all charged with preaching radical Islam. The examples equate radical Islam to jihadi ideology/ preachings as well as to war (jihad)⁷ propaganda.

Similar to the British examples about the measures undertaken by the state in order to prevent the spread of radicalization and its criminalization, the articles from the Bulgarian media also talk about court trials of people preaching such ideology but they also criminalise the group of Roma as a whole. The ethnonym Roma is present in most of the articles presenting the case of radical Islam in Bulgaria. Thus the constant reiteration of this ethnic background in the context of radicalization could create a permanent link between the two phenomena and thus attribute a new negative feature to the group of Roma in Bulgaria.

The language of war is evident in the Bulgarian examples as well: gunpowder kegs, belligerent, hunt, police, gendarmerie, take over, etc.:

[13] Гетата като *бурета с барут* /h/ ('Powder Keg Ghettos' – St/1.04.15); [14] Държавата *загуби контрол* над гетата /h/ ('The Country lost control over the ghettos' – St/ 27.11.14); [15] Ислямът *превзема* гетата с много пари /h/ ('Islam takes over the ghettos with a lot of money' – St/ 28.11.14); [16] ОБЗОР: ДАНС на *лов* за *джихадисти* /h/ *Полиция и жандармерия* блокираха рано сутринта ромските махали в Пазарджик, Пловдив, Хасково и Смолян. [...] /l/ ('Review: SANS on a jihadists hunt /h/ Police and gendarmerie blocked the Roma neighbourhoods in Pazardzhik, Haskovo and Smolyan early in the morning' – St/ 25.11.14).

Intertextuality is also used quite extensively here on several levels. There is first reference to the Qur'an through the name of the accused – Ahmed Musa as one of Mohammed prophets in the Qur'an is actually called Musa/ Moses (cf. Qur'an Surah 7:144)⁸. This association of the radical imam with the prophet gives him a higher status in the society of believers, even more so as it is actually Ahmed Musa who is presented in the media as having prophets which linguistically attributes to him even higher status as the one chosen by Allah.

⁶ Musa is the Bulgarian equivalent of Moses

⁷ Based on the definitions of jihad there are two meanings involved: "*Jihad* means 'to strive' or 'to struggle' in Arabic. The term has a dual religious connotation, involving an outwardly directed struggle against oppression and tyranny and an inwardly directed personal struggle for holiness". (Springer et al. 2009: 2). Looking at some online dictionaries the following definition of the term is given: *jihadist* is "an Islamic fundamentalist who participates in or supports jihad, especially armed and violent confrontation". A further link is provided to *mujahedin*, defined as "Muslim guerrilla fighters, especially in Afghanistan and Iran." (Dictionary.com). *Jihad* or *jehad* refers to "a holy war undertaken as a sacred duty by Muslims. 2. Any vigorous, emotional crusade for an idea or principle. (Dictionary.com)

⁸ Каза: "О, Муса, Аз теб избрах над хората чрез Моите послания и Моето Слово. Вземи онова, което ти дарих, и бъди от признателните!" (Koran.bg) "[Allah] said, 'O Moses, I have chosen you over the people with My messages and My words [to you]. So take what I have given you and be among the grateful.'" (Quran.com 2015)

In addition there are headlines which intertextually refer to novels, e.g. [17] Гета с часовников механизъм /h/ ('Clockwork Gettoes' – St/ 26.11.14). The association here is probably with the wayward character of the people inhabiting Roma neighbourhoods. Similar to Anthony Burgess' *Clockwork Orange*, "Clockwork Ghettoes" is suggestive of the ultra-violence which could be spilled over the country in case Roma neighbourhoods are steered in that direction. That same idea is further supported through *smouldering fanatic crucibles* which is used metaphorically to describe Roma neighbourhoods and the threat they pose through headlines such as:

[18] *Салафитски бумеранг* /h/ [...] Необходим е комплексен и сериозен подход, който да обърне внимание на *цъкаците в гетата бомби* ('Salafiti Boomerang /h/ A complex and serious approach is needed to address the issue of the bombs ticking in the ghettoes' – St/ 05.04.15); [19] *Вахабитска книга* от XVIII в. стреснала ДАНС /h/ ('Wahhabi book from the 18th century startled the State Agency for National Security' – St/ 30.11.14).

Both headlines use references which are more specific in their meanings referring to trends in Islam which might be difficult to process and understand by those not introduced to the topic. The threat associated with these two trends of Islam interpretation stems from the fact that both Salafism and Wahhabism are connected with the rise of ISIS, the ultra-conservative ideology they preach and the resulting from it extreme actions against anyone who does not follow their understanding of the Qur'an. The suggestion of such occurrences in Bulgaria is threatening enough. In addition, the idea of a radical boomerang going out of the country and coming back with even higher velocity, the presence of radical literature and the notion of easily excitable neighbourhoods (ticking bombs, clockwork ghettoes, smouldering crucibles, etc.) paint the picture of an upcoming apocalypse.

It is interesting to note that the British journalists have refrained from using more specific references such as different trends in Islam (Salafism, Wahhabism) directly in the headlines of their articles. The reason for this might be the strife for clarity and informativity. Readers who are not involved in the subject would be hindered in their understanding of the publication and might not even read it if such informationally-intense terms are placed directly in the headlines of the articles. Thus, the linguistic choice of Bulgarian journalists might be accounted with the strife at sensation as both Salafiti and Wahhabi sound Arabic, therefore foreign, thus probably intriguing.

III. Conclusion

The paper has managed to address the questions raised in the introduction and the analysis has shown that terms like *radicals*, *jihadist*, *extremists*, and *Islamists*, although entering different collocations in the British and Bulgarian publications, are used interchangeably to refer to local as well as foreign members of the global Muslim umma. The differences observed relate to the main topics discussed in the publications where these references appear. While British publications discuss various topics such as government measures against radical Islam, cases of radical Muslims preaching in

schools and mosques, the threat posed by ISIS, or former ISIS recruits who have come back to the UK, Bulgarian publications are more restricted in their topic of presentation and focus mostly on the trial against thirteen imams from Pazardzhik and the region charged with preaching radical Islam as well as with cases of alleged jihadis passing through the country or news about ISIS. This brings about the difference in the referents the terms apply to: in the UK they refer mostly to people who are Muslim by birth (there are only few exceptions mostly related to publications about converts to Islam), while in Bulgaria the references are to members of the Roma community who have converted to Islam and have taken a more radical stance.

The analysis has shown similarity in some of the devices used in conveying the threat posed by such radical elements in society. Both the British and the Bulgarian publications which were analysed show the use of intertextuality, discourse of war and medicine in order to stigmatise radical Muslims and radical Islam in general.

Other linguistic choices which differ in both media discourses have to do with general versus more specific references used in the headlines of the publications. The analysis has shown that Bulgarian journalists are not concerned about using semantically more specific terms like Salafism and Wahhabism probably mostly due to their Arabic origin and the curiosity they might trigger in readers even if the latter are not so well-versed in the subject.

The paper, however, only outlines some of the main trends observed in the use of references such as *radical*, *extremist*, *jihadist*, etc. to Muslims in the British and the Bulgarian media discourse and as a part of a bigger study is far from being exhaustive on the topic.

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A GENDER-BASED STUDY OF APOLOGY SPEECH ACTS IN BRITISH AND BULGARIAN TV SERIES

Deyana Peneva

Abstract: *The major aim of this paper is to examine the way Bulgarian men and women apologize and investigate whether they exhibit differences with respect to the apologetic behavior they adopt in comparison to British male and female native speakers. The article focuses on the speech act of apologizing and it draws on two linguistic datasets for its analysis: six episodes from a British TV series *Scott & Bailey* and six episodes of comparable data from *Glasshome*, a Bulgarian TV series. Extracts of data containing apology speech acts in both corpora are compared qualitatively and quantitatively and the issues of apology strategy, type of offence, social status and social distance are discussed with respect to gender cultures and politeness.*

Keywords: *apology speech act, gender, politeness, social distance, social status*

Introduction

The present article is a brief introduction of a bigger paper into the investigation of British and Bulgarian apologies. It compares the strategies used by male and female participants for the purpose of revealing whether or not sex differences occur. It further focuses on some pragmatic and sociolinguistic aspects of the apology speech act which could uncover new challenges and prospects regarding intercultural communication and awareness about the importance of understanding speech acts internationally.

The basic method of analysis for the purposes of the present study is *Recording naturally occurring talk in interaction*. The data collected through this method consist of a printed corpus of 98 examples of dialogue structures to be used for qualitative and quantitative analysis that are gathered from naturally occurring spontaneous conversations taken from a British TV series *Scott & Bailey* (2010-2014) and a Bulgarian one *Glasshome* (2010-2012). Additionally, among the drawbacks of using TV series as a means of collecting data and information are the following: they are artificially recorded and one is able to elicit contextual information after watching several episodes (that is: the relationships between the participants, their roles and specific knowledge about their personalities) (Beebe, Cummings 1996). On the other hand, some of the advantages of using collected corpus of apologetic expressions from films are considered suitable for the present research work as the films are accessible and the quality of sound is rather good. The context is made explicit for the researcher as they are supposed to be viewed by the audience. What is more, TV films present a variety of apologetic situations and strategies which usually appear as spontaneous speech whereas at the same time certain pragmatic elements of a particular culture can be investigated. Moreover, TV films are normally geographically oriented and their linguistic and pragmatic discrepancies can be easily recognized by their audiences as their own. What is more, the data of 98 apology situations (53 apology exchanges-

dialogues in English and 45 in Bulgarian) come from a corpus of 142 and 155 apology utterances respectively collected through the above mentioned method. The dialogues were first recorded then the exact apology communicative acts were written down. The apology speech situations (for *speech situation* see Hymes 1975; James 1980; Dobрева, Savova 2009) which could comprise several speech acts represent socially differentiated situations concerning breaches in time and space arrangements, possession damage and talk misunderstandings and typical everyday offences in people of more, equal or less social power.

With respect to **gender** expectations about how men and women tend to speak (that is, gender norms) this varies across cultures, as norms typically regard the use of indirectness. A number of research works have been conducted on gender differences in speech acts realization, though not much attention has been paid to sex differences in the performance of the speech act of apologies. The findings seem to suggest that gender differences exist in politeness - in that respect that women are considered to be more polite, less critical and willing to use more softening techniques and devices than men (Lakoff 1975; Tannen 1990; Holmes 1995). Holmes stresses the point that mainly women enjoy talking and regard this as an essential medium to keep in contact with friends and people in their social surrounding. Women tend to see and use language more to establish, maintain and develop personal relationships whereas men tend to see language more as a way of obtaining and providing information. Holmes also adds that women are more prone to using positive politeness than men which supports the fact that women show concern for the feelings of the people they are talking to. Regarding the context of apologizing Zimmerman and West (1975), Fishman (1980) and Tannen (1990) suggest that there are both similarities and differences between males and females with respect to apologies which result from social variables such as age, ethnicity, social status and rank.

This corpus clearly illustrates that there are certain sex differences in the distribution of apologies. In this respect Table 1 summarizes the apology patterns with view to interacting pairs [female (apologizer) to female (apologizee) – F-F; female to male – F-M; male to female – M-F, male to male – M-M].

Table 1

Scott & Bailey			Glasshome		
apology pattern	number of dialogues	percent	apology pattern	number of dialogues	percent
F-F	23	43. 3%	F-F	18	40%
F-M	15	28. 3%	F-M	17	37. 78%
M-F	9	16. 99%	M-F	8	17. 78%
M-M	5	9. 43%	M-M	2	4. 45%

Total	53	100%	Total	45	100%
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/In calculating the percentages I follow the standard procedures, namely, as the total dialogue exchanges amount to 53 and 45 respectively, we divide the number of occurrences of a particular pattern by the total number, which is then multiplied by 100/.

In both sets of data it becomes obvious that apologies are most frequent among females (F-F) and females to males (F-M), 71. 6% (43. 3% + 28. 3%) and 77. 78% (40% + 37. 78%) respectively, whereas apologies between men and men to women are rare. One could suppose that apologies may function differently for women and men.

Since apologies are typically viewed as positive politeness strategies as their main function is to assure the apologizer (the speaker) that s/he is liked, respected and noticed and that „the maintenance of a conflict-free relationship is desired”, we could expect that females are more likely to emphasize approval and forgiveness of the hearer and use strategies of expressing responsibility, sympathy and interest; asserting/presupposing knowledge of hearer’s concerns; offering, promising, including both speaker and hearer in the interaction, wanting others to appreciate and approve of their act of apologizing, that they are following the social norms of behaviour (Brown, Levinson 1987a). What is more, women may consider apologies for wrongdoings more important in maintaining relationships than men typically do. The low frequency of apologies used by males may illustrate that they are still downgrading the importance of apology or they are interpreting apologies differently from women.

Since the present paper does not aim to stress on who actually, men or women, apologize more frequently, but on the type of apology strategies used by men and women in both sets of data, I focus mainly on two apology patterns (types of interacting pairs) and namely, F-M and M-F in both corpora.

Apology strategy

A number of researchers have introduced a system of apology classifications (Fraser 1981; Olshtain, Cohen 1983; Trosberg 1987; Aijmer 1996). I have focused on Aijmer’s classification of apology strategies on the presumption that it gives a more complete and detailed overview of apology patterns.

The study follows Olshtain and Cohen’s basic model of apology realization with respect to the main apology strategies and adopts Aijmer’s view (1996) on sub-category apology patterns.

The linguistic realization of the speech act of apologizing can take one or any combination of the following basic strategies:

1. Illocutionary Force Indicating Device (IFID) /formulaic, routinized forms of speech act. It is always presented by words or an expression that contains a performative verb, such as *apologize, forgive, excuse, regret* (Austin 1962)/

2. Explanation or account
3. Taking responsibility
4. Concern for the hearer
5. Offer of repair/restitution
6. Promise of forbearance

(Cohen, Olshtain 1981: 119; Olshtain, Cohen 1983: 22-23; Blum-Kulka et al 1989)

While the main strategies can be said to be applicable in all languages, the sub-strategies may differ in availability among cultures (Aijmer1996). Categorized by their main functions, apology strategies can be labeled out as **apology strategies** (comprising the above mentioned six basic strategies with further sub-strategies), **evasive strategies** (the strategies in which the apologizer fails to take on responsibility and namely, 1) Minimizing the offence; 2) Questioning preconditions; 3) Blaming someone else; 4) Expressing sense of humour; 5) Offering compliment or praise and **strategies for opting out** (strategies in which the speaker denies responsibility in various forms and namely, 1) Keeping silent; 2) Explicit denial of responsibility; 3) Implicit denial of responsibility; 4) Justification; 5) Blaming the hearer.

In the British TV Series *Scott & Bailey* the dialogue interactions under discussion in this paper are 24 (15 F-M and 9 M-F dialogues) in which 82 apology utterances were identified (52 F-M, 30 M-F). In *Glasshome* the dialogue patterns in question are 25 (17 F-M and 8 M-F dialogues) which are presented with 102 apology utterances (69 F-M; 33 M-F). In this respect Table 2 illustrates the distribution of female and male apology strategies.

Table 2

apology strategy	Scott & Bailey		Glasshome						
	F	M %	%	F	%	M	%		
IFID /expressing regret/	12		23,07%	5	16,67%	14	20,29%	2	6,06%
IFID /offer of apology/	10		19,23%	2	6,67%	11	15,94%	8	24,24%
IFID /request for forgiveness/	3		5,77%	6	20,00%	10	14,49%	5	15,15%
Explanation	5		9,62%	0	0,00%	5	7,25%	2	6,06%
Taking responsibility /explicit selfblame/	0		0,00%	0	0,00%	3	4,34%	0	0,00%
Taking responsibility	4		7,69%	0	0,00%	4	5,80%	2	6,06%

<i>/self-deficiency /</i>								
Taking responsibility /lack of intent/	5	9, 62%	0	0, 00%	4	5, 80%	0	0, 00%
Taking responsibility /recognizing the other person as deserving apology/	0	0, 00%	5	16,67%	0	0, 00%	2	6, 06%
Taking responsibility /expressing embarrassment/	3	5, 77%	0	0, 00%	0	0, 00%	0	0, 00%
Taking responsibility /explicit acknowledgement/	0	0, 00%	2	6, 67%	5	7, 25%	1	3, 03%
Concern for the hearer	2	3, 85%	3	10,00%	0	0, 00%	3	9, 09%
Offer of repair	2	3, 85%	3	10,00%	2	2, 90%	0	0, 00%
Promising of non-recurrence	0	0, 00%	0	0, 00%	3	4, 34%	2	6, 06%
Evasive strategy /minimizing the offence/	2	3, 85%	0	0, 00%	4	5, 80%	1	3, 03%
Evasive strategy /questioning preconditions/	2	3, 85%	0	0, 00%	0	0, 00%	0	0, 00%
Evasive strategy /expressing sense of humour/	0	0, 00%	2	6, 67%	0	0, 00%	1	3, 03%
Evasive strategy /offering compliment or praise/	0	0, 00%	1	3, 33%	0	0, 00%	1	3, 03%
Strategy of opting out /explicit denial of responsibility/	0	0, 00%	0	0, 00%	0	0, 00%	0	0, 00%

Strategy of opting out /implicit denial of responsibility/	0	0, 00%	0	0, 00%	1	1, 45%	0	0, 00%
Strategy of opting out /justification/	1	1, 92%	1	3, 33%	3	4, 34%	1	3, 03%
Strategy of opting out /blaming the hearer/	1	1, 92%	0	0, 00%	0	0, 00%	2	6, 06%
Total	52	100%	30	100%	69	100%	33	100%

The findings reveal that women in both datasets use a greater number of apologetic strategies than men and take the offence more severely whereas men, on their part, take the offensive act as something ordinary. Women use mainly two types of IFIDs in British corpus – expressions of regret and offers of apology whereas Bulgarian data reveal preference to all three main types of IFIDs. Here are some examples:

[1] Employee (F): „Sorry [IFID – expression of regret] *I didn't mean it on Wednesday. I was ...*

(Scott & Bailey, season 2, ep.3, 2012)

[2] Siana: „*Ти си моя Дани. Наистина съжалявам. Дани, моля те, прости ми [IFID – request for forgiveness]. Не знам какво друго да ти кажа.*”

(Glasshome, season 2, ep.5, 2012)

In British corpus men show preference to expressions of regret and requests for forgiveness, while *Glasshome* data reveal preference to offers of apology. Women find it rather necessary to explicitly explain or give account for the wrongdoing whereas men, on the other hand, find it an ordinary act of inconvenience which is rather obvious to be given account for which is not the case with men in Bulgarian corpus who obviously consider explanation a necessary part in an apology. For example:

[3] Dannie (M): „*Закъснях. Хвана ме задръстването [explanation].*”

(Glasshome, season 2, ep.3, 2012)

With respect to the main strategy of taking responsibility, women in both corpora in many cases express self-deficiency or lack of intent but they differ in the other sub-strategies of this type and namely, while the sub-strategy of expressing embarrassment is preferred by British women it completely lacks in Bulgarian women, though other two sub-strategies may seem favoured by Bulgarian females – expressing self-blame and

explicit acknowledgement. This definitely points directly to positive politeness orientation. See the following examples:

[4] Employee (F): „*I was absolutely stricken by a flu bug*[explanation]. *I got bewildered* [embarrassment].”

(*Scott & Bailey*, season 2, ep.6, 2012)

[5] a secretary (F) to her colleague (M)

Secretary: „*Извинявай*, [IFID] *че не ти се обадох за партито на отдела* [taking responsibility – explicit acknowledgement]. *Просто не осъзнах, че точно теб съм пропуснала* [explanation]. *Нали не мислиш, че е нарочно?*[lack of intent]

(*Glasshome*, season 2, ep.1, 2012)

Regarding men, respectively, in both sets of data they take full responsibility for the offensive act recognizing the other person deserving apology and justifying them, though the sub-strategy of self-deficiency was recognized in Bulgarian corpus which lacks in British. See the examples:

[6] Andy apologizing to a colleague (F) for being incorrect in his assumptions about a project work.

„*I am sorry* [IFID – expression of regret] *I overreacted yesterday to the news of my project’s restructuring* [taking full responsibility]. *I do apologize for* [IFID – expression of apology] *making inappropriate assumptions about your decision*. *I do regret my comments* [IFID – expression of regret]

(*Scott & Bailey*, season 3, ep.2, 2013)

[7] Hristo feeling sorry and apologizing to the woman he is to marry to for his obscene language and aggressiveness.

Hristo: „*Просто не знам как да опиша това в какъв човек се превърнах*. *Не бях такъв*. *Вероятно настойчивостта ми да те направя моя съпруга след толкова много самотни години ме превърна в такъв нетърпелив и настоятелен човек* [taking responsibility – self-deficiency].”

(*Glasshome*, season 2, ep.4, 2011)

In a view to the main strategies of concern for the hearer and offer of repair the findings reveal that they are equally used by males and females in the British corpus but there are no data for Bulgarian women using the first strategy (concern for the hearer) as well as there are no data for men using the strategy of offering repair. Here are some examples:

[8] Scott to her fiancée:

„I'm sorry for throwing a plate over you.You did not deserve to be on the receiving end of my actions. You are fine, right? [concern for the hearer]”

(Scott & Bailey, season 4, ep.2, 2013)

A curious fact comes here that almost equal number of utterances are identified in Bulgarian men and women with respect to the strategy of promising non-recurrence whereas this strategy is not found in the British results. See the example:

[9] Boryana knew how her son felt about a matter and knowingly went against his wishes. Then she tried to repair the offence she had done.

„Не ми се сърди. Аз за теб мислих, само да си добре. Не ми се сърди. Няма да се повтори, обещавам ти [promise of non-recurrence].”

(Glasshome, season 2, ep.8, 2011)

Regarding the group of evasive strategies, women in both corpora show preference to strategies which aim to minimize the offence by questioning preconditions. Contrary to this, when trying to minimize the offence men (British and Bulgarian) prefer to demonstrate their sense of humour or offer a compliment and in one case in Bulgarian data the strategy of minimizing the offence is used. Examples:

[10] Scott apologizing to Bailey:

„Bailey, it's hard to admit it but you are right. I have been ignoring your statements at the board meeting and actually I didn't feel I was hurting you in that way. I was pressed for time, you know and didn't feel it that way [evasive strategy – minimizing the offence by questioning preconditions]. I am really sorry, it definitely won't happen again.”

(Scott & Bailey, season 4, ep.6, 2013)

[11] Harry made a rude remark about Alex's hair. Later he tried to redress the wrong he had done hurting her feelings.

„Знам, че те нараних, котенце, но не можеш ли някога поне да ми простиш? Я виж, каква си сладурана!” [offering a compliment]

(Glasshome, season 2, ep. 3, 2011)

In a number of cases British women have used certain strategies of opting out and namely – justifying themselves or blaming the hearer whereas in the Bulgarian corpus

the strategies of opting out are revealed by the sub-strategies of implicit denial of responsibility and justifying themselves. For example:

[12] Scott to the boss of the police:

„*Sorry, sir, but I am not the one to blame [justification]. I think you should take full responsibility[blaming the hearer].”*

(*Scott & Bailey*, season 3, ep.7, 2012)

[13] Dannie to Siana:

„*The fog was so dense that I couldn't get there on time [implicit denial of responsibility].”*

(*Glasshome*, season 1, ep. 3, 2010)

With respect to men in the area of using strategies of opting out, two sub-strategies are identified in both corpora – justification and blaming the hearer where the latter one prevails in the Bulgarian corpus. This could lead us to the assumption that Bulgarian men could demonstrate negative politeness orientation most probably trying to save their own face rather than save the hearer's.

The results undoubtedly demonstrate that strategy selection depends on the estimation of how humiliating men and women perceive the apology strategies to be and the extent to which they damage the apologizer's face. According to Brown and Levinson (Brown, Levinson 1978: 82) and Holmes (1989: 24) apologies support the apologizee's negative face. In that respect men in both corpora do not fear having their face threatened and in the particular situation they are even keener than women to set things right and restore social balance. They do not use as many strategies as women to formulate their apology, but prefer such set of strategies which will guarantee the success of the apologetic act. This definitely proves that men are not in the least less polite than women (which goes contrary to Holmes's hypothesis that women are more polite than men (also supported by other critics – Christie (2000: 161), Talbot (1998), Bergvall (1999a). Women, on the other hand, have used strategies which are both self-oriented and other-oriented (Holmes heysays that apologies are perceived by women as other-oriented, 1989) which we could relate to their fear of having their face threatened. The preferred set of strategies can be mostly associated with negative politeness in British which the speaker is aiming to protect her self-image trying to remain autonomous and have freedom of action affecting hearer's positive face. The choice of apologetic strategies could cause damage either to the speaker or the hearer, even it could make one of the participants „submit their will to the other” (Mills 2003). We have to take into consideration that gender stereotypes could explain the linguistic behavior of both genders and further investigation into the topic will probably reveal different ways of thinking and behaving between the members of one culture.

The findings seem to suggest that gender differences affect politeness and that social environment can influence the choice of apology strategies made by the two genders. This undoubtedly could provide background for further studies on apology behavior based on gender differences and politeness orientation.

On the basis of the analysis it could be assumed that Bulgarian men and female interpret the notions of social distance and power differently from British speakers. Bulgarians are more likely to relate the seriousness of offence to social distance whereas British native apologetic behavior seems to be the result of the interconnection between seriousness of offence and social power and social distance. This is further supported by Slavova (2004) who states that the notions of social power and social distance are embedded in British society which refer to the degree of influence that a party has on the members within their society, whereas the notion of social distance refers to the degree of sympathy the member of a group feels for another member in his own society. This comes from the fact that class distinction is not that explicit in Bulgarian society. But it is undoubtedly wrong to say that there are contexts in which women are inclined to be more indirect than men. Typically they apologize more than men but most to hearers of equal power while men apologize to women irrespective of status. The data analysis from Bulgarian corpus shows that the same criteria are valid for our native culture in that women show more concern for the overall opinion and feelings of the offended side but there is not a clear distinction which way of apologizing – direct (explicit) or indirect (implicit) is most preferred by both sexes.

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IDENTIFICATION OF THE CATEGORY OF ADJECTIVE IN ENGLISH

A CORPUS-BASED APPROACH

Iliina Doykova and Temenuzhka Seizova-Nankova

Abstract: *It is common knowledge that in English there are problems that arise concerning identification of word classes. Attention is more specifically drawn to examining the class of adjectives and what problems they pose for the researcher and foreign language learner. The Analyzed examples are extracted from the BNC and also from a self-made electronic corpus. The article consists of Introduction and three sections. The introduction describes the state of affairs in very general terms. Section 1, 2 and 3 deal with the different formal classifications of adjectives and how they relate to other word classes, adverbs in particular.*

Key words: *word class identification, classification of adjectives, structural ambiguity*

Introduction

Different grammars analyze the word class of adjectives paying attention to different aspects of their properties (cf. Yule 1985, Radford 1989, Minkoff 1958, Quirk et al 1985, Quirk and Greenbaum 1973, Locke and Downing 2006, LGWSE 1999, Huddleston 1984, 1988/93, Fromkin and Rodman 1974, etc.).

Definition of grammatical categories can be distinguished on two levels: language-particular and general level (Huddleston 1993: 1). From a typological perspective, the adjective as a word class is considered not to be found in every language.

When analyzing adjectives, on the language-particular level, there are different criteria to be used. Like any other word class, notional/semantic criteria define adjectives as denoting states (*ill, happy, rich*, etc.) but these are considered extremely unreliable (Radford 1989: 57). Far more reliable are morphological and syntactic criteria.

Morphological criteria can be used to differentiate adjectives from adverbs in that adverbs basically carry a distinctive *-ly* inflection in respect to their open class classification. The point is that there are some adverbs, those belonging to the closed class, which are similar in form to the corresponding adjectives (e.g. *fast, hard*, etc.) (ibid.: 59).

If we turn to the syntactic criteria, they are mainly distributional in nature. 'The *distribution* of a word in this sense is the set of sentence-positions it can occur in' (ibid.: 60). Using the same type of distributional criteria, Radford distinguishes the two word classes of adjectives and adverbs. Only adverbs can be used in the slot in the sentence '*He treats her ___*' and only adjectives (but not adverbs) can serve as the complement of the verb *be* in '*They are very ___*'. (ibid.: 61).

We consider adjective complementation as a very important property of adjectives and more specifically of predicative adjectives. So, in our case, the distinction made between attributive and predicative adjectives is focused. The types of complementation of predicative adjectives vary from PP: *fond of, afraid of, eager for, keen on* ([of, for, on_N]) etc.; to subordinate content clauses: *sorry* [that he came late], and/or infinitives: *eager* [to meet her] (Huddleston 1993: 110).

Problems that arise concerning identification of word classes are encountered and best solved by using electronic corpora. When analyzing an electronic corpus extracted from the BNC the researcher is faced with these problems.

Identification and classification of adjectives are closely interrelated. That's why we will start from some basic classificatory patterns and then move on to cases where some problems of identification arise. In the present study we focus on the predicative use of the adjective, as mentioned above, and examples like: **HJ3 617** *It was such hard work.* are excluded.

The examples quoted will be from two sources: from the British National Corpus (BNC) and from MBFWF corpus (Modern British Women Fiction Writers)⁹.

Classification of adjectives

One way to classify word classes and adjectives in particular is by using the notion of prototype (Pencheva 2011). According to this approach there are adjectives that are central to the prototype, these are the adjectives that i) can be used both attributively and predicatively and ii) can be gradable.

We will classify adjectives into three groups:

1a. Simple stem adjectives: *hard, fast, long, simple, right, clear, fair, close, free, low, high, wide, wrong, short, etc.*

1b. Adjectives produced by derivation (*-ful, -ous, -ous, -ious, -ent, -ant, -y, etc.*): *weekly, daily, monthly, friendly, lively, nervous, dirty, malicious, dependent, powerful, etc.*

1c. Adjectives realized by the participle forms of the verb and a result of inflection. These include the *-ed* and *-ing* inflections that belong to the basic forms of verbs:

- [-*ed*] past participle adjectives: *annoyed, delighted, irritated, dissatisfied, bored, tired, etc.* Past participles are syncretized with the past tense forms for regular verbs and for the majority of irregular verbs (Huddleston 1993: 39) but these are discussed separately from the class of adjectives.

⁹ The MBFWF corpus is copy right, authored by Doykova 2013. The examples quoted from this corpus will carry the respective numerical number with which they are identified in the corpus and thus will be distinguished from the BNC examples which also carry letter identification number at the beginning.

- [-ing] present participle adjectives: *terrifying, frightening, smiling*, etc.

What follows is a list of sixty most frequent English adjectives from the MBFWF corpus, classified according to the above-mentioned three sub-classes of adjectives (see Table 1).

Table 1 Classification of sixty most frequent English adjectives in MBFWF corpus

Simple stem adjectives (1a)	Derivatives (1b)	Participles (1c)
good, happy, right, true, full, able, late, ill, sorry, dark, glad, mad, cold, free, bad, wrong, hard, clear, old, sick, nice, odd, fond, close, easy, simple, ugly, fine	alone, asleep, aware, awful, afraid, alive, different, angry, silent, important, beautiful, possible, serious, guilty, conscious, careful, capable, necessary, responsible	ashamed, married, tired, frightened, surprised, pleased, bored, shocked, depressed, excited, exhausted, worried

Section 1

In respect to sub-classification **1a**, the problem of word class identification between the class of adjectives and the class of adverbs arises with such lexemes as *hard, free, fast, tight, wrong*, etc. which are identical in form. Both classes distinguish the grammatical category of degrees of comparison and in their positive degree the words are invariable in form and sometimes they can perform the double function of adjective and adverb.

A basic distinction to be made between the word classes of adverbs and adjectives are connected with their use. As stated at the beginning, we distinguish predicative from attributive use of adjectives. Predicative adjectives, like verbs, take complementation and are thus closely related to valency analysis. This means that properties of the adjective have a determining influence on the way they are used in speech. This includes the analysis of different types of complement that adjectives can take. This is another aspect that has to be considered and it is relevant both for the researcher and for the foreign language learner.

A typical example is the word *hard*. Consider the examples: *He worked hard. It's a hard work. It is hard for him to work.* The VDE (Herbst et al. 2004) is the first ever specialized valency dictionary of English which gives a detailed description of the way the adjective *hard* is used. A basic characteristic feature is that it forms different patterns which are related to three different senses of the adjective. Consider part of the dictionary definition below:

<p>P5 + for N A Life has been <i>hard</i> for them. Last night was <i>hard</i> for you, wasn't it?</p> <p>P6 + on N B She was <i>hard</i> on you, but fair. It must have been <i>hard</i> on him, having to come back to the same apartment years later, where the marriage had first started out.</p> <p>P7 + to N C Cherries should be <i>hard</i> to the touch, and plump.</p>	<p>P8 [It] + for N + to-INF A Her health isn't too good, and it's <i>hard</i> for her to come to this place. I know it's <i>hard</i> for you to swallow, but I hate them.</p> <p>P9 [It] + on N + to-INF B I think it was <i>hard</i> on him to see him executed. Another woman remarked that it was very <i>hard</i> on her not to have a curfew, and she used to lie and tell boyfriends her parents were very rigid and insisted that she be in by 10 p.m.</p>
<p>A Something or someone can be hard for a person to do or experience, i.e. difficult or strenuous. → P1 P2 P3 P4 P5 P8</p> <p>B A person or a measure such as a punishment can be hard on a person, i.e. strict or severe. → P1 P2 P6 P9</p> <p>C <i>Hard</i> can mean 'solid, not soft'. → P1 P2 P7</p>	

The senses are distinguished by capital letters: A, B and C and the different patterns are marked by P and an index, in this case P1, P2, [...], P9. Different patterns relate to different senses. Sense A exhibits six patterns: P1 P2, P3 P4 P5 P8; sense B - four: P1 P2 P6 P9 and sense C - three: P1 P2 P7. It becomes clear that some patterns are used with the same sense and some with different senses. Consider pattern 1 and 2 for example. In cases like that we have similarity in form and differences in meaning. In order to disambiguate the meaning of the formal structure, we refer to clues in the context. Different contexts of use show differences in meaning.

Consider the following examples from the BNC:

Adjectives:

- A28 140** In principle, it is not **hard** to see how political reform could be achieved.
- K1C 3718** There's about 300 of us in the team and the cash is very **hard** to come across.
- H8F 2011** 'He might find it **hard** to look at you objectively, but he isn't stupid.
- ADX 689** It can be **consistently hard** like the cutting edge of hardened steel, or it can offer the iridescence of tulle draped into a soft light.
- AMW 364** It was **hard** to know what to try first — tennis, squash, volleyball — no expert knowledge was required, just plenty of enthusiasm.

They participate in the pattern [it] + [Adj] + [C] where the complement can be of various types. We select the adjective *hard* here because it occurs after the copula *be* in predicative position, takes a complement and relates the property to the potential referent(s) not mentioned in the examples but presumably retrievable from the context.

Adverbs:

HWXHWX 1532 The Colourcode play funk as **hard** as the Red Hot Chili Peppers, but with the feel that the Chilis so obviously lack on their heavy-handed interpretation of Stevie Wonder's 'Higher Ground'.

AR7 1315 The idea that a runner can win more by not trying too **hard** is not likely to be well received in the hard-bitten commercial world of sports retailing, but if the winter miles are currently very wearisome and every race is a struggle to gain a few seconds, you might try leaving your watch off at a race or two and see if the Zarei approach puts a bit of the enjoyment back into running.

K1S 223 Visitors to Buckingham are **hard** pressed to guess what the gothic style building in the town's centre once was.

APX 785 Only at the French chateau of Montagu House in Whitehall (1859), where he owed a particular allegiance to his great patron the Duke of Buccleuch and was ever **hard** put to please his Duchess, was he again truly still at the height of his powers.

The adverbs in the above examples describe the manner of action and add the condition under which the subject performs the action.

Whether an adjective or an adverb, the decision lies with the position of *hard* after the copula or the link verb. Verbs like *smell, look, taste, feel, sound* may take either an adjective or an adverb immediately after the verb. There are certain possibilities of structural ambiguity in such cases with the 'irregular forms' of the adverbs (cf. Radford 1988: 66): *Mary looked very hard*.

On one interpretation, it is an AdjP, paraphraseable by 'very severe'; but on the second interpretation, it is an AdvP paraphraseable by 'very intensely'.

According to Radford 'we speak of grammatical ambiguity when there is identity of representation at some level of analysis be that morphological or syntactic. Grammatical ambiguity depends solely upon the structure of the language-system.'(ibid.). The relation between syntax and sense is a relation of **one to more than one** interpretations of the structure.'(see also Seizova-Nankova 2001)

Another feature shared by both adjectives and adverbs is that they usually take adverbs as pre-modifiers: *rather hard(adj.), too/extremely hard(adv.)* and in discontinuous phrases such as *hard enough (to do)*:

BNK 1084 Breaking up isn't **hard enough** to do.

G2S 187 But some are **rather hard** to spell.

AD0 25 Many dieters fail because they try **too hard**, too quickly.

A40 609 Sukova made her work **extremely hard** before she was able to celebrate a 4-6, 6-1, 6-4 victory.

Some of the constructions show interesting variation patterns which have to do with Theme-Rheme information structure of the utterances:

They are hard to find.

It is hard to find them.

To find them is hard.

These exhibit similarity in semantic meaning and differences in syntactic and information structure: the first is best described by the raising of the subject of the subordinate clause to the position of subject of the matrix clause (Seizova_Nankova 2009); the second can be explained by the English word order permutation of extraposition resulting in the discontinuous phrase - *it + to find them*; and the third – realizing a complex subject in the form of a non-finite simple infinitive clause. Consider the examples from the BNC:

AS3 500 Since they are **hard** to find, except in odd little shops that specialise in big underpants and sheepskin slippers for old people, they cost a pretty penny.

FUB 452 It will be very **hard** to find them, for there is such a darkness on the islands of the Black Sea that a spoon might stand up in it.

The complexity of structure can be really very high:

AS0 715 Never ask or expect the patient to perform actions that his physiotherapist considers are too **hard** for him.

We can find also complexity in the very VP. Consider the following example:

CCM 1289 It had not been **hard** to persuade Brian to come up with the fees for university.

Section 2

In respect to subclassification **1b**, there are some adjectival suffixes such as: *-ous, -ious, -ent, --ant, -ful, - etc.* that help do away with any problems of identification found in Section 1. They are interesting in terms of relative frequency in different registers and in terms of productivity, see *The Reverse Dictionary of the English Language* for examples (Muthmann, Gustav 1999).

Here we would like to raise another problem that concerns the reditition of word classes cross-linguistically. The samples below exemplify the use of these predicative adjectives

in fiction, they are taken from MBWFW corpus (Doykova 2013) with their translation equivalents in Bulgarian.

Cross-linguistically, the question of word class identification does not hold because languages differ in that respect, especially as the class of adjectives and their use in the respective languages is concerned:

349. This accent is <i>hard</i> enough to take in England, but in a Colony it is <i>ludicrous</i> .	<i>Трудно се</i> придобива подобен акцент в Англия, а в колонията звучеше направо <i>абсурдно</i> .
1136. They were not the ‘sexy’ clothes Paul had urged on her, but they were <i>different</i> from any clothes she had worn before, and fitted her new personality, which was rather <i>hard, casual</i> and <i>indifferent</i> - or at least, so she believed.	Това съвсем не бяха сексапилните дрехи, които Пол ѝ бе препоръчвал, но все пак напълно <i>се различаваха</i> от всичко, което бе носила дотогава, и напълно подхождаха на новата ѝ същност - студена, нехайна и равнодушна (или поне така си мислеше).
2452. He was <i>smiling, conscious, rueful, blushing</i> .	Той седеше насреща ѝ и се усмихваше - <i>бе дошъл на себе си, тъжен и смутен</i> .

On the one hand, there is no syntactic category correspondence between languages and in particular between English and Bulgarian in that respect, on the other – in Bulgarian adjectives and adverbs are easily identified as the former carry agreement features and the latter are distinguished on the basis of *-o* (an invariable derivational suffix).

Section 3

In respect to subclassification **1c.**, the inflectional formations of the *-ed* and *-ing* verb forms in English, Huddleston (1984) distinguishes between the verbal passive and the adjectival passive:

1. *The vase was broken by Tom.*
2. *The vase was already broken.*

The vase was broken is ambiguous between the two meanings: the adjectival: it was in a broken state (2.) vs the verbal *it got broken* (1.). In the adjectival interpretation (2.) *beis* not the passive auxiliary but a main verb and in general other copulative verbs can replace it: *The vase appeared broken*.

Thus *broken* is an adjective, derived by lexico-morphological conversion of the verbal – *en* form (Huddleston 1984). The relationship with an active construction is less direct than with verbal passives, and cannot be plausibly mediated by any syntactic transformation.

It depends on the verb to distinguish the verbal and adjectival passives (usually resultative states), but sometimes it can be rather less straightforward with certain other verbs. Consider the example from the BNC:

HHW 14540 I am delighted to **be joined** by my hon. Friend the Member for Paisley, South (Mr. McMaster).

In terms of the properties of adjectives, it is very appropriate to apply the **prototype** model according to which there are central or prototypical members of the class of adjectives and members that are marginal. We distinguish between **two types of past participles**:

- Gradable and thus central members of the class: *worried, surprised, tired, frightened*, etc. Consider the example from the BNC:

ARA 46 If you still feel *worried* while you're out, ring home and reassure yourself by speaking to your child.

BLW 1093 Many parents find themselves pleasantly *surprised* when the difficult stage passes with the minimum number of crises and heartbreaks.

APM 375 His lips were parted, he seemed *excited, agitated, almost frightened*.

- Used with certain adverbs of degree or comparison: *bored, shocked, depressed*, etc. Consider the examples from the BNC:

C97 2505 I was **a bit** *worried* that the jolt it delivers would do something rather more permanent than give Mr Heron a deterrent shock, but apparently not.

CEX 798 She had been an actress in a northern repertory company and missed the life: she was **as bored as** I was.

C8B 276 I was **soshocked** that I didn't think about whether I was hurt or not.'

A7J 1194 She was **very** *depressed* and pessimistic about the future.

A17 810 'The problems start when he becomes **more** *excited* and frisky than usual.

- Non-gradable and thus less central members of the class: *broken, paid, married*, etc. Consider the example from the BNC:

A0U 1150 You're half English now anyway, you live in England, you're *married* to an

Englishman, Colm...

C90 267 the Masai officers should be of exceptional physique, preferably *unmarried* (though this has disadvantages) but, if *married*, then without children; that their wives shd. be happy in solitary surroundings, and that they (the men) should, if possible, be able to pick up Masai and shd. have leanings towards the study of native customs.

BMW 1818 It was a miracle that so many people managed it — and for long enough to get engaged and *married*.

CD2 2207 There would be those who remembered the newspaper insertion, and it must be made clear to the public that she was *married*, not taken back out of charity.

ART 1641 Leave school, get a job, get *married*, get a mortgage.

The adjective pattern *be married* is as frequently used as the collocation *get married* but the BNC sample sentences point to a difference in usage - the adjective pattern represents the state of being in a family relationship while the collocation describes the activity which corresponds to a full verb in Bulgarian. This fact shows the importance of contrastive analysis and of translation in elucidating nuances of meaning. Consider the examples from the MBFWF Corpus:

155. Yes I know that sounds <i>funny</i> , for you, because of course you choose to be <i>alone</i> rather than to get <i>married</i> for the sake of not being lonely.	Да, разбирам, че ти звучи смешно, защото без съмнение предпочиташ да си <i>сама</i> , вместо да <i>се омъжиш</i> само и само за да избегнеш самотата.
358. It must be rather <i>nice</i> to be <i>married</i> to a baker!	Трябва да е <i>приятно</i> да си <i>омъжена</i> за хлебар!
3016. They were very <i>fond</i> of each other, <i>sad</i> , and <i>friendly</i> and <i>close</i> , like people who had been <i>married</i> to each other for twenty years.	Бяха много <i>мили</i> един с друг, в жестовете им имаше тъга, приятелство и усещане за близост, като че ли бяха <i>женени</i> от двайсетина години.

Borderline cases with the verbal passive (see Sample. 3016 above and the BNC samples below which are numerous):

BN6 293 Deceased's father, with Thomas Hawkswell [sic] set out as a search party, and eventually traced the 'footings' of the missing man...to the old Groove house, and found the lifeless body of young Brown lying just outside the dilapidated building, with his faithful dog watching over the remains of its departed master...the deceased

had been married about nine months but he, however, resided with his father at Blackton, while his wife lived with her mother at Bowes, pending their securing a farm and home to themselves, a consummation well within sight at the time of this untoward happening — this mysterious interposition, which surely intimates eternity to man...’

CMP 1782 They had been married for only a few weeks before he had been hacked down by a sabre.

FEM 1429 I should not have married her.

FRH 3505 He has been married to Emily for nearly forty years.

We call these *borderline* cases for here a different degree of **verbality vs stability** of state of affairs is exhibited. To draw hard and fast lines is impossible. Still the verb phrase seems to break the balance and outweigh the scales to one side.

The predicative adjective [married]+[C] (C- expresses participants/ complements related to the adjectivized form) represents the state which holds for some time. Therefore every complete action can be described using an adjective which is formed by adding an ‘-ed’ ending to a verb, and it is identical to a past participle of a regular Passive voice construct.

The structure [be] + [_{pred}Adj]PP (Past Participle)]describes a completed past action, stability or a fact while the Passive voice is used to expressverbality or a resultative action.

Thus when describing a person’s reaction or feeling, or a condition or an action that is completed, we use the past participle form (-ed, -en, -d, -t, -n, or irregular forms like *torn* (Wikipedia). The noun described has a **passive and relatively stable relationship** with something or is (or was) acted upon and act as Patient. Consider the example from the BNC:

GWH 968 Then Mr Edgar received a letter from Isabella, telling him that she and Heathcliff were **married**.

The form *married* in the sample above is a past participle in form, but is ambiguous in function as the verb can be interpreted either as a link or as used with passive morphology in the structure. The context seems to outweigh the balance to one side: **an adjective with stative meaning**. The overt presence of the agent in the sentence (*she and Heathcliff*) points to a specific property of the verb to marry which has a symmetrical semantic structure and can be used verbally in either of the following ways: She and Heathcliff **married** (active voice)or They got married (passive voice). The factthat this is not the case is again another verification that it is the state as a result of

the action which is being considered and that there is no Passive voice in the sample sentence.

Adjectives always follow a form of the verb *be* (or other link verb respectively) when they modify the noun that comes before that verb.

682. Clarissa was really very <i>hard</i> on her.	Клариса винаги е била толкова <i>жестока</i> с нея.
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Linking verbs such as *be, become, grow, seem, stay, remain* do not express actions and are „state-of-being” verbs together with the following verbs of sense - *feel, taste, smell* and of perception - *appear, seem, look, sound*. Therefore adjectives always follow these verbs and modify or describe the subject in one way or another. Cross-linguistically, we get a very different picture of the way of representing the same situation in the Bulgarian language. Some languages show preference to verbalization (as is the case with Bulgarian) while others – prefer nominalization (as is the case with English). The sample sentences from MBWFW corpus below will give some idea:

2151. Do you sometimes feel <i>bored</i> with Your Home?	<i>Скучно</i> ли ви е понякога у дома?
371. Mrs. Parker didn't look <i>convinced</i> .	Мисис Паркър не изглеждаше <i>убедена</i> .
631. The little beggar seemed absolutely <i>cowed, stunned, and afraid</i> to move because of what would happen next.	Малката нещастница изглеждаше тъй уплашена и зашеметена, че <i>не смееше</i> да помръдне, не знаейки какво би последвало.

The use of the past participle does not depend on the verb tense of the sentence, but rather on the performer/experiencer in the situation.

To sum up: Adjective identification in English, especially adjectives in their predicative use is a big problem both for researchers and for foreign language learners in that they exhibit a certain degree of complexity of structure that is language-specific and hence no hard and fast lines can be drawn between categories. The adjective is hard to be distinguished from the adverb unless certain criteria are taken into consideration. The basic problems concern cases of structural ambiguity.

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USING TASK-BASED PROCEDURES IN LESSON OBSERVATION

Irina Ivanova

Abstract: *The article discusses the use of procedures related to the task-based learning approach in lesson observation in pre-service teacher training. Although the idea of using tasks in observation is not new, the whole cycle of task-based learning typically used for developing students' speaking skills has not so far been used in lesson observation.*

Key words: *task-based learning, lesson observation, teacher training*

Introduction

Pre-service teacher training offers a combination of theoretical input and practical teaching experience provided through regular lesson observation sessions. The theoretical course lays the foundations of language teaching and learning by focusing trainees' attention on the main aspects of foreign language instruction. From the beginning of the course trainees are introduced to the main theories of language acquisition and learning which inform different philosophies of language teaching as well as most traditional and modern approaches and methods in teaching foreign languages.

The professional knowledge of an EFL teacher is usually broadly divided into knowledge of language systems and language skills. Scrivener (2011: 24) identifies five language systems used to analyse a language item: phonological, lexical, grammatical, functional and discursal. Knowledge of the language systems is incorporated into the use of the language skills – the macro skills of listening, speaking, reading and writing, which are further analysed and divided into micro skills, the mastering of which is important for a successful use of the language. Most pre-service courses of English language teaching focus on the main agents in the process of learning a language – the teacher and the learner, their personal values and beliefs, their cognitive and learning styles and preferences and the way they interact with the subject matter. They look into the roles teachers and learners adopt in the process of teaching and learning, and the individual efforts they make to achieve their goals. Last but not least are the skills of managing the teaching and learning processes, known broadly as classroom management, which play an important part in ensuring successful learning.

One of the key professional abilities for any teacher is to learn how to make the right decisions and undertake the appropriate actions at any given moment of the lesson. According to Brumfit and Rossner (1982) informed decisions can be made on four levels, represented as a hierarchy in the form of a pyramid, with the highest level 1 – that of approach, followed in descending order by 2 – syllabus design, 3 – materials construction, and 4 – classroom decisions. Initial or pre-service training deals only with

the lowest level in the hierarchy – that of classroom decisions. The other levels are dealt with in in-service training or post-graduate programmes such as MA studies. The authors think that the normal route in teacher training should be to proceed from level 4 to level 1, which makes it necessary for the trainees to experience practical classroom activities first and then to discuss more general or theoretical issues. Lesson observation is one of the ways of experiencing, albeit vicariously, the decision making exercised by teachers in real contexts of teaching.

Integrating task-based learning with lesson observation

One of the approaches which is gaining popularity is Task-based learning, which originally appeared as an alternative to the traditional Present - Practise - Produce paradigm. Engaging learners in task work is thought to provide a better context for the activation of learning processes than form-focused activities, and hence ultimately provides better opportunities for language learning to take place (see Richards and Rogers 2001: 223). In task-based teaching the focus is on process rather than product, and its basic elements are purposeful activities and tasks that emphasize communication and negotiation of meaning. Learners learn the language by interacting communicatively and purposefully while engaged in activities and tasks which are sequenced according to difficulty.

The potential of lesson observation as a learning tool for experiencing the process of classroom teaching has long been proved in numerous research studies. Observation is a learnt skill which improves with practice and, as Wajnryb (2000: 1) points out, „comprises more than the time actually spent in the classroom. It also includes preparation for the period in the classroom and follow-up from the time spent there”. The idea of using tasks in observation stems from the need to structure the experience on the one hand, and to engage the trainees in the learning process. This, according to Ellis (1990) is achieved by different means, among which are: doing, thinking, reacting, absorbing, observing, reflecting, preparing, considering, applying, analysing, listing, selecting, prioritising, ranking, interpreting, completing, comparing, re-arranging, evaluating, etc. All these activities aim to achieve trainees’ active involvement, which is an essential feature of task-based learning.

Among the other essential features of task-based learning are its personalised nature and its generative potential, since it teaches a way of thinking which can continue to generate solutions beyond a specific context (Freeman 1989), which in turn leads to greater autonomy for trainees. Wajnryb (2000: 15) sees the importance of task-based learning in that it is „essentially inquiry-based, discovery-oriented, inductive and potentially problem-solving”.

The notion of a task within the task-based approach to language learning has some specific features which narrow its focus compared with a more general understanding of tasks in foreign language teaching (FLT). The narrow view of task-based learning limits it to use in the foreign language classroom, where the learners’ principal aim is

exchanging and understanding meaning rather than manipulating language forms. There is always some goal to be achieved through the completion of the task, and the outcome is shared with the other participants in the task or another group in class. The task can involve all four skills used with a real communicative purpose, and can be followed by a focus-on-form activity or activities.

For the purposes of the present discussion I will use Shehadeh's (2005: 18) definition of task, according to which „a language learning task is:

- an activity;
- that has a non-linguistic purpose or goal;
- with a clear outcome;
- and that uses any or all of the four language skills in its accomplishment
- by conveying meaning in a way that reflects real-world language use”.

There are different task types which Nunan (1989) broadly divided into two main categories: real-world tasks (e.g. using the telephone) and pedagogic tasks (e.g. information gap activities). Lesson observation tasks belong to the second type.

Typically, there are three aspects of learner performance which are measured in tasks in general as well as in observation tasks: fluency, accuracy and complexity (Skehan 1998). The latter refers to the learners' ability to produce more elaborate and complex language structures, whereas the first two depend on the learners' focus on meaning and form respectively. Applied to observation-related activities, it is expected that trainees should be able to use the meta-language related to FLT discourse appropriately, correctly and relevantly.

The Task-based instruction framework, as described by Willis (1996), has three main parts: pre-task, the task cycle and language focus.

In the **pre-task** the teacher introduces and defines the topic, uses activities to help learners recall or learn useful words or phrases, checks students understanding of the instructions, or plays a recording of others doing the same or a similar task. The students note down useful words and phrases from the pre-task activities and may spend a few minutes preparing for the task individually.

The **task cycle** itself consists of three stages: task, planning and report. First, the students do the task in pairs or small groups. Then they prepare to report to the class how they did the task and what they came up with. They rehearse what they will say or draft a written version for the class to read. In the report stage the students present their reports or circulate them in written form.

The **language focus** stage has two sub-stages – the analysis, where the students do consciousness-raising activities to identify and process specific language features, or ask

about other features they have noticed; and the practice sub-stage, which offers more activities to help students build confidence.

Implementing task-based learning

The idea to apply this task model to trainees' lesson observation was the result of a desire to structure the experience of observation and make the trainees more focused and engaged, rather than letting them just sit it on proceedings and get distracted. In addition, by being involved in the process, they will gain hands-on experience of how task-based learning as a TEFL approach works.

Task-based procedures can be introduced right from the beginning of lesson observations, which in our case constitute 30 contact hours, half of which are done at the university in the form of video lessons or lesson fragments and their discussion, and the other half being school visits when eight lessons are observed and discussed. The participants in these sessions are the methodologist, who acts as an instructor and facilitator, and the trainees, who work as one or two big groups at university and are divided into smaller groups of 8-10 students for the school visits. The task-based procedures can be used in both types of observations, although there are some differences in their implementation which are discussed below.

Pre-task

According to Willis's framework (1996), in the pre-task the teacher introduces the topic and helps learners recall useful words or phrases, checks understanding of instructions, or plays a recording of others doing the same or a similar task.

Introducing the topic or task can proceed differently in video lessons and live lessons. The difference stems from the fact that with video lessons the instructor knows the material and the teaching focus in advance, whereas in live lessons the teaching material is not generally subject to negotiation or change aimed at illustrating certain aspects of teaching.

Some preparation and recall of previously studied aspects of teaching can be done before watching the videos, but it is virtually impossible in live lessons. The trainees can either be given the freedom to choose to observe what they think is relevant in the respective lesson or to be instructed to work on specific aspects of teaching which are present in any lesson, such as classroom language, organising feedback, monitoring, etc.

For the purposes of structuring the observation of live lessons the trainees are given a set of 8 worksheets which they are instructed to use in one of the abovementioned ways. The instructor might want to give trainees more guidance for the first observations, and leave it up to them to choose what to observe later.

The option of playing a recording of native speakers or other learners doing the same or a similar task to the one trainees are supposed to do, i.e. to discuss the lesson, is realised by getting trainees to watch recordings of post-lesson interviews with teachers in video

lessons. In live lessons school mentors can be asked to briefly discuss their plan for the lesson before the observation. The fact that video observations always precede live observations contributes to raising trainees' awareness of the way discussions of lessons proceed and gives them some experience in practising the task in a safer environment.

Task cycle

Originally the task cycle consists of doing the task, planning the oral or written report and presenting the report to others.

The task of observation can be done in pairs or smaller groups for video lessons. When observing real classrooms, trainees work on their own and take notes without discussing their ideas as this might disturb the lesson. After the observation is finished they work in pairs or small groups, compare their notes, share and negotiate their findings and prepare to report to the rest of the group how they did the task and what they discovered. At university there is enough time at this stage for both preparation and report, whereas in schools the time for preparation is limited due to time constraints and the pressure to give hot feedback immediately after the lesson. In order to build on the effect of the immediate observation the instructor might ask trainees to comment on the most important aspects of the lesson they want to discuss, and prepare a written record of the observation at home, which can then be circulated among the group of participants. Eventually the group might get together to prepare a group report for a particular lesson which summarises the whole group findings.

Language focus

At this stage the trainees process their reports to make sure they have used the appropriate meta-language for discussing an observed lesson. They can do this in both video and live lessons. They are then asked to work with the other groups' observation reports and check for correct and appropriate use of English. This activity gives trainees the chance to compare their observations on the one hand, and on the other, to compare the language they use to describe the lesson proceedings and express their opinion on the teaching observed. An appropriate additional task at this stage would be to get trainees to compare their observation reports with the plan produced by the teacher. In order to prepare them for this task the instructor might ask the teacher for his or her plan before the lesson to make copies for the trainees. The activity is particularly suitable for the initial stages of the observation process where trainees need more support in identifying and following the stages and activities in a lesson.

Examples of implementing task-based procedures in lesson observation

The following two examples illustrate how task-based procedures can be implemented in more specific, narrow-scope tasks (example 1) and on more general observation tasks (example 2).

Example 1. Focus on classroom language

The trainees are told that in this observation session they are going to focus on classroom language use. They are asked to recall what they know about the topic, the options the teacher has, such as using only target language, students' mother tongue or both, and the purposes of classroom language, e.g. to explain, to translate, to instruct, create a routine, etc.

The trainees have to write down examples of classroom language used for the following purposes:

- organising students
- giving instructions
- explaining
- correcting
- praising
- asking questions
- other reasons

Alternatively, the trainees can be told what to observe – to choose one or two categories and work in pairs where one trainee records the exact utterances and the other counts how many times they were used in the lesson.

The task cycle involves the observation lesson and the time for the post-lesson discussion, lasting 40 minutes each. For the first 10 minutes of the post-observation discussion the trainees work in pairs or groups of three negotiating and planning their oral report to the other pairs or groups. Then they report their findings and listen to the others. The instructor monitors and helps in this preparation, and then manages the oral reports and discussion. Eventually the instructor shares his or her findings and thoughts about the observation, and gives feedback on trainees' contributions.

Language focus can be done at a later stage at the university. In the language focus trainees work with their written reports and discuss the correct use of meta-language for describing and analysing the observed lesson.

Example 2. Focus on the lesson as a whole

As the task is very demanding in its content the instructor has to be very clear in distributing and explaining each trainee's responsibilities for the observation. The task has two major areas which can be assigned to two small groups consisting of three-four observers each. During the observation the trainees have to write their comments on the following areas:

Group 1: The teacher and the lesson

- teacher's professional qualities and pedagogical skills;

- teacher's communication skills;
- the aims of the lesson;
- lesson content and organization;
- teaching materials and aids.

Group 2: Classroom management

- working environment and discipline;
- interaction patterns;
- pacing and timing;
- giving instructions;
- elicitation techniques;
- error correction;
- monitoring;
- organising feedback;
- grading and assessment.

There are also three questions for all trainees to consider and discuss after the observation:

- Were the lesson aims achieved?
- What were the strong points of the lesson?
- If you were the teacher, which parts would you have taught differently and why?

Conclusion

As the two examples show it is possible to use task procedures at different stages of observation in order to keep the trainees focused and engaged throughout the observation, for example by means of narrow-scope tasks which focus on aspects of language use or aspects of the lesson, or by means of more general observation tasks which have a broader focus on the lesson as a whole. This in turn provides trainees with empirical material on which they can build oral and written reports which provide appropriate use of meta-language to describe observed lessons taught by the trainees themselves, or by their colleagues or mentors at a later stage of their teacher training. Thus, this reflective experience reproduces the task cycle across a variety of teaching and learning contexts. The same task cycle could be repeated with other areas for observation which could involve:

- A focus on the learner as a member of a larger group or class and as an individual with his or her own learning styles, multiple intelligences and strategies – cognitive, metacognitive and socio-affective.
- A focus on language systems: phonological, lexical, grammatical, functional and discoursal.
- A focus on language skills, on one particular skill or on integrated skills
- A focus on lesson stages and activities, classroom dynamics and transitions.

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A LOCAL RESPONSE TO THE GLOBAL REALITY OF TEACHING ENGLISH TO PRIMARY SCHOOL LEARNERS

FUNCTIONS AND USAGE OF THE VERB 'TO BE'

Miroslava Tsvetkova

***Abstract:** Bulgarian students face difficulties understanding some English units, particularly the usage and function of the verb 'to be'. This paper aims to help Bulgarian primary school learners overcome these difficulties as it outlines the typical learner's errors. The paper appeals to teaching each verb as a main part of a unit rather than as a small part of a grammar rule. In this way, students can learn the conjugation of the verb as well as how to form questions, make negatives, and, most importantly, apply it properly in real life.*

***Keywords:** Bulgarian learners, grammar, the verb 'to be'.*

ENGLISH LANGUAGE LEARNING AS A GLOBAL PHENOMENON

Nowadays teaching English grammar has changed from a traditional approach to a more communicative approach. Communicative drills encourage students to connect form, meaning, and use, because a lot of correct responses are possible.

Grammar is one reason why English is a difficult language for young learners. Thus grammar learning should be fun and meaningful. Grammar can be taught in many ways; there is no best way that suits all grammar rules.

The main points that follow the logic of the paper are:

- Young learners understand the situations more quickly than they understand the language, and
- Young learners also use language skills long before they are aware of them.

The dividing line between the real world and the imaginary world is not clear the way there is no boundary between the linguistic and non-linguistic world. Young learner's own understanding comes through hands, eyes and ears.

Why should we teach a foreign language at primary school level?

Children have certain aptitudes and this can be taken as an advantage. Young learners have a greater facility for understanding and imitating what they hear. They should be given a reason to communicate and a context for speaking practice.

But spoken words are not enough in language learning. Fortunately, there are a number of ways, such as short stories with pictures and simple conversation of teaching the many forms of the verb 'to be'. Moreover, games help young learners easily internalize the function and usage of the verb 'to be' through meaningful play in the language learning classroom. Just like songs and rhymes, games also provide wonderful

atmosphere in the language class. Playing a game has a purpose and an outcome. In order to play, students have to say things. Therefore, they have a reason to communicate and this makes them want to know and learn more. In addition to this, games stimulate and motivate children to a new level. They know that if they do not pay attention, they will not be able to play the game well and they will let their team down so they make more effort to join in and learn as much as possible.

Young learners love to play and they learn best when they are enjoying themselves. They are enthusiastic and positive about learning and this should be encouraged in language learning.

LEARNING ENGLISH GRAMMAR

Learning grammar is a long process. L1 and L2 differences make the way hard enough from the very beginning.

Grammar stage is the developmental phase when young learners build a foundation for future learning. The learning focus is on building their knowledge while developing basic skills. Young learners take in facts and build a frame of references for the world around them.

The aim of the paper is to help Bulgarian primary school learners overcome the difficulties in learning the functions and usage of the English verb „to be” as it outlines the typical learner’s errors.

A LOCAL RESPONSE TO THE ACQUISITION OF THE VERB ‘TO BE’ IN ENGLISH

At the beginning it would be necessary to dwell upon the temporal system in Bulgarian. For reasons of time and space, only those terms and ideas that deal with past and present will be employed since they are at the focus of the paper.

In his work, *The Philosophy of Grammar* and particularly in the chapter „Time and Tense I”, Otto Jespersen takes the concept of time and divides it into nine „time-indications” expressed by verbal forms (Jespersen 1935: 254-268). The Bulgarian grammatical tradition has also adopted this division. Yet, the terms that linguists have applied in the last decades were rather complicated. Recently, theoreticians have adopted the Greek and Latin terminology, arriving at the following classification: praesens, aorist, imperfect, perfect, plusquamperfect, futurum, futurum praeteriti, futurum exactum, and futurum exactum praeteriti. What the study is concerned with are the **praesens**, the **aorist** (минало свършено време in Bulgarian) and the **imperfect** (минало несвършено време in Bulgarian).

'To be' is the verb of being. It is the verb of everyday life. That is why it is very important to use it properly.

The verb „to be” is the first verb students learn in English. It should be taken as a main part of a unit rather than as a small part of a grammar rule. And there are too many reasons for that. It is the principal elements of a clause that some Bulgarian students have problems with. 'To be' has 8 forms: *be, am, is, are, was, were, been, being*. It can be a main verb as well as an auxiliary. In addition, there is no equivalent verb in Bulgarian when the verb 'to be' is used as an auxiliary verb in a sentence. This is similar to a jigsaw: if the picture is clear in a student's mind, then it is easy for him or her to put the right pieces in the right places.

As a full verb the verb 'to be' in English is not followed by another verb (e.g., *It is a nice house.*). As an auxiliary verb, however, 'to be' is followed by another verb (e.g., *She is cooking now.*).

By using the verb „to be”, ESL students can build structures related to their own personal information, for example, name, age, nationality, profession, etc., allowing them to communicate in the target language with ease.

Learning a new language seems to rely on the grammar of the native language to some extent. But native language has a positive or negative effect on learning a target language, especially at the beginning stages of acquiring the latter.

That is why teaching approaches should be more flexible and practical depending on the nature of the learner's first language as well as his or her culture and background.

Bulgarian learners experience difficulties when trying to understand and comprehend the correct function and usage of the verb 'to be' as an auxiliary, since there are no counterparts in Bulgarian. The verb 'съм' in Bulgarian is universal as an auxiliary and its forms are used widely to construct most of the complex verb forms. The verb has got suppletive stems (i.e. derived from different roots) for the present tense (*съм, си, е, сме, сте, са*), imperfect tense (*бях, беше/бе, беше/бе, бяхме, бяхте, бяха*), the aorist (*бих, би, би, бихме, бихте, биха*) and the future tense (*ще бъда/ще съм, ще бъдеш/ще си, ще бъде/ще е, ще бъдем/ще сме, ще бъдете/ще сте, ще бъдат/ще са*).

Individuals tend to transfer the forms and meanings and the distribution of these forms and meanings of their native languages to the foreign language. And here comes the trouble. The study focuses on the verb „to be” in questions only because they include all sorts of errors that learners make.

In producing questions (both general and special) in progressive aspect in English, young learner's most common errors are failure to include an obligatory auxiliary or failure, if they do include an auxiliary, to invert it before the subject. The source of the errors can be an inversion rule, incorrect representation of the location of the wh-word (de Villiers 1991; Plunkett 1991), or item-by-item learning (Rowland and Pine 2000).

The analysis of the study shows that the inconsistent inclusion of an overt auxiliary and subject-auxiliary inversion in early wh-questions is due to:

- the variable realization of tense and movement of the auxiliary across clause types in English;
- the dissociation between auxiliaries and lexical verbs with respect to inversion which makes it difficult for young learners, and
- optional inversion in English yes/no questions which leads learners to generalize over all types of questions.

The present study is based on an investigation of young learner's production of questions in Bulgarian in order to test competing accounts of question errors in English. The verb 'to be' is used both as an auxiliary and compared to some other main verbs as well. Bulgarian and English differ in several aspects that can help us discuss the relevant factors in learner's acquisition of wh-questions. Unlike English, Bulgarian subject-auxiliary inversion is obligatory both in root and embedded wh-questions (e.g., *Спомняш ли си в колко часа пристига влака? Знаеш ли в колко часа е срещата?*). In English subject-auxiliary inversion does not apply in embedded questions (e.g. *I wonder **what time he left**. Can you tell me **where the changing room is**?*). Second, Bulgarian wh-questions require subject-verb inversion in addition to auxiliary inversion (e.g. *Каква иска да стане тя? Какво е това?*). English, in contrast, does not allow inversion of verbs, only auxiliaries. Thus, another aspect that should be discussed is that English auxiliaries and lexical verbs behave differently with respect to inversion – the former must invert and the latter cannot. Third, Bulgarian yes/no questions do not involve verb or auxiliary inversion (e.g., *Тя знае ли за случилото се? Тя иска ли да дойде? Тя навън ли е?*). The question-forming interrogative particle 'ли' is used instead. These characteristics of Bulgarian questions suggest that the input for Bulgarian learners is more transparent and unambiguous than in English.

Furthermore, according to a research in the field (Erreich 1984), the optionality of inversion in English yes/no questions leads the learner to employ an optional inversion rule to wh-questions as well. If a learner thinks that inversion is optional because he or she treats yes/no and wh-questions in a similar way, he/she will need plenty of positive evidence for inversion in wh-questions to abandon the optional hypothesis. The Bulgarian learner does not have a reason to treat wh- and yes/no questions similarly because the latter do not involve inversion (Erreich 1984).

Another problem comes from the pronoun-verb agreement. Each pronoun is an individual grammatical entity when it is associated with the verb 'to be'.

In English, the pronoun 'you' is being used to address anyone – no matter one or more people. In Bulgarian, however, there is one word for the singular second-person pronoun ('ти'), and a completely different one for the plural pronoun ('вие'). Thus students can possibly combine 'you' (sg. in English) with 'is' if learners do not follow the usage of

each pronoun as an individual grammatical entity when it is associated with the verb ‘to be’.

While modern English does not have the distinction between informal and formal second-person pronouns, in Bulgarian things are not quite as simple: we have both the informal second-person pronoun (‘ти’), and the formal one (‘Вие’) – which is the most common form of addressing people outside your immediate circle of friends/relatives/close ones.

The interesting thing here is the fact that in Bulgarian, the plural second-person pronoun (‘вие’) and the formal one (‘Вие’) is one and the same word – the only difference being that the polite form is spelt with a capital letter.

CONCLUSION

Establishing connections between form and meaning is a fundamental aspect of language acquisition. Teaching grammar early is valuable because it provides a basis for the real learning that follows. That is why the focus of the paper is on the verb ‘to be’ which functions either as a full verb or as an auxiliary verb in a clause. Additionally, more details about the function of the verb are provided when it is associated with a specific pronoun or a specific tense.

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THE REGULATIVE PRINCIPLE OF EFFICIENCY AND WEB CONTENT

Radostina Iglíkova

Abstract: *The following article is based on the proposition that certain elements of the theory of textuality as proposed by Beaugrande and Dressler in their seminal Introduction to Text Linguistics (Beaugrande and Dressler 1981) can be successfully employed in the analysis of the phenomenon of the „digitally born” text and the discourse it pertains to – i.e., the textual content populating the innumerable pages of the World Wide Web. More specifically, the paper recognizes the opportunities as well as the challenges stemming from the inherent convergence, non-linearity, hypertextuality and interactiveness of the Internet as a medium, and in turn aims to pinpoint some of the potential benefits of approaching online discourse from the perspective of efficiency as a regulative principle. In this respect, the article can be regarded as an attempt at bridging the gap between tradition (in the face of text-oriented discourse analysis) and current trends (the abundant and varied literature exploring what is widely referred to as „writing for the web”).*

Key words: *World Wide Web, writing for the web, digital text, efficiency*

As a person with a theoretical background in textlinguistics, comparative linguistics, discourse studies, my research interests involve text-oriented discourse analysis with a focus on the upholding of the principle of efficiency in text-based communication, i.e. optimizing the design of the text in terms of minimizing processing effort.

The emergence and subsequent overwhelming popularity of the World Wide Web as a medium with its own unique specificities among which is the fact that its content is still largely text-based has especially far reaching effects upon communication and research. This so-called „digital shift” or „digital turn” may be said to have effected yet another revolutionary jump in the nature of text, in addition to its previous „stages” of development related to speech, writing and print.

Having lost its hegemonic position, the medium of print joins its predecessors and makes way for a new generation – the text „born digital”.

My proposed contribution to today’s discussion offers to touch upon some linguistic and discursive issues which are directly related to recent technological and communicational developments such as the popularity of the World Wide Web and the so-called „digital shift” or „digital turn” in communication and research.

I shall take the following as the basis for my argument:

- The majority of content on the World Wide Web is still text-based
- The unique specificities of the World Wide Web as a technology, a medium and a discourse have effected qualitative changes in the ways text /textual or text-based content/ is utilized – it becomes more and more obvious that text needs to be

transformed instead of transferred, to be „re-born” as digital instead of being mechanically „digitalized” (the equivalent of reproducing it on a screen instead of on paper)

- The nature of this „digital turn” with its immediate effects upon text-based computer-mediated communication has further emphasized the importance of optimizing the quality of text in terms of processing ease

One fundamental notion in the field of Textlinguistics is the regulative principle of efficiency, which governs the design and utilization of texts with regard to ensuring processing ease. Recent developments in technology and communication, however, have resulted in the overwhelming popularity of the World Wide Web and, respectively, have effected the evolution of a new phenomenon – the text „born digital”. In light of these developments and their undeniable significance, it would seem justified to revisit the issue of text-evaluation in terms of the efficiency principle with a newly added emphasis on the specificities and requirements of this qualitatively new type of content.

In spite of its potential and claims to multimodality, the Internet still remains a mainly textual medium whose content draws upon existing and well-established forms of communication. This sense of familiarity combined with the tendency towards democratization and informalization characteristic of modern media, however, often proves to be misleading, due to the specificity of digitally-assisted communication and its effects upon the utilization of text.

Mapping the notions, views, methodology and theoretical background of well-developed disciplines such as Textlinguistics, Text-oriented Discourse analysis, Comparative linguistics, etc., needs to be done in order to relate what we already know about text, to establish systematic connections and points of reference between the paradigm of text-oriented linguistic research and analysis and the new paradigm of digitality, the World Wide Web and its digitally born text(s).

The purpose is to establish an algorithm of transference and emulation of information and understanding between and among the existing vast amounts of research and theoretical work and the newly emerging reality of the digital text, thus precluding the necessity for all disciplines dealing with electronic discourse to start anew, from scratch, as if text never existed before the internet era, or as if digital text were a phenomenon which miraculously came into being instead of emerging, developing and evolving on the basis of and in a dialectic relationship with printed text.

There seems to be a certain tendency among researchers in the field of content design and all relevant research dealing with creating „content for the web” to focus extensively on the practical aspect of digital text. The reasons for such a preoccupation with practical advice, user-friendliness are by all means valid and understandable – having such a phenomenon emerge and change, transform in front of your eyes creates a sense of dynamism which renders distancing and theorizing impracticable. Writing for the web is happening here and now, in real time, non-stop, so who has the time to do

old-fashioned research and develop theoretically sound and thorough methodologies? Efficiency is, indeed, the dominant principle in such practice-driven research, as well as in the medium and content it deals with. It needs to work, to be no more than good enough, to „satisfice”, to be hands-on and immediately „applicable”.

Does this, however, mean that all previous research and theoretical knowledge should be considered obsolete and irrelevant, and therefore dismissed as archaic? Does this mean that the „old” textual efficiency of Beaugrande and Dressler’s theoretical constructs is dead and done for?

Or is it perhaps the case that the new digital text and the specific brand of „digital efficiency” it involves are offsprings, evolved versions of the printed text and its textual efficiency?

In this line of thought, then, the time and effort invested in doing linguistic research is very likely to prove an invaluable source of clues, guidelines and previous experience for the understanding of the current variety of discourse we are faced with in the digital era.

The Specificities of Internet Discourse and Text-Based Computer-Mediated Communication (CMC) include their technological potential for convergence, multimodality (combining various semiotic codes, such as sound, image and language/text), non-linearity, hypertextuality and interactiveness.

These result in a number of advantages:

- Vast amounts of content
- Dynamism
- Wider range of resources for creating /constructing messages – WWW combines the audio-visuality, immediacy and dynamism of television and radio with the control over conditions of accessing and managing content (time, duration, place, order) associated with print and speech
- Variety of readings of the same content

And certain disadvantages:

- Information overload/ anxiety
- Narrow attention span/ exhaustion/ skimming and scanning instead of reading
- Loss of orientation and sense of beginning and end due to the lack of stable reference points
- Constant need for evaluation and selection – an endless decision-making process

The importance of these issues has been widely recognized by researchers and professionals in the field of „writing for the web” (also known as „content

development”, „copywriting”, „web content design”, „content management”). This newly emergent area necessarily draws upon a number of related disciplines due to the multidimensional and complex nature of the medium of web pages which combine web design, information architecture, marketing, advertising, information strategy, etc. Such wide multidisciplinaryity is what Discourse Analysis gurus such as Teun van Dijk have long been calling for. It is still, unfortunately, something that linguistic research can merely strive for and be secretly jealous of.

The decidedly hands-on and „holistic” nature of the approach which makes it stand out against the background of traditional linguistic research, however, is exactly where the potential danger lies. The wide-ranging, all-inclusive scope of most of the literature on web writing demands quite a large scale in order to cover all the basic aspects of building a website and populating each of its pages with content in order to make it work. This „breadth”, however, ends up limiting the „depth” of the output. As a result, several important weaknesses emerge:

- Although most authors are determined to point out the importance of the quality of the content itself and its priority over other aspects of web-based communication („visitors come for the content” in Redish’ words (2012: 1)), there are usually no specific criteria for evaluating the quality of texts from a linguistic perspective;
- Guidelines are usually limited to formulaic statements about the design and organization of texts without providing a general framework of reference pertaining to textual specificities and crucial linguistic notions such as cohesion and coherence, for example;
- Not a single one of the dozens of books dedicated to issues concerning web content development and writing for the new digital medium recognizes the fundamental distinction between the terms „efficiency” and „effectiveness” – they are either used interchangeably or simultaneously, obviously in an attempt to emphasize the general idea of „economy”, brevity, clarity and practicality they denote in everyday discourse.

This pronouncedly, even flagrantly „user-friendly”, informal and unpretentious mode of presenting the undoubtedly useful practical advice corresponds to the general tendency towards informalization and conversationalization in all areas of modern life, and especially the World Wide Web. It also resonates with the need to make such books accessible to a wider audience, including non-specialists or people with a background in a non-linguistics related discipline pertaining to website development.

The caveat in this otherwise „efficient” approach to providing training, instruction and assistance to potential website creators, however, seems to be the impression it creates that people presumably need instruction in order to figure out and tune up the marketing and PR strategy of their website and get it to correspond to their company’s or their personal goals; they need knowledge and practice in order to master web design and

information architecture or at least hire a specialist; they need to get to know their target audiences and include content (information) which is valuable for visitors and present it in the visitors' words. The task of actually generating that content, however, would seem to be quite simple and its mechanisms entirely intuitive and self-evident, since the only instruction readers receive comes in the form of a (not very long) list of „tricks” for keeping things „simple” and „brief”. It would follow, then, that in order to be able to write successful digital texts (or „generate quality content”) one only needs to practice applying the tricks in a consistent way. If this is indeed the case, we may not be very far away from the day when software will be able to generate valuable content and produce high-quality texts, provided it has been fed the right amount of data concerning the target audience's interests and vocabulary, the company's marketing and advertising plans and an algorithm of rules similar to the ones below (Redish 2012):

- Content=conversation;
- Home pages-content-rich with few words;
- Continue the conversation quickly;
- Write in fragments;
- Focusing on conversations and key messages;
- Give people only what the need;
- Start with your key message;
- Key message first=inverted pyramid style;
- Announcing your topic with a clear headline – use a statement, question, call to action;
- Exploit the power of parallelism;
- Use the imperative in instructions;
- Write in the active voice (most of the time);
- Write short, simple sentences;
- Keep paragraphs short;
- Lists and tables may be even better;
- Cut! Cut! Cut! And cut again!

„Brevity” and „simplicity” make for good mottos but those are relative and not absolute notions. This particular relativity, or the principle of employing constant trade-offs between saying too little and saying too much is precisely what textual efficiency as a design evaluation principle stands for.

In this sense it would seem that the well-developed theoretical construct of textlinguistics and text-oriented discourse analysis and notions such as cohesive devices and their potential for compacting surface structure could offer a more integrated approach to the evaluation of textual content.

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INTERNATIONALIZATION, GLOBALIZATION AND CULTURE

IN ADVERTISING DISCOURSE

Rumyana Todorova, Zlatko Todorov

Abstract: *The paper deals with the issues of internationalization, multinationalization, globalization and culture in advertising discourse. It touches upon different interpretations of these phenomena but also introduces the term globalization which has been introduced in the 21st century through the prism of local cultures. Examples of ads from British and Bulgarian media discourse are provided in support of those processes.*

Key words: *internationalization, globalization, globalization, culture, advertising*

When we talk about internationalization most of us have in mind globalization but the very fact that these two terms exist makes us ask the question of differentiation, similarity, overlapping of concepts and ideas. Do these concepts reflect one and the same phenomenon or do they represent different processes? If we try to clarify these two issues, we should start with their definitions. One of the many definitions of *internationalization* from an Internet source is as follows: ‘The designing of a product in such a way that it will meet the needs of users in many countries or can be easily adapted to do so’ (<http://www.investopedia.com/terms/i/internationalization.asp>). The Investopedia mentions a well-known fact about ‘products that are internationalized’. In most cases they ‘must be localized to fit the needs of’ the people from the respective country using the products. An interesting example is provided to support this statement and it is that ‘an internationalized software program would need to be localized to display the date as November 14 for use in the United States and as 14 November for use in England’. In our opinion this example is too far-fetched and going to extremes. It does not really matter in what way the date will be written. What really matters is that it will be understood by everybody irrespective of their country and culture, but if we want to be as precise as possible, most probably we should follow these kinds of requirements. The issue of internationalization of education worldwide is also worth mentioning but it will not be of our concern here, as it in itself is of great importance and is subject to different criteria and interpretations.

There is another definition from the Internet which is more or less similar to the above mentioned but more specific depending on the fields it refers to:

‘1. Commerce: The growing tendency of corporations to operate across national boundaries.

2. Marketing and Computing: An approach to designing products and services that are easily adaptable to different cultures and languages’.

(see <http://www.businessdictionary.com/definition/internationalization.html>)

There is yet another term that is introduced and it is *multinationalization* having to do with the exchange of goods and services among countries. There are quite a lot of companies whose activities are extended in other countries different from the country of origin or location of the host company. Here, we are not talking about outsourcing where the production of goods and services is located in a country having lower living standards and for which reason company owners pay less for the work done.

As for globalization it tends to unify all processes, goods, services, technologies and even people, so that everything is much easier for transnational flows of the aforementioned. John Tomlinson sees globalization as ‘connectivity’ and as ‘a complex process because it involves rapid social change that is occurring simultaneously across a number of dimensions’, one of them being culture together with modernity and postmodernity. It affects all spheres of life, advertising and consumerism included (see Tomlinson 1999). So, the buzz word here is ‘connectivity’ and one of the ways this is done is through the use of the Internet, social networks and mobile phones which makes the whole world even more global and unified in a lot of directions, culture being one of them. That is at least the strife of advertising agents, though as Roland Robertson (2000) puts it, it cannot quite be the case as there is a big difference between developing and developed countries in which the situation is completely different as for living standards, communication, etc. In this respect, an example from the world of advertising can be all those advertisements for mobile phones in which, though their functions are the same everywhere, the culture their services appear in is not the same. That is the reason why they are advertised by putting an emphasis on locally specific environments. It is true that the spread of information about mobile phones relies on globally spread cultural issues such as the idea of communication among friends but this kind of communication the way it is fulfilled in Bulgaria will not be accepted well in other countries, i. e. talking aloud in public disregarding other people’s privacy. Or, in other words, as Robertson (2000) states local culture assigns meaning to global influences. In most narratives, friendship is accentuated but it is rapidly becoming a concern of modern developed societies as real / live exchange of ideas is simply missing. Virtual reality matters more and is exploited to the full by younger generations all over the world. Young people nowadays do not need face-to-face interaction and in some cases it is even difficult for them to communicate in this way. They can always do it via the electronic devices they have as is the case with a commercial on one of the Bulgarian TV channels in which a boy and a girl sitting next to each other talk **between them** by using their mobiles. This is a kind of alienation typical mostly for Western societies but gradually coming to Bulgaria as well as part of a global universal culture in which the self matters more in the virtual world than in reality. That is the case in advertising as part of that world which is more imaginary than real but most probably more global than the real world. All this becomes viral, i. e. infectious, as we are just human and imitation is part of our nature (see <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2620922/Hypocritical-viral-video-evils-social-media-tells-viewers-shut-devices-live-life-real-way.html>).

There is, however, a major issue which Robertson (ibid.: 8) puts forward and it is that globalization refers to ‘the intensification of consciousness of the world’, among other things. So, we can say that it is in a way some kind of awareness of what is actually happening on a global scale that makes information somehow unified apart from its being culturally unique in some cases.

According to Robertson ‘globality will bring not unity but merely uniformity’. Thus, for example, teenagers from Bulgaria would like to wear Nike or Reebok sportswear as their peers from other Western countries do, which does not mean that they will definitely be like them and have similar lives. What can happen is that their imaginary world can start imitating or resembling the one of, say, American boys. Or, Bulgarian music bands try to look like Western ones in behaviour while singing but still foreign bands are the preferred ones to perform and watch for unknown reasons.

What is actually globalization? Is it some kind of Americanization? Does it have to do with Cola-Cola drinking, though nowadays if not the majority of the Bulgarians, then at least most of them avoid drinking Coke for healthy reasons. But Coca-Cola is still advertised in Bulgaria and targets mostly young people; yet Coca-Cola ads show elderly people taking part in younger generation ‘games’ of this world famous drink as is the case with *Coca-Cola kiss happiness ads* celebrating 100 years of ‘the first (and timeless) kiss of Coca-Cola in the beautiful bottle’: ‘It’s been a long time since the first kiss... But it lasts forever (<http://www.coca-colacompany.com/videos/kiss-happiness-yttjvw7vqt5yu>). The same trend exists with the McDonald’s mania of small children. They are trapped in the imaginary world of McDonald characters which appear as toys they get with the purchased product. As for elderly people going to McDonald’s, the attraction for them is most probably financial rather than anything else.

If we have a look at Scheuerman’s definition of globalization in which an emphasis is put on political, economical and cultural trends, we can quote some parts which are related to advertising, though it is not explicitly mentioned, namely that

‘globalization often functions as little more than a synonym for one or more of the following phenomena: ...free market policies in the world economy..., the growing dominance of western (or even American forms) of political, economic and cultural life (‘westernization’ or ‘Americanization’), the proliferation of new information technologies (the ‘Internet Revolution’), as well as the notion that humanity stands at the threshold of one single unified community in which major sources of social conflict have vanished (‘global integration’) (Scheuerman 2008).

The fear with globalization and its effect on advertising is that advertising may lose its local cultural traditions and their flavour and stick only to the more common ones which may actually turn out to be American rather than global as is the case with Coca-Cola, McDonalds, Hollywood movies, etc., which everybody is familiar with and advertising agents are sure they will have some success with their products and services promoted with the help of those Western or rather American phenomena. In this respect, we may

use the term *grobalization* introduced in the 21st century and coined by George Ritzer in 2004 as ‘the imperialistic ambitions of nations, corporations, organizations, and the like and their desire, indeed need, to impose themselves on various geographic areas’ (Ritzer 2004: 73), which is more or less the same thing. As for *McDonaldization* of society he defines it as ‘the process by which the principles of the fast-food restaurant are coming to dominate more and more sectors of American society as well as of the rest of the world’ (Ritzer 2011: 1), or in other words, as he claims, and which is more or less a fact, ‘consumer patterns are unified and local cultures are westernized’. In our opinion, the interpretation of this process can be expanded to cover any kind of Western (or at least American) influence and imitation not only in the field of advertising but in all spheres of life and society in general because we can easily call the process *Coca-Colization*, and it will have the same effect and implication of spreading American influence in non-western cultures through the advertising of American goods and the imitation of American way of life.

Although advertising uses some cultural aspects in its narratives they are oriented towards the promotion of the advertised objects. Global issues are actually exploited so that every culture representative can then transfer them through the scope of his/her episodic and semantic knowledge and then rethink their own worlds. ‘The understanding of the effects of globalization’ is ‘felt within particular localities’ because, as Tomlinson puts it, ‘globalization is rapidly changing our experience of the locality’ each one of us lives in (Tomlinson 2007: 360).

At present, a lot of internationally recognized brands mostly in the fashion industry appear all over the world but in each country their recognition acquires different dimensions as for culture, trends and tendencies, societal likes and dislikes. The origin of the company is hardly known by the users of its products but everybody is familiar with the latter. Such a company is, for example, H&M which is a Swedish multinational retail-clothing company known for its fast-fashion clothing (see <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/H%26M>). Another one is Benetton. The respective supply chains react very quickly to the emerging fashion styles from the catwalks so that they could satisfy the needs and demands of mass customers. *Fast fashion*, also known as *disposable fashion* (similarly to fast food), is a comparatively newly coined term (late 1990s and first part of 21st century) to stand for recent fashion trends clothes at lower prices. While *fast food* is widely spread in Bulgaria *fast fashion* is not yet in use. Both types of product are utilized by mainstream consumers in the globalized world. Their oppositions *slow food* and *slow fashion* have not become that popular in Bulgaria yet but they are circulated globally. So, along with the latest tendencies related to globalization, the advertising business responds adequately. Thus, one of H&M’s ads is about recycling unwanted clothes for the sake of sustainable future by investing in time and technological resources (<http://www.hm.com/gb/garment-collecting>). Their slogan is: ‘Reduce, reuse, recycle’ and they have called their initiative *global* and it is about turning ‘old garments into new fashion’ (<http://about.hm.com/en/About/sustainability/commitments/reduce-waste.html>). This tendency and initiative of

saving the planet is followed by companies such as Marks and Spencer's, Puma and a lot others.

Nowadays, however, people in the nearby regions started talking about Balkanization, but what is actually happening in Bulgaria is mostly Turkishization, as there are quite a lot of Turkish series on Bulgarian TV but no Greek or Romanian ones, for example. Yet, we observe another phenomenon: Although there are quite a lot of Turkish goods (clothes, food, etc.) on the Bulgarian market as well as Turkish films on TV there are no advertisements about them apart from the trailers on TV channels.

As for globalization and its effects on Bulgarian culture there are quite a lot of other examples but some of the most striking ones presenting different global and local culture aspects by using various techniques are those related to the promotion of beer. Thus, *Zagorka* is a beer brand name which is produced locally and consumed locally; in other words this beer is produced mainly in Bulgaria for the Bulgarian market. However, it is advertised by using globally oriented cultural conceptualizations but still there is a Bulgarian culture specific code or sign and it is the beer bottle itself and the brand name. What is striking is the fact that some of their ads promote the beer against the background of other tendencies typical for other cultures thus making the respective brand name more salient. Shumensko beer is another Bulgarian brand name, again produced and consumed in Bulgaria, but advertising agents avail themselves of the practices well-known and used worldwide, i. e. the social networks everybody on the international scale avails themselves nowadays. One of the advertisements expropriates different ways of communication starting with the oldest ones to show the lifelong tradition and the history the brand name relies on and going on with the latest developments of Internet communication such as writing on the Facebook wall, one of the social networking sites (see <http://missby.wordpress.com/tag/каменица>). Thus, the one-time local customs and traditions related to social interaction are contrasted with wide-spread global communication processes (see Todorova 2014). There are some beers produced in Bulgaria but the brands are international (Tuborg, Becks, Heineken, etc.), and their commercials are created abroad by foreign copywriters, again to match as many local audiences as possible by presenting narratives with hardly any verbal signs and with a lot of non-verbal ones which most culture representatives will understand and decode correctly.

The processes of globalization have an impact on language as well, especially in Bulgaria, where Internet communication is conducted in Bulgarian but with Latin letters and this is also reflected in advertising to show young people that advertising agents, copywriters in particular, know how these adolescents communicate, and to tickle and flatter them by using their sign system, and also show them that they are aware of their way of interaction techniques.

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'BULGARIZE AWAY!' – COGNITIVE ANALYSIS OF PHRASAL VERBS WITH AWAY (A CORPUS STUDY)

Svetlana Nedelcheva

Abstract: *This research intends to find a more cognitive-oriented approach to the instruction of English phrasal verbs in comparison with traditional approaches. This special group of verbal phrases displays a considerable diversity of meanings even when they contain the same adverbial particle, and accordingly leads to inevitable complexity in the EFL classroom. This paper does not only aim to organize the meanings of verbs + away constructions in a semantic network but also plans to show how EFL learners can interpret the meaning of constructed 'online' phrasal verbs (cf. Evans, Bergen, Zinken 2007: 28) such as 'Bulgarize away', used by Ashton Kutcher's character in the American movie *Valentine's day*. The overall objective of the study is to oppose the false assumption that phrasal verbs (PVs) are random and without logical principles. We would like to show that PVs' idiomaticity is comprehensible and should not make EFL students confused and inclined to avoid using them.*

Key words: *Cognitive linguistics, Corpus linguistics, phrasal verbs, away*

Introduction

A typical feature of word-particle constructions (VPCs) or phrasal verbs (PVs), as they are mostly called, is that they are mainly idiomatic, i.e. their meaning is not predictable because it is not equal to the sum of the meaning of its components. For instance: *The two leaders met secretly in Washington to **smooth away** any obstacles to the peace agreement.* In this case *smooth away* means 'to get rid of any problems, worries, or difficulties' and one could not guess the meaning of the VPC because it is not related to the literal meaning of 'smooth' or the meaning of 'away'.

There are different types of phrasal verbs:

- idiomatic combinations of VERB + ADVERB/ PREPOSITION of the type described above
- verbs that only exist in combination with a particular preposition or adverb, such as *rely on, amount to, gee up*; and also verbs that only produce a particular meaning when combined with a particular preposition or adverb, such as *deal with, abide by, relate to*.
- VERB + ADVERB combinations that mean almost the same as the verb itself: e.g. *eat up, hurry up, toil away*, where the adverb adds emphasis or an idea of completeness or continuity to the action of the verb.

This paper studies constructions combining verbs with AWAY and does not concentrate so much on the type of these constructions (Although the corpus of examples showed combinations of the first and third type mentioned above). The terminological difference between prepositions, directional adverbs and particles is not a focus of this research.

Following Tyler and Evans (2003), we use the term ‘spatial particle’ to avoid discrepancies in terminology pointed out by a number of authors (Jackendoff, Landau 1991; Lindstromberg 2010: 23). Spatial particles can be used either transitively as prepositions with a Landmark¹⁰ (LM) after them (e.g. *Obama **drove** Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas **away** from the negotiating table*) or intransitively when the LM is not mentioned (e.g. *We were allowed to back **away***.)

The main aim of the paper is to organize a cognitive semantic network scaffolding all the meanings of AWAY when combined with a verb. The network is built up following the principles of radial categories with a prototype in the centre and periphery of related meanings.

The overall objective of the study is to oppose the false assumption that PVs are random and without logical principles. We would like to show that PVs’ idiomaticity is comprehensible and should not make EFL students confused and inclined to avoid using them. Moreover, the research plans to show how EFL learners can interpret the meaning of constructed ‘online’ phrasal verbs (cf. Evans, Bergen, Zinken 2007: 28) such as ‘Bulgarize away’, used by Ashton Kutcher in the American movie *Valentine’s day*.

Methodology

Traditional grammarians, such as Bolinger (1971), Lipka (1972), Fraser (1976), etc. generally assume that phrasal verbs are arbitrary combinations of a verb and one or more particles. They mainly characterize their syntactic properties and whenever they regard their semantics, they usually point out the spatial and aspectual meanings of the particles.

What is seen as the traditional approach of presenting verb-particle constructions in course books and grammars is giving a list of PVs, arranged in alphabetical order or a verb with different particles for students to match with their definitions.

As summarized by Marks (2005: 1), there are some misunderstandings which ensue from the traditional approach to phrasal verbs that discourage learners. For instance:

- Phrasal verbs are illogical, or random, or unpredictable;
- Phrasal verbs are unique to English;
- Phrasal verbs are necessarily informal or colloquial;
- Phrasal verbs necessarily have ‘proper’, non-phrasal equivalents;
- Phrasal verbs are a ramified area of English lexis, separate from the rest.

¹⁰ The semantic network for AWAY is built on a central image-schema involving a specific relationship between a trajector (TR) and landmark (LM), the trajector being the mobile object and the landmark – the reference object; the diagram represents schematically the particle’s spatial meaning.

However, as this research shows such statements prove to be wrong and due to inappropriate methods of teaching and learning.

After recognizing the traditional method's inadequacy in 1970s, the presentation of new language items in context seemed very promising for teaching PVs. For instance, Wyss (2002) in his work advised teachers to provide their students with various authentic texts containing PVs. However, eliciting their meaning from context has its own limitation because seeing an unfamiliar word for the first time even in context seldom reveals more than a part of the word's meaning and also learning from context is undeniably more difficult in second language learning.

One of the recent methods of teaching PVs is based on cognitive linguistic (CL). CL postulates that much of word's meaning is motivated and constructed from bodily and sociocultural experience and is non-linguistic in nature. The main approaches that emerged in this area belong to Lakoff and Johnson and Tyler and Evans. In their first book *Metaphors we live by* (1980), Lakoff and Johnson sent the significant message that metaphors not only pervade languages, but humans also think in metaphorical terms. In his next book, *The body in the mind* (1987), Johnson introduced for the first time the notion of image schema as the building block of metaphor. The term schema in image schema means that „image schemas are not rich or detailed concepts, but rather abstract concepts consisting of patterns emerging from repeated instances of embodied experience” (Evans, Green 2006: 179) or in Mandler's terms (2004: 79) image schema is „not a simplified visual image but a schematic spatial representation that summarizes spatial relations and movements in space”. However, although Lakoff and Johnson's theory was largely influential, there were some flaws in it. One of these problems, pointed out by Evans and Green (2006: 336) refers to the granularity of image schemas (i.e. the level of detail presented in them). Another criticism was directed to the lack of clear methodological principles which means that the authors relied on their intuition and imagination rather than actually representing the objects in the language user's mind (Evans, Green 2006). Other missing elements were the vantage point and contextual inferences.

Tyler and Evans' study (2003) is a comprehensive theoretical analysis (termed as Principled Polysemy model) for English particles/prepositions. The model aims to provide (i) a conventional method for identifying the central sense from which the extended senses are derived systematically, and (ii) a set of criteria for determining whether a specific use constitutes a distinct sense of a particle. These principles are important because they make the model methodologically sound and they have been overlooked by other CL approaches, such as Brugman and Lakoff (1988) and Lakoff (1987). In this theory they proposed that the polysemy of particles should be characterized based on two principles: vantage point (way of viewing a spatial scene) and contextual inferences (understanding meaning from context of use). The analysis of particles uses cognition precepts such as knowledge of force dynamics and embodied experience (Sweetser 1990; Vandeloise 1991; Mandler 1992). Tyler and Evans (2003)

argue that experience is embodied because our conceptual structure depends on how we as humans interact with objects of the world around us. They suggest that language directly refers to the human conceptual system rather than the 'real world'. The critical difference between Tyler and Evan's theory and Lakoff's approach is that „it is a-metaphorical” (cf. Dirven 2001). Although they recognize the importance of metaphor in human cognition, they hold that metaphors do not appropriately explain the cognitive processes and the underlying systematicity of particles.

The present analysis makes use of a corpus of 147 verb-particle constructions with AWAY extracted from over 5000 tokens in Longman Phrasal Verbs Dictionary (LDPV). AWAY was chosen because it is polysemous, highly frequent and combined with many verbs to form phrasal verb constructions. Additionally, the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) was used for checking the frequency of verbal combinations with AWAY.

COCA was used for investigating the different uses of the phrasal verbs in naturally occurring data. The corpus consists of a variety of genres including spoken (unscripted conversation) from TV and radio programs, fiction, magazines, news, and academic journals.

Semantic Network of AWAY

A crucial point for the precise analysis of all semantic networks is to identify the central meaning. The central sense is the one from which all the other meanings extend systematically. Tyler and Evans (2003) propose a number of criteria for identifying the central sense, based on a significant body of evidence:

1. to study the earliest attested meaning and the etymology of the word;
2. to consider the predominance of the sense in the semantic network;
3. to oppose it to the spatial relations of other particles/prepositions.

To interpret the verb-particle constructions, the first step in the analysis involves identifying the central or core meaning of AWAY. For this purpose, we began by establishing its etymology based on the information provided in the Online Etymology Dictionary (<http://www.etymonline.com/>) in combination with COCA data: away O.E. *aweg*, earlier *onweg* "on from this (that) place". Colloquial use for "without delay" (*fire away*, also *right away*) is from earlier sense of „onward in time" (16c.). Intensive use (e.g. *away back*) is Amer.Eng., first attested 1818.

The etymological research shows that the earliest attested meaning of AWAY is spatial and it is conceptually related to the temporal meaning which appeared later in time. In order to correlate and match these early meanings with the contemporary meanings enlisted in the dictionaries we used five different online dictionaries: Macmillan dictionary, Free online dictionary, Cambridge dictionary, Merriam-Webster

dictionary and Oxford dictionary. Table 1 summarizes the meanings presented in the dictionaries. The spatial meaning closest to the oldest one „on from this (that) place” and present in all dictionaries is „in a different direction” and we consider it as a good candidate for the central meaning (for instance, this was the case with AWAY in *back away*, *go away*, etc.). Next, we consulted the online dictionaries mentioned above for potential multiple, extended meanings. According to these sources, 10 different meanings can be appointed at the most. They are displayed in Table 1 and the empty spaces exhibit that this particular meaning is not attested in the corresponding dictionary.

Table 1: Summary of AWAY meanings enlisted in dictionaries

	Macmillan dictionary http://www.macmillandictionary.com/dictionary/british/away_1	Free online dictionary http://www.thefreedictionary.com/away	Cambridge dictionary http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/british/away	Merriam-Webster dictionary http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/away	Oxford dictionary http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/away
1	In a different direction	a. In a different direction; aside b. On the way	Somewhere else, or to or in a different place, position, or situation	a. On the way b. In another direction	a. Conceptually to one side, so as no longer to be the focus of attention b. Towards a lower level; downwards
2	At a distance	a. At or to a distance in space or time b. At or by a considerable interval	At a distance (of or from here)	From this or that place <go away>	At a specified distance
3	Not at home, or not at the place where you work or study	From a particular thing or place	In or into the usual or a suitable place, especially one that can be closed		
4	Used for saying	Out of existence	Gradually	Out of	Into non-

	that something gradually disappears	or notice	until mostly or completely gone	existence : to an end	existence
5	Used for showing distance or time	From one's possession	In the future	From one's possession	At a specified future distance in time
6	[USUALLY PROGRESSIVE] used for showing that someone does something continuously or for a long time	Continuously; steadily	Continuously or repeatedly, or in a busy way	Steadily onward : UNINTERRUPTEDLY	Constantly, persistently, or continuously
7	Used for showing that something is removed	So as to remove, separate, or eliminate debris		By a long distance or interval	
8	In a safe place, or in the place where something is usually kept	In or into storage or safekeeping		In a secure place or manner	Into an appropriate place for storage or safekeeping
9	Used for showing that there is a change in people's opinions or ways of doing things	Freely; at will: Fire away!			
10	If a sports team plays away, they go to their opponents' ground to play a game. If they play in their own ground, they play at home				(With reference to a sports fixture) at the opponents' ground

However, detailed analysis of AWAY-VPCs in context revealed that some of these ‘distinct’ senses are contextual variants, i.e. the differences in the meanings arise from context. This situation is analogous to the overly fine-grained polysemy analyses of prepositions discussed by Tyler and Evans (2001, 2003). We adopted their criterion that a distinct sense must contain additional meaning not apparent in other suggested senses. Therefore, a distinct sense: (i) prompts for a different spatial scene from the other senses; or (ii) may have a non-spatial/ metaphorical meaning. For instance, one clearly established sense for *back away* is ‘to move backwards so that you are further away from someone or something, often because you are afraid or nervous’, as in *We were allowed to back away* (COCA). We argue that this meaning involves a spatial scene in which an actor moves from his/her original location. A second sense involves the notion of ‘changing your mind’¹¹, as in *We thought we had a deal, but the seller is starting to back away* (LPVD 2000: 11). Here the interpretation of *back away* goes beyond the spatial movement from its original location; rather, the interpretation focuses on doing nothing because you moved away from your previous state of mind. Using this methodology, we determined that the dictionary meanings for verb + AWAY constructions could be consolidated into substantially fewer categories (4 major meaning categories and 3 extended meanings). These analyses also revealed that for each of the VPCs one broadly defined sense predominated: ‘moving in a different direction or being at a distance from a location’, e.g. *Mr. Brooks smiled and turned away from the desk to face the TV and listen*. Picture 1 and Figure 1 illustrate this sense.



Picture 1

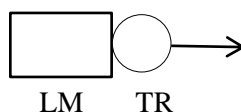


Figure 1: Central sense for AWAY

The box in the depiction represents the Landmark, the circle is the Trajector and the arrow stands for the direction or path of the movement. In the above example *the desk* is the Landmark, *Mr. Brooks* is the Trajector and the arrow points at the direction of the activity performed by him. The distance between the TR and the LM can vary from zero to no limit. In this particular situation the distance between the desk and Mr. Brooks is not important. The focus is on the direction of the movement which is opposite the desk and towards the TV.

¹¹ ‘to become unwilling to do something that you promised or planned to do, especially because you do not support the idea or plan any more’ (Longman Phrasal Verbs Dictionary 2000: 11)

When constructing the semantic network of AWAY, we were guided by two main tenets. Firstly, as it was mentioned above, that the earliest attested meaning would be a potential central sense. And secondly, that the extended meanings could be traced back to the central sense relying on established CL principles for meaning extension, such as experiential correlation and different construals on a scene (cf. Tyler, Evans 2003). After the preliminary analysis, we re-evaluated and consolidated the categories from the five dictionaries mentioned above and formulated rubrics for the central and distinct senses of AWAY (Figure 2).

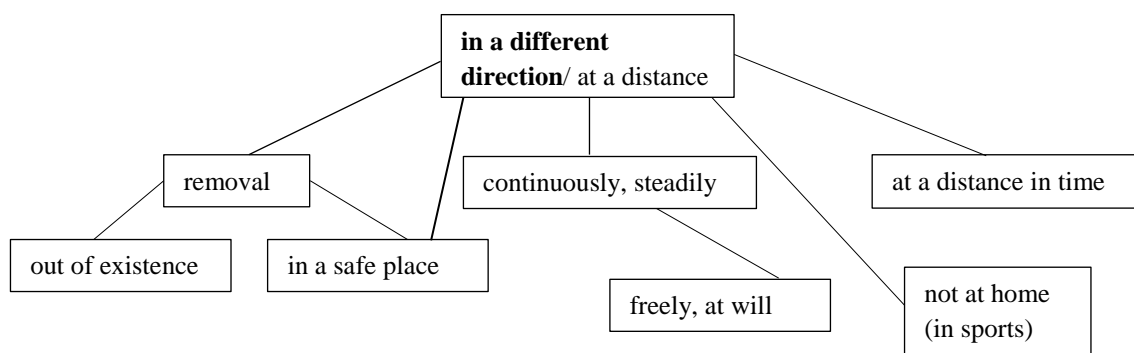


Figure 2: The semantic network of AWAY

Analysis

This section provides a detailed analysis of the selected phrasal verbs based on the corpus investigation. First, a brief description of the core meanings of the verbs is provided. Following this, the influence of AWAY on the semantics of each verb is studied and an analysis of the phrasal verbs produced is provided.

1. In a different direction/ at a distance

This is the largest category of VPCs with AWAY, 37 % of the verbs fall in this group. We also studied the top 13 most frequently used PVs with AWAY, according to COCA. All of them showed more than a thousand hits in the corpus. It turned out that ten of them belonged to the ‘in a different direction/ at a distance’ group: *go away, get away, turn away, walk away, take away, stay away, run away, pass away, move away, pull away, back away*. As it was mentioned in the previous section, there may or may not be distance between the TR and the LM in the initial stage of the activity. Therefore, Figure 1 may have a number of variants, illustrated in Figure 3. The new element in the diagram – the dotted line – represents the path the TR travelled in a direction opposite the LM.

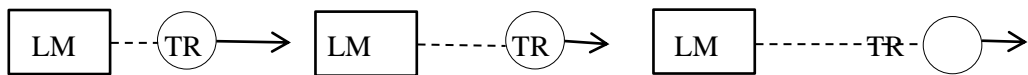


Figure 3: Central sense for AWAY: variants

- (1) *He can **walk away** without being angry at you.*
- (2) *The submerged forward section began to **pull away** from the stern.*
- (3) *With the absence of suction forces, he was able to **swim away** without even wetting his hair.*

The three examples illustrate distances between the TR and the LM, which are not in fact specified in the context. As it is, the actual distance is not the focal point. The crucial moment in this configuration is that the gap is increasing. What is more the distance can be not only spatial but also metaphorical.

- (4) *This generation will not **pass away** before all these things take place.*

The meaning of *pass away* in (4) – to die – can be interpreted metaphorically as travelling from a place on the Earth to hereafter. Yet, the verb can be used in another sense – ‘to slowly disappear or stop existing’, which puts it in another category – Out of existence, e.g. (5) *Heaven and earth will **pass away**, but my words will not pass away* (Matt. 24:35). And still another meaning can be found for *pass away* – ‘if you pass a period of time away, you spend time doing something’, e.g. (6) *They began to **pass away** the evenings talking of mundane household expenses.* The last example (6) compared to the previous two (4, 5) shows the conceptual relation between distance in space, physical and metaphorical, and distance in time.

Another metaphorical use of PVs with AWAY can be found in the following example:

- (7) *Annika Sorenstam was supposed to **run away** with this tournament.*

It is not exactly the tournament that is envisaged as a Landmark in this situation but rather the opponent players. The winner is conceptualized as moving further from the opponents. Thus, metaphorically speaking, the distance between the Trajector, *Annika Sorenstam*, and the opposition is constantly increasing.

2. Distance in time

There are several VPCs with AWAY that have time reference and more specifically they denote ‘time going away’, in other words ‘wasting time’: *fiddle away, fool away, footle away, idle away, while away*. For instance, (8) *...a place where the piping young of the district repaired to **fool away** their lives.*

Our understanding of time is essentially metaphoric. The conceptual metaphor TIME IS SPACE is theoretically well motivated. However, space and time differ in their dimensions: in particular, space is three-dimensional, while time is thought of as one-

dimensional. This difference is irrelevant for PVs with AWAY, as they presuppose movement in one direction.

Another verb in this group, *tick away*, also refers to time but unlike the previous cases where the observer comes from the past and moves through the present into the future, while time as the reference ground remains stationary (the moving-ego model cf. Evans 2004), the moving-time model appears to be in accordance with our folk view of time as flowing, e.g. (9) *Lois studied her, letting seconds tick away*. The seconds are moving metaphorically from the present moment into the future. The continuous and incessant passage of time is semantically related to the next category, which considers activities as continuous and steady.

3. Continuously, steadily

Here the meaning can be regarded as ‘continuous and without limit’ because no end point is mentioned when regarding distance, especially metaphorical. Therefore, AWAY brings an additional meaning to the verb that the activities are continuous and steady going, e.g. *bang away, bash away, beaver away, blast away, blaze away, dream away, gabble away, grind away, hammer away, jabber away, jaw away, pump away*, etc. Lindstromberg (1997: 49) defines this usage as very „productive”, „non-idiomatic” and „quite common”, which suggests that not all verbs belonging to this category are in the dictionaries.

The verbs in this category can be subdivided into two groups. On the one hand, durative verbs combined with AWAY focus on the continuation of the activity with no limit in time, e.g. (10) *Don't you think my shop's a nice place for an old guy to **dream away** his days?* The verb ‘dream’ is durative but AWAY reinforces the continuity of the process.

On the other hand, momentary verbs combined with AWAY acquire an additional sense of repeated activity, e.g. (11) *To make an opening for the metal implant, he has to **hammer away** at the bone*. The bone has to be hammered many times to accomplish the purpose. However, apart from its literal meaning, which denotes a repeated momentary activity, *hammer away* has also metaphorical meanings, which attach it to the group of durative verbs. Consider the following instances:

(12) *So, you're going to continue to **hammer away** on the liberal issue.*

(13) *Others **hammer away** at new songs they hope to record.*

In the former case (12), the VPC's meaning refers to talking continuously on a particular topic in order to make people understand your point and the importance of the problem. In the latter example (13), the PV means ‘to work hard on something for a long time’. Therefore, we can talk about subdividing the verbs in this category in very approximate terms because some of them will fall into both groups due to their polysemy. Then, it is more correct to talk about momentary and durative uses of verbs. Table 2 shows this division.

Table 2: Momentary and durative uses of VPCs with AWAY

Momentary use	Durative use
<i>bang away</i> ‘hit again and again’	<i>bang away</i> ‘work hard at something’
<i>blast away</i> ‘keep firing a gun continuously’	<i>bash away</i> ‘work hard at something’
<i>blaze away</i> ‘keep firing a gun continuously’	<i>beaver away</i> ‘work hard at something’
<i>hammer away</i> ‘hit again and again’	<i>dream away</i> ‘spend time daydreaming’
<i>pump away</i> ‘pump again and again’	<i>gabble away</i> ‘talk quickly about boring things for a long time’
	<i>grind away</i> ‘work hard for a long period of time’
	<i>hammer away</i> ‘work hard at something for a long period of time’
	<i>jabber away</i> ‘talk quickly and continuously for a long time’
	<i>jaw away</i> ‘talk quickly and continuously for a long time’
	<i>peg away</i> ‘work hard for a long period of time’
	<i>plug away</i> ‘work hard for a long period of time’
	<i>pump away</i> ‘work hard for a long period of time’
	<i>slog away</i> ‘work hard for a long period of time’
	<i>slug away</i> ‘work hard for a long period of time’
	<i>toil away</i> ‘work hard for a long period of time’

work away ‘work hard for a long period of time’

The table shows that the majority of the verbs are durative. What impresses is the considerable number of verbs denoting ‘working hard for a long period of time’. Indeed, they all exhibit certain nuances of meaning due to the main verb, which justifies their existence, but the analysis of these differences is not of interest to this paper.

A logical question of an EFL learner will be why there should be two particles expressing continuation: *on* and *away*. The difference is that with *ON* the TR continues a path already begun, while with *AWAY* it is not the case. There is no previous path involved. For instance, with *Walk on!* we suggest to the addressee to continue walking. On the other hand, *Walk away!* means ‘leave and don’t stop’.

4. Removal

The verbs in this category belong to the same semantic field of removal, either partially or completely, and *AWAY* adds the idea of distancing parts of the TR from the TR itself, e.g. *chuck away*, *clear away*, *cut away*, *peel away*, *strip away*, *take away*, *tear away*, etc.



(14) *Cut away* any excess paper with a utility knife.

As a result from separating pieces of the paper, they are distanced from their initial location. Thus, the removal sense is related to the central ‘**in a different direction/** at a distance’ sense.



(15) *The face of the woman began instantly and unstopably to peel away like the skin off a fruit.*

Similarly to the previous example, pieces of the TR (‘the face’) are discarded from its original outlook. Therefore, these pieces go out of observer’s sight and no longer exist in the spatial configuration considered. Hence, the removal sense is related to the ‘out of existence’ sense.

5. Out of existence

The ‘out of existence’ sense contains more PVs than the ‘removal’ group. However, these two categories are difficult to differentiate completely as the consequence of removal of things is that they are no longer present in the particular situation. In fact, the ‘out of existence’ category is the second biggest after the central ‘**in a different direction/ at a distance**’ category. It contains 23% of all studied VPCs. Some instances of this group are: *erode away, fade away, fall away, gnaw away, hack away, melt away, moulder away, pine away*, etc.

(16) *Water-borne sand and pebbles had **eroded away** softer rock.*

(17) *In part, special interest groups **gnawed away** at his enthusiasm.*

What brings these verbs together is the fact that so many „parts” and „pieces”, metaphorically speaking, of the TR are removed that it diminishes and finally disappears, falls apart or dies. This way the ‘out of existence’ sense can be regarded as an advanced variant of the ‘removal’ sense.

6. In a safe place

The category ‘in a safe place’ is motivated by two of the categories already mentioned: ‘**in a different direction/ at a distance**’ and ‘removal’. When something is removed, it is either thrown away or put somewhere else, which in this case is a safe place. For instance:

(18) *Thus, a blank wall became a storage wall, allowing guests to **tuck away** suitcases and other personal items.*

On the other hand, when something is at a distance it is out of reach and cannot be used, which makes it safe for being used on later occasions.

(19) *This is under the category of how do I **squirrel away** money for a surprise for my partner...*

Other verbs that belong to this category are: *bottle away, salt away, shut sb/sth away, store away, fold away, lock away, pack away, put away*, etc. All of them put the TR in a hidden place so that it cannot be taken right away.

7. Not at home/ (in sports) at the opponents’ ground

Only two verbs belong to this category: *have it away* and *play away*. The first one has sexual connotation. It means ‘to have sexual intercourse with’ (see Free Dictionary¹²). For example:

(20) *Mr. Smith **had it away** with his secretary.*

¹² <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/have+it+away>

This meaning is motivated by the fact that when a person is at a distance from his/her original location he/she is not at home. And the sense ‘having sex not at home’ presupposes doing it with a person that is not your spouse, i.e. casual sex.

The other verb can be illustrated by the sentence:

(21) *In a balanced design, participants **played away** against team 1 and team 3 before playing them at home.*

As the example from sports jargon shows ‘playing away’ is the opposite of ‘playing at home’. Therefore, being ‘not at home’ is conceptually related to being ‘at a distance’ from where you usually stay or live.

8. Freely, at will

This is another small category with just four verbs: *fire away*, *give away*, *stop away*, *sweep away*; and it is semantically related to doing something ‘continuously, steadily’. All these verbs exhibit the free will of the TR to perform the activity denoted by the verb. *Fire away!* Is used as a command, either literally by a commanding officer to his soldiers, or metaphorically in an interview to tell the interviewer that you are ready for them to begin asking you questions. In the case of *give away*, which is highly polysemous and can be attributed to other categories as well, there are three meanings that correspond to exercising free will: 1. to let someone know about something that should be a secret; 2. if you give someone away who is hiding from the police, soldiers etc., you tell the police or soldiers where that person is, or that this is the person they are looking for; 3. if a man gives away the woman who is getting married, he takes her to the front of the church to the man she is going to marry, and gives permission for her to marry (LDPV).

(22) *And because David watches the show, I can't **give away** what's on his list.*

(23) *We might have to **give away** our natives, sometime, to survive in the Western culture.*

(24) *It is a really old-fashioned idea that the father has to **give away** the bride.*

In the first example of this group (22), what is on the list is a secret and the TR does not want to reveal it. In the second (23), the TR is forced to oblige somebody else's will in order to continue to live. In the third (24), the official giving away of the bride at the ceremony expresses the will of the bride herself and her relatives.

(25) *You really ought to **stop away** from school if you're not feeling too well.*

In this case AWAY can be understood as just intensifying the meaning of the verb ‘stop’, or a semantic motivation can be found in the fact that when you stop going somewhere you are actually away/ at a distance from that place.

(26) *Throughout the night, they move from compound to compound to **sweep away** evil spirits.*

The above example (26) corresponds to the meaning: ‘to get rid of laws, beliefs, or traditions because they are considered to be old-fashioned or wrong’ (LDPV). It can be also seen as motivated by the ‘removal’ and ‘out of existence’ sense.

More than one line of motivation is not a unique phenomenon associated with this particular analysis. Actually, Tyler and Evans (2003) find a number of spatial particles whose distinct meanings are subjected to double and even multiple motivation.

Conclusion

In this study, we have examined the internal compositional interactions within all VPCs in English with the spatial particle AWAY. The verbs were extracted from Longman Dictionary of Phrasal Verbs and checked in a set of naturally occurring data (COCA – Corpus of Contemporary American English). Tyler and Evans’ (2003) model for analyzing the semantics of spatial particles was used, in agreement with Langacker’s (1987, 1991) theory. Phrasal verbs’ multiple meanings found in the analysis provided strong evidence for the compositional nature of phrasal verbs. We realized that the meanings of each phrasal verb construction result from the interaction of the senses of the verb and the particle AWAY. And although we define the network as belonging to the particle AWAY, it is actually the semantic network of all VPCs with AWAY.

We discovered that the senses of the verb combine with a number of senses of the particle, not just the central sense but other distinct senses as well. Additionally, apart from being compositional, the meaning network of these phrasal verb constructions is influenced by our conceptualization and background knowledge of the world. We showed that the wide range of phrasal verb meanings can be systematically motivated from the broad repository of human experiences. Although all the VPCs with AWAY in Longman Dictionary of Phrasal Verbs were studied together with their realization in many naturally occurring examples, still the model proposed in this study and similar studies is partly subjective, and thus more research needs to be carried out in this area in order minimize possible researcher bias.

This paper was inspired by a phrasal verb taken from the screenplay of the American movie *Valentine’s day*¹³, uttered by Ashton Kutcher’s character, Reed Bennett¹⁴

¹³*Valentine’s Day* is a 2010 American romantic comedy film directed by Garry Marshall. This is a Los Angeles story of couples and singles who break-up and make-up and everything happens under pressures and expectations of Valentine’s Day.

¹⁴ *Valentine’s Day* (2010)

Time - Phrase

00:22:04 Does anybody here speak English with a Bulgarian accent?

00:22:07 Over here. I do. -There he is.

00:22:10 **Bulgarize away.** Here we go.

(https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g0V_4ziZ_uA (Valentine's day - Bulgarian girl from Ruse.mp4). *Bulgarize away* does not exist as a phrasal verb in the dictionaries. It is not a distinct meaning when compared to the others instantiated in the semantic network and we can define it as „a contextually derived interpretation constructed online” (Tyler, Evans 2003: 8). Using the semantic network of AWAY and the context of appearance of this VPC we can elicit the meaning of the verb as ‘continue speaking English with a Bulgarian accent’, or, ironically, ‘continue making English sound like Bulgarian’, which corresponds to the ‘Continuously, steadily’ sense of AWAY. Therefore, a mindful representation of the polysemy networks of phrasal verbs could be utilized to help learners better understand the systematicity of the various senses of these complex lexical units. When EFL learners are well-acquainted with these semantic networks they can guess the meaning of such newly coined phrasal verbs relying on their background knowledge and the implicatures that arise in the course of sentence interpretation.

Finally, future studies should apply this model to provide systematic, comprehensible rationale for teaching phrasal verbs to second language learners.

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NOMINAL SUBSTITUTE SAME

Snejana Obeyd

Abstract: *The article deals with the text-forming resource of substitution setting up a relationship between words, phrases and clauses. My main concern is to characterize the nominal substitute 'same', the environments it appears, scope of usage and function as a cohesive device. I apply the theory into practice by analyzing different examples, illustrating the text-forming nature of 'same'.*

Key words: *cohesion, substitution, nominal substitute, presupposition, reference*

One of the resources for creating texture is substitution. It is a cohesive relationship within a text and sets up a lexicogrammatical link – a relationship in the „wording” rather than directly in the meaning. Substitution is considered to be a replacement of a lexical item by another, which serves as a place-holding device signalling that „the information is to be retrieved from elsewhere” (Halliday, Hasan 1976: 8).

Since a grammatical relation, the criterion for differentiating the types of substitution is the grammatical function of the substitute item. Structurally, substitution is operative at three levels:

Nominal: one/ones, same

Verbal: do

Clausal: so, not

In principle, there is a difference between *one* and *the same* as nominal substitutes. (When functioning as a nominal item, *same* is usually accompanied by *the*). Whereas *one/ones* usually replaces the head element of a nominal group, *the same* can substitute a whole nominal group apart from the rejected modification.

Being a grammatical item, the substitute one/ones is never informationally in focus. As Halliday and Hasan state „it is always given in meaning and serves as a peg on which to hang the new information”(1976: 110). In this respect *the same* is different from *one/ones* as a nominal substitute. *The same* resembles a lexical item and is almost always stressed, except in cases in which it is rejected in favour of some contrast. The meaning of *the same* is stated by Halliday and Hasan as follows: „the information conveyed by this item in this context is new, but the item itself occurred before” (1976: 110). For example:

[1] Monica has bought a red dress.

a. I could buy a BLUE one.

b. I could buy the SAME.

(example mine)

In (a), the substitute *one* is used and, therefore, it is the epithet *blue* that has the greatest news value. *One* presupposes *dress* and that is all. In (b), *the same* is accented and stands for *red dress*, since the information is encoded as new, though the item has been presented earlier. Semantically, it is not *the same dress*, which would be reference and the sentence *I could buy it* is impossible in this context, with *it* referring to *red dress* determining identity. *The same* is not only a substitute, but also has additive meaning of *too* (see Quirk et al. 1985: 878). It is important to note that the form *blue same* is impossible, but we can add a post-modification instead *the same but blue*.

The use of *the same* as a nominal substitute should be distinguished from its use with a following ellipsis:

[2] "Is that a new bicycle?"

„No, it’s the same (one) as (I had) before.”

(cited from Quirk et al. 1985: 874)

In such constructions, where identity of reference is implied, the addition of the substitute *one* is preferred (see Quirk et al. 1985: 872). In such cases, *the same* can be used as an elliptical adjectival head provided there is post-modification.

The same can sometimes be a substitute for an adjective, adjective phrase or prepositional phrase acting as a complement expressing a current attribute:

[3] I know you are interested. You turned me on, too,

and you know we were in good company because

the chairman felt **the same** way.

(Hailey 1971: 435)

A further function of *the same* is a substitute for a nominal clause presenting it as ‘fact’, especially after *say*, with *the same* having the status of an object. For example:

[4] „Been taking VWs apart from years.

Every damn time it’s the same - quality

good as ever.” Brett nodded agreement.

„Wish we could say **the same** of ours.”

(Hailey 1971: 277)

Frequently used forms that ascribe to *the same* the status of a fact are: *the same goes for ...*, *the same is true of ...*, *the same applies to ...*, with *the same* functioning as subject of a clause.

Another context that enables *the same* to operate as nominal substitute is *be the same*, where it can stand for a nominal group having either an adjective (as mentioned before) or a noun as head. For example:

[5] „Catherine is now a charming lady.”

„At her age her mother was **the same.**”

(example mine)

The third possible context for the use of *the same* is *do the same*, having the alternative *do likewise*. This is, in fact, a combination of the ‘general verb’ *do* (analogous to the class of ‘general nouns’ *people, thing*) plus the substitute *the same*. The form *do the same* replaces a process plus the succeeding items that are not rejected. For example:

[6] Martin went out before dawn.

His mother did **the same.**

(example mine)

Though it is the verbal element that is substituted, it is not considered by Halliday and Hasan verbal but nominal substitution. Actually, the form *do the same* is used to present a process as a nominal unit through the medium of „an empty verb plus its object” (Halliday, Hasan 1976: 109), for example: *do a dance, do a sudden jump* instead of *dance, jump suddenly*. Just as *the same* cannot refer to an identical ‘thing’, *do the same* cannot refer to the identical event.

In the above-mentioned functions *the same* partially overlaps with *so*. The major difference between the two is that *so* is always unstressed, whereas *the same* is its accented alternative. In fact, *so* stands for a clause, but sometimes, there is partial intermingling between clausal and nominal substitution. In [3] and [4], *the same* could be replaced by its non-accented variant *so*. Though in [3] *so* can be interpreted as if standing for the clause *to be interested*, the presupposition cannot be of this form. And, there are cases in which *so* cannot be expanded as if replacing a clause:

[7] „Jane has grown fat.”

„Has she never been so before?”

(example mine)

In fact, these are the cases when *so* is substituting an attribute.

Generally speaking, though a nominal substitute, *the same* could be the accented alternative in all types of substitution.

	Non-accented	Accented
Nominal:		
count noun	one(s)	the same

attribute	so	be the same
Verbal	do	do the same
Clausal (reported)	so	(say) the same

The unit that *the same* replaces must be identical with the presupposed one, but (except in dialect or archaic use) the two units are not co-referential.

The broad scope of reference of this item leads to its use in a number of fixed colloquial expressions, such as:

It's all the same (= It doesn't matter)

Just the same...(= Nevertheless...)

In such instances, *the same* does not replace a clearly identifiable unit and its reference seems clearly circumstantial.

The expression *say the same* is one of the typical environments for this substitute to stand for a clause. Thus, it gives the presupposed clause the rank of a fact, as in [4]. In this example, the first occurrence of *the same* functions as an epithet with the meaning 'not different, unchanged' and contributes nothing to cohesion. *The same* in the expression *say the same* stands for the whole preceding sentence (*that*) *every damn time it's the same - quality good as ever*. Though the presupposition includes the whole sentence, the information is encoded as new, with the prepositional object *of ours* providing the required contrast.

As mentioned earlier, the frequently used expressions that ascribe the status of fact to *the same* are: *The same is true of...*, *The same goes for...*, *The same applies to...*, in which the same functions as subject of the clause. There are two such cases in the analyzed corpus.

[8] Here, too, eye and nose irritation were constant and Brett remembered a recent U. S. Public Health warning that breathing New York's polluted air was equal to smoking a pack of cigarettes a day. He presumed **the same** was true of LA, perhaps even more so.

(Hailey 1971: 346-7)

The same in this example replaces the clause (*that*) *breathing cigarettes a day*, with the genitive locative *New York's* ousted by *of LA*.

The second example that provides for *the same* the appropriate setting to stand for a fact is the following:

[9] „Okay, we help somebody like these two kids,

but as soon as we do, we expect them to have all our middle-class values which it took us years of living our way to acquire. The same goes for money.”

(Hailey 1971: 293)

The same substitutes for the clause (*that*) *it took us years of living our way to acquire*, with *middle class values*, left outside the parameter of substitution, rejected by *money*. *The same goes for...* is one of the most common expressions, making it explicit that *the same* treats the clause that it stands for as fact.

It is possible for the substitute *the same* to be accompanied by the ‘general word’ *way* when substituting for an attribute (Halliday, Hasan 1976: 112). Thus, for example, in [3], *the same way* stands for *interested*, with *you* rejected by *the chair man*. In this context, it would be possible for the accented form *the same* to alternate with the weak form *so*: The chairman felt so (too).

Another possible context for *the same* as a substitute item is *do the same*. Though it looks like verbal substitution, Halliday and Hasan have ranked it as nominal substitution (1976:109).

[10] We forget that plenty of us who’ve lived
with money still run up debts we can’t manage.
But let this guy do the same thing and our system’s
all set to throw him back on the garbage heap.

(Hailey 1971: 293)

In this example, the form *do the same* is used to express the process in „, a nominalized form by means of ‘an empty verb plus its object’” (Halliday, Hasan 1976:109): ‘do a run up in debts’. The form is also accompanied by the ‘pro-noun’ *thing* and though resembling a reference item it comes to be used as a substitute as the item *the same* itself (Halliday, Hasan 1976:112). In this case, *do the same thing* stands for *run up debts he can’t manage* and it is the other elements in the clause that provide the contrast: the subject *this guy* rejects the expounded subject of the previous clause *plenty of us who’ve lived with money*.

Consequently, the substitute item has the same structural function as that for which it substitutes. It appears to be manifestation of givenness, contributing to the semantic structure of a text without disturbing its informational organization. Substitution is a matter of economical expression without affecting the meaning of the text, thus providing a model of offering easy assimilation and aesthetic pleasure through words.

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SOCIOLINGUISTIC IMPLICATIONS IN CONTEXTS OF USE

Temenuzhka Seizova-Nankova

Abstract: *The paper discusses some basic social factors that shape language use and reflect cultural and behavioral traits characteristic of the particular speech community. The study is based on a corpus extracted from the BNC of the shake_hand(s) collocation. Social meaning is found in the variables of setting and social context participants (who is talking to whom), purpose and function of the interaction, etc. It can be measured along scales of power, familiarity, social status, etc. Basic linguistic features and devices are discussed: pre- and post-modification in NP structure, use of reference to people, of adverb and adverbial expressions. Sentence/clause types are also addressed.*

Key words: *corpus-driven approach, conventions and conventional meaning, social variables, linguistic features and devices*

Sociolinguistic research integrates theoretical perspectives and methods from anthropology, education, linguistics, psychology, and sociology. The researcher seeks to understand and get to know how native speakers use language in the culturally specific ways that enable them to participate competently in the social life of a particular community as well as to understand the broader sociocultural contexts within which interaction occurs.

Learning a new language usually involves a great deal more than learning the literal meaning of the words, how to put them together, and how to pronounce them. You also get to know a lot about its culture, local habits of speakers of the language, the behavior of different strata of society, or of ways concerning interpersonal relationships.

The paper shows how the linguistic code and sociocultural contexts shape the language used by native speakers. This is an attempt to conduct language research through hands-on research activities based on corpus data extracted from the BNC of the *shake_hands* collocation and based on evidence to research instances of use which describe how certain social aspects are reflected in the speech of the language users. The basic linguistic features discussed are premodification and postmodification in noun phrase structure, the use of adverbs and adverbial phrases, the use of reference to famous people, introducing the speaker in the discourse, language and culture, the use of adverbs and adverbial phrases, clause combining constructions, etc. (Hopper and Tragott 1993/1997: 173)

The corpus-driven approach provides representative instances of use with the *V_hand(s)* collocations. The collocation with *shake* exhibits 660 instances of concordance lines in the *object_of* grammatical relation, the total of which amounts to 13617 occurrences, while the headword HAND (n.) in BNC is of freq. 50278 (448.2 per million) normalized frequency (Kilgarriff et al. 2004). The collocation with *shake* makes up to 4.8 % relative frequency.

1. Premodification and postmodification in NPstructure.

1.1. Premodification. Generally speaking, the noun *hand* takes as pre-modifiers a great number of adjectives as is to be seen from the Oxford Collocation Dictionary, 1990. Consider: *left, right, beautiful, delicate, long - fingered, pretty, slender, manicured, well - manicured, calloused/callused, rough, soft, firm, strong, limp, frail, arthritic, gnarled, clawed, claw - like, bony, hairy, cool, clammy, sweaty, dirty, filthy, greasy, grimy, grubby, sticky, unwashed, clean, gloved, open, outstretched, free, cupped, busy, deft, willing, eager, nervous, shaking, shaky, trembling, unsteady, steady, comforting, friendly, gentle, sympathetic, generous, liberal (both figurative), capable , expert, guiding, practised/practiced, reassuring, skilful/skillful, skilled, careless, clumsy, invisible(figurative)* (OCDonline). If we compare this impressive list with the adjectives found in the corpus a kind of very unique picture is revealed. This is because modification has a special role to play. When modifiers are used, their typical function is to further describe what is expressed by the head. In the corpus discussed the adjectives *better, select* are used metaphonymically to refer to people, but also they carry important social information. It becomes immediately evident how the social context dictates the choice of adjectives. Here are the illustrative examples:

FRL not quite the Ambassador *shook the better hands* and said he was delighted. (Le Carr?)

A7H whatever is on show, *shakes a few select hands* and exchanges benign pleasantries, before

According to the formality scale (Holmes 1992: 13) where formal and informal mean respectively: Formal - High formality and Informal - Low formality. The usage of the adjectives of the type shown above in preposition reflecting social behavior can be ranked as high formality. The scale is useful in assessing the influence of the social setting or the type of interaction on language choice. The use of adjectives in the noun phrase with head *hand* with the *shake_hand(s)* collocation are very limited (only *a few select* and *the better*). Such adjectives are usually characterized as non-inherent. Besides, they are highly item-specific and very much shaped to the demands of the social context.

1.2 Postmodification. This analysis can find confirmation also with the use of two cases connected with post-modification: i) [*every + worth V_ing*] and ii) [*the + of_NP*]. Both of these have discontinuous realization as between the first and the second element some linguistic material – the head of the noun phrase - intervenes. In the case of the use of *every*, it is characterized by limiting contexts requiring postmodification with the adjective phrase *worth V_ing*. Consider the example:

A8Y demonstrating who they know, shaking every hand *worth shaking*. ‘How are you, sir?’

This linguistic device, though different from the one used above in terms of linguistic realization, is also similar in that it too points to the impact of the social discourse on the structure and function of the language used (see 1.1).

The other realization and also a case in point is the use of the definite article *the* + hands + [*of*_NP]. Just as with *every*, here too *the* has a limiting role thus demanding post-modification. This use requires the realization of the [*of*_NP] in the Possessor role which realizes one of the roles of the basically two inherent participants in the *shaking hands* situation. Discontinuous constituents are used in both cases but in the latter case with the DefArt+hands +OF it is in complementary distribution with the Poss+hand(s). Compare (1) and (2):

(1) CEN passive smoking, walked away as she *shook the hands of the other winners*, including Olympic

(2) AE0 desperately, and wrote. I stood up and *shook his hand*. ‘Good luck.’ Thank you.

The comparison shows a variety of means related to expressing similar meaning but achieving different effects. Thus having in mind that diversity (variation of use) is basic in language (Croft 2003: 282). Thus descriptions of the range of linguistic diversity is important and can serve also typological purposes. The discontinuous constituent is here used as a device through which a lot of additional (social) information can be introduced and when the need arises, it can serve different social purposes. Consider the following examples:

JOR his laundered smock, trying to shake *the hands of all his rambling flock*, while Bo-peep

HM5 Getting himself photographed shaking *the hands of our mediator, and negotiator*, Sir Edward

HPG very next speech he insists on shaking *the hands of all of the conspirators*. He says, ‘Though

It should be noted, however, that this is not the most frequent and preferred use, but on the other hand, always when required, it is a potential of the English language that when the definite expression is used, post-modification follows. Not one instance is found in the corpus with the use of the definite article without postmodification. The meanings realized can be either those of a greeting/ farewell or another occasion as in the example congratulating the winner in the sports context.

2. Reference to people, especially famous people, figure prominently in the corpus:

The social factors relevant for the particular language may differ. The relationship between language and society shows in the way language users interact depending on factors like: contexts, the setting, the participants, etc. Who is talking to whom is an

important factor; the aim or purpose of the interaction (whether informative or social) may be important. In some cases the topic, what is being talked about, influences the language choice. Not all factors are relevant in any particular context. Linguistic choices are numerous and in any situation they will reflect the influence of one or more of these components. The function of the interaction is important: why and when are such conventions interactive, in greeting or on a deal etc. These social factors are used for describing and analyzing all kinds of interaction. They are basic components in sociolinguistic explanations of why we don't all behave the same way, on the one hand, and, on the other, why we behave in the same way all the time. Examples are numerous. Consider the following instances:

CEN Roy could not bring himself to shake the hand of *the former Prime Minister*, who is said

ADK with everyone to let them stay and shake hands with *Mrs Thatcher*. Officials were trying

K25 recovering from lung cancer, refused to shake hands with *Lady Thatcher* at a lunch because of

ASV having an audience with *the Pope*, shaking hands with *Gorbachev*; but he, for once, was more

The use of first names and of tag questions point to familiarity and affective involvement. According to Wikipedia, Fran is a common abbreviation for the English names Frances and Francis. The Spanish and Italian Fran is more common for men while the English one is mostly used for women. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fran_%28given_name%29>:

JXV1520 'I think we've *passed the point of shaking hands*, Fran, don't you?

JYF Miss Cara Kingsdale,' Lubor beamed, *shaking hands* while looking at her *admiringly*.

The name *Lubor* is a male name (Namepedia <http://www.namepedia.org/en/firstname/Lubor/>)

Examining utterances in the corpus provides us with a wealth of information about the different social contexts and the way language works as well as about relationships, social and others, in a community. Consider:

JY1152 Leith *shook hands with him*, but cared not at all for the way he ogled her the whole time.

The relationship between different sexes is expressed by the word *ogled* - showing sexual attraction and suggesting strong interest or desire, and the use of the personal pronouns *he* or *she* in the interaction. (<http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/ogle>) or in a similar example:

Sometimes negation plus present progressive is used for expressing intentions about future actions, its semantics is indicative of affective feelings on the part of the interlocutor:

J10 I meet a bad guy I usually have to shake hands with him and do a deal.' 'I'm not shaking hands,' said Owen. Paul smiled. 'or in

JY1 568 Oh, I rather think I am,' he drawled, and, just in case she hadn't yet worked it out, though she was certain he knew she had, 'Naylor Massingham,' he introduced himself, and, neither of them offering to *shake hands*, 'but you can call me 'sir'.

Use of honorifics is also a way of showing how language in society works and what is the way to address other people. The utterance reflects one's awareness of the social factors which influence the choice of appropriate ways of speaking in different social contexts. (Holmes 1992: 11-13)

Most of all, sociolinguistics is concerned with the relationship between language and the context in which it is used.

J10 1800 He looked inquiringly at Narouz and then came across to the two men, *bowed and shook hands*.

J10 1801 'More familiar,' said Narouz, slightly crossly. *Bowing combined with shaking hands* is considered to be more towards the negative end of the familiarity scale.

Other utterances also illustrate the fact that language serves a range of functions. Often one utterance will simultaneously convey both information and express feelings. Consider the examples:

GUF would be a lot easier.' *They shook hands*. Nigel's felt like a damp facecloth. Detective-Sergeant

G1W suspicious from the moment Blanche *first shook hands* with Eddy Russell. There was an unwonted

G01 tall and pale and when Nicholson *shook his hand* he found it was icy cold. 'Mr Fairham is

Language choices convey information about the social relationships between people as well as the topic of discussion. The kind of information which is relevant to language choice includes how well we know the other person and whether they are socially superior.

Often nicknames or endearments are used between people who know each other well. It is common to avoid names and use only a formal greeting to superiors. Note that judging by the corpus examples, speaking and behaving go hand in hand.

Four different dimensions relate to the social factors described. (Holmes 1992: 12):

- i) the social distance scale concerned with participant relationships,

Intimate ----- Distant

High solidarity ----- Low solidarity

ii) a status scale concerned with participants relationships,

Superior ----- High status

Subordinate -----Low status

iii) a formality scale relating to the setting or type of interaction and

iv) two functional scales relating to the purpose or topic of interaction.

The honorific ‘sir’ is an indication of higher status and the fact that the person is entitled to a respect term. Similarly, ‘miss’ reflects use of sexist language and social inequality in society. In Britain the feminist movement is well developed and the choice legally admitted is Ms vs Mrs, Ms being the preferred term for it carries no information as to the marriage status of the person spoken to.

The referential and affective function scales are most important in analyzing social behavior (Holmes 1992: 14-15)

Referential

High information content-----Low information content

Affective

Low affective content ----- High affective content.

Though language serves many functions, the two identified in these scales are particularly pervasive and basic. Language can reflect objective information of a referential kind: and it can also express how someone is feeling, e.g.:

ADLNewington from Connecticut remembered *shaking hands effusively with Reagan* at the beginning

AC3 940 It would be nice to be totally irresponsible, he felt, and get so stinking drunk that he could say what he liked to them. As he *shook hands* and tolerated all the small-talk, he thought of saying, I don't think much of you, *you old trout*.

HR5to prowl the watchful dawn. Yes, *I shook hands with Hitler*; knew disgrace. But time heals

3. The role of the speaker in the discourse.

This feature is prominent for the *shake_hand(s)* collocation. There are inherently two participants in this situation type: the first and the second interlocutor. There are basically several variations in the realization of this situation: constructions with disjoint reference and constructions with jointy reference. Both types of constructions form

oppositions with variations of the realization of the participants. We shall discuss first the disjoint reference which is the more frequent. Disjoint reference means that the two participants have explicit realization one of which is basically the subject. The speaker is introduced in the discourse: when the subject is expressed by the the first person singular personal pronoun *I* as subject and by *me* as object. In these cases the speaker oneself expresses thoughts and feelings in a variety of circumstances of the interaction with other participants (here the ‘other’ participants are to be understood as linguistic realization in the form of a type of phrase and not as the referent in the situation). The use of the term *pronoun* is not a felicitous one when the first and second person pronouns are used for they do not stand for noun phrases but are themselves the direct exponents of the addresser and the addressee (Herbst and Schueller 2008). Anyway, we are here only discussing the speaker expressed by *I* in the subject position. The other interlocutor can be realized either by the genitive form in the structure of the noun phrase following the verb or by the [with_phrase]. Consider examples with *I*:

HR5 to prowl the watchful dawn. Yes, I *shook hands* with Hitler; *knew disgrace*. But time heals

H0C previously coached, I found myself *shaking hands* with Prince Charles. He was making the

HA2 garden party and I *have actually shaken his hand*. I am not completely unknown to him, after

HA0 He recognized me immediately. As we *shook hands* I felt some embarrassment; he had been

H9U thanked him warmly. I wanted to *shake his hand*, but he had already turned away

H9X only a brief opportunity of *shaking his hand* at the end, as I was obliged to rush back

AC6 I kept my distance, afraid even to *shake hands* with him. About twelve years later, when

The speaker expresses a variety of emotions and attitudes to the people introduced in the discourse accompanied with a lot of comment and a flavor of detail which amounts to gossip. These include: descriptions of the person(s) (*He wears nothing but a pair of shorts*), mentioning of names and openly stating the attitudes felt (*I shook hands with Hitler; knew disgrace. But time heals*), using linguistic devices to express surprise (*I found myself shaking hands with Prince Charles*), boasting (*I am not completely unknown to him*), sharing disappointments (*but he had already turned away*) and other feelings (*afraid even to shake hands with him*). Behavioral potential is not always motivated by frequency. A case in point is the following example where the British culture requires that the speaker mentions oneself last according to principles of politeness (Brown and Levinson 1987). Consider:

HA0So with life. Monsoon and I *shake hands*. He wears nothing but a pair of shorts.

Such cases are motivated by ‘perceptual/cultural salience or expectedness’ (Croft 2003: 161). There is an interesting correlation between structural coding and behavioral potential marked by both Croft (ibid.:162) and Bybee (2010) according to which ‘salience or (un)expectedness motivates the rise of behavioral potential, frequency of use motivates the loss of behavioral potential’ in very general terms.

When the participant other than the subject is expressed through the use of the genitive form in the first person singular personal pronoun *my* as in *my hand*.

Examples with *my*:

K4Wn’t see Mrs Thatcher touching, *shaking my hand*. ‘Even Norman Lamont has been kind

HR9A couple of people came up *to shake my hand* as we got into Quigley’s car. He stood

HU0You know the monastery?’He *shook my hand* and strode out of the tavern. I never saw

The examples are numerous, but that will suffice for us to have a general impression about all these instances of use. In actual fact, there are 59 instances of the use of *my*. This makes 9% out of 660 hits (the whole corpus). If we also add the instances with *I*, then it becomes clear, after examining closely the corpus data, that the role of the speaker is of great significance in that kind of conventionalized situation.

The collocation can be used in contexts where the conventional act is highlighted as the purpose of communication. This is best done by the use of the grammatical means of using either the infinitive form of purpose (*to shake_hand(s)* instead of *in order to[...]*); or concatenation. Some contexts show the speaker as the center of attention, where a *couple of people* come up to shake his/her hand. Other contexts may even show either great willingness, on the one hand, or utter unwillingness, on the other, as the case may be, to do the act of shaking hands. The expressions: *would do nothing to compel him, felt compelled, decided against any attempt* to shake hand. Consider the following examples:

HR9 A couple of people came up to shake my hand as we got into Quigley’s car. He stood

HRJ would do nothing to compel him to shake hands with the murderers of his relatives. King

HE face. He had even felt compelled to shake hands with a girl whose like he had never seen

HH8 wryly decided against any attempt to shake hands, and left the room. She was still

HH8 also smiling broadly, and offering to shake hands, which must count as some kind of first

Expressions like: *to be near enough* or *to be just about to* shake hands show nuances in the attitude of the interlocutor when performing the act.

AT3 shovel until I was near enough to shake hands. Though his skin was pale, he had the lips

G0F he walks, as if he is just about to shake hands with an old friend, and he still has

The idea of language as a basic means of communication recedes and gossip takes its place (Holmes 1992, Davis 2015 – personal communication). For it is not communication that is basic here, but telling personal stories, memorable occasions of meeting with famous people, feelings and emotions, etc. The speaker's superego is to be seen in the various ways of interaction with other people. There is much detail in these relationships expressed. As the concordance lines come from different sources, the speaker is always a different individual, but there is something in common between the referents themselves which builds in the observer the impression of a character quite consistent in one's behavior. You don't seem to notice anything special that would distinguish one individual from the next. People seem to show great similarity in their social behavior.

4. Language and culture

Shaking hands along with kissing etc. is one of the important behaviour rites in social interaction, consider the lines:

e.g. CEF Along with behaviour rites such as *shaking hands*, kissing, taking and giving of coats and

HWP was over there was the ritual of *shaking hands* with the vicar. Francis spoke with his

ACP mainly involved checking off names, *shaking hands*, sorting out cups of tea, making small

When speaking of the local and the global, there are two aspects to be discussed: one is the way these are linguistically rendered in a particular language, the other is concerned with cultural issues, similarities and differences as well as instances or experience of miscommunication based on different assumptions deriving from different 'normal' environments. (Holmes 1992: 305-307). Consider:

B77 expected. British politicians seldom *shake hands*, as becomes a less formal society. Chairmen

B77. I realised I had never ever *shaken his hand* before, MPs do not do that sort of thing

About the very form of the linguistic expression, we can say that it can be nominal or verbal in character. The typical linguistic form in English which also has a descriptive

function is the one using the verb *shake* and the bodypart *hand*. In Bulgarian, on the contrary, the verbal expressions are preferred. There are different lexical items to that intent (see reflexive verbs like: *ръкувам се, здрависвам се*). There are also nominal expressions like: *стискам ръката на* (www.Eurodict), which differs from English in that it expresses pressing and not shaking sb's hand. These are just some suggestions, other lexical items can be found in different styles and registers in both languages.

Ways of expressing the same rite may differ quite markedly from one culture to another. These differences may seem random but in fact they reflect the different social values and attitudes of different societies. Greeting formulas universally serve an affective function of establishing non-threatening contact and rapport, but their precise content is clearly culture specific.

The information about the rite of shaking hands is seen from different contexts: entirely prescriptive, as part of a protocol that has to be learned and acquired to the extremely ad hoc affair that is of necessity obligatory to go through.

J10 'And Captain Owen is British. *Just shake hands.*' The boy was not in the least off-put

J10 1830 'You see,' said Narouz, after Fahid *had shaken hands* all round and departed, 'he's very inexperienced.

J10 3073 'What friends you have, Gamal!' They *shook hands* and Suleiman pulled a chair up. '

J19 large gulp. The committee men *shook hands* with Gesner and preened. He too was a star

Both the word *preened* – to swell with pride, referring to the committee men and the fact that Gesner was a star shows the affect of these people.

J19 3135 'That Fräulein Hubert was taking him around, introducing him to the group, and he was being — oh, well — you know, like Gesner, laughing, *shaking hands*, holding the women's hands too long, you know the kind of thing.'

Gossip may provide a great deal of new referential information, while also clearly conveying how the speaker feels about those referred to. It is very common for utterances to work like this, though often one function will dominate. In general the more referentially oriented an utterance is, the less it tends to express the feelings of the speaker while, by contrast, interactions which are more concerned with expressing feelings often have little in the way of new information to communicate. Talk is 'more likely to be mainly affective in function, and intended to convey goodwill towards the neighbor rather than important new information. In fact the specific content of the conversation is rarely important.' (Holmes 1992).

These two scales (referential and affective) provide a useful framework for discussing the ways in which language reflects its users and the uses they put it to.

The status or power dimension also accounts for a variety of linguistic differences in the way people speak. You speak in a way which signals your social status in a community. As language is a distinctive marker of social status in English-speaking communities, superior position is usually signaled by the use of the official language the higher your social group, the more standard forms you are likely to use. The language of the more prestigious group is by definition the standard dialect (Holmes 1992: 378-380).

The way you talk to others also reflects your relationship on the dimension of status and power. Where people use non-reciprocal address forms, for instance, the reason is always due to a status or power difference.

HTJ points above their heads. *Having shaken hands with the dignitaries* she moved to the quartet

5. The use of adverbs and adverbial phrases.

Nominal predicative expressions like *the shake hands* collocation exhibit great complexity of internal structure. Adverbial expressions show great variety in form. Some are with adverb as head to be marked as [ADV:adv], some - with prepositions [ADV:PP] mostly of the type [with_N] or [in_N]. There are also idiomatic expressions like: *all round*.

5.a [ADV:adv]: These are

- closed class adverbs like *again, once again, once* (adverbs of frequency). Consider:

AMBhe met. When he finished talking he *shook hands again*. If he wasn't shaking hands with

- open class adverbs derived from adjective stems by adding the *-ly* suffix: *vigorously, gravely, briefly, politely, warmly, firmly, formally*¹, *demurely*², *perfunctorily, listlessly, briskly, nicely, gravely, friendly, vigorously* (manner adverbs). There are as many as 18 adverbs of this kind, which are used with different frequency.

A0R 1188 'Mr Purdy. Mr Roy,' Gillian shook hands *briskly*. 'Coffee? Tea? Do have a seat.

JXSdelighted. I'm Janice MacGregor.' She shook hands *warmly*. 'I've heard so much about you.'

JYBblush mounted her cheeks, she shook his hand *briefly*, desperately hoping for a miracle

JY8 released her, turned to Damian, shook his hand *vigorously*. ‘Didn’t I tell you you’d fall

HR8 arms extended, and started to shake his hands *vigorously*. After him, giggling furiously

HW8 leave, agreed without agreeing and *shook hands listlessly*. He had been offered university

ADL Newington from Connecticut remembered *shaking hands effusively with Reagan* at the beginning

A7A ‘Ah, a pleasure.’ The Minister *shook hands firmly with Erika*, his eye resting for

As far as word order of adjuncts is concerned, manner and frequency adverbials immediately follow the collocation *shake_hand(s)*. Its position is mainly position R1 (the first position to the right of the headword) of the predicate complement unit 1 (PCU1) with head *hand(s)*.

5.b [ADV:PP]:

Besides, there are also prepositional phrases which function as adverbial expressions. They also vary from collocation to collocation. These phrases express important information about the manner of performing the action. As gestures carry very general information, these expressions provide a kind of context and help in the interpretation of the act of shaking hands.

- [with_N]: *with relish*

C8E 651 Dad was also being magnanimous today; he reminded me of a smooth politician visiting a shabby constituency, smiling, kissing babies, *shaking hands with relish*— and departing as soon as he decently could.

- [in_N]: *ingreeting, in congratulation, in European fashion, in farewell.*

JY3 to dwarf the other girl’s as they shook hands *in greeting*, and Virginia inwardly winced

B2B Nottingham I have the opportunity to shake your hand *in congratulation*. These sentiments are

FU8 descended slowly from his throne to *shake hands in European fashion* with the Resident Superior

FEM At their turning they bowed and shook our hands *in farewell*. A man on a donkey directed

5.c [ADV: *all round*]: *all round*

This expression is considered idiomatic for the preposition *with*, which is implied, is not explicit and from the Bulgarian learner of English perspective this is problematic. Bulgarians tend to explicate almost all relations in the clause.

GUKcheek to cheek. Léonie, sweaty-palmed, shook hands *all round*. Antoinette smiled, pointed

5.d [NP] collocates in the close environment.

Besides adverbial expressions which disclose the purpose of the act, there are also nominal expressions in the immediate environment which also give context to specify the concrete occasion of use. These can be found in different positions. Consider the examples in R2, R4, R5 and R6 positions:

In R2 position: congratulation

B2B Nottingham I have the opportunity to *shake your hand in congratulation*. These sentiments are

BP7 had asked Cy as, pulling up, he *shook her hand in congratulation*. ‘Doesn’t your judgement

CGBdancing with anyone and everyone. *Shaking hands*. Accepting congratulations. Even belting

In R4 position: condolences

C8rivals when they filed past to *shake his hand and offer their condolences*. It was a symbolic

In R4 position: friends

CDMworkmates and Albert’s back was slapped and *his hand shaken* by his friends. Mum and Dad and

H10you do?”, but simultaneously they *shake hands*. Neighbours affirm their friendship by

AC6cigars, hawking and spitting and *shaking hands* with friends or associates. There is some

In R5 position: friends

ALXwith a moving address: I have *shaken hands* with a great many friends, but there are

In R6 position: friends

FSFseen each other for so long. *They shook hands* and then embraced like old friends. He

6. Metaphorical extensions of meaning

Extension of meaning is done along the lines of lexical and grammatical metaphor. Metaphors are already treated not as a figure of speech but as a way of thinking (Lakoff and Johnson 1980).

Here also belong instances of coercion: aspectual meaning which is inference over and above the meaning expressed by the verb. Consider:

B77Assembly , we were forever shaking hands with our European colleagues of all nationalities

6.a Lexical extension of meaning.

- We find comparisons of the kind: *a handlike a shovel, meet your antiself; or vulture:*

CEB'Not really,' Meredith said, shaking a handlike a shovel which was extended towards

HJ4Jon leapt down into the crowd and *shook hands with the sea of people almost engulfing*

H78 424 However, if you meet your antiself, *don't shake hands!*

HM4slightly prejudiced. He went there, he shook hands, he'd shake hands with a vulture if he

- Human vs non-human uses of the headword. The sense of the headword here is non-human. Consider the example: *the international hand of friendship.*

ECGMacAskill gratefully shakes the international hand of friendship on his first alpine climb

In a different way the following example is also non-human, having to do with *pets* (*he and he loves being cuddled by children* refer to one's pet). Consider:

CEN6319'He's got party tricks like *shaking hands*, and when we walk him to the shops on a lead he loves being cuddled by children and old people.

6.b Grammatical metaphor.

So far we have only discussed occurrences of the collocation which are expressed through the clause structure. This is in accord with the way we construe our experience. The moment we deviate from this way of construing reality, we are already in the

domain of the grammatical metaphor – to be seen in the light of functional grammar (Halliday 1985, Taverniers 2004, 2006).

- Nominalization is considered ‘grammatical metaphor’ (Halliday 1985, Locke and Downing 2006) in which a process meaning is expressed by a nominal construction.

CEF Along with behaviour rites such as *shaking hands*, kissing, taking and giving of coats and

In the following examples the *shake_hand(s)* collocation functions as subject and object in the matrix clause:

subject

AJ6 plunging into the adoring throng. *Shaking hands*, accepting the odd bear-hug, encouraging

BNA practise a few times with a friend. *Shaking hands* is an important part of a mock interview

C8V touch. Crying for help is trust, *shaking hands* is trust, a kiss is trust.

object

ACP mainly involved checking off names, *shaking hands*, sorting out cups of tea, making small

AC6 cigars, hawking and spitting and *shaking hands* with friends or associates.

ABW And you know, he insisted on *shaking hands*, even though mine were covered in black

FS0 chargé’s office, I studiously avoided *shaking hands* or having any eye contact, determined to

- Numeral like *a thousand*, *many*, *more* are also used hyperbolically:

EAY speeches and on one occasion *shook 2,000 hands* in a receiving line. According to Reagan

HPG very next speech he insists on shaking the hands of all of the conspirators. He says, ‘Though

AK2 crowd. Mr Major seemed to shake as *many hands* from Michigan, Brussels and Canada than

A7H receptions, galas and banquets and *shook more hands* in walkabouts than could ever be counted

GV9 laughs. He smiles. He shakes a *thousand hands*. He is a man of the people with a heart

6.c Type-token axis in the noun phrase domain.

The linguistic devices used move the keyword *hand* along this type-token axis which interacts with the clause structure in diverse ways to form different sense possibilities.

Here the meaning of *hand* is one of type. In order to be instantiated, a specific type of reference can be achieved by using different means: either [with N]-complementation, or else, within the noun phrase structure itself, the definite article used not in the usual sense but with the help of postmodification the latter acting as a kind of discontinuous morpheme, [the + ... + of N]. Langacker(2000) calls that grounding.

Important distinction to be made with the collocation of the lexical verb *shake* is the distinction between singular and plural tokens. *Shake hands* is the preferred construction, then comes *shake hands with* [with N] and then comes *shake the hand(s)* [of N] sg/pl .

Subject specification

The most prototypical realization is the animate, human subject which is not surprising because of the keyword bodypart term *hand*. Examples of meaning extensions of metonymy and lexical and grammatical metaphors as stand-by relations can contribute into the making of inanimate, non-human subjects possible.

The elliptical *They shook hands* can be connected with different senses:

- The participant is missing but clear from context
- The reason is missing, can be a greeting, or on a deal, or in sport, on a draw, etc.
- The construction is reciprocal.

That ‘grammatical metaphor’ is more than just nominalization, in which a process meaning is expressed by a nominal construction, becomes clear if we consider further types of expressions equally regarded as instances of grammatical metaphor in SFL:

7. Problems with sentences.

Here we discuss basically two things: one concerning sentence/clause types and their meaning (7.1) and the other – the cline of clause combining constructions (7.2).

7.1 Sentence/Clause types.

One way to distinguish different types of meaning is the use of sentence/clause types like: statement, questions, directives and exclamations. This type of meaning should be distinguished from ‘the illocutionary force of a particular utterance in a given context of a situation’ (Herbst et al. 2004: 148). The structure of sentences has a certain impact on

their meaning (ibid.). This is done mainly by using the same words in different orders. In fact, on the basis of three formal criteria – typical constituents, word order and intonation – it is possible to distinguish one construction from other major sentence types. The most common is of course the statement type but we find prototypical examples in the corpus of all types:

- Statements are usually used to convey information:

HR8'Ergh!' said Sheikh. *'I won't shake hands with you then!'* What did their parents

- Questions are used to ask for information:

EDJHughes, nice to meet you. *Shall we shake hands?* Right, good. No, the point I'm trying

- Exclamations are used to express 'the extent to which the speaker is impressed by something:

CHRdown and dogs do on three legs? *Shake hands!* My delivery boy sat on the bacon

- Directives are usually used to instruct somebody to do something:

AC5you do, my dear,' she said. *'Shake hands nicely,'* Gloria hissed in Dot's ear. 'Show

BNAinterviewer's gesture. (b) *Do not shake hands in a grasping manner with the palm inclining*

BNAsignals overfamiliarity. (d) *Do not shake hands in a limp manner or use just the tips of*

B2Fstraight, look people in the eye, *shake hands firmly* or leave decisively when it's time

Consider the three formal criteria exemplified with the Imperative-'directive'-construction¹⁵.

¹⁵The imperative is a grammatical mood that forms commands or requests, including the giving of prohibition or permission, or any other kind of advice or exhortation. An example of a verb in the imperative mood is be in the English sentence "Please be quiet".

Imperatives are verbs used to give orders, commands and instructions. (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Imperative_mood)

Imperative-'directive'-construction
Meaning: 'directive'
Formal criteria:
I. Typical constituents:
(a) Imperative 'directives' contain a predicate with the verb in the base form (which in negation needs <i>do</i> -support, also for the verb <i>be</i>)
(b) Imperative 'directives' can have a subject.
II. Word order: If present, the subject precedes the predicate.
III. Intonation: falling

(Herbst et al.2004: 154).

7.2 Use of [and] after the collocation

A typical feature of the *V_hand(s)* collocations is that they can be used either in independent clauses and/or as part of a complex sentence. It is evident that the conjunction [and] is among the most frequent ways of continuation after the collocation (37 instances in the 171 sg instances vs 75 instances in the pl 489 instances = total 112/660. This makes 17%).

JXW to introduce herself. Lindsey *shook hands*. 'Lindsey Blake.' 'Blake?' The girl **JY8 3356** 'Pleased to meet you, Paige,' Drew McKenna greeted with a smile, shaking hands.

JXT a girl!' She laughed as *they shook hands*. 'Welcome to Alghero.' 'Thank you
The collocation *shake hands* is used in the above examples in three different ways:

- 1.As a nucleus, expressed by an independent clause which begins with a capital letter and ends with [.]
2. Punctuation here plays a role to indicate boundaries as well as degrees of incorporation in the sentence, see the second example above. Here, the collocation is used as a description of the main verb *greeted*.
3. The third example the complex clause 'involves the combining into one integrated structure of two separate and autonomous nuclei that are mutually relevant'(Hopper and Traugott 1993/1997: 169).

These types are, however, not at all frequent with the collocation. More frequent and preferred is another type with [and] continuation after the collocation (See Appendix below).

In terms of sentence structure there is a distinction to be made between clauses used independently, as a self-sufficient structure and then it is referred to as a 'nucleus'¹⁶ or otherwise there are two possibilities: either be used as dependent constituents in a complex sentence or as a constituent in a compound sentence.

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¹⁶ Longacre 1985, found in Hopper and Traugott 1993/1997: 169.

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APPENDIX 1 (singular of the headword *hand*)

JY9back yet again. Margrida shook her **hand** and graciously accepted the flowers which HGLKimberly, her eldest daughter. Kim shakes my **hand** and tucks her briefcase behind the door JY3to dwarf the other girl's as they shook **hands** in greeting, and Virginia inwardly winced HU0You know the monastery?' He shook my **hand** and strode out of the tavern. I never saw HWEJoe, violin and much more.' Joe shook her **hand** and smiled.' And this is Ron, viola HYGhim on behalf of the Council, shook his **hand** and said how well he done it, but if you AT3question. Still laughing, they shook my **hand** and bade me, 'Bon courage, stranger.' ADYsing-song accent came to a stop and he shook my **hand** and let himself out, a grey man in grey

A61 575 The Frenchman shook my hand and as I looked at him and his family I thought slowly to myself, 'What a bloody chance he is taking.

APU, his name is Denzil.' The man shook her **hand** and smiled. He was slight and a light yellow ARBtails and the cloakroom lady kept shaking my **hand** and shouting 'Welcome!'. Irena arrived B19passing me over to a surgeon - and he shook my **hand** and wished me luck - that in itself was G3SHe handed the money over, shook my **hand** and drove away. His wife, who had never G3BShe met me with a friendly smile, shook my **hand** and introduced me to the class:

G3Blong when an officer appeared, shook my **hand** and asked if he could help me in any way EE5ice was broken. He jumped down, shook my **hand** and pulled a packet of Peter Stuyvesant EE5with a tan and fine blond hair who shook my **hand** and said, 'France fucking shit, yes?'

EE5going to be like, he turned to me, shook my **hand** and wished me good luck. Then we both fell

CEPand clap me on the shoulder. They shake my **hand** and say 'Hello Mr Eubank'. That's why I

CEP

CEP

CH1to stir up trouble, refused to shake my **hand** and stormed off. ‘I was irritated
CJTinsignia of major’s rank had shaken his **hand** and grinned a supercilious smile. Into
CAFMP did jump off his LandRover to shake my **hand** and take one of my leaflets the other day
CLDshoes, blouse and cardigan, and shaking his **hand** and making him welcome. Up three floors
C86rivals when they filed past to shake his **hand** and offer their condolences. It was a symbolic
FSCamused to see that Comfort was shaking his **hand** and even inviting him to share their table
FS2adults did that. Martha shook her **hand** and laughed. ‘You’re a strange child,’
FP6library when he saw it was me, shook my **hand** and said ‘Terrible thing, terrible thing

APPENDIX 2 (plural of the headword *hand*)

JY0hospital.’ ‘How nice.’ They shook hands and went inside. The sitting-room
JY8’m Karen, Drew’s wife.’ They shook hands and Paige handed her a cup of tea which
JY2anorak-type cotton jacket. The two shook **hands** and silently measured each other up, Paul
J10friends you have, Gamal!’ They shook **hands** and Suleiman pulled a chair up. ‘
HR8the sincere thing to do. Would they shake **hands** and agree to forget the whole thing were
HH5would make a profit. We all shook **hands** and drank to seal our agreement before
H7Wimportant engagement. The two men shook **hands** and yet more intensive talks followed.
H89when everyone rose to their feet, shook **hands** and made a beeline for the cooking tent
A0Xleft by the previous incumbent. I shook **hands** and exchanged smiles with the vicar and
A0Nsaid and got to his feet. The two shook **hands** and Cameron introduced Menzies.’
AC6dinner. We did not speak, just smiled, shook **hands** and set off walking along those dim
back
AC6would be our last encounter - and had shaken **hands** and said goodbye. My mother
smoothed his
AC3could say what he liked to them. As he shook **hands** and tolerated all the small-talk, he
thought
ADKand set it all up while you were shaking **hands** and making conversation rather than getting
A9Ebanner that read: ‘Welcome home.’ They shook **hands** and embraced government soldiers.
AKEminutes, the linesmen and players shook **hands** and left the pitch. The referee was reported
A61towards me, his hand outstretched. As we shook **hands** and started to walk along a narrow
path
A7Hwhatever is on show, shakes a few select **hands** and exchanges benign pleasantries, before
A7Jstanding by. They came forward again to shake **hands** and sympathise. Sister Duggan had
Eileen
AJUMoore, with a hug and a kiss. He shook **hands** and chatted briefly with some of the several
APCto my room unannounced as usual. We shake **hands** and he sits. ‘You go tomorrow?’ he
B19we’ll go on from there.’ We shook **hands** and I walked from the consulting room,
GV9right words. I don’t know why. We shook **hands** and Wallis walked away. I went into
G16Joe held out his hand, they shook **hands** and walked away from each other, Joe feeling
G0Iexpecting someone else.’ The two men shook **hands** and Scott offered the other man a seat
G3Ewhat he had come to learn. But as he shook **hands** and said goodbye he knew that he left no
EFGvery difficult for her. You go and shake **hands** and what can she say to all of these people
EFJthe moment when she would have to shake **hands** and be spat at. But Hepzibah saved
ECMgirl moving through the crowds, shaking **hands** and accepting flowers, looked positively
K97Delors emerged from their talks they shook **hands** and smiled but said nothing to reporters
K97brief remarks then walked round shaking **hands** and wearing badges reading: ‘Sorry I ca
KALtreated me escorted me to the car, and shook **hands** and asked if I had any complaints, as he

K4Touter space. 'Everyone wants to shake **hands** and talk football. The build up for the
CH3cleared the air. They had already shaken **hands** and been out for a meal together.
CHVthe cars asking for autographs, shaking **hands** and giving the occasional kiss. The
CMEthe top of Everest. 'Tenzing and I shook **hands** and then Tenzing threw his arms around
CA9said: 'Hi, I'm Ron Levy.' We shook **hands** and were joined by a sparkling red-head
CBGSouness was all smiles and happy to shake **hands** and extend invitations to the boot room
CBNhe had received and suggesting they shook **hands** and called it a day. His reserve broke
CB8present and apologises, the others shake **hands** and make an effort to be polite to each
CDBher £40 fee was taken from her. They shook **hands** and Rufus wished her a pleasant journey
CDKemployed in the job I applied for. 3. I shook **hands** and smiled on meeting the interviewer.
CDCWhen our storage duties were done we shook **hands** and I drew her to me and kissed her.
Her
CDYknow any of the names; she smiled and shook **hands** and was passed from one to the other
like
CDYknows what she's dealing with.' He shook **hands** and went out. Brownlow pinched his
FRLnot quite the Ambassador shook the better **hands** and said he was delighted.(Le Carré
FEMpaying the bill, we pointedly shook their **hands** and said goodbye. ,, You are going
FU8had giggled with embarrassment then shook **hands** and greeted them hurriedly in French
before
FSFseen each other for so long. They shook **hands** and then embraced like old friends. He
FSCDavid introduced him to Julia and she shook **hands** and then turned aside as Bill said
something
FS0fancy meeting you here.' We all shook **hands** and grinned stupidly at one another. Terry
FP1men dressed in long underwear would shake **hands** and then bend forward as if making a
deep
FPMa loss, Connor said, 'Very well - shake **hands** and that's an end to it.' I hope

STUDENTS' WORK

TEACHERS' AND STUDENTS' AWARENESS OF THE BENEFITS OF NONFORMAL EDUCATION

Aleksandar Kirilov

Abstract: *The aim of this study is to examine the nature and current status of nonformal education in general, to examine options for its implementation and integration with the traditional forms of education in Bulgaria. To better understand the current situation in Bulgaria, I have conducted a smallscale research on teachers' and students' awareness of nonformal education, the tools and study options it offers them, as well as the teachers' and students' attitudes and willingness to impart these tools and software in the education process.*

Key words: *nonformal education, teachers, students, tools, attitudes*

Introduction

Education has been the cause of wars, it has seen both declines and increases, and is gradually shifting and changing as it must in order to remain useful. While it has been argued by authors such as McGivney (1991) that making a distinction between formal, nonformal and informal education is arguable at best, each of them has evolved to where it currently stands and each has a clear and concise frame in which it can be viewed.

Despite these distinctions existing for numerous years, not all agents involved in the educational process in Bulgaria are aware of them and the benefits they offer as different types of education. This can be best explained by this direct quote from AEGEE's 2007 Nonformal Education Book (see AEGEE 2007): „From my personal point of view, being today the Director of the NGO 'Elix – Conservation Volunteers Greece', the organisation for which I have been working for six years, as well as keeping the role of the Chair of Fair Trade Hellas, the organisation which I initiated some years ago, I feel that I have fulfilled the dreams which were created by and through my nonformal educational experiences. For me, non formal learning is knowledge, imagination, creativity, professionalism, faces, friends, feelings, future, life itself!” (Marina Sarli, EVS Volunteer).

The aim of this study is to examine the nature and current status of nonformal education in general, to examine options for its implementation and integration with the traditional forms of education in Bulgaria. To better understand the current situation in Bulgaria, I have conducted a smallscale research on teachers' and students' awareness of nonformal education, the tools and study options it offers them, as well as the teachers' and students' attitudes and willingness to impart these tools and software in the education process. I firmly believe that this research will raise the awareness of the whole spectrum of benefits that are offered by nonformal education and that it will empower

not only students but also teachers into becoming active participants in a self-guided process of exploring the realm of knowledge.

Formal, nonformal and informal education

Formal education is a systematic approach to learning, based on a more often than not rigid curriculum. It is held within a predefined structure, which generally revolves mainly around education – kindergarten, primary school, middle school, high school, college, university and others. Formal education covers a large number of topics that are deemed by the society in charge of the specific formal education program as knowledge that should be widely known to all of society, in other words – common knowledge. An appropriate distinction, as cited by Dib (1988), is that formal education is characterized by a continuous process called „presential education” (Sarramona, 1975). This idea must involve without exception the teacher, his or her students and the institution at which they are studying. Teachers work within predefined rule sets, again a part of their predefined curriculum, which leaves them with a limited choice of study materials and options to bend or influence their nation’s educational framework. In most cases, classes are taught in a format of 1 teacher and 1 group of students. There may be a strict dress code for both teachers and students. It is based on a hierarchy, grades are given with an emphasis on success throughout time, rather than giving weight on ability within a particular part of knowledge accumulation. Classes are taught within classrooms, where students sit in rows looking directly at the teacher, in a factory-like setting. As Robinson points out:

„The trouble is that education doesn’t go on in the committee rooms of our legislators. It happens in classrooms and schools. And the people who do it are the teachers and students and if you remove their discretion it stops working. Many of the current policies are based on mechanistic conceptions of education. It’s like education is an industrial process that can be improved by having better data and somewhere in the back of some policy maker is the idea that if you fine tune it well enough it will hum along well into the future. It won’t and it never did. The point is that education is not a mechanical system, it’s a human system. It’s about people. People who either do want to learn or don’t want to learn. Every student who drops out of school has a reason for it, which is rooted in our own biography. They may find it boring, they may find it irrelevant, they may find that it’s at odds with the life they are living outside of school. There are trends but the stories are always unique.” Sir Kenneth Robinson (see TED 2013)

Sir Kenneth Robinson gives three principles of human life that formal education in most countries fails to follow:

1. Human beings are naturally different and diverse
2. Curiosity is a part of being humans
3. Human life is inherently creative

As outlined in many of his speeches, formal education fails to give a broad spectrum and equal weight of classes being taught. Importance is given to science classes and mathematics, while the humanities, the arts and physical education receive limited attention when comparing class hour ratios. This inherently means that there is not enough weight given to show the diversity of people and their talents. By limiting the options for teachers as far as how they can teach, and students' options of what they can learn and how, curiosity is essentially being undone during the process of formal education. And since human life is inherently creative, in the way that people recreate themselves during their lifespan. People change professions, people recreate themselves from top to bottom. Formal education has grown stagnant, and in a modern age where predictability of the future is further and further away, it fails its makers.

What all of this leads to is a growth in ADHD, more commonly known as Attention Deficit Disorder. The levels of ADHD according to surveys and research done by the CDC (2015) has skyrocketed from 7.8% in 2003 to 9.5% in 2007 and to 11.0% in 2011. What Kenneth Robinson stipulates is that because of the stagnation within formal education and its inability to give equal weight on subject, children are naturally being misdiagnosed. If a child has problems with focusing on a subject it does not have the motivation, aptitude or desire to learn, that does not mean it has ADHD. The fault at hand when discussing formal education is that it is designed and conceived for a different age, as further explained by Kenneth Robinson (see The RSA). A good example of an atypical formal education that highlights the lackings of formal education can be read below:

„I heard a great story recently of a little girl who was in a drawing lesson, she was six and she was at the back drawing, and the teacher said this little girl hardly ever paid attention. And in this drawing lesson she did. The teacher was fascinated, she went over to her and she said „What are you drawing?“. And the girl said „I'm drawing a picture of God“. And the teacher said „But nobody knows what God looks like“. And the girl said „They will in a minute“.”

Sir Kenneth Robinson, TEDxTalks(see TED 2007)

Nonformal education is an approach to learning that is similar to formal education, but differs in a few unique ways. What is defined as nonformal is all that is outside the subset of formal education, but which can still be viewed as an organized educational activity. It can be part of a separate groupbased activity, or done individually. It requires a clear objective to be set beforehand, much like in formal education. Typical examples of nonformal education would be the act of selfteaching, group activities – swimming lessons, sports, skill development workshops and so on. One of the most common activities that can be thought of as nonformal learning is the act of parents assisting their child in their studying. The parents are not licensed or trained to do so, and the knowledge exchange is less formal, but not informal. Due to its position of being the border between formal and informal education and learning, many countries argue over its principal position within the education subtypes.

Informal education is the lifelong process of accumulating experience, skills, attitudes and views as well as general knowledge. This is done on a daily basis and through all methods and manners not deemed formal or nonformal. While each person's way of learning is unique, most often informal education covers gains via family, apprenticeships, one's workplace, one's local environment and in recent times – pop culture and mass media. The mute point that many scholars (see Clayton 1987) contend is that informaleducation is not always correct, as its information is not as scrupulously edited andrevised as that of formal education. While this may be so, generally informaleducation has the added bonus of being synchronized with the latest availableinformation, which gives an advantage to people who study in such ways. This ismainly due to the fact that because formal education has so many safetychecks,editing and revisions involved, it automatically falls behind the needs of the industryand the population.The most commonly noted description of informal learning is that it happens in anatural way, and is viewed as an unconscious process.

Teachers' awareness of different types of education

As part of the preparatory work, I created a simple questionnaire in order to collect information about participants' knowledge and awareness of different types of education and more specifically nonformal learning. For the purpose of the questionnaire to be met, contact was initiated with numerous schools from different districts. All six major regions were included in this attempt of contact: NorthEast, NorthWest, NorthCentral, SouthEast, SouthWest and SouthCentral. As a result of this contact, 20 teachers responded and filled out the questionnaire to its entirety. While the dataset is small in size, it does show at a very basic level the current understanding of teachers within Bulgaria of what nonformal education is.

Question 1: Have you heard of Formal Education?

- a) Yes - 90%
- b) No - 10%

Question 2: Have you heard of Nonformal Education?

- a) Yes - 35%
- b) No - 65%

Question 3: Have you heard of Informal Education?

- a) Yes - 40%
- b) No - 60%

Question 4: Do you readily differentiate between formal, nonformal and informal education?

- a) Yes - 75%
- b) No - 25%

Question 5: Do you agree with this statement:

„Formal education is typically provided by an education or training institution, is intentional, is structured (in terms of learning objectives, learning time or learning support) and leads to certification.“

- a) Yes - 100%
- b) No - 0%

Question 6: Do you agree with this statement:

„Nonformal education is intentional learning that is provided outside the scope of formal education in the form of structured autodidacticism without the use of a curriculum. It does not lead to certification in most cases.“

- a) Yes - 80%
- b) No - 20%

Question 7: Do you agree with this statement:

„Informal education is a direct result from daily life activities related to work, family or leisure. It is not structured (in terms of learning objectives, learning time or learning support) and typically does not lead to certification. Informal learning may be intentional but in most cases it is notintentional.“

- a) Yes - 85%
- b) No - 15%

Question 8: Do you feel comfortable using a computer?

- a) Yes - 50%
- b) No - 50%

Question 9: In your opinion, can formal and nonformal education be used together?

- a) Yes - 35%
- b) No - 65%

Question 10: Would you personally use nonformal education?

- a) Yes - 5%
- b) No - 95%

Question 11: Would you recommend nonformal education to your students to help them better understand the curriculum material?

- a) Yes - 25%
- b) No - 75%

Question 12: Would you invest your personal time in creating content for an online

tool to help your students study?

a) Yes - 20%

b) No - 80%.

Questionnaire disambiguation and discussion of results

Question one reveals that a part of the teachers in question (ten percent) did not know that the system they work within is known as Formal Education. Of the twenty teachers, seven had heard of Nonformal education, and eight of Informal education, and between the two questions there was an overlap of five people which answered Yes. Fifteen people managed to differentiate between the three types of education, while the other five could not because they lacked the knowledge as evident from previous questions.

Questions five through seven gave the teachers a set of statements, each statement giving a description of formal, nonformal and informal education. The teachers agreed or disagreed with the said statements. There was a unanimous vote of twenty to zero in favor of the formal education statement. Twenty percent did not agree with the statement for nonformal education, and even less fifteen, with the informal education statement. This shows the teachers' readiness to agree with their observations whether they know the terminology or not.

The next set of questions targeted personal opinions. They focused on computer use and the ease with which they do it. Thirtyfive percent thought that formal and nonformal education could be used together again overlapping with the people who asked in a positive manner as to having knowledge of types of education other than formal. This shows that Bulgarian teachers are willing to appreciate something only if they have gained sufficient knowledge about it. Even then, there was only one willing questionnaire participant that was willing to use nonformal education to help his or her students, but at least five would extend the idea to their students. When terminology is eliminated as in question twelve, four of the twenty questionnaire takers would devote personal time to create content for an online tool that would help their students study better.

Students' background information on software and hardware used in nonformal education

The aim of this questionnaire is to delve as deeply as possible for information regarding students' access to technology and its inborn specifics. Based on the information received, the teacher will be able to properly choose the supplementary software, which can then be offered to students on an individual basis, based on their specific learning needs. It is important that when possible, the teacher guarantees the students' anonymity, so as to allow more truthful answers. This prototype questionnaire can be modified in

any way to suit a teacher's specific needs, but when editing, one must inform themselves of the explanatory segment so as to understand the questions and why they were included.

Question 1: Do you have a personal computer?

- a) Yes - 90%
- b) No - 10%

Question 1.1: If yes, what operating system does it use?

- a) Windows - 84%
- b) Mac OS - 6%
- c) Linux - 10%
- d) Other - 0%

Question 2: Do you have a laptop?

- a) Yes - 74%
- b) No - 26%

Question 2.1: If so, what operating system does it use?

- a) Windows - 90%
- b) Mac OS - 6%
- c) Linux - 4%
- d) Other - 0%

Question 2.2: If so, what is your default browser?

- a) Chrome - 62%
- b) Firefox - 22%
- c) Opera - 4%
- d) Safari - 2%
- e) Internet Explorer - 10%
- f) Other - 0%

Question 3:

Do you have a touchscreen mobile phone?

- a) Yes - 82%
- b) No - 18%

Question 3.1: If so, which operating system does it use?

- a) Android - 76%

- b) iOS - 8%
- c) Windows - 16%
- d) Other - 0%

Question 3.2: If so, which browser do you use?

- a) Chrome - 72%
- b) Dolphin - 0%
- c) Firefox - 10%
- d) Opera - 0%
- e) Default browser - 8%
- f) Other - 0%

Question 4: Do you have a tablet?

- a) Yes - 22%
- b) No - 78%

Question 4.1: If so, which operating system does it use?

- a) Android - 98%
- b) iOS - 2%
- c) Windows - 0%
- d) Other - 0%

Question 4.2: If so, which browser do you use?

- a) Chrome - 60%
- b) Dolphin - 0%
- c) Firefox - 12%
- d) Opera - 4%
- e) Default browser - 14%
- f) Other - 0%

Question 5:

Which do you use most often:

- a) PC - 26%
- b) Laptop - 46%
- c) Mobile phone - 24%
- d) Tablet - 6%

c) Other - 0%

Question 6: Do you have a Facebook account?

a) Yes - 98%

b) No - 2%

Question 6.1: If yes, would you prefer making a new registration or using your facebook account to log into a website?

a) New registration - 10%

b) Facebook account - 90%

c) Other - 0%

Question 7: Do you have a Google Mail account? (gmail)

a) Yes - 44%

b) No - 56%

Question 7.1: If yes, would you prefer making a new registration or using your gmail account to log into a website?

a) New registration - 16%

b) Gmail account - 84%

c) Other - 0%

Question 8: Do you play computer games?

a) Yes - 62%

b) No - 38%

Question 9: Do you use the internet to study?

a) Yes - 16%

b) No - 84%

Question 10: Would you use software and/or online tools to study on your own?

a) Yes - 38%

b) No - 62%

Questionnaire disambiguation:

Questions one through five and their subquestions are specifically aimed at knowing what technology as far as hardware the students possess, which operating systems and browsers they use and which of all of their gadgets they favor most. Based on this information, the teacher has valid data that he or she can use to assess which operating system, browser and gadgets are most used and preferred amongst his or her students.

This makes the process of choosing software and web tools much easier. Questions five through ten deal with various problems – whether the students can dodge account creation by using Facebook or a Google account, whether gamecentered software will be received well (see Question 8) and whether the students have ever used the internet to actively study. As far as results go, the majority have a personal computer of some sort, most of which use some of the many iterations of Windows. Only sixteen percent are using Linux or Mac OS. Seventy-four percent of the personal computers owned are laptops, which is an essential fact, as it will allow the students to carry them to school if needed. The laptops are armed with Windows in ninety percent of all cases, which is normal as laptops' hard disks are formatted for Windows exclusively when sold from a retail Bulgarian store. As with previously given statistics in Chapter 1, the majority of users have Chrome as their basic browsing software. A solid percentage is devoted to Mozilla Firefox, probably because it was a famously used browser worldwide and users have not migrated to the better equipped Google Chrome. Only four percent use Opera, two percent Safari and ten percent use the default Windows browser Internet Explorer. Forty-one students have a touchscreen mobile phone, over three quarters of which use Android as their base operating system. Eight percent have an iPhone and sixteen percent a Windows based touchscreen phone. Ten percent use Firefox as their mobile browser, eight the default browser and the rest exclusively use Google Chrome. There are no users for Dolphin or Opera. Only a little over a fifth of the students have tablets, which are almost exclusively running Android as their base operating system and Chrome as their main browser. There is a little more Firefox and Opera users as some of the older tablets benefit from those browsers as they require less powerful hardware.

Almost half the users mainly use their laptop, a quarter their PC or mobile phone and only six percent use their tablets most often. Only one person does not have a Facebook account and only ten percent would not use it to log into a service instead of making a new account. Forty-four percent have a Gmail account, and eighty four percent would use it to log into a service. Sixty-two percent play computer games, meaning the teacher should devote some attention to gamebased learning software. Only sixteen percent use the internet to study, and of them only thirtyeight would use software to study on their own. This means the teacher would have to be convincing and portray the software correctly in order to make the percentages higher.

Students' background information on learning methods

The aim of the second prototype questionnaire is to gather information about students as to whether they know about or have used different methodologies for studying. On a personal level it also asks them whether they have used certain popular notions about studying, different types of study aids and questions of a more personal subtype. It is important that when possible, the teacher guarantees the students' anonymity, so as to allow more truthful answers. This prototype questionnaire can be modified in any way

to suit a teacher's specific needs, but when editing, one must inform themselves of the explanatory segment so as to understand the questions and why they were included.

Question 1: How do you best learn?

- a) Through school and my teachers - 32%
- b) By figuring it out on my own - 52%
- c) By learning as I go from others - 16%

Question 2: When studying do you watch videos to remember better?

- a) Yes - 34%
- b) No - 66%

Question 3: Have you ever used audio files to learn something?

- a) Yes - 8%
- b) No - 92%

Question 4: Do you find it easier to learn material when you make a summary of the important information?

- a) Yes - 28%
- b) No - 72%

Question 5: Do you find it easier to learn material when you write down the information?

- a) Yes - 56%
- b) No - 44%

Question 6: Have you ever used mindmaps to learn material?

- a) Yes - 4%
- b) No - 96%

Question 7: Do you have problems learning at school?

- a) Yes - 80%
- b) No - 20%

Question 8: Do you feel the problem stems from yourself?

- a) Yes - 14%
- b) No - 86%

Question 9: Do you feel the problems stem from your teacher(s)?

a) Yes - 30%

b) No - 70%

Question 10: Is there any other method for learning you find useful?

Answer: _____

Questionnaire disambiguation and discussion of results:

Questions one through six concentrate on different basics of learning – whether a student feels more confident and retains knowledge better when using different methods. These include audio tapes or tracks, explanation videos (also known as tutorial videos), repetitive techniques like copying a text verbatim, summarizing it or creating a mindmap. Questions seven through ten concentrate on the personal aspect of studying – whether the student feels there is a problem, whether that problem is within him or herself or if the problem is with the teacher’s methodology. These are all critical things to know, since nonformal education might help students overcome problems with the methodology of formal education. The last question is an open question, aiming to gain information on new methods that might be unknown as of yet to both teacher and the rest of the students. By way of the results of the fifty students that took the questionnaire, the offered data trend is a worrisome one. Only a third of the students learn through their school classes, half have to fend for themselves and only sixteen percent learn by doing with their classmates. Most students do not have an affinity for modern technology, only thirty-four percent learn through videos, and a staggeringly low eight percent use audio aids to learn. Mindmaps are virtually unused, with only two out of the fifty students using them to aid their studying. The curious statistic is that over fiftysix percent of student learn best by writing down, and twenty-eight percent do so also by summarizing, most of the latter group also belonging to the former group. The most troubling trend is about the evaluation of problems within the system. Eighty percent of the students feel they have a problem studying, but only fourteen percent think the problem rests with them. Around thirty percent agree that the problem is due to their teacher or teachers. This is worrisome as it shows that even the students realize that the problem is within the education system itself, rather than within the classroom itself.

Conclusion

This study set out to achieve a number of tasks – to point out the different subsets of education, to inform of the basics of nonformal education, and to offer practical advice and software options for teachers, whether professional or not, on how to open the option of nonformal education as far as autodidacticism goes. The research behind the study has led to the following main conclusions:

1. Nonformal education is a byproduct of formal education. It is an evolution of the faults and minuses to the factory-centered way of teaching that Formal Education has become and thus it is strongly linked to it.

2. Teachers in Bulgaria are not entirely equipped to allow their students to learn in a motivating for both sides way. This is due to economical limitations, a lack of knowledge – technological for teachers and practical for students and a lack of desire to learn more again on both sides. This does not encompass all teachers and all students, and the used data sets are not as full as they could be, but there is a definite trend.

3. The offered materials in the form of questionnaires will allow teachers without the knowledge rendered in this thesis to adequately judge the needs of their students. The students possess a fair amount of knowledge on the topic and if the correct questions are asked, the needed data will be made available.

4. The offered materials, in the form of information about software and online tools, are appropriate for use by students. None of the offered software is made in a way to hinder learning even for students with minimal computer skills, all of the software is available for no charge whatsoever, and all of the software is generally open source which allows for it to be checked for security breaches.

The biggest limitation of this study was the needed scale of research. For a concrete decision on whether nonformal education and the offered software and tools are adequately simplistic and usable, the following would have to be done in a much broader scale:

- Apply the offered questionnaires to a broad student base.
- Conduct research on the effectiveness of the software usage amongst Bulgarian students.
- Perform research amongst the nongovernmental organizations within Bulgaria that utilize forms of nonformal education and put the effective forms into practical use. It is evident, that nonformal education is a needed counterpart of formal education. One cannot fully exist without the other until one of them is perfected.

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ETHNICITY AND RACISM IN THE MEDIA: AN ANALYSIS ON SOME OF THE LINGUISTIC DEVICES USED IN SOME BULGARIAN AND BRITISH ARTICLES

Alexandra Buchvarova

Abstract: *The goal of this paper is to analyse and compare the language used by some Bulgarian and British newspapers when talking about different ethnic groups. Various publications on the interaction with the 'OTHERS' (see Richardson 2004; Marushiakova, Popov 1993; Cottle 2000; Husband 2000; Cheshmedzhieva-Stoycheva 2013; among others) serve as a proof that the cultural/ ethnic/ religious Other has been a main topic in the media in the recent years. Immigrants, Muslims, Asians and other minorities have been discussed, debated, insulted but not ignored in any case. The media and the press in particular, have a huge influence on society. Defined as the fourth estate they are able to manipulate public opinion. This fact makes it extremely important for them to be responsible for the way they present information. Critical Discourse Analysis is used as the main method of analysis as well as comparative and contrastive linguistics. In most of the cases the analysis uses the types of devices described by Cheshmedzhieva-Stoycheva (2013) in her analysis of media discourse on ethnicity and identity in Bulgaria and the UK.*

Key words: *media discourse, the Other, CDA*

Nowadays, more than ever, the world is a mixture of people from different cultures, religions and ethnicity. People from all over the world, living together at one place form a society that is diverse and rich of opportunities for all its members. However, today, more than ever, the clashes between people from such multicultural societies have become more devastating and shocking. More and more, life depends on our ability to understand, appreciate, and work with others.

Various publications on the interaction with the 'OTHERS' (see Richardson 2004; Marushiakova, Popov 1993; Cottle 2000; Husband 2000; Cheshmedzhieva-Stoycheva 2013; among others) serve as a proof that the cultural/ ethnic/ religious Other has been a main topic in the media in the recent years. Immigrants, Muslims, Asians and other minorities have been discussed, debated, insulted but not ignored in any case. The media and the press in particular, have a huge influence on society. Defined as the fourth estate they are able to manipulate public opinion. This fact makes it extremely important for them to be responsible for the way they present information.

The goal of this paper is to analyse and compare the language used by some Bulgarian and British newspapers when talking about different ethnic groups.

To that goal Critical Discourse Analysis is used as the main method of analysis as well as comparative and contrastive linguistics. In most of the cases the analysis uses the types of devices described by Cheshmedzhieva-Stoycheva (2013) in her analysis of media discourse on ethnicity and identity in Bulgaria and the UK.

The corpus for this paper is composed of ten articles from two British newspapers: *The Telegraph* (T) and *The Independent* (I), as well as two Bulgarian newspapers: *Standartnews* (S) and *Dnevnik* (D), published in 2013 and 2014.

1. HEADLINES

As headlines are usually read first, the information expressed in them is strategically used by the reader during the process of understanding the text. (Van Dijk 1991: 50) What is more, headline information signals the reader how to ‘define’ the situation or the event. (ibid.: 51)

Although the authors of two of the articles used different linguistic devices: [6] *In-your-face racism has returned and few are fighting against it* and [3] *What black women don’t want: ‘Is your pubic hair an Afro too?’*, the meaning they convey is quite similar, i.e. that minorities are victims of racism. Using the term ‘racism’, the author of the first article is rather forthright while the second headline is more indirect and only hints on the existence of the problem.

In addition, it is to be noted that the use of the quantifier ‘few’ in [6] rather than its other form ‘a few’ suggests that the number of people involved in the fight against racism is insufficient which stands in contrast with “in-your-face racism” and shows total lack of interest in the issue. At the same time, while the first headline could be considered quite generic in its reference talking about racism as an attitude without any particular subject, the second headline is more specific in delineating a particular group of people subjected to a type of racism connected with physical traits and discussing a very intimate subject mentioned as a racial slur. Racism in this headline is presented as twofold once towards people marked by a different skin-colour (black) and then towards people marked for their gender (women).

Other two articles which discuss similar subject are [1] *Stowaway immigrants besiege Calais port* and [2] *3,000 migrants a month caught trying to enter Britain*. Despite talking about one and the same thing – immigration – the authors use synonymous terms when referring to the subjects – *immigrants, migrants*¹⁷ – but the difference in focus is achieved through the use of different modifiers, in [1] the adjective *stowaway* referring to the illegal way immigrants enter host countries, while in [2] on the numeral which stresses on their big number. Jointly both modifiers together with the language of war create the impression of big numbers of people trying to get illegally into Britain.

The only headline which presents minorities in a positive way is [5] *Hard-working ethnic minority pupils lifting schools’ results as ‘London effect’ takes hold*. It convincingly creates the image of the ethnic minority children as hard-working and

¹⁷ Immigrant – ‘a person who migrates to another country, usually for permanent residence’ (Dictionary.com); migrant – a person or animal that migrates (Dictionary.com)

highly motivated learners. At the same time it undoubtedly refutes the negative stereotype of immigrants or ethnic minority people as being lazy and using the welfare system (see Cheshmedzhieva-Stoycheva 2014: 1). Still, as this is the only example of tolerant attitude towards a group considered Other, the positive traits could be taken as an exception to the general rule, conveyed through the stereotype above.

In Bulgaria, newspapers use the same techniques in order to attract readers' attention. They rely on the provocative words and phrases to attain it: [9] '*There is still a risk of "import" of terrorists in Bulgaria*'. (S, 15.11.2013) [7] '*The refugee problem*' (D, 26.11.2013), [8] '*There is no way to send back Syrians to Turkey*'. (S, 12.12.2013)

Both Bulgarian and British newspapers criticize the governments or other institutions and their actions. Comparing two articles' headlines – [9] '*The fake defense of the rights of Bulgarian institutions*' (D, 05.11.2014) and [4] '*Colour blind' social workers...*' (T, 20.12.2013) – one could notice that both Bulgarian and British journalists are quite direct and harsh in their assessment of the work of various institutions. Journalists bluntly describe institutions as *fake* or call social workers *colour blind*, which generally is a positive thing as it is considered the opposite of being a racist, however, in this particular case it has prevented workers from grasping the possibility of culturally different people (i.e. Asian) committing a crime simply because workers disregarded cultural traits.

Reading the headlines of the articles it can be easily seen that most of them use words that are either connected with ethnicity or racism – *racism, racial, ethnic minority* or the lexico-thematic fields of war – *besiege, fighting, defense*, migration – *immigrants, migrants, refugee*, or they use colour markers – *black*. This confirms the fact that the subject of racism is prominent in both Bulgarian and the British media and that the trends in presentation observed by Cheshmedzhieva-Stoycheva (2013) continue. There is one use of metaphor – '*златна жилка*' – golden streak. (D, 26.11.2013)

2. LANGUAGE DEVICES

• Naming

The way a person or a group of people are called is significant because names show the attitude one has towards these people. (see Cheshmedzhieva-Stoycheva 2013; Cheshmedzhieva-Stoycheva 2014: 3) It is essentially important for members of the authority, journalists, or people whose activities can influence the public to use words correctly because they can provoke different feelings, emotions and reactions among the members of society.

In the analyzed articles the introduction of the members of any ethnic group is made through the use of various markers of identity which can be divided into the following groups:

- Markers of colour – *black pupils, white girls, black Londoners, the brown, people of colour.*

- Markers of origin – *Asian, Pakistani, African – Caribbean*, or more specific *Ugandan Asians, an Eritrean illegal immigrant, two young Sudanese men, African refugee*.
- Markers of religion – *Muslims, Sikhs, Hindus, Christians*.

Using such markers, especially ethnonyms, not only acknowledges the existence of these ethnic groups but also provides information about their culture, religion and character (Cheshmedzhieva-Stoycheva 2014). In addition, the use of more specific as well as more generic ethnonyms speaks of awareness of cultural differences and appreciation of diversity. This is further supported by the use of paratactic structures as in:

like [...] *the black and Asian people; Jews, black and mixed-race people, Travellers and the disabled; malign migrants, and asylum-seekers and the rest of us, bigots and xenophobes, Islamicist separatism and now Isis terrorism* are used (I, 09.11.2014), *harmless women and children*. (D, 26.11.2013); *'Grooming gangs have destroyed young girls and also cohesion and mutual trust between the brown and white Britons'* (I, 09.11.2014).

Such articles focus on the equality that exists between the different ethnic groups and the fact that all stand united against the common enemy.

It is interesting how the idea of contrast is used in the Bulgarian article „Проблемът с бежанците”, или как правителството попадна на златна жилка. (‘The problem with refugees, or how did the government hit a reef of gold’ – D, 26.11.2013) Throughout the article the author uses words and phrases like ‘*refugees*’, ‘*the problem with the refugees*’, ‘*the question with the refugees*’. The words are politically correct but they sound impersonal. When the refugees are called ‘*people*’ it feels as if they are given a new status of human beings, thus they acquire new qualities and are able to provoke positive emotions among readers. At the same time the use of the gold metaphor is suggestive of the monetary gains the government expect to have because of the refugees.

One occurrence of the **derogative** ‘*Paki*’ is observed when quoting the speech of a member of the majority – ‘*a middle-aged white woman shouted „bloody Paki”*’. (I, 09.11.2014) Used as an insult it is additionally enhanced by the swear word ‘*bloody*’ and is considered an exhibition of racism though not on behalf of the journalist but by a member of society.

The Bulgarian article [9] „Фасадната правозащитност на българските институции” (D, 05.11.2014) directly accuses politicians and authorities of using hate speech. Common nouns like *fiends, vermin, mass murderers, cannibals, savages*, or the metaphorical use of *Huns* are used to insult the refugees and to create the image of refugees as a threat to the country.

[9] „Самият директор на Държавната агенция за бежанците (ДАБ) нарича лицата, търсещи закрила в страната, „хуни”...” (‘*The director of the State Agency of Refugees himself (SAR) calls asylum seekers „Huns”...*’. D, 05.11.2014); [9] Депутатката Магдалена Ташева нарича бежанците „изчадия”, „сган”, „масови убийци”, „канибали”, „диваци”,

„ислямски фундаменталисти, които бягат от правосъдието” и „лъжат властите”. The MP Magdalena Tasseva called refugees „fiends”, „vermin”, „mass murderers”, „cannibals”, „savages”, „Islamic fundamentalists who escape from justice” and „lie to the authorities.” (D, 05.11.2014)

In the case of **overgeneralization** – the use of the ethnonym ‘Asian’ or ‘Asian gangs’ instead of more specific ‘... men from Pakistani Muslim backgrounds’; ‘gangs of largely Pakistani Muslim backgrounds’ – leads to the misconception that all Asian minorities are members of such gangs (which is a kind of stereotype). Thus one minority (Pakistani Muslim) is opposed to the others such as Sikhs and Hindus – “The use of the blanket term Asian caused serious difficulties for other minority communities such as Sikhs and Hindus...” (T, 20.12.2013)

3. THE OPPOSITION US vs. THEM

When creating the image of someone it is necessary to oppose him/her to the others. The opposition is also used to emphasize the differences between them. In most cases ‘US’ means ‘majorities’ but there are examples of the opposite phenomenon when US refers to the members of minority groups.

The most frequent opposition is between ‘US’ which refers to the white majorities and ‘THEM’ which relates to various ethnic minority groups.

White vs. various others

- young white girls vs. older ‘Asian’ men, white girls vs. men of a different ethnic background;
- a straight, white man vs. minority person;
- white girl vs. ‘blue’ girl (a colour which is used in a drawing to show that the kids are different); white British pupils vs. ethnic minority pupils.

One minority vs. other minorities

In [4] ‘Colour blind’ social workers couldn’t see glaring racial clues to Rochdale sex abuse’ there is an example when one minority is opposed to other minorities like in: ‘The use of the blanket term Asian caused serious difficulties for other minority communities such as Sikhs and Hindus’. The opposition here is between Asian, the ethnonym used to present sex offenders and the Sikhs and Hindus who are also Asians but are not related to the crime.

The same happens in the article [7] „Проблемът с бежанците”, или как правителството попадна на златна жилка (‘The problem with refugees, or how did the government hit a reef of gold’ – D, 26.11.2013) where refugees are opposed to Bulgarian ethnic minorities or to other groups: Ревнуват, че за тях се отделя повече, отколкото за собствените ни бедстващи пенсионери и малцинства. (They are

jealous that they pay more to them than to our own poor pensioners and ethnic minorities – D, 26.11.2013)

4. LEXICO - THEMATIC FIELDS

The words the authors use depend on the subject they are talking about. The articles which cover the problems of the immigrants use mostly words from the following lexico – thematic fields:

lexico–thematic field of **war/riots**: *taken hostages, state of alert, frayed tempers, demonstration, sparking fears of clashes, to halt immigrants, the break-in, to evade security staff, protest, force their way into Britain, hostility;*

lexico-thematic field of **migration**: *immigrants, migrants, army of estimated 1.300 illegal immigrants, refugees, asylum seekers;*

lexico-thematic field of **racism** – *casual racism, blatant racism, racist attitudes, 'bloody Paki', in-your-face racism, racial prejudice, race discrimination, bigots, xenophobes, anti-white prejudices;*

lexico-thematic field of **crime** – *death and rape threats, victims, gangs, sex abuse, micro aggressions;*

Such lexis is used in order to create public scare as well as to provoke some reaction among readers especially in the cases of [1] *Stowaway immigrants besiege Calais port* and [2] *3,000 migrants a month caught trying to enter Britain* where the lexis is mostly from the lexico-thematic fields of war and riots.

5. STEREOTYPES AND PREJUDICES

Stereotypes are fixed, overgeneralized beliefs about a particular group or class of people. The most common stereotypes tend to convey a negative impression. By stereotyping we infer that a person has a whole range of characteristics and abilities that we assume all members of that group have. (see Cheshmedzhieva-Stoycheva 2013)

One of the annoying stereotypes (according to the author of [3] *'What black women don't want: 'Is your pubic hair an Afro too?'*) which white people have about minorities is that they think that *'a person of colour is always a visitor, an outsider, an other'*. That is the reason why questions like *No where are you *really* from? Do you only date black men? What do you mean you are Scottish, how?! How come your mum is so well-spoken? You look just like the people in [country I'm not from], are you sure you're not from there? Really sure?* insult so much and make minority people think they *'do not belong here'*. (T, 13.12.2013)

An interesting technique is presenting the problem (or the lack of it) from another point of view – that of a member of the majority – who does not consider that kind of questions as racist: [3], *How can I be a racist? I eat Indian food every week. Some of my best friends are black! I don't even see colour!* (T, 13.12.2013)

The use of a denial as ‘a strategy of positive self-presentation’ is usually followed with disclaimers – ‘negative statement about an ethnic minority group’ as Teun van Dijk states in *Racism and the Press* (1991: 177) and as it is in the example: [3] *Why are you concentrating on race? Don't you know that makes you the racist? If you just stopped talking about it, all of this would go away!*” (T, 13.12.2013)

Another stereotype which is questioned in [4] ‘*Colour blind’ social workers couldn't see glaring racial clues to Rochdale sex abuse*’ is that the authorities are always right. From the first paragraph the author gives the tone of the article:

[4] *A “dangerous” inability to recognize the importance of race meant social workers and police missed glaring warning signs about a gang of Pakistani men grooming white girls for sex in Rochdale, an official inquiry has concluded.* (T, 20.12.2013)

The same happens in the Bulgarian article [10] „*Фасадната правозащитност на българските институции*” (D, 05.11.2014) in which the Bulgarian authorities are harshly criticized of using hate speech and making it part of the language of the institutions.

There are examples of stereotypes and prejudices which ethnic minority people have about whites: [6] *The anti-white prejudices within some Asian families are mortifying.* (I, 09.11.2014)

In the analyzed Bulgarian articles the most frequently encountered stereotype is the stereotype of refugees as terrorists or troublemakers and that their presence may increase crime.

[10] ... министрите, ... заговориха за „опасност от нахлуване на терористи” и за лагери от затворен тип за бежанците, представляващи заплаха. ... (*the Ministers, ... talked about „risk of invasion of terrorists’ and about camps for refugees who may become a threat’* – D, 26.11.2013)

Another scare of which the articles speak of is that terrorism could be imported in Bulgaria. In the case of [9] ‘*Mitov: There is still a risk of “import” of terrorists in Bulgaria*’ the idea is conveyed directly in the headline and thus makes the message more effective.

[9] Има опасност от внос на терористи както от Сирия, така и от Ирак и от много други държави, в които съществува този тип нестабилност ... (*There is a risk of importing terrorists both from Syria and Iraq and many other countries where this type of instability exists ...*’ – S, 15.11.2013)

In order to sound more convincing a reference to a past event is made – the terrorist act in Bulgaria in 2012: [9] *Имаме като пример терористичния акт в Сарафово.* (*‘We’ve got the terrorist act in Sarafovo as an example’.* – S, 15.11.2013)

The stereotype of refugees or immigrants living on social aids is shared by both British and Bulgarian public:

[2] She [Natacha Bouchart, the mayor of Calais] said: „The real magnet is not the city of Calais but the benefits that are perceived in Great Britain. ... This is El Dorado.” ... thousands of migrants were coming to the port because of the £36 a week Britain handed out to asylum seekers. (T, 18.12.2014); [7] Хората все по-ревностно вярват, че бежанците оцеляват по някакъв начин собствените им доходи. (People fervently believe that refugees hurting in some way their own income – D, 26.11.2013); [9] Според бившия МВР шеф Цветлин Йовчев пък, „от една страна те ще се възползват от социалната система на страната ни, но от друга те трудно ще се интегрират.” (According to former Interior Ministry chief Tsvetlin Iovchev you, „on the one hand they will benefit from the social system of our country, but on the other they would be difficult to integrate.” – D, 05.11.2014)

An interesting use of language that should be analysed here is the different perception of “gold rush”. In the Bulgarian example quoted above [...] *reef of gold* refers to the profit refugees could bring to Bulgarian government, while in the examples from the British media the metaphoric use of *El Dorado* comes to describe the benefits that await immigrants and asylum seekers in the UK.

6. INTERTEXTUALITY

In order to support their statements authors quote or make references to either historical events/persons or to contemporary ones or to fiction books. This technique also gives them the opportunity to sound more authoritative. Examples of these are references to writers like Rudyard Kipling and his poem *The White Man's Burden*, or to the Enoch Powell's 'Rivers of Blood' speech, or to Nelson Mandela and his legacy, Margaret Thatcher, or Diane Abbot. The reference to the NAZI past serves as a reminder of the massacre of all those who were considered as the others and it also emphasizes the resurgence of racism in Britain exaggerating it to the degree of Nazi death camps.

Always remember Germany in the 1930s. When life gets tough, people instinctively turn on those they define as the other, the outsider. Jews, black and mixed-race people, Travellers and the disabled, were murdered en masse because they were felt to be a threat to national greatness. (I, 09.11.2014)

7. CONCLUSION

- The analysis of the articles shows that there is not a big difference in the usage of the language devices by British and Bulgarian newspapers. They use mostly words from the lexico-thematic fields of war, riots, racism, migration and crime.
- Both majorities and minorities have negative stereotypes about each other. What is different is that members of the majorities express their stereotypes in more direct and more offensive way.
- The language journalists and British authorities use is politically correct with no derogative or pejorative lexemes when referring to ethnic minority groups. In contrast to this, some Bulgarian politicians and members of the authorities do not

hesitate to use hate speech. The Bulgarian government is even accused of passivity in addressing hate crimes, particularly hate speech.

The paper has attempted to outline some of the most characteristic linguistic devices used in publications on the topic of racism in both the Bulgarian and the British media. It does not pretend to be exhaustive and could naturally be broadened with analysis based on a bigger corpus of publications covering a bigger time span.

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CORPUS:

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INTERTEXTUALITY AND DOOMSDAY
A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF BULGARIAN AND ENGLISH
PUBLICATIONS IN THE MEDIA

Christina Kyncheva

***Abstract:** The aim of this paper is to analyse the myths about the End of the World and the way Americans, British and Bulgarians react to it. Apart from that, this research compares the differences and similarities in the language devices used in the articles and their connection with other texts, including which information is made salient and, which is implicitly given.*

***Key words:** Doomsday, media discourse, intertextuality.*

„It’s the end of the world as we know it and I feel fine”

R.E.M.

I. Introduction

With the advent of time people have broadened their horizons and have sought explanations for the nature that surrounded them and the natural forces that determined their life.

Based on their evolutionary stage people have explained the world and the phenomena in different, at times more primitive, at other times more sophisticated and scientifically significant ways which have remained to this day in the form of myths and theories.

Undoubtedly, the primary issue that has provoked human’s inquiring mind is the one about Creation – the origin of the Earth and the origin of life.

However, everything that has a beginning has an end as well. There is no such thing as eternal existence. And while people’s curiosity about the beginning of days has been somewhat satisfied by the existing theories (after all our existence is a fact), people continue to explore various scenarios about the possible end of days.

That is why, the media being both informative and entertaining in their function, frequently take up this topic and share it with their audiences. Newspapers, magazines, as well as all other sources of information are very well aware of the attraction the topic of doomsday has. People might skip the news about a fire in an adjacent building, but they surely will not miss those about the end of the world, because this affects them in a very peculiar way.

The object of research of this paper are articles from different Bulgarian and UK newspapers. In addition, I have also used the information from some movies, songs, etc., written in connection with the dismal day.

The subject of research are the different methods and linguistic devices used in the presentation of the doomsday myth in media discourse with focus on the intertextual links and the meaning they attribute to the specific article.¹⁸

The **methods of analysis** used in this paper are critical discourse analysis and content analysis.

The **corpus** of this study is comprised of 250 publications from the Bulgarian, the British and the American media discourse. At the same time, due to some technical problems, I have also used the readily compiled corpora BNC, COCA and BAS (Bulgarian National Corpus), analyzing the leads which included the search strings *Doomsday*, *Armageddon*, *apocalypse*, and *End of the world* As well as their Bulgarian equivalents.

The topic of the study outlines two different discourses: the one of religion, and the one of the media, which are linked together and analysed. It is only natural to assume that in order to analyse properly either one, knowledge about the other should be applied.

According to Beaugrande and Dressler (1981) for a text to be able to carry out its communicative function, it has to cover 7 standards of textuality: cohesion, coherence, intentionality, acceptability, informativity, situationality, and intertextuality. Intertextuality, as defined by Beaugrande and Dressler (1981, qtd. by Todorova 2012), refers to the addressee's knowledge of other texts, with which the specific text is connected. Various scholars, however, agree that intertextuality as a term is quite difficult to explain and define in only one way. As a dictionary entry, it has a French origin and means „the relationship between texts, especially works of literature; the way similar or related texts influence, reflect, or differ from each other, for example the intertextuality between two novels with the same setting” (dictionary.com). The first part of the definition hints on one of the first associations of intertextuality, namely the fact that it was considered a characteristic primarily of literary texts, while the second part refers to the more recent understandings of the standard of textuality.

It is believed that the text hasn't got a meaning of its own and its understanding lies in our common sense knowledge of the world (see Allan 2000). Therefore, as Montgomery states (1996: 162), intertextuality emphasizes on „the interdependence between texts, rather than on their discreteness or uniqueness.” (qtd. in Todorova 2012: 153).

Discussing intertextuality in the media Agger (1992) says that in terms of intertextual references television and radio appear to be the most intertextual media, mainly because of the simultaneity of „already said” and „still being said” (Collins 1992: 333-334 qtd. in Agger 1992). The development of Internet has further extended intertextuality and readers are exposed to dialogism between different genres (e.g. news articles interspersed with ads and hyperlinks to other texts), different styles and different texts.

¹⁸This paper is a part of a bigger study on the variety of linguistic devices used by the media. However, due to restrictions of size, it will be only the intertextual links which will be discussed here.

The links established through intertextuality, as stated above, could be explicit or implicit realized in various ways: a) through a verbal reference to another text; b) through epigraphs (a quotation at the beginning of the text); c) through names of characters; or d) through choice of titles (see Montgomery et al. 1993: 158, qtd. in Todorova 2012: 156). These links between texts are called „text allusion” by Montgomery (et al. 1993: 57, qtd. in Todorova 2012: 156). As stated by Todorova (2012) there are several factors which should be considered in the process of receiving the text. They are: „decoding, understanding and recalling text content, participants’ shared knowledge, background information about reported facts and previous knowledge, as well as the continuity of senses in presenting information” (157).

At the same time, using references to well-known texts, such as the Bible, might lower the processing ease but work against the effectiveness, or processing depth, of a text as there might not be much left to the imagination as even though left implicit, references to the Bible or other well-known texts are so many and so frequent that their interpretation has already been digested and presented to the receiver as readily available information, therefore such references require less effort to decode. Nevertheless, the thinking process and referencing are there, so intertextuality has played its role in the development of the new text.

II. Analysis

When people are eager to find out something, they do not wait for newspapers to write their articles and publish their editions. There are other ways to find out about the phenomena that pique people’s interest, like Doomsday.

For example, one of the first prophecies about Doomsday is written in the Bible, under the reference of „Judgement Day”. It is said that the earth will crack open and the dead will rise. They will walk among the living till God comes from Heaven and gives everybody their sentence/ judgement.

Talking about Doomsday or Apocalypse, it is expected that the most frequent reference will be to the Bible as Doomsday is actually a biblical concept. The corpus of analysed publications does feature such references, which in some cases are mentioned explicitly, while in others implicitly through quotes from the Book of books:

[1] The end of the world is nigh (not really); [2] *Apocalypse now?* Don’t believe a word of it says Jason Beattie./h/ [...] We have got into this transitory situation because of the poetic ramblings of a French magician and professional quack called *Nostradamus* (1503-66).[...] This blind obedience to the prophet’s words, like the cult of astrology, is the direct product of an lay society which has turned its back on *traditional religions* but still searches for some form of *spiritual enlightenment*. [...] *The Bible* is the basis for religions which are at heart moral and dignified creeds.[...] Since *David Hume* first proposed in 1799 the idea that religion and rationality were incompatible we have been forced to accept our conduct and our eventual outcome was not governed by some outside force - God or whatever - but by our own actions.[...] (The Birmingham Post/ 05.07.1999).

This example provides several references which will be further explored in this analysis. The editor makes several intertextual links while trying to prove his main statement that it is not really the end of the world.

As stated above, we have an explicit reference to the Bible as the basis of religion which is used to explain everything in people's lives. The reference in this case is explicitly made and further explained so that the readers are not hindered in their understanding of the text.

In addition to the Bible, there are **references to Nostradamus** (or the text allusion is achieved through the name of a person) and his prophecies as the main reason for all the hype around the end of the world. A philosopher, **David Hume**, is also mentioned with reference to his line of thought – empiricism, stating that we are the makers of our own destiny.

So far the intertextual references used by the editor are three referring to three different sources of information and establishing three different contradictory ideas – God, Nature, and Human as the reason for a possible global annihilation.

Other examples of intertextual links to **the Bible** include:

[3] How to survive the end of the world – It'll *rain for the next 300 years*./h/ Scientists try to build a *self-sustaining floating habitat* to save humanity. (no date) (NATGEOCHANNEL); [4] Doomsday Prophecy: World Ends In Seven Years, *Theologist* Predicts /h/ „The end of the world, End Times or what believers termed as *the Rapture* will happen in seven years, between this very day until 2021 or prior to *the Second Coming* that is happening between 2018 and 2028, Dr F. Kenston Beshore predicts” (International Business times – US ed/ 27.11.2014).

The allusion here is obvious. The rain mentioned in the publication is similar to the one described in the Bible, when God used it as punishment on all sinners. However, in the Bible the rain lasts for 40 days, while what humanity is going to face according to the publication is 300 years of rain which could increase the feeling of doom. There is another link to the Bible in that same example achieved through the reference to the *self-sustaining floating habitat* which resembles Noah's ark. Could God be cleaning up our planet again?

The next examples use another concept of the Bible to build its statement, i.e. the Second Coming and the Rapture, which create associations with the Doomsday as described there.

[5¹] Who knew armageddon could be fun? The main feature 2012 (12A) Starring: John Cusack, Chiwetel Ejiofor, Amanda Peet, Tom McCarthy, Thandie Newton, Danny Glover, Liam James, Morgan Lily, Woody Harrelson. Director: Rolan Emmerich. 157 mins. Rating: /h/ (Daily post/ 13.11.2009); [6] DEMI BLASTS *BRUCE* TO HIS *ARMAGEDDON* /h/ (Sunday Mail/ 05.07.1998); [7] REAL-LIFE *ARMAGEDDON* IS COMING OUR WAY; And there's nothing *Bruce Willis* can do to prevent it./h/ (Daily Record/ 04.08.1998).

In the first example the new movie (2012) links intertextually through its title to the old one. In addition, the publication features references to other movies, directed by the same person: [5²] „Having previously destroyed all the major cities during an alien invasion (Independence Day) and plunged the globe back into the Ice Age (The Day After Tomorrow), he goes one better in 2012 by attempting to wipe out the entire human race” as well as to all other movies with the same topic: [5³] „upping the ante as he gleefully references all of the disaster movie clichés.” While at the same time the publication presents the humorous part of destruction.

The other two examples establish their intertextual link with the movie Armageddon through reference to one of its main stars, Bruce Willis, as well as through the repetition of the name of the movie, as well as reference to its plot *there’s nothing Bruce Willis can do to prevent it*. The connotations in both examples are of total destruction.

Another interesting example using intertextual references to the movie Armageddon (1999) is presented in: [8] Avoiding *asteroid Armageddon*: How do you stop an asteroid from hitting Earth? *Hollywood* envisions nuclear weapons, but scientists favor a gentler approach /h/ (New York Times Upfront/ 07.02.2003). Intertextuality is actually activated through the reference to the studios where the movie was produced, i.e. Hollywood, which associates the pending threat of a collision of an asteroid which could create destruction similar to the one envisioned in the movie.

A group of articles bears references to **various predictions and prophecies** made about the end of the world:

[9] Coming Soon: 2012 Mayan Calendar Doomsday Movies. /h/(International Business times – US ed – 19.12.2012); [10] Armageddon Nears as River Turns Bloody Red in Wenzhou, Locals Believe - The locals in Wenzhou, China believe that the end of the world is imminent as a river turns bloody red. (International Business Time/ 27.07.2014); [11] American Apocalypse: *never-ending predictions* that the world is about to end. /h/ (Reason/ 06.12.2012).

The references here are to the Maya and to Chinese people. We also have the use of symbols like colours to make the imagery more vivid: Red is the color of blood. „Bloody red” River sounds like „rivers of blood” which means death, so either something died in that river, or from a symbolical point of view, something bad is about to happen.

A similar article was posted nine years ago stating: [12] „The nut on the sidewalk carrying the placard who predicts the end of the world does not quit when the world does not cease on the day he expects. He just changes his placard, sets a new doomsday date, and goes back to walking the streets.” (CS/ 15.09.2003), which reminds of another article: [13] „We have to stop the mythic fantasies and halt the doomsday predictions. We need to start doing hard science instead.” (CS/ 15.09.2003). This example bears a hidden meaning: making predictions is a waste of time. You cannot predict something without having evidence, therefore it is not worth squandering any more time and

attention. What is worth, however, is science, whether it is for revealing the mystery about the end or just having another robot helping out at home.

A more humorous example of intertextual link to prophecies is presented by a publication in a Bulgarian newspaper:

[14] „Щъркел изненада кмет в снега /h/ Прелетните птици се върнали у дома си на *магическата дата 12.12.2012*, когато всички очакваха чудеса, съобщават местните хора. Те са убедени, че крилатата двойка е *знамение, свързано с магическата дата 21.12.*, в който *календарът на маите* слага край на света.”(‘Stork surprises a mayor during winter /h/ The migrants came home on the magical date 12.12.2012, when everyone had expected miracle, state local residents. They are sure that the winged couple is an omen, connected with the magical date 21.12, which according to the Mayan Calendar marks the end of the World – Standart/ 19.12.2012).

The intertextual link is explicitly presented through the reference to **Maya prophecy** and the date which was often presented in media: 21.12.2012. At the same time the publication presents the establishment of a new prophecy – storks bring hope as they have come to Bulgaria quite early.

In addition to that prophecy, there are also **references to other theories about the possible end of the world** on the date assumingly given by the Maya as the end of the world. The other example provides yet another interpretation on the end of the world which again refers to Mayan prophecy even by the fact that the new Bulgarian calendar disproves the prophecy.

Sometimes different things could refer to a more common one. An example is [15] „Dear Apocalypse. /h/ (Christianity & Literature/ 22.06.2009)”, which is a „full-length book of poetry”. The texts in it are not only connected with each other, but are connected to the Apocalypse as well. The apocalypse has been given the characteristics of an object – something you can see, touch and feel, or it could even be said that it has been personified: „Dear Apocalypse”, similar to „Dear friend „

Intertextuality could be achieved through references to **different songs** as well. There could be intertextual links between the lyrics of different songs, as well as between a publication and a song, or songs:

[16] 2012 Mayan Doomsday Playlist: Top 5 End-of-the-World Songs (VIDEOS). /h/ - 1. *It's the End of the World As We Know It and I Feel Fine* - R.E.M. 2. (2012) *It Ain't the End* - Jay Sean 3. (Nothing but) *Flowers* - Talking Heads 4. *Is This the Beginning of the End?* - Merle Haggard 5. *The Final Countdown* - Europe (International Business times – US ed – 18.12.2012); [17] **THE APOCALYPSE STARTS HERE**; *Getting an earful of Busta Rhymes' loud prophecies*, RICHARD WALLACE learns how to avoid pre-millennial tension /h/(The mirror/ 27.11.1998).

The first article, e.g. [16], shows how people connect famous songs with the end of the world (*The Final Countdown*) or create new songs. Apart from these songs there is one that is particularly made referring to the tragic end on December 2012: [18] Jay Sean –

2012 (It Ain't the End) ft. Nicki Minaj. In the middle of the song he sings „let's play make believe”, which means that nothing is going to happen. Another proof is to be found in the last lines of the song: „because the world keeps spinning, the world keeps spinning around.” People thought 21st December 2012 another reason to party and do it like it is the last time.

Sometimes allusion could be obtained through minor changes in the general outline of the title: [19] *The end of the world: as we knew it*. (DiversityEmployers 01.01.2013./ Reprinted From THE BLACK COLLEGIAN, First Semester 2005). The headline refers to the possibility of something bad to happen to someone. The tragic event has been so awful that it is compared to the end of the world. The reason is to increase the horror of the story. The allusion, however, is with R.E.M.'s song presented in e.g. [16].

In yet another example the phrase is used to mean the devastation involved in **an online game**: [20] *It's the End of the World as We Know It*; Abomination Shipping to Stores Now! From the Creators of Gangsters: Organized Crime. /h/ (BusinessWire/ 03.11.1999).

There is a big group of publications which include book reviews. This link between a journalistic text of one genre, like the review, and another text, i.e. a book is also subject to intertextuality.

In most of the book reviews Doomsday, Apocalypse, Armageddon is connected with death, doom, end, and mystery, however they are not necessarily connected with the end of the world itself. This creates a gloomy image in the reader's mind. Even though, there are articles that would baffle readers or make them think by using rhetorical questions (Armageddon or evolution?; the scientific method and escalating world problems):

[21] Armageddon or evolution?; the scientific method and escalating world problems. (Reference & Research Book News/ 01.02.2009); [22] The Apocalypse Parable. - The Apocalypse Parable: A Conspiracy Of Weeds by Brian Kaufman is an original, engaging and complex suspense novel depicting the life of a wealthy man, Mordecai Ryan and his pursuit of *Jesus Christ* the services of Daniel Bain, a small-time private investigator for missing persons. (Small Press Bookwatch/ 01.04.2006); [23] Ananya J. Kabir, *Paradise, Death and Doomsday* in Anglo-Saxon Literature. (Medium Aevum/ 22.09.2002); [24] From *Adam to Armageddon: A Survey of the Bible*, 5th ed. /h/ (Reference & Research Book News/ 01.08.2005).

The meaning of the title is „from the beginning to the end”. Adam is the first man made by God, according to the Bible, and therefore he could be considered as the beginning of humanity and the world.

Another group of articles shows a different aspect of the phenomenon:

[25] Surviving Armageddon; solutions for a threatened planet. (reprint, 2005) /h/ – (Reference & Research Book News/ 01.08.2007); [26] Apocalypse then; prophecy and the making of the modern world./h/ (Reference & Research Book News/ 01.08.2008); [27] Approaching the Apocalypse. /h/ (Contemporary Review/ 22.03.2009)

It is said in the article that the book is considered an „antidote” to the author’s previous book „A guide to the end of the world”. The lexeme „antidote” is metaphorically used in this case. The 1st book is compared to a disease, while the second one is compared to its cure. And, as we know, we are all suffering from that disease, whether we have read the book or not. So the second book refers to the first one. However, the two books could be considered as opposing, if one is compared to the disease and the other to the cure.

„Apocalypse then” could be understood as a tragic event that happened at a certain point in the past. However, this is not what is actually meant. By these words the writer refers to our ancestors and the way they have expected the end of the world to happen and the dates they have expected it to do so. It sounds like a comparison as well: apocalypse then and apocalypse now.

There are also publications which are again reviews of **books about movies**, like:

[28] Armageddon films FAQ; all that’s left to know about zombies, contagions, aliens, and the end of the world as we know it. /h/ (Reference & Research Book News/ 01.12.2013); [29] Apocalypse movies: end of the world cinema. /h/ Kim Newman’s Apocalypse Movies is not much of a film studies text, really, and it is not even much of a book. (CineAction/ 01.01.2000) .

Here the intertextuality works in three different directions: from the analysed publication, to the book reviewed, to the movies made prior to the book and reviewed in it. Thus, the first publication is about a book, which is revising all of end-of-the-world theories, from the first to the last one made from the first till the last day. The information is explicitly expressed in the headline. The second headline and article shows that people are interested in the end of the world and want to see how it happens. That is why they watch movies about the apocalypse and that is why there are so many of them.

Another interesting example establishes intertextual link between **a publication, the book it reviews, and the Bible**: [30] *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse: Religion, War, Famine, and Death in Reformation Europe* (Book Reviews) /h/ – (Theological Studies/01.03.2002). Another example that uses the same allusion, though in a different field is presented by: [31] *Horsemen of technology predict virtual Armageddon* /h/. *The end of the world* is nigh. At least the end of the virtual world, that is. (Western Mail/ 15.09.2004).

A text could be connected with **more than one text**. Very often in newspapers there is an article, which refers to a second and a third one. This usually happens with hot news. There are a lot of articles written on this particular topic, so sometimes newspapers quote other newspapers or their own articles:

[32] *Julie finds bodies from Armageddon; Biblical expedition* for archaeologist /h/. *Julie Ellis*, 36, braved searing temperatures to find the human remains at the Israeli site of *Megiddo - the Biblical site of Armageddon*, which was an international hub and frequent battleground for over 6, 000 years from around 7, 000 BC. (Daily Post/ 11.09.2004); [33] *Armageddon uncovered* /h/ *Israeli archaeologists* have uncovered what they believe could

be the oldest church ever found in the Holy Land - a discovery experts say may shed new light on early *Christianity*. However, some scholars are calling it a publicity stunt. (Presbyterian Record/ 01.02.2006); [34] Jail relocated for Armageddon./h/ Israel is set to relocate a jail in *Megiddo* after an ancient church was discovered on its grounds last November. Although the historical claims have been debated, it is believed to be the oldest church ever found in the Holy Land. *Megiddo, also known as Armageddon*, is where the last battle between good and evil is supposed to take place according to *the Book of Revelation*. (Presbyterian Record/ 01.05.2006)

These articles are not only connected with each other, but refer to the Bible as well, and more specifically to the book of Revelation. „Armageddon” is used in the headlines. It refers not to the tragic end but to a subject – a church. The articles refer to the Bible and more specifically to the Book of Revelation and the time when a battle was fought between good and evil. „Good and evil” is a phrase having a symbolic meaning and noting the differences between the two sides. The first article in this group, i.e. [32], also expresses the importance of the discovery by using numbers „for over 6, 000 years from around 7, 000 BC”. The intertextual links are also activated based on the reference to the archeologist who discovered the church – Julie, Julie Ellis, Israeli archeologists, also through the name of the place – Megiddo, Israel, Israeli, as well as through references to the Bible (as stated above).

III. Conclusion

Intertextuality in the articles concerned with this topic is used very frequently. The main intertextual link used is that to the Bible . As the analysis has shown there are also intertextual links to other books as well as to the prophecies made about the end of the world by various people. In addition to references to other texts, publications could be related to **movies** or (articles on) **books** or **songs** even.

The analysis on the intertextual links employed by Bulgarian, British and American journalists has led to the following conclusions:

- British and American journalists exhibit bigger variety in terms of the types of allusion they use: though personal names, quotes, titles of books;
- British and American journalists alike have also used references to other genres, including cinematography, theatre, as well as music;
- Bulgarian journalists are somewhat more conservative as the scanty pool of publications in Bulgarian featured mostly references to prophecies, scientific theories or the Bible;
- All these intertextual links speak of the pervasive character of the myth about the end of the world and the way it has affected almost all spheres of public life;
- The study has also confirmed the similarities in thinking patterns between Bulgarians, British and Americans.

The latter could be pointed out as one of the main contributions of this paper: a study of the kind has not been carried out up to this moment. The paper studies the phenomenon from a comparative point of view which gives a broader perspective on any possible differences in thinking patterns and general ideas about the world.

In addition, the study could be used as a methodology for further studies on the subject of myths in the media.

Thus, it could be perceived as the first step towards a more comprehensive analysis on the most common myths used in the media. It could also be broadened by a survey on the influence of the media on people's opinion about various phenomena expressed through these myths.

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EBOLA: THE NEW PUBLIC SCARE.
**DISEASE IN THE BULGARIAN AND THE BRITISH MEDIA DISCOURSE (A
COMPARATIVE STUDY)**

Kalin Kolev

Abstract: *Disease, at least to the general public, remains that inexplicable feeling and state caused by unseen and sometimes unknown things, such as germs, bacteria, viruses, strains of viruses, and so on, that it always provokes fear, stress, or simply concern. The media use people's fears and sometimes amplify them using various linguistic devices which serve to boost general panic. The paper analyses some of the devices used by the media in Bulgaria and the UK in the presentation of Ebola as a new public scare.*

Key words: *Ebola, media discourse, panic, hype.*

I. Introduction

People have gone a long way from the time when any disease or weird bodily sensation was associated with unknown forces, punishment by deities for wrong-doings or sins or from the time when a simple cold could result in one's death. Treatment of various illnesses has also become more sophisticated and relies on both contemporary and traditional cures.

At the same time, however, disease, at least to the general public, remains that inexplicable feeling and state caused by unseen and sometimes unknown things, such as germs, bacteria, viruses, strains of viruses, and so on, that it always provokes fear, stress, or simply concern. „What's wrong with me?“ is the most frequent question that pops up in such cases.

In 2014 the world was introduced to a „new“ type of disease – Ebola. Even though it is not a disease which is really new to mankind (since the first case dates back to 1976) like the epidemic of swine flu, for example, the Ebola outbreak swooped in quickly and came as a surprise to the unsuspecting people of the world.

The relevance of a study on the presentation of Ebola in media discourse both in Bulgaria and The United Kingdom is governed both by the intensity with which the problem was reviewed daily and by the way the information on Ebola affected different reader audiences. As stated above, people are generally very health-conscious and any information on deadly disease can naturally cause concerns and even provoke panic and scare about the possibility of contracting it and maybe dying from it. This, in itself, provokes high interest in information on the disease in question, which in its turn, triggers more research and more articles on the topic. In the case of Ebola all this flow of information transforms a strange disease originating in Africa into a new threat to

humanity. The associations with AIDS stemming from the place of origin also contribute to the anxiety created around this phenomenon.

The Object of research are articles on Ebola published in some Bulgarian and English newspapers, both printed and online. **The subject** of research are the linguistic devices used in the presentation of the topic of Ebola in the Bulgarian and UK media.

The reason for a research on the topic is based on its importance and dominance in the media. At this point the case of Ebola is different for Bulgaria and the United Kingdom, since no viral outbreaks have been reported in Bulgaria so far, while this is not the case with the UK. Nevertheless, both countries review the topic in a similar manner with similar linguistic devices that provoke uneasiness. However, this approach can be understood when viewing the topic in the broader perspective of „disease” as a synonym for death and misery.

The **methods of analysis** used in this paper are **Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)** as a general umbrella approach and in some cases **Content Analysis**. The combination of the two approaches is quite suitable for the goals of this research as CDA is considered the best approach in the study of media influence on audiences as well as a means of analyzing media messages and the hidden meaning conveyed through them. That is the reason why scholars working in the field support the opinion that ‘(non-linguistic) social practice and linguistic practice constitute one another and focus on investigating how societal power relations are established and reinforced through language use’ (see WikipediaEN). This is very obvious when the matter at hand is media discourse as media are considered the Fourth Estate of the realm, capable not only of conveying messages but also of creating specific attitudes towards the issue at hand. Supporting the same line of thought Fairclough (2012: 1) states that: ‘Critical discourse analysis is a branch of critical social analysis, which contributes to the latter a focus on discourse and on relations between discourse and other social elements’.

Generally, the study aims at allocating any hidden meanings which can provoke panic, lead readers to certain conclusions, or such that try to tone down the issue.

Content analysis, on the other hand, is considered primarily a quantitative approach (see Wimmer, Dominick 2011; Riffe, Lacy, Fico 2005; Neuendorf 2002; Woollacott 1992). It studies and analyzes communication and its patterns systematically in an objective way in order to measure variables.

Content analysis is quantitative. The goal of content analysis is an accurate representation of a body of messages. Quantification is important in fulfilling that objective because it aids researchers in the quest for precision. Additionally, quantification allows researchers to summarize results and to report them succinctly. (Wimmer, Dominick 2011)

In order to assess the intensity of the topic, and media’s interest in it, **the corpus** is collected in two different time periods. The first one coincides with the outbreak of the disease and covers the week after the first reported victim of Ebola. The second period covers the months of September 1st– November 1st, 2014. The reason to select these two

periods is related to the desire to prove the intensity and importance of the topic in both the Bulgarian and the British media discourse.

The newspapers selected for the current study are Standart /St/ and Dnevnik /Dn/ from Bulgaria and The Independent /In/ and Daily Mail /DM/ from the UK. The reason to choose these newspapers is our strife to study objective presentation of the topic void of the sensationalist twist that tabloids usually apply to their language. The study also resorts to various Internet resources in order to assess the whole situation more objectively.

The number of articles selected manually is 121 from Dnevnik, 111 from Standart, 115 from The Independent and 198 from Daily Mail¹⁹ or 547 articles in total.

II. Theoretical background

Exaggeration is one of the means employed by the media in order to create panic and stir action. It could be achieved through various ways. One is through the use of figurative language, or through the use of emotionally coloured lexis, through the resort to various discourses to create a more vivid representation of the event, through the use of numerals and adverbs of time or place, and even through the use of metaphors (see Fowler 1991).

When hyperbole is used in the topic (in most cases) it aims to bring around the audience with its exaggeration and artificial inflation of the matter and not with the actual facts behind it. The key in the success of using hyperbole is to induce strong emotional feedback. It is a figure of speech used with the clear mind that it will not be taken literally, and that is just how its mechanism works. It catches the reader's attention with its hoax-sounding, ridiculously exaggerated nature.

In his analysis on language used in the news, Fowler (1991) talks about news creating hysteria about an issue, in his case an outbreak of salmonella, and stirring panic through the use of emotive language used to exaggerate the facts. In his analysis on the presentation of said disease he mentions use of vocabulary of 'hazard' and 'risk', indications of 'large-scale growth', which he explains as a technique focused on conveying stridency in discourse through 'terms denoting emotive reactions, always negative, clustering around the concepts of fear and confusion' (Fowler 1991: 164), 'multiplicity of technical and medical terms' which people find 'difficult, unfamiliar and frightening' (ibid.). He also mentions the use of the discourse of 'animation' (which could also be seen as the discourse of biology in general) in order to explain and in some cases personify the unknown bacteria that causes the illness as „bugs”, „germs”, and in cases media have presented the bacteria as an animal with its physiological processes and dwelling spots.

¹⁹ Since the article base about Ebola in Daily Mail for the chosen period was too large to cover, the search period for this newspaper was set to September 1st – October 1st, 2014.

In a similar way Cheshmedzhieva-Stoycheva (2013) talks about use of emotionally coloured lexis, use of numerals, use of nouns in the plural, use of adverbs of time showing the repetitive nature of an event or adjectives showing succession of victims as devices used by the media to hyperbolize and exaggerate an event.

Talking on the topic of Mods and Rockers, Cohen (2002: 20) mentions distortion and exaggeration of the issue in media based on the mode and style of presentation, the use of 'sensational headlines, melodramatic vocabulary and the deliberate heightening of those elements in the story considered as news'. In his analysis of the way exaggeration and distortion were present in the presentation of the issue of Mods and Rockers, Cohen also mentions the use of metaphors, unfounded sources of information, unconfirmed statements or even rumours, focusing on an element rather than on the whole story, using predictions that what has happened might happen again, etc. All these, as stated above, lead to the formation of an unreal or fabricated picture of an event.

III. Analysis

In a number of articles, journalists have applied one recurring technique, in which they use a word with more impact to the reader in order to add more expression to the information presented. Thus they might stir panic and provoke scare.

A point at hand is the figurative use of **the verb** *тресе* ('shakes'), which normally occurs in relation to earthquakes. In several consecutive issues of „Standart”, journalists use one and the same structure to focus on the fear of Ebola felt in various regions in Bulgaria and Macedonia:

[1] *Страх от ебола тресе 78% от българите* /h/ (Fear of Ebola shakes 78% of the Bulgarians - St./20.10.2014); [2] *Страх от ебола тресе и Прищина* /h/ (Fear of Ebola shakes Pristina too - St./17.10.2014); [3] *Страх от ебола тресе Македония* /h/ (Fear of Ebola shakes Macedonia - St./8.9.2014).

The Theme in these examples is the same, focusing on the feeling, while the Rheme is different introducing different locations or number of people. In those examples the verb is definitely used figuratively and sounds more powerful in its presentation of the fear the population of Bulgaria, Kosovo and Macedonia feels of Ebola. In addition, the headlines foreground the feeling that is common for all three regions and spell it out explicitly – fear. The two lexemes joined together stir panic based on their repetitive occurrence. Another verb that is used with the same goal is *rage*:

[4] Ebola in US: Virus will spread around the world if allowed to 'rage without control' in West Africa /h/(In./15.10.2014), [5] CDC warns Ebola is 'out of control' as American male doctor contracts deadly virus while working in Liberia (DM./2.9.2014), [6] U.S. scientists say Ebola epidemic will *rage* for another 12 to 18 month/h/(DM./14.9.2014); [7] Там, където върлува ебола, болестта убива, там, където върлува омразата и жестокостта, оръжието убива”. (Where Ebola rages, people die of the disease; where hatred and cruelty rage, people die of guns – St./30.10.2014).

The phrases „rage without control” and „out of control” exclusively give a **feel of urgency and importance** to the articles. „Rage” is often used to describe a heavy storm, so in this case the reader’s attention is easily pinned to the figurative use of lexis in the article. ‘Out of control’ is an adverb that stands for ‘wild and unrestrained’ (WEB: WordReference.com). Used in this context it gives more impact to the matter of Ebola, thus making the article more intense (see Galtung, Ruge 1965; Bell 1991).

The panic in the last example is increased in several places: the first one is when the journalist uses the verb *върлува* („rages”) to express the way Ebola acts, the second one is when he makes a parallel between the disease and *жестокостта* („cruelty”) and *омразата* („hatred”) and *оръжието* („firearms” / „guns”), respectively, to express and compare the lethality of those entities. However, there is also a structural repetition, or parallelism, which gives the whole example the flare of a proverb or a morale which further increases its semantic meaning.

Another verb that is emotionally charged in its use to describe the way Ebola affects people is *sweep*: [8] Muslim pilgrims checked for Ebola virus on their way to Mecca as health chiefs announce more than 700 cases emerged in one week *as disease sweeps West Africa* /h/ (DM./18.9.2014). The metaphoric use of the verb stresses the big number of people who die from the disease and adds to the panic generated by this article.

The same device is used in:

[9] Страховете от заразяване с ебола *се разпространяват лавинообразно по цял свят* и ежедневно се съобщава за страдащи от симптоми на вируса. (The fears of contracting Ebola spread avalanche-like worldwide and reports of people suffering from the symptoms of the disease are being reported on daily – St./13.10.2014).

Once again the journalist has chosen to use **an adverb** with more impact in the verb phrase. The adverb is also more emotionally charged (лавинообразно – avalanche-like), thus expressing the way the fear of the Ebola virus spreads. Usually an avalanche spirals out of control and causes a lot of damage to everything in its way. The reference here is used in a manner which is supposed to accentuate on the problem of Ebola.

Another occurrence of the same nature is in the article: [10] Ebola deaths pass 2,000 as Liberia shuts down contaminated police station and Sierra Leone’s capital ‘*crumbles*’ /h/ (DM./5.9.2014). The situation here is slightly different, since the **metaphorical use of the verb** ‘crumbles’ does not refer to Ebola itself, but to the city it has affected. However, ‘to crumble’ gives an exaggerated feel to the news since it is used as a synonym of ‘break up, collapse, crush, decay, deteriorate, disintegrate, etc.’ (WEB: Thesaurus.com) and with reference to the whole capital, which in itself makes a hint about a big area of affected people.

Similar is the case in the article [11] Ебола тормози звезда на „Борусия” Д /h/ (Ebola torments a star of Borussia Dortmund – St./3.11.2014). The journalist has chosen to use the verb *тормозя* („torment”) to imply a stronger feeling to the article as it associates

the disease with a torture, therefore we could also mark the activation of the metaphor Ebola is a Torture.

Some of the phrases describing the disease, which could also be viewed as its contextual or actual synonyms, also add more danger to its exhibitions:

[12] He said: 'In West Africa, Ebola is now *an epidemic*, of the likes that we have not seen before. It's spiralling out of control: it is getting worse; it's spreading faster and exponentially. (DM./18.9.2014); [13] Ebola virus: *Pandemic* should be treated 'the same way' as threat posed by nuclear weapons, security officials say (In./2.10.2014);, [14] СЗО: Ебола е *заплаха* *No.1*засъвременото /h/ (CDC: Ebola is threat No.1 for modern times – St./13.10.2014), [15] Ebola outbreak: WHO missed 'the *disaster* of our times,' claim aid agencies (In./19.10.2014), [16] CHRONOLOGY-Worst Ebola outbreak on record tests global response /h/ (DM./30.9.2014), [17] Lessons learned 6 months into worst Ebola outbreak /h/ (DM./23.9.2014).

There are several **phrases** which should be reviewed in terms of the connotations they create. In these examples Ebola is presented as something unseen and unheard of. In addition to its reference as **threat**, and number one threat at that, the scare is definitely increased. The descriptions and references discussed here add further to the metaphor of Torture associated with Ebola as the examples present the disease as **menace**.

The negative connotations of Ebola and the panic its presentation provokes are also increased by its association with **nightmare**: [18] Ebola' could become airborne' in *nightmare scenario*, UN mission chief warns /h/ (In./2.10.2014); [19] Ebola outbreak: Famine approaches – bringing a *fresh nightmare* to West Africa /h/ (In./16.10.2014). It is obvious that here journalists make predictions about the worst possible outcome of the spread of the disease and its consequences like hunger. However, the resort to the domain of sleep hypes up the general feelings. Other publications also focus on famine as a consequence of Ebola as the disease has influenced the production and the crop in Africa: [20] Еболата носи глад в Африка /h/ (Ebola brings famine to Africa – St./2.9.2014).

Other examples use **generalisations** in order to increase the feeling of the negative effects of Ebola not only on the personal body but on whole countries as well:

[21] Световната банка: Ебола може да е катастрофална за африканските икономики /h/ (World bank: Ebola can be devastating for African economies – St./18.9.2014); [22] How Ebola is menacing the UK economy: Effects of deadly virus felt by businesses /h/ (DM./1.9.2014).

What is meant here is that the effects of the disease can cause problems in the economy of Africa and the UK – *катастрофална* („catastrophic”, „menacing”). However, the way the headline is structured makes us feel as if the very disease can cause those problems. The journalist has chosen this approach to attract the readers' attention and pin it straight to the problem, since both terms are usually used in different contexts and generally sound threatening.

The threat posed by Ebola is once again exaggerated using the scenario of Judgement day and the end of the world. The phrases *national existence*, *generation* and *all of humanity* imply that the problem is indeed of large proportions:

[23] ‘Ebola is threatening Liberia’s ‘*national existence*’ says defence minister... and now the first suspected case of the disease reaches Italy (DM./9.10.2014); [24] Ebola is a threat to *all of humanity* warns U.S. official as fatalities in West Africa surge to over 1,900 and a second cluster of cases is confirmed in Nigeria (DM./4.9.2014); [25] ‘They’re just waiting for people to die to free up the beds’: Aid worker’s plea for Australia to send military experts to help fight the deadly Ebola outbreak before it *wipes out a generation*(DM./25.9.2014).

The **generalization** here is obvious as those phrases stand for the total eradication of an entire nation/ population by Ebola. Used in such scenario, the phrases gain more hype and thus act as a tool to gain larger audiences. One of the topics that also gains a lot of attention in the media is that of Judgement day. By combining elements of it and the current problem with Ebola journalists produce pieces of news governed by some of the news values (see Fowler 1991; Bell 1991), like ‘frequency’, ‘intensity increase’ and ‘reference to something negative’.

Sometimes the panic is increased through the use of **generalisations** based on the use of **a pronoun**: Ebola outbreak: [26] *Nowhere* is safe until virus is contained in Africa, claims the top doctor who beat it in Niger /h/ (In./21.10.2014). The peculiarity of this headline is that the journalist uses the indefinite pronoun ‘nowhere’ to stress on the situation status of Ebola. Keeping in mind that to this point the disease has spread in certain areas of the world only, the statement that ‘nowhere is safe’ is strongly exaggerated.

Adjectives or **adverbs** can also be used to stir panic: [27] Liberia facing *massive shortage* of foreign help against Ebola – UN /h/ (DM./23.9.2014). Here *massive* is used to create panic. The resort to comparative and superlative forms also serves the same purpose. As seen above Ebola is described as *the deadliest virus*, *the worst virus* (see [18] above)

Adverbs can also increase or alleviate panic in some cases, due to the qualities they ascribe to specific actions or due to their quality to present space and time:

[28] *Ебола на метри* от наши медици /h/ (Ebola just metres away from our medics – St./12.11.2014); [29] *Петима се заразяват с ебола всеки час* в СieraЛионе /h/ (Five people contract Ebola every hour in Siera Leone – St./2.10.2014); [30] Congo’s Ebola outbreak „*almost over*”, prime minister says /h/ (DM./22.9.2014); [31] Ebola outbreak „*pretty much contained*” in Senegal and Nigeria /h/ (DM./22.9.2014).

The first three examples are used to increase panic, as they stress on the **bad development of the disease** or its **proximity**, or **the speed of contagion**, while the other two, just the opposite, to alleviate panic and give hope. This only confirms the fact that when taken out of context the various lexemes and phrases have a neutral meaning

which is changed into emotionally charged only in the context of the whole material/s they appear in.

IV. Conclusion

The reason to take up the topic of Ebola and its presentations in the media was governed first, by the fact that such research has not been conducted up to the present moment, and second, by the fact that Ebola is a new phenomenon for the media.

Since Ebola is a fairly new disease and has made its peak of appearance in the mass media recently, this study places itself among the first ones to dive into the differences and similarities between the Bulgarian and the British media techniques, characteristics and tools of presentation.

Based on the conducted analysis, there are a few conclusions which can be made. By conducting a comparative study between the Bulgarian and the British media on a popular topic a few differences, but also a lot of similarities have been pointed out. Below are some of the key conclusions made during the study:

Based on the corpus of analyzed articles a few things should be mentioned about the mechanisms of the Bulgarian and the British media. In both countries the media feature a fair amount of articles on Ebola.

In addition, the media reported on the issue in a similar way, perhaps because of the similarities between the common European background and healthcare plans standards. It almost seemed at moments that the media in both countries kept a bar at a certain level and strived to keep above it.

Both the Bulgarian and the British media use a lot of figurative language, generalisations, metaphors, and repetitive structures which make the materials stand out, gain public interest and look rather captivating than stale.

The study could be developed further through a comparison between the presentation on Ebola and the presentations on other diseases like AIDS, cancer, swine flu, etc. analysed from a comparative point of view.

In addition, the analysis on a corpus of a larger number of newspapers and/or broader research periods can help broadening the scope of the study. As this analysis was conducted on articles from popular serious daily newspapers, the study of tabloids could provide a future study with more interesting linguistic devices, because tabloids mostly aim at the creation of a sensation.

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ENGLISH – BULGARIAN CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS OF THE FUNCTION OF THE VERB „SIN” IN THE NEW TESTAMENT OF THE BIBLE

Mina Lyutachki

Abstract: *This paper discusses the similarities and differences in the translation of the verb „sin” in the New Testament of the Bible. It studies two English versions: New Kings James Version²⁰ and New International Version²¹ and two Bulgarian – Orthodox Bible²² and Bible, 1940 Edition²³. The main aim of this study is to analyse the function of the verb SIN in the sources used and to compare them.*

Key words: *Contrastive linguistics, to sin, translation*

Introduction

Contrastive linguistics is a practice-oriented linguistic approach that seeks to describe the similarities and differences between a pair of (or more) languages and does not require a socio-cultural link between the languages investigated. A contrastive linguistic study is synchronic, because it studies languages belonging to the same time period. It is not interested in the language histories or the language families they belong to. Linguists choose different objectives of comparison: either theoretical, or practical and sometimes both. They reveal what is general for the compared languages and what is language specific. So it is useful in finding language universals, studying translation problems and classifying language types.

Different levels of linguistic structure can be subject to contrastive descriptions: phonological level (studying speech sounds), graphological level (studying written symbols), morphological level (studying word-formation), semantic level (studying word meaning), syntactic level (studying sentence structure), etc. Contrastive linguistic studies can also be applied to the differential description of one or more varieties within a language, such as styles (contrastive rhetoric), dialects, registers or terminologies of technical genres.

But still, according to König (2011: 1) „there is a problem of finding a place of contrastive linguistics within the spectrum of language comparison, relative to other comparative approaches to linguistic analysis: historical comparative linguistics, language typology, microvariation (comparative dialectology) and intercultural

²⁰ New Kings James Version (NKJV)<https://www.biblegateway.com/>

²¹ New International Version (NIV)<https://www.biblegateway.com/>

²² Orthodox Bible (Orth. B.)<http://www.pravoslavieto.com/>

²³ Bible, 1940 Edition (B.1940Ed.)<https://www.biblegateway.com/>

communication". He presents a diagram of the relation of contrastive linguistics to other comparative approaches:

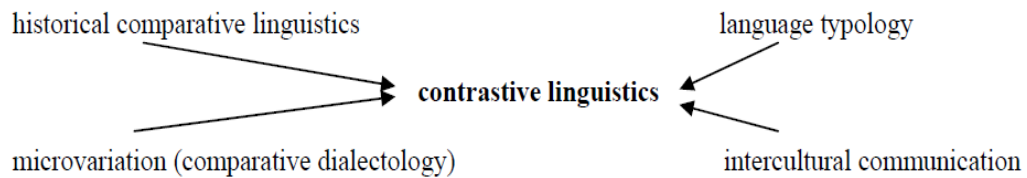


Figure 1

He claims that only by relating contrastive linguistics to and by differentiating it from other subfields of comparative linguistics we can obtain a clear picture of its potential and its limitations. „What contrastive linguistics shares with these other approaches is its focus variation between languages and within a language, but it clearly has its own agenda, even if it partly overlaps with these other approaches in certain respects” (Konig 2011: 1).

This study presents a contrastive analysis of the function of the verb *sin* and its syntactic realizations in the sentences. It is achieved by comparing the verses in which the verb *sin* appears in the selected four versions of the New Testament of the Bible - two English versions: New Kings James Version (NKJV), New International Version (NIV), and two Bulgarian versions: The Orthodox Bible and the 1940 edition of the Bible. The choice of the versions is made on the basis of their popularity in the Christian world and also their readability. The paper uses two corpora based on the four sources mentioned above, which are made manually by myself for the purposes of the present study, where the verb *sin* appears thirty-four times.

The first column presents the number of the examples containing the verb *sin*, the second – the chapter and the verse of the New Testament, and the last four columns – the actual verses.

This study is provoked by the fact that the verb *sin* carries a specific meaning, which becomes vaguer and vaguer in our society and people do not pay much attention to it, especially nowadays. It is also one of the most unpopular words in any language. It evokes different responses from different people. To some, it belongs to the last century; it is not relevant but outdated. To others, it is reserved only for major misdeeds, such as robbery, murder, adultery. To still others, it is no more significant than mistakes or misjudgments in reasoning. But it is a fact that the word makes most people feel uncomfortable. „Even in denying *sin*'s relevance or existence, they sense that they are accountable for something that often needs correction.” (Ryrie 2011: 450). And there is another similar reason for difficulties in discussing the topic, not only because for many people it is a foreign concept, but also because there has been a corresponding loss of a

sense of guilt. „In part through the influence of Freudianism, guilt is understood as an irrational feeling that one ought not to have.” (Erickson 1990: 563)

Sin is something that the Bible starts and finishes with. According to this Book the *sin* is the main source of people's suffering, pain, and death. This Book expresses, and describes forms and acts of *sin* and even gives suggestions on how to resist it. The causes, nature and the consequences of *sin* can also be found there. The Bible defines what is right and what is wrong, what is good and what is bad in human society. It is the first source, which gives rules and guidelines about life. Of course not only that.

The investigation and analysis of this work does not pretend to be comprehensive and complete. It might always be extended.

The main **aim** of this study is to analyse the function of the verb *sin* in the sources used and to compare them.

Theoretical background

The Bible is considered to be a sourcebook for everyday living. There are standards for our conduct, guidelines for knowing right from wrong, and principles to help us in a confused society where „anything goes” so often.

The Bible is divided into two main parts: The Old Testament and The New Testament.

The Old Testament includes texts written before Jesus Christ was born and covering the creation of the world by God, the ancient Hebrew world, their history and their relationships with God. So it is first the history of the human race and then the history of the chosen (Jewish) race.

The New Testament is writings following the life, teaching, death and resurrection of Jesus Christ, the establishment of the Christian church and letters from church leaders (Jesus Christ's disciples) to the Christian communities. The New Testament fulfills the Old Testament revelation about the Messiah's coming. Jesus Christ is the fulfillment of that revelation, He is the Messiah that God had promised to the Israelites.

The Bible is the world's all-time bestseller and the world's most translated book. It is considered the Book of the books and the Book of life. It is the first and the most widely printed and published book in the world. It has been translated in part or in whole in over 1,200 different languages or dialects from the biblical languages of Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek. The Old Testament was mainly written in Biblical Hebrew, with some portions in Biblical Aramaic (a dialect popular among the Jews of Palestine). The New Testament was written in Koine Greek. Many of the Hebrew word meanings in the Bible are misunderstood. The meaning of Hebrew words is always based on something tangible. Something can be understood through the five human senses. The Greek words are based on intangible, vague, and abstract ideas. As it was mentioned above, the current study uses four translated versions of the New

Testament of the Bible: The New Kings James Version (NKJV), The New International Version (NIV), The Bulgarian Orthodox Bible and the 1940 Edition of the Bible.

New Kings James Version(NKJV) is a modern translation of the Bible published by Thomas Nelson. This translation project was inaugurated in 1975 with two meetings (Nashville and Chicago). One hundred and thirty respected Bible scholars, church leaders, and lay Christians worked for seven years to create a completely new, modern translation of Scripture, yet one that would retain the purity and stylistic beauty of the original King James. (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/New_King_James_Version).

New International Version(NIV),was produced by a committee of a trans-denominational and international group of scholars associated with various evangelical churches in America, who began work on the version in 1965. It was not a revision of any previously existing version, but an entirely new translation in idiomatic twentieth-century English.

The New Kings James Version and the New International Version are translations based on the Masoretic Text. The Masoretic Text was primarily copied, edited and distributed by a group of Jews known as the Masoretes between the 7th and 10th centuries AD.

The Bulgarian Orthodox Bible is a „synodal translation” and it depends on Russian sources of translation. *The Orthodox Bible* is a translation based on Septuagint. Septuagint (sometimes abbreviated LXX) is the name given to the Koine Greek translation of the Jewish Scriptures. The Septuagint has its origin in Alexandria, Egypt and was translated between 300-200 BC. The term „Septuagint” means seventy in Latin and refers to a story, according to which seventy or seventy-two Jewish scholars were asked by the Greek King of Egypt Ptolemy II Philadelphus to translate the Torah from Biblical Hebrew into Greek, to be given to the Library of Alexandria.

The Bible 1940 Edition is a protestant Bible based on the Constantinople Bible, which is one of the significant Bulgarian verses of the Bible. *The Bible 1940 Edition* is spread and has an enormous popularity between the two World Wars and afterwards.

The Bible and Linguistics

The Bible has been a subject of study of Linguistics. As it is a book written in „dead languages”, most linguists attempt to apply linguistic methods of contemporary languages to study the ancient languages in it.

Over the last decades cognitive linguistics has developed increasingly. Practitioners of cognitive linguistics analyse connections between cognition and language. They study the links between language and thinking, the meaning-making we do when we write and talk, read and listen. Cognitive linguists interested in applying cognitive linguistics to biblical studies focus on how contemporary readers interact with ancient texts (cf. Howe, Green 2014).

It should be noted that the translation of the Bible in different languages has led to the development of sciences related to linguistics and translation. The ultimate goal of any Bible translation is to convey the meaning of the ancient Hebrew and Greek texts as precisely as possible and to make it as easy as possible to read and understand by the contemporary reader. So, when the Bible is translated, it should be translated into how a people or language group speaks or reads at that time, not how it spoke hundreds of years ago.

There are different translation methodologies for how to communicate accurately the meaning of the original text. Some Bible versions apply word-for-word translation, commonly known as „formal equivalence”. Some other Bible versions use a thought-for-thought method, also called „dynamic equivalence”. Both methods have advantages and disadvantages. The best Bible translation is likely to balance the two methodologies.

Still a lot needs to be done in order to reevaluate and reanalyze the Biblical languages and literature from the point of view of modern linguistic theory.

The Verb *SIN*

The verb is the most important constituent of the sentence structure. It expresses an action or a state of being. A main verb (lexical verb or full verb) carries the meaning in a verb phrase (it consists of a main verb preceded by auxiliary verb(s)). Auxiliary verbs (auxiliaries) most commonly appear as helpers to full verbs to form verb phrases, and they may appear in groups of two or three (rarely four) and they never have an independent function in the sentences.

The verb *sin* as a full verb occurs with five inflectional forms:

a/ the zero-inflection – *sin*

b/ the third singular – *sins*

c/ the past tense – *sinned*

d/ the past participle – *sinned* – it is a regular verb

e/ the -ing form – *sinning*

Also the verb *sin* appears as a *gerund*²⁴ – *sinning*.

It is interesting how the verb *sin* is used in different ways in NKJV and NIV and how its meaning is represented in both Bulgarian versions.

I found the verb *sin* thirty-four times in the New Testament. The number of occurrences is quite smaller compared to its usage as a noun (Lyutachki, MA thesis (unpublished)).

²⁴ A gerund is a non-finite verb form, which is made from a verb by adding "-ing." The gerund can be the subject, object or the complement of a sentence (cf. Nedelcheva 2012: 111).

Still, sometimes in one of the English verses it occurs as a *verb* but in the other - as a *noun* or as a synonym of *sin*. For example:

- 01 NKGV „... if you forgive men their *trespass*”
NIV „... if you forgive other people when they *sin* „ or
06 NKJV „... go and *sin* no more.”
NIV „Go now and leave your *life of sin*.”

In both Bulgarian verses for these words (*trespass* and the verb *sin*) the noun ‘сърешенията им’ is used, which is a derivative of the Bulgarian noun ‘грѣх’ (*sin*). As a whole, the differences observed between the Bulgarian versions are fewer than those in English.

The verb *sin* is an intransitive verb. Intransitive verbs do not and cannot take objects. Usually the verb *sin* is part of a finite verb phrase in the verses – it agrees in person and number with the subject of the sentence. Only seven times does it occur **as a non-finite verb form** just in NIV– it is not inflected by grammatical tense and presents little inflection for other grammatical categories as well. The verb *sin* plays six times the role of a gerund and once it is used as an infinitive in NIV:

- 05 John 5:14 „Stops*inning* or something worse may happen to you.”
14 Romans 6:1 „Shall we go on*inning*so that grace may increase?”
20 1Corinthians „Come back to your senses as you ought, and stops*inning*...”
23 Hebrew 10:26 „If we deliberately keep on*inning* ...”
26 2 Peter 2:14 „With eyes full of adultery, they never stops*inning* ...”
32 1John 3:9 „No one who is born of God will continue **to sin**, because God’s seed remains in them; they cannot go on
33 **sinning**, because they have been born of God.”

The non-finite verb form is associated with a finite verb phrase, here with the verbs: *stop*, *go on*, *keep on*. So there is no variety of the usage of grammatical forms of the verb *sin* as a non-finite verb. Here these two forms of non-finite verb phrase - gerund and simple infinitive, function as direct objects, and answer the question ‘*what*’. However, there is a nuance in meaning depending on the finite verb in the verb phrase. For instance, *stop*, *go on*, *keep on* combine with the gerund *sinning* (the use of the infinitive would change the meaning of the phrase (cf. Nedelcheva 2012: 112-113)), while *continue* goes together with the infinitive *to sin*.

It is interesting that in the Bulgarian language the verb *sin* is not always translated with its Bulgarian verb equivalents (e.g. *греша*, *сгрешавам*, *сърешавам*, *прегреших*). Also in Bulgarian the noun *sin* and the verb *sin* share the same root – *грѣх* is the noun and *греша*, *сърешавам* is the verb. In a number of verses (01, 07, 13, 23, 24, 25, 28 in the

Bulgarian Orthodox Bible and the Bible, 1940 Edition) *the verb sin is translated with derivatives of the Bulgarian noun грях (sin) and/or with a verb + noun sin:ex. 01 съгрешения* (this is a noun in plural), ex. 07 *прави/върши грях* (make/commit sin), ex. 13 *оставам в греха* (continue, go on sinning), ex. 23 *грях правите* (make sin), ex. 24 *съгрешихте* (in the Orthodox Bible it is rendered through an adjective – who sinned), ex. 125 *непрестанен грях* (never stop *sinning*), ex. 128 *прави/извършива грях* (make/commit sin):

01 NIV „For if you forgive other people when they *sin* ...”

Orth.B. „Защото, ако простите на човеците *съгрешенията* им ...”

В.1940 „Защото, ако вие простите на човеците *съгрешенията*им...”

24 NIV But if you show favoritism, you *sin* and are convicted by the law as lawbreakers. „

Orth.B. „Но ако гледате на лице, *грях правите*, и от закона се осъждате като престъпници.”

В.1940 „Но, ако гледате на лице, *грях правите*, и законът ви изобличава като престъпници.”

29 NIV „Everyone who *sins* breaks the law; in fact, sin is lawlessness.”

Orth.B. „Всякой, който *прави грях*, прави и беззаконие; и грехът е беззаконие.”

В.1940 „Всеки, който *върши грях*, върши и беззаконие, защото грехът е беззаконие”

So the English verse has the verb *sin* but the Bulgarian – the noun (*грях*), or a verb+noun *sin* (*прави/върши грях*).

Often in the Bulgarian translation of the English verb *sin* for one and the same verse ‘perfective’ and ‘imperfective’ type of verb is used. There is a difference between the translations of the Orthodox Bible and the Bible 1940. A perfective verb form presents a completed action, covering the beginning, continuation and the end of the action. The ‘imperfective’ form presents the action in the course of its execution. This can be associated in English grammar with the specific character of the verbs – *terminative* verbs (conveying the notion of an activity which has a final aim in view), and *durative* verbs (with no final aim in view). This occurs in the following verses:

02 Orth. В. „Господи, колко пъти да прощавам на брата си, кога *съгрешава* против мене?”

В.1940”Господи, до колко пъти, като ми *съгреши* брат ми, да му прощавам?”

05 Orth. В. „... *недей греши* вече, за да те не сполети нещо по-лошо.”

В.1940 „...не съгрешавай вече, за да те не сполети нещо по-лошо.”

27 Orth. В. „Това ви пиша, за да не съгрешавате ...”

В.1940 „... това ви пиша, за да не съгрешите ...”

There is not so much variability of the grammatical usage of the verb *sin* between the Bulgarian versions, but the mention above provides more complete coverage of its meaning and expands its understanding.

There is no essential difference in the usage of the verb *sin* in twelve verses of NKJV and NIV (ex. 03, 08, 09, 12, 15, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 25). It means that in both versions the verb *sin* is used with almost the same pronouns, with similar prepositions and appears in the same structural positions in the sentences. Also, it occurs with the same inflectional forms in both English variants: the zero inflection (ex. 20), the 3rd singular inflection (ex. 03, 16), the past tense inflection (ex. 08, 11), the *-ing* inflection (ex. 21). Here are some examples:

03 NKJV „If your brother *sins* against you, ...”

NIV „If your brother or sister *sins* against you, ...”

12 NKJV „... and thus death spread to all men, because all *sinned*.”

NIV „... and in this way death came to all people, because all *sinned*.”

22 NKGV „Those who are *sinning* rebuke in the presence of all...”

NIV „But those elders who are *sinning* you are to reprove before everyone ...”

The activities indicated by the zero and 3rd singular inflection are habitual; the activities marked with past tense inflection represent a completed act; activities with *-ing* inflection appear to have started before the moment referred to, they are still continuing at the moments indicated, and are expected to continue after them.

Usually the verb *sin* takes the *preposition* ‘*against*’ - *sin(s)* against me/ you/ his own body/ Christ (ex. 01, 02, 03, 04, 18, 19, 20):

01 NIV „For if you forgive other people when they *sin against you*, your heavenly Father will also forgive you”

02 NKGV „Lord, how often shall my brother *sin against me*, and I forgive him?

NIV „Lord, how many times shall I forgive my brother or sister who *sins against me*?

19, 20 NKJV „But when you thus *sin against the brethren*, and wound their weak conscience, you *sin against Christ*

NIV „When you *sin against them* in this way and wound their weak conscience, you *sin against Christ*.”

In connection with its meaning, ‘sin’ is always *against* someone or something. So it always affects more than one person.

There are differences in the grammatical forms in nearly two-thirds (which is twenty out of thirty-four) of all English verses, which contain the verb *sin*. And these verses are 01, 02, 05, 06, 10, 11, 13, 14, 16, 20, 23, 24, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34. Here are some examples:

01 NKGV „... if you forgive men their *trespasses*...”

NIV „... if you forgive other people when they *sin against you*...”

Here in *NKJV* „*their trespasses*” is used – i.e. *possessive pronoun + noun* (which is a synonym of the noun *sin*). In *NIV* the equivalent of that expression is a *personal pronoun + verb sin* - „*they sin*”. The present tense of the verb presents a habitual repetitive action.

Similar are the occurrences in ex. 16 and 34.

16 NKGV „... but he who *commits sexual immorality, sins against his own body*. „

NIV „... but whoever *sins sexually, sins against their own body*. „

The differences here are apparent. *Sins sexually* (NIV) can be explained by the expression from the first verse (NKJV) *commits sexual immorality*. The verb *sin* here occurs in third person singular in both verses and explains habitual activity, too. Also it is in combination with an adverbial of manner (*sexually*) in NIV.

34 NKGV „... who taught Balak *to put a stumbling block* before the children of Israel ...”

NIV „... who taught Balak *to entice the Israelites to sin* ...”

The expression *to put a stumbling block* can be also explained by the expression from NIV *to entice to sin*, where the verb *to sin* appears as a part of non-finite verb phrase.

The following two sentences (ex. 04) express a command. The first one uses the combination of the verb *sin + adverbial*. The second one consists of a *verb + simple -ing non-finite verb phrase*. The verses refer to habitual and repetitive actions which should be discontinued.

04 NKGV „*Sin no more*, lest a worse thing come upon you.”

NIV „*Stop sinning* or something worse may happen to you.”

27 NKGV „... these things I write to you, so that you *may not sin* ...”

NIV „I write this to you so that you *will not sin* ...”

In the former NKJV verse (ex. 27) the verb *sin* is in a combination with the modal verb *may*, it expresses possibility (it is possible for one not to sin again). In NIV *will* indicates future activity. *Will* is also used to indicate probability.

32, 33 NKGV „Whoever has been born of God *does not sin*, for His seed remains in him; and he *cannot sin*, because he has been born of God.”

NIV „No one who is born of God *will continue to sin*, because God’s seed remains in them; they *cannot go on sinning*, because they have been born of God.”

In NKGV the first verb *sin* describes a repeated action while in NIV it is part of a future activity and occurs as non-finite verb phrase with a simple infinitive. The second verb *sin* expresses impossibility with the help of the negative form of the modal verb *can* (*cannot*) in both verses. In NIV it occurs as a non-finite verb phrase with a simple gerund.

Often the difference between the verses is the usage of the word *sin as a verb in the one* and *as a noun in the other* or vice versa:

06 NKGV „Neither do I condemn you; go and *sin no more*.”

NIV „Go now and leave your *life of sin* .”

Here in NKJV the word *sin* is used as a verb in the present tense form with an adverbial and in NIV – it is part of a noun-phrase which – functions as a direct object, the noun *sin* occurs as a noun modifier.

In the following verse the word *sin* is *a verb in NKJV*, which expresses habitual and repeated action, and *a verb in NIV*, too, but accompanied by a *do-emphasizer*:

28 NKGV „And if anyone *sins* ...”

NIV „But if anybody *does sin* ...”

The next two verses present a future activity. The first one uses the verb *continue* + noun *sin*. In NIV the gerund is used:

14 NKGV „... Shall we continue in *sin*...”

NIV „... Shall we *go on sinning*...”

Often NKJV verses include *verb+nouns*, but the same in NIV include the verb *sin* in a finite or non-finite verb form:

24 NKGV „... but if you show partiality, you *commit sin*...”

NIV „But if you show favoritism, you *sin* ...”

26 NKGV „... having eyes full of adultery and that cannot *cease from sin*”

NIV „... With eyes full of adultery, they never *stop sinning*”

Grammatical differences related to the tense forms of the verb *sin* are observed in ex. 10, 11, 13 as well:

10, 11 NKGV „For as many as *have sinned* without law will also perish without law, and as many as *have sinned* in the law will be judged by the law ”

NIV „All who *sin* apart from the law will also perish apart from the law, and all who *sin* under the law will be judged by the law.”

In the first verse the verb *sin* is in perfect aspect in present tense form, which is indicated by the combination of the auxiliary *have* + *past participle*, in this case *-ed* participle of the main verb. It refers to a set of events that are viewed as possibly recurring, or they are set in some indefinite period that leads to the present. The verb *sin* is a regular verb and takes *-ed* past form and *-ed* past participle. In the second verse (NIV) the verb *sin* is in the present tense which presents a habitual activity and iterativity.

13 NKGV „Nevertheless death reigned from Adam to Moses, even over those who *had not sinned*... ”

NIV „Nevertheless, death reigned from the time of Adam to the time of Moses, even over those who *did not sin* ”

Here again in NKJV there is perfect aspect but in the past tense form (negative), which is indicated by the past form of the verb *have*: *had* + *not* + *past participle*. Usually the past perfect refers to a situation earlier than another situation set in the past. In NIV the verb is in the past tense. The activities in both verses point to an event in a past situation.

The same verses in their Bulgarian variant contain: in Orth.B. – a substantivized adjective instead of a verb and in B.1940 – a verb in past perfect:

13 Orth.B. ”Обаче смъртта царува от Адама до Моисея и над *несъгрешилите* престъпление, подобно на престъплението на Адама, който е образ на Бъдещия.”

B.1940 „... при все това от Адама до Моисея смъртта царува и надония, които *не бяха съгрешили* според престъплението на Адама, който е образ на Бъдещия;”

In the following verses (30, 31) there are present tense forms of the verbs, which do not focus the attention on the present moment only, but also indicate an activity that is regularly repeated. In NIV a derivative of the verb *sin* is used. *Sinful* is an adjective, which serves as a direct object:

30, 31 NKGV „He who *sins* is of the devil, for the devil *has sinned* from the beginning”

NIV „The one who *does what is sinful* is of the devil, because the devil *has been sinning* from the beginning.”

The second usage of the verb *sin* (31) refers to uninterrupted activities spreading over a period of time including the present moment. They are indicated by the present perfect

(in NKJV) and the present perfect progressive (in NIV). The verb phrase *has sinned* contains two connotations: the connotation of time reference indicated by *has* and the connotation of perfect indicated by the combination *have + past participle (sinned)*. In NIV a new element is added by marking the progressive nature of the activity, i.e. by indicating that the activity has been in progress during a period of time, (which is indicated by the *-ing participle* of the full verb as related to a form of the auxiliary *be*), while the connotations present and perfect are preserved, the former by means of *has*, and the latter by means of the combination *has+ past participle* (this time the participle of *be*).

The important fact is that a verb phrase is the bearer of the structural features and meanings of more than one verbal category, or, more precisely, of more than one marked verbal category. *Table 3* below presents the summarized information of the grammatical forms of the verb *sin* from the English versions of the New Testament:

New Kings James Version		New International Version	
Grammatical forms of the verb <i>sin</i>	Example number (see Appendix)	Grammatical forms of the verb <i>sin</i>	Example number (see Appendix)
Zero inflection (sin)	05, 06, 19, 20, 21, 23	Zero inflection (sin)	01, 04, 10, 11, 18, 19, 21, 24
Third person (sins)	03, 04, 17, 28, 30, 32	Third person (sins)	02, 03, 07, 16, 17, 29
Past Tense (sinned)	08, 09, 12, 25	Past Tense (sinned)	08, 09, 12, 13, 25
Past participle (sinned)	10, 11, 13, 31	Past participle (sinned)	—
-ing form – continuous tenses, (sinning)	22	-ing form – continuous tenses, (sinning)	22, 31
Gerund (sinning)	—	Gerund (sinning)	05, 14, 20, 23, 26, 33
Future activities (Shall/will sin)	02, 15	Future activities (Shall/will sin)	15, 27
Modals+sin	27, 33	Modals+sin	—
To-Infinitive (to sin)	—	To-Infinitive (to sin)	32, 34

Table 3 Grammatical forms of the verb *sin* from the English versions of the New Testament

Some of the verses are not presented in the table because they include words different from verbs. From NKJV they are - 01, 07, 07a, 14, 16, 18, 24, 26, 29, 34 and from NIV – 06, 07a, 28. It is seen that some of the grammatical forms of the verb are not present in the verses: there are not any forms of gerund and to-infinitive in NKJV, in NIV forms with modals and past participle are absent.

In Bulgarian the verb *sin* is translated with the following verbs in different grammatical forms: *греша* (11 instances found in the corpus), *сгрешавам* (1 instance found in the corpus), *съгрешавам* (32 instances), *прегрешавам* (1 instance found). There are also some instances when the verb *sin* is translated in Bulgarian with a noun: *грях* (17 instances), *съблазън* (1 instance) or an adjective: *съгрешили(те)* (3 instances).

Conclusion

The word *sin* is one of the fundamenal words in the Bible, especially in the New Testament. The contrastive analysis used for the description of the function of this word and its syntactic realization as a verb in the sentences presents the variety of its grammatical forms and meanings. It is achieved by comparing the verses in which the verbs *sin* appears in the selected four versions of the New Testament of the Bible. Often in one and same verse in the four versions of the New Testament the verbs *sin* appears in different grammatical structures.

The verb *sin* is an intransitive verb, although it is often used with the preposition *against*. In fact, it is considered intransitive, because the prepositional (oblique) object is a complement that can be dropped.

Usually the verb *sin* is part of a finite verb phrase, but seven times it occurs as a non-finite verb form just in NIV.

The most frequent differences between the same English verses in the different versions are:

the use of different grammatical forms – the noun *sin* (or its derivative) in the one verse and the verb *sin* in the other;

the use of different pronouns +verb *sin* or nouns

the use of the verb *sin* + adverbial or verb + gerund of *sin*

the use of future tense (will /shall) or modals

the use of different tense forms

The main difference between Bulgarian verses is the perfective or imperfective form of the verbs used for translating the English verb *sin*, because in Bulgarian language the verb *sin* is not always translated with its Bulgarian verb equivalents

(*греша, сгрешавам, съгрешавам, презреших*). As a whole the differences between Bulgarian versions are less than those between the English ones.

The variety of the grammatical use and forms only enriches and completes the meaning of the verb *sin* in the New Testament, especially when it is considered in different texts and/or translations.

The investigation and analysis of this work might always be extended or it may be the basis of another comparative research related to the usage of the word *sin* in the Bible or in other literary texts, and its usage nowadays.

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Appendix

<i>Sin</i> - verb					
N	Chapter and Verse	New Kings James Version	New International Version	Orthodox Bible	Bible, 1940 Edition
01	Matthew 6:14	"For if you forgive men their <i>trespasses</i> , your heavenly Father will also forgive you.	For if you forgive other people when they <i>sin</i> against you, your heavenly Father will also forgive you.	<i>Защото, ако простите на хората съгрешенията им, и вие ще простите Небесният ви Отец;</i>	<i>Защото, ако вие простите на хората съгрешенията им, то и небесният ви Отец ще простите на вас.</i>
02	Matthew 18:21	Then Peter came to Him and said, „Lord, how often shall my brother <i>sin</i> against me, and I forgive him? Up to seven times?"	Then Peter came to Jesus and asked, „Lord, how many times shall I forgive my brother or sister who <i>sins</i> against me? Up to seven times?"	<i>Тогава Петър се приближи до Него и рече: „Господи, колко пъти да прощавам на брат си, когато съгрешава против мене? До седем пъти ли?"</i>	<i>Тогава Петър се приближи и му рече: „Господи, до колко пъти, като ми съгрешат брат ми, да му прощавам? До седем пъти ли?"</i>
03	Luke 17:3	Take heed to yourselves. If your brother <i>sins</i> against you, rebuke him; and if he repents, forgive him.	So watch yourselves." If your brother or sister <i>sins</i> against you, rebuke them; and if they repent,	<i>Бъдете внимателни към себе си. Ако съгрешат против тебе брат ти, смърти го и, ако се покае,</i>	<i>Внимавайте на себе си. Ако прегрешат брат ти, смърти го; и ако се покае, прости му</i>

			forgive them.	<i>прости му;</i>	
04	Luke 17:4	And if he <i>sins</i> against you seven times in a day, and seven times in a day returns to you, saying, 'I repent,' you shall forgive him."	Even if they <i>sin</i> against you seven times in a day and seven times come back to you saying 'I repent,' you must forgive them."	<i>и ако седем пъти на ден съгреши против тебе и седем пъти на ден се обърне към тебе и каже: кая се - прости му.</i>	<i>И седем пъти на ден ако ти сгреши, и седем пъти се обърне към тебе и каже: Покаявам се, прощавай му.</i>
05	John 5:14	Afterward Jesus found him in the temple, and said to him, "See, you have been made well. <i>Sin</i> no more, lest a worse thing come upon you."	Later Jesus found him at the temple and said to him, "See, you are well again. Stop <i>sinning</i> or something worse may happen to you."	<i>След това Исус го срещна в храма и му рече: ето, ти оздравя; недей греши вече, за да те не сполети нещо по-лошо.</i>	<i>По-после Исус го намери в храма и му рече: Ето, ти си здрав; не съгрешавай вече, за да те не сполети нещо по-лошо.</i>
06	John 8:11	She said, „No one, Lord.” And Jesus said to her, “Neither do I condemn you; go and <i>sin</i> no more.”	„No one, sir,” she said. „Then neither do I condemn you,” Jesus declared. „Go now and leave your life <i>of sin</i> .”	<i>Тя отговори: никой, Господи! Исус ѝ рече: и аз те не осъждам. Иди си и недей вече греши.</i>	<i>И тя отговори: Никой Господи. Исус рече: Нито аз те осъждам; иди си, отсега не съгрешавай вече</i>
07 07 a	John 8:34	Jesus answered them, "Most assuredly, I say to you, whoever commits sin is a slave <i>of sin</i> ."	Jesus replied, "Very truly I tell you, everyone who sins is a slave <i>to sin</i> ."	<i>Исус им отговори: истина, истина ви казвам: всякой, който прави грях, роб е на греха.</i>	<i>Исус им отговори: Истина, истина ви казвам, всеки, който върши грях, слуга е на греха.</i>

08	John 9:2	And His disciples asked Him, saying, „Rabbi, who sinned , this man or his parents, that he was born blind?”	His disciples asked him, „Rabbi, who sinned , this man or his parents, that he was born blind?”	<i>Учениците Му Го попитаха и казваха: Рави, кой е съгрешил, тоя или родителите му, за да се роди слеп?</i>	<i>И учениците Му Го попитаха казвайки: Учителю, поради чий грях, негов ли, или на родителите му, той се е родил слеп?</i>
09	John 9:3	Jesus answered, „Neither this man nor his parents sinned , but that the works of God should be revealed in him.	„Neither this man nor his parents sinned ,” said Jesus,” but this happened so that the works of God might be displayed in him.	<i>Иисус отговори: нито тоя е съгрешил, нито родителите му, но това биде, за да се явят делата Божии върху му.</i>	<i>Иисус отговори: Нито поради негов грях, нито на родителите му, но за да се явят в него Божиите дела.</i>
10 11	Romans 2:12	For as many as have sinned without law will also perish without law, and as many as have sinned in the law will be judged by the law	All who sin apart from the law will also perish apart from the law, and all who sin under the law will be judged by the law.	<i>Ония, които без закон са съгрешили, без закон и ще загинат; а ония, които при закон са съгрешили, чрез закон ще бъдат съдени</i>	<i>Защото тия, които са съгрешили без <да имат> закон, без закон ще и да погинат; и които са съгрешили под закон, под закона ще бъдат съдени.</i>
12	Romans 5:12	Therefore, just as through one man sin entered the world, and death through sin, and thus death spread to all men, because all sinned .	Therefore, just as sin entered the world through one man, and death through sin, and in this way death came to all people, because all sinned .	<i>Затова, както чрез един човек грехът влезе в света, а чрез греха - смъртта, и по такъв начин смъртта премина във всички люде чрез един човек, в когото всички</i>	<i>Затова, както чрез един човек грехът влезе в света, и чрез греха смъртта, и по тоя начин смъртта мина във всичките човеци, понеже всички съгрешиха</i>

				съгрешиха	
13	Romans 5:14	Nevertheless death reigned from Adam to Moses, even over those who had not sinned according to the likeness of the transgression of Adam, who is a type of Him who was to come.	Nevertheless, death reigned from the time of Adam to the time of Moses, even over those who did not sin by breaking a command, as did Adam, who is a pattern of the one to come.	<i>Обаче смъртта царува от Адама до Моисея и над</i> несъгрешили <i>те с престъпление, подобно на престъплението на Адама, който е образ на Бъдещия.</i>	<i>при все това от Адама до Моисея смъртта царува и над ония, които не бяха</i> съгрешили <i>според престъплението на Адама, който е образ на Бъдещия;</i>
14	Romans 6:1	What shall we say then? Shall we continue in sin that grace may abound?	What shall we say, then? Shall we go on sinning so that grace may increase?	<i>Какво, прочее, ще кажем? Ще останем ли в греха, за да се умножи благодатта?</i>	<i>Тогава какво? Да речем ли: Нека останем в греха, за да се умножи благодатта?</i>
15	Romans 6:14	What then? Shall we sin because we are not under law but under grace?	What then? Shall we sin because we are not under the law but under grace?	<i>Е, какво? да грешим ли, понеже не сме под закона, а под благодатта?</i>	<i>Тогава какво? Да грешим ли, защото не сме под закон, а под благодат?</i>
16 17	1Corinthians 6:18	Every sin that a man does is outside the body, but he who commits sexual immorality sins against his own body.	All other sins a person commits are outside the body, but whoever sins sexually, sins against their own body.	<i>всеки грях, що прави човек, е извън тялото, а блудникът против собственото си тяло</i> грешни.	<i>Всеки друг грях, който би сторил човек, е вън от тялото; но който блудствува,</i> съгрешава <i>против своето си тяло.</i>
18 19	1Corinthians 8:12	But when you thus sin against the brethren, and	When you sin against them in this way and wound their	<i>А като грешите тъй против братята и</i>	<i>А като съгрешавате така против братята, и</i>

		wound their weak conscience, you <i>sin</i> against Christ.	weak conscience, you <i>sin</i> against Christ.	<i>биете немоцната им съвест, вие грешите против Христа.</i>	<i>наранявате слабата им съвест, вие съгрешавате против Христа,</i>
20	1Corinthians 15:34	Awake to righteousness, and do not <i>sin</i> ; for some do not have the knowledge of God.	Come back to your senses as you ought, and stop <i>sinning</i> ; for there are some who are ignorant of God	<i>Свестете се, както трябва, и не грешете; защото някои от вас нямат познание за Бога</i>	<i>Отрезнейте към правдата, и не съгрешавайте, защото някои от вас не познават Бога.</i>
21	Ephesians 4:26	Be angry, and do not <i>sin</i>	In your anger do not <i>sin</i>	<i>Гневете се, но не грешете: слънце да ви не залязва гневни</i>	<i>Гневете се, но без да съгрешавате; слънцето да не залезе в разгневяването ви</i>
22	1Timothy 5:20	Those who are <i>sinning</i> are rebuke in the presence of all, that the rest also may fear	But those elders who are <i>sinning</i> you are to reprove before everyone, so that the others may take warning.	<i>Ония, които съгрешават, изобличавай пред всички, та и другите да имат страх</i>	<i>Ония, които съгрешават, изобличавай та и другите да имат страх</i>
23	Hebrews 10:26	For if we <i>sin</i> willfully after we have received the knowledge of the truth, there no longer remains a sacrifice for sins	If we deliberately keep on <i>sinning</i> after we have received the knowledge of the truth, no sacrifice for sins is left,	<i>Защото, ако ние, след като познахме истината, своеволно грешим, не остава вече жертва за грехове</i>	<i>Защото, ако съгрешаваме самоволно, след като сме познали истината, не остава вече жертва за грехове</i>
24	James 2:9	... but if you show partiality, you commit <i>sin</i> , and are convicted by the law as	But if you show favoritism, you <i>sin</i> and are convicted by the law as lawbreakers.	<i>Но, ако гледате на лице, грях правите, и законът ви изобличава като</i>	<i>Но ако гледате на лице, грях правите, и от закона се осъждате като</i>

		transgressors.		<i>престъпници.</i>	<i>престъпници.</i>
25	2 Peter 2:4	For if God did not spare the angels who sinned , but cast them down to hell and delivered them into chains of darkness, to be reserved for judgment;	For if God did not spare angels when they sinned , but sent them to hell, [a]putting them in chains of darkness [b]to be held for judgment;	<i>Защото, ако Бог не пощади съгрешилите ангели, но като ги сгромоляса в ада и свърза с вериги на мрака, предаде ги да бъдат пазени за съд,</i>	<i>Защото, ако Бог не пощади <и> ангели, когато съгрешиха, но ги хвърли в мрака на най-дълбоките ровове, и ги предаде да бъдат вардени за съд;</i>
26	2 Peter 2:14	having eyes full of adultery and that cannot cease from sin , enticing unstable souls.	With eyes full of adultery, they never stop sinning ;	<i>те имат очи пълни с прелюбодеяние и непрестанен грях,</i>	<i>очите им са пълни с блудство и с непрестанен грях;</i>
27 28	1John 2:1	My little children, these things I write to you, so that you may not sin . And if anyone sins , we have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous.	My dear children, I write this to you so that you will not sin . But if anybody does sin , we have an advocate with the Father— Jesus Christ, the Righteous One.	<i>Чеда мои! Това ви пиша, за да не съгрешавате; и ако някой съгреши, то пред Отца имаме ходатай Иисуса Христа Праведника:</i>	<i>Дечица мои, това ви пиша, за да не съгрешите; но ако съгреши някой, имаме ходатай 1 при Отца, Иисуса Христа праведния.</i>
29	1John 3:4	Whoever commits sin also commits lawlessness, and sin is lawlessness.	Everyone who sins breaks the law; in fact, sin is lawlessness.	<i>Всякой, който прави грях, прави и беззаконие; и грехът е беззаконие.</i>	<i>Всеки, който върши грях, върши и беззаконие, защото грехът е беззаконие;</i>
30 31	1John 3:8	He who sins is of the devil, for the devil has sinned from the beginning.	The one who does what is sinful is of the devil, because the devil has been sinning	<i>Който прави грях, от дявола е, защото открай време дяволът</i>	<i>Който върши грях, от дявола е; защото дяволът отначало</i>

			from the beginning.	съгрешава.	съгрешава.
32 33	1John 3:9	Whoever has been born of God does not <i>sin</i> , for His seed remains in him; and he cannot <i>sin</i> , because he has been born of God.	No one who is born of God will continue to <i>sin</i> , because God's seed remains in them; they cannot go on <i>sinning</i> , because they have been born of God.	<i>Всякой, който е роден от Бога, грях не прави, защото семето Му пребъдва в него; и не може да греши, защото е роден от Бога.</i>	<i>Никой, който е роден от Бога, не върши грях, защото неговият зародил пребъдва в Него; и не може да съгрешава, защото е роден от Бога.</i>
34	Revelation 2:14	But I have a few things against you, because you have there those who hold the doctrine of Balaam, who taught Balak to put a stumbling block before the children of Israel, to eat things sacrificed to idols, and to commit sexual immorality.	Nevertheless, I have a few things against you: There are some among you who hold to the teaching of Balaam, who taught Balak to entice the Israelites <i>to sin</i> so that they ate food sacrificed to idols and committed sexual immorality.	<i>Но имам малко нещо против тебе, защото имаш там някои, които държат учението на Валаама, който учеше Валака да вкара в грях синовете Израилеви, та да ядат идоложертвен о и да блудствуват.</i>	<i>Но имам малко нещо против тебе, защото имаш там някои, които държат учението на Валаама, който учеше Валака да постави съблазън пред израилтяните, та да ядат идоложертвен о и да блудствуват.</i>

GLOBAL AND LOCAL PROBLEMS AND PRACTICES IN TEACHING ENGLISH TO YOUNG LEARNERS

Nadezhda Stefanova

Abstract: *This article discusses some of the global problems and practices in TEYL on a macro level, in terms of educational policies, and on a micro levels - in terms of local practices and solutions. The problems are depicted from different perspectives, involving all participants in the educational process - policy makers, teachers and students. It is structured around some main problems and challenges such as: Government policy linked to education, local solutions, training of in-service and pre-service teachers, teachers' command of English, materials and resources available, assessment and evaluation process, problems of classroom environment. A comparison is made between English language teaching in Bulgarian primary schools and primary schools around the world in terms of similarities, differences, issues and challenges facing the teachers and the steps taken to overcome such challenges.*

Key words: *problems, practices, solutions, global, local, TEYL*

Introduction

Nowadays English is being introduced in teaching ever younger children all over the world. As a result of the popularity of the language and its utility in many fields English is now introduced as a compulsory subject in primary education in the majority of countries including Bulgaria (Nikolov 2009a; Pinter 2006). However, there is a huge difference in the curricula and the teaching practices. Unfortunately, there is very little research which can help and inform important policy making. In this context Enever and Moon (2009:5) write:

‘ . . . we have yet to clarify the priorities for formulating effective language policies, for designing appropriate programmes of implementation and for meeting the very real challenge of ensuring that policy is effectively and sustainably implemented within the daily practice of classrooms.’

It would appear that knowledge and understanding of teaching practices, especially when we talk about teaching practices in the field of young learners, is quite unorganized. There are a lot of publications which contain small research project findings. They are usually made by small local universities and are led again by the local university researchers (see Moon and Nikolov 2000; Nikolov 2009a; Rixon 1999). In a number of these studies the focus is on how young learners acquire vocabulary (cf. Orosz 2009) or skills as reading, writing, listening etc. (for example: Samo, 2009). Other books recommend practices that have a proven positive effect in TYL in the light of the research results. They inform and guide both teaching and teacher education (cf. Cameron 2001; Pinter 2006). Unfortunately, there aren't any studies that examine what the teachers around the world do in their everyday practice of TEYL, their attitudes, their practices, and their challenges. Neither is there any research providing a detailed

description, on a case-by-case basis. We don't know how expert teachers 'do' English language teaching in the context of the **local** environment.

1. Macro level – Educational policies

Firstly, it should be made clear that there is a huge variety in government, regulations and policies when it comes to TEFL, varying not only from one country to another but even in different parts of the same country. On the one hand there are countries such as South Korea where there is close control exercised by the government over policy (Butler 2009; Lee 2009; Mitchell and Lee 2003), and on the other hand there are countries, such as Brazil, where almost no guidelines are offered (Gimenez 2009). Primary and lower secondary education in Bulgaria is organized as a single structure system. It consists of 8 compulsory years of education beginning at the age of 7 (or 6). It falls under the responsibility of the Ministry of Education and Science. The administration is organized on four levels: national, regional, municipal and school level. Foreign language learning is a formal part of the educational system and is regulated by the State Requirements for Curriculum of Cultural-Educational Field of Study „Foreign Language”. This is a regulation document of the Ministry of Education and Science. By law, the core curriculum covers the 'general educational minimum' and is compulsory for all schools. In 1998 a development project for Early Foreign Language Teaching was launched (EFLT). According to it, a first foreign language (FL1) is introduced in grade 1 at the age of 7 (or 6) with the following number of FL1 lessons per week:

Grade	1	2	3	4
FL1	1	2	3	3

According to the National Statistical Institute (as quoted in UNESCO World Data on education, 7th edition 2010/2011) the share of students who study foreign languages in the primary school was 83.4% in 2010/2011 and an astonishing 87.6% of them choose English as FL1.

The priorities in the field of education in Bulgaria, included in the framework of the National Reform Programme 2011-2015 are:

- improving the quality of education,
- ensuring equal access to education
- making educational system flexible
- creating the preconditions for practical implementation of the lifelong learning concept

(GOB 2011 as quoted in UNESCO 2010/2011)

Unfortunately, teachers worldwide are facing the difficulties of interpreting the policy and as a consequence, an inequality, especially between rural and urban schools, is observed. This inequality of access to English at primary school has been a cause for concern in the works of a number of researchers throughout the years. The result in many countries, including Bulgaria, has been a huge increase in the sector providing private education in the field. This, of course, is affordable only to wealthier parents. They are able to send their children to private schools or for private English lessons and ensure, to a certain extent, better opportunities for their children.

Everything discussed above, creates political, social, financial, and familial tensions (Lee 2009). However, the situation has its positive consequences - pressure on the governments and a constant call for improving the policy for early language learning (Gimenez 2009).

2. Micro level – Looking for local solutions

The situation at the micro level presents probably one of the biggest and most complex issues that has an impact on the classroom. It concerns the approaches recommended by local educational legislation for teaching English to young learners. Since there is a huge global demand for communication in English, the curricula for TEYL have been updated and are now Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) or Task-Based Learning and Teaching (TBLT). This is the case in different parts of Asia for example, in Korea, China, Thailand and even Turkey to name just a few. One of the problems that arises is that teachers often misunderstand the method simply because they have received little or no training or aren't prepared for the practical applications. (Butler 2005; Littlewood 2007). Another drawback of the approach is that CLT may mean different things to different teachers. For example a common mistake that occurs among them is the understanding that CLT is focused only on fluency and completely ignores accuracy. Similar problems surface in the implementation of the more recent TBLT approach. CLT and TBLT are often seen as simply incompatible with local ways of teaching, especially because of their learner-centeredness, which is seen as inappropriate in some more conservative educational cultures. The result of all these factors is often a gap between pedagogic policy and classroom practice.

Although attempts are constantly made in the pursuit of change, approaches to teaching in Bulgaria are still mainly teacher-centered. Teachers are the main authority figure in this model. Students are viewed as „empty vessels” whose primary role is to receive information (lectures and *direct instruction*) with an end goal of testing and assessment. The primary role of teachers is to pass knowledge and information to their students. In this model, teaching and assessment are viewed as two separate entities. Student learning is measured through formally marked tests and assessments.

Direct instruction is the general term that refers to this traditional teaching approach. It relies on teaching through lectures and teacher-led demonstrations. Direct instruction is the primary teaching strategy under the teacher-centered approach, in that teachers and

professors are the only supplier of information. Direct instruction is effective in teaching basic and fundamental skills across all content areas. Any information for which there is one right answer, and for which that answer is relatively simple, can be taught efficiently by using direct instruction. Other advantages of the method include the control of the teacher over the timing of the lesson, over what will be learned, and who will learn. What's more, the curriculum can be covered easily, so the teacher can say that s/he has taught the material.

Some of the disadvantages of this approach are that it is based on old learning theories: that we must learn simple tasks before complex ones. Also, the ability of students to solve problems is reduced because they have not had the opportunity to struggle with the problems themselves. And last but not least this instructional method works for only a small percentage of students. Students who have other than verbal intelligence, or who have different cultural backgrounds will fail.

3. Recruitment and Training

Over the last 20 years many countries decided on introducing English as a compulsory subject at primary school. Apparently pushed by deadlines a big percentage of them took on that step without careful consideration of who was going to teach it. That is the reason why Bulgaria among many others found itself with a severe shortage of trained primary school teachers of English. This situation is particularly alarming in poorer or rural areas.

Solutions to this problem have varied both from country to country and from school to school. In the reality of our own educational system, in-service primary school teachers who specialized in other subjects, and had some English knowledge or background, were trained to teach English. Most primary school English teachers in Bulgaria - 70.7% - are re-trainees, i.e. teachers who are graduates in Russian Philology, Primary School Pedagogy, etc. and who have completed a one-year intensive university retraining course aimed at qualifying for English language teaching. Under the 1995 Higher Educational Act, a Regulation on Unified State Requirements for Obtaining the Professional Qualification of Teacher was issued. The act defines the criteria for their assessment, the conditions and the minimum educational level required. The tertiary-level institutions providing teacher training outside universities were transformed into colleges offering additional programs for the educational degree „specialist” (UNESCO 2010/2011)

That same step has also been widely adopted in many other parts of the world, although not always with a training component.

On the other side of the world, in China, the government recommendation was that:

1. A number of schools should share one teacher
2. Retired English teachers should be reemployed no matter whether they built their career in the field of the primary or secondary schools.

3. Class advisors or teachers of other subjects should be used to organize students for activities such as watching English videos or listening to cassettes (Y. Hu 2007).

A demand for native-speaker teachers was created as some countries, trying to fill the gaps, started „importing” them (Nunan 2003). However, the overall result was a number of native speakers but still a lack of fully qualified teachers (qualified both to teach in primary schools and to teach English).

Countries such as Italy or Korea organized some initial training offered to in-service teachers. The number of hours provided to the teachers with the aim of improving their language and teaching skills ranged between 120 all the way up to 500.

Despite all the steps taken there is still a lack of appropriate training across the world, which is still seen as problematic by many specialists in the field. There is an urgent need to provide help to in-service teachers since the majority of them did not start their careers as teachers of English or as teachers of young learners.

The aim of this study, however, is to examine pre-service training on a local level rather than comparing approaches to training English teachers across universities. Pre-service primary English teacher training in Bulgaria consists of solid theoretical preparation of young teachers, combined with compulsory teaching practice which has three stages (observation, school practice and extended pedagogical practice). This should guarantee that the specialists graduating from universities are fully equipped with the abilities needed to teach English in Bulgarian primary classroom. But is that the case?

Like any other trainees from other fields of study, trainee teachers of English do not feel very confident teaching a group of students with different levels, speed, learning styles and motivation to learn (Baseline survey of English language teacher education 2001-2002). They follow the lesson plan and in the majority of cases can't react to unexpected situations in the classroom. It is difficult for them both to communicate and motivate the pupils. Apart from that trainee teachers don't always provide student-centered lessons or involve the whole class. Other problems that I and other pre-service teachers face are: the lack of variety of techniques; the inability to provide enough meaningful listening, writing and communicative practice.

This leads to the conclusion that prospective Bulgarian English teachers need additional training that will allow them to meet the needs of all their pupils individually and convert the act of teaching-learning into something enjoyable and fun for themselves and for the pupils. They need effective strategies on teaching young learners and overcoming the following common issues:

- Managing large classes and maintaining discipline
- Dealing with multi-level classes
- Working with learners with a range of learning difficulties
- Creating, maintaining and developing motivation

- Whether and how to teach grammar to young learners
- Introducing basic techniques and activities in language teaching to children, such as storytelling
- The use of resources other than those required by the syllabus

(Harakchijska 2008)

4. Teacher's level of English

Another very common problem that is observed all over the world is the low self-esteem of teachers when it comes to their abilities in English as well as their low proficiency level in English in general. The question is „What is the level of English proficiency and fluency needed to teach in a Primary school?“. It is believed that in order to teach young learners the teacher needs a native-like knowledge of the language. As a result many specialists are worried about their abilities especially in listening and speaking skills. The truth is that teachers' command of the target language varies greatly not only when we compare one country with another but also when we compare two regions of the same country. Countries are constantly trying to combat this and standardize professional requirements to a certain extent. In some countries in Asia support in the form of technologies and multimedia was offered to teachers. The governments believed that this should compensate the need for qualified teachers. The results are controversial and many researchers argue whether this can offer any support to teachers (Y. Hu 2007; Mitchell and Lee 2003; Nunan 2003), especially having in mind that the access to technology, even within the same country, is unequal. There is obviously a need amongst many teachers to develop and improve their English language.

In many countries in Europe, including Bulgaria, links and contracts with local universities and English language training institutions have been created. They organize special English language teacher development courses and refresher sessions. In some cases English language social events, conversation meetings and cultural exchange events can also be attended so that the teachers can improve their fluency and use of English. Many seminars are held in collaboration with the British Council, different publishers, universities or local and European institutions, discussing topical issues such as „English as a classroom language“ or „The advantages and disadvantages of using both L1 and L2 in the classroom“.

The conclusion is that promoting further research and events on the specific needs of teachers of young learners of English will greatly improve the confidence and the level of the teachers not only locally but also globally .

5. Classroom issues and solutions

Even if we ignore for a second the issues of national policy towards teaching English to young learners outlined above, there are a number of factors based in the classroom that may hinder teachers when it comes to following national policy. Large classes are

common in many parts of the world and it is a widespread belief that this makes it impossible to introduce learner-centered techniques. The obstacles pointed out are the inability of the teacher to closely monitor students' language use or use pair work and group work. This problem also emerges in Bulgaria where Primary school classes usually comprise about 17 to 26 children. In 2010/2011 the National Statistical Institute reports that there were 155 primary (grade 1-4) and 1360 secondary (grade 1-8) schools. The total number of students in grades 1-4 was 253,149. (UNESCO 2010/2011)

Discipline and control related problems have also been raised when learner-centered teaching in large classes is discussed (Carless 2004; Littlewood 2007). Carless (2004) notes that there is a „tension between the need to fulfill local expectations for quiet and orderly classrooms and the need to carry out oral English tasks, possibly in large classes”, which sometimes is also the problem in our schools. He concludes that teachers absolutely need to learn to accept and be tolerant of what he calls ‘constructive noise’, but at the same time ensure the pupils are on-task. Another factor that plays a huge role in teaching in general is the number of hours of English per week. Hours in primary schools range between one and two hours all the way up to four and six hours in Malaysia or Singapore for example. As pointed out earlier, in Bulgaria the average of the 4 grades per week is approximately 2.5 hours. Teachers with a low number of hours per week believe they cannot introduce learner-centered teaching and also cover the syllabus. This, of course, does not only depend on the professional qualities of the English language primary school teacher, but also on many other different aspects of primary school education which have an effect on language teaching – the type of school (private or state), the integration of students with special needs and students with behavioral disorders, bilingual students and many others.

5.1 Classroom atmosphere

For many students, classroom is the main place where they can get exposure to the English language. It is probably the only place where they can speak English as well. The physical appearance of the classroom in itself is very important. And because of its importance, it is alarming how many English classrooms in Bulgaria lack stimulating visual language teaching materials. And since they look so ordinary, even boring, it is absolutely natural that students lack motivation to speak English.

The main problem is that usually a classroom specialized and equipped only for teaching English is not available in many schools. In the majority of cases the English classes are held in the same rooms as the Math, Bulgarian or Science lessons. The way out of this situation is to try and make room for creating an English corner. In the cases where an English classroom is available teachers should try to create the impression that the students make a visit abroad each time they enter it. Not only is their visit there a chance to speak English, but it should also be a cultural immersion into a foreign setting and international atmosphere. Placing travel posters, or hanging the British flag and national symbols in and in front of the classroom, maps hang in the lobby have a great positive effect on the pupils' motivation. Posters not only decorate the room but are also

used as instructor's tools for warm-ups, teaching new concepts, reference and review. For example, there are ABC Posters which teach the alphabet, initial letter sounds and provide vocabulary expansion.

Colour Posters are a great physical warm-up booster. In my experience as a language assistant, we often asked students to stand up and touch something in the room which is the same colour as that the teacher is pointing to on the colour poster. Consonant and Vowel Charts help teachers reinforce phonics; the Body Chart is a good follow-up after singing „Head & Shoulders”, Opposites Posters are often children's first exposure to adjectives; Animal Posters (both farm and zoo) help elementary school students learn the names of all their favourite animals.

Posters should be rotated every few months. Thus, the students feel the atmosphere is fresh, and they also get to learn or review basic concepts on a regular basis. In addition, the parents, waiting for their children in the lobby, get to see English from any position in the school. And for them seeing is believing. A bulletin board filled with pictures of the students in their classrooms with their teachers and classmates or from their trips abroad create a sense of community. Needless to say, after their lessons, students feel as if they have made a mini-trip abroad, and the usage of Bulgarian has been kept at a minimum. They leave class feeling they „have been somewhere else” and they look forward to coming back next time. I firmly believe that good visual materials help create an atmosphere which contributes to this experience.

5.2 Learners issues – level, motivation, participation, mixed ability, management

Many teachers often complain of the learners' level of proficiency as the main reason for the limitations they face in the classroom concerning what they can do and the results they achieve. Frequently the reason for teachers' dissatisfaction with students' achievement stems from the conflict between the expectations of teachers and the realities of what and how children learn. Sometimes this has to do with the inability of the teacher to select, organize or understand a certain approach (Carless 2003).

Another issue frequently reported is the lack of motivation and interest in English on the part of learners. They simply do not see a point in learning a foreign language. This is particularly common in rural areas where learners have little contact with foreigners. (Ho 2003). Another aspect of the problem of motivation is involving young learners in the lesson, and more specifically „the weaker ones”. They usually fall behind with grammar and vocabulary and become discouraged. Sometimes these students are characterized as lazy. Naturally, success motivates, and equally, failure demotivates. If a learner's previous experience with English has been negative, it is natural that they would give up and it would become almost impossible for them to be re-involved in the dynamics of the class. So, an important objective for the YL teacher is to make everyone feel successful.

The teacher is the key factor in reaching each and every student in a class. It is of extreme importance for every teacher to be aware of the mixed abilities of the students

in their classes and to decide on techniques and strategies that could be used to solve such problems. As Ur points out, „The differences which cause problems in heterogeneous classes are in language learning ability, language knowledge, cultural background, learning style, attitude towards language, mother tongue, intelligence, world knowledge, learning experience, knowledge of other languages, age, gender, personality, confidence, motivation, interests, and/or educational level” (Ur 1996: 304)

Lack of motivation and low level of involvement are one of the main problems for large 25+ student classes. It is not surprising that there are countless accounts of pupils who cannot hear the recording, cannot see the board or even the teacher in some extreme cases. In the situation of the large classes some of the pupils feel lost without personal contact with the teacher.

Discipline problems may arise in large classes. Usually the explanation is that English lessons are different in style and approach from other lessons and some students tend to behave in an undisciplined manner when the teacher is not watching.

In general, there are three very common issues provoking behavioral problems in class. Firstly, discipline problems are often the result of boredom. Bored children lose motivation which leads to episodes of bad behavior and involves other students sitting nearby. Secondly, discipline problems often surface feelings of failure. They are a way of self-protection for the children. Thirdly, discipline problems are fundamentally about the relationship between the teacher and the children. If the children feel that the teacher doesn't know what he is doing, or is not in charge, they will often take advantage of the freedom given to them.

6. Materials and resources

The two main issues connected with the materials and resources used in the classroom are: which materials are used to teach YLs and are they actually available. As in all of the other points, this varies greatly from one area to the other. There are four basic situations concerning the resources used: one prescribed textbook for each grade (South Korea); a couple of textbooks approved by the government to choose from (Bulgaria); the freedom of choosing a textbook from those available on the market (Spain, Italy) or not using a textbook at all.

Let's take a closer look at the current situation in Bulgaria. The only institution authorized to approve textbooks for every grade and every school is The Ministry of Education and Science. The approved books are organized in a list containing textbooks written and published locally, international textbooks licensed for publishing in Bulgaria and original international textbooks available on the market. For the 2014/2015 school year there are three systems for teaching English approved by the Ministry of Education for use in primary school: HELLO!, published by Prosveta, Blue skies by Longman and Freeway by Bulvest. The schools then select one of the listed textbooks. Besides these textbooks the teachers are encouraged and free to use any other resources and materials they find useful and appropriate, but unfortunately this is usually at their expense.

No matter which textbook is chosen, parents have to pay for it and they may prefer their children to use those that are not so expensive. This sometimes causes tension between the parents themselves or between the parents and the teacher. If parents can afford to pay, more course books from internationally recognized publishers (Longman, Oxford University Press, etc.) could be used. Nevertheless, in most cases, parents pay for the course books chosen by the English teacher from the approved list. Naturally there are other differences between local and foreign textbooks apart from the price. The local course books always contain a Bulgarian-English dictionary. A typical feature of the local textbooks is that in some cases the grammar sections put too much emphasis on grammar. Some of the local textbooks do not have a separate activity book or test book. Their teacher's books do not contain detailed methodological guidance and their audio materials don't contain a variety of listening activities comparable to the ones in most international textbooks.

In many countries teachers complain that there are not enough suitable materials for the ever changing curriculum (Nunan 2003). Many point out that the local textbooks aren't the right level and do not meet the needs of the teachers in the young learners' classroom. Usually this is a result of the fact that textbooks are written by teams led by academics who in many cases have little or no experience of teaching at primary level. In many cases the solution to this problem was found in cooperation between local departments of education, local publishers, overseas publishers and textbook writers in order to create a system suitable for both children and teachers.

In some remote regions or rural areas, even if the appropriate books do exist, they may not be available to the children (Mathew and Pani 2009). This situation again raises the issue of continuous education, since teachers may need training to use the new books, or else they continue to use outdated methods simply because they are familiar and comfortable with them.

Teachers often lack time and confidence to create appropriate materials when the textbooks don't offer the support and guidance needed. This is of great importance since good materials, in those cases, may play a crucial role and actually make a difference in completing the curriculum or not. As Nur (2003:168) points out, 'where there is a lack of qualified teachers, textbooks appear to have a strong positive impact'.

Of course many other resources apart from textbooks are available, but this also raises issues if these resources are not available in primary schools. For example, while the policy in India strongly encourages the use of audio-visual aids, as basic as TV and radio, these are absolutely unavailable in rural schools as a result of insufficient school funding. This means that a bigger range of materials specified to teach young learners is needed. Materials need to be available in as many formats as possible: paper, CDs, internet, and local media. This variety will ensure better access of more students to them.

7. Examination and assessment

As it is in TEFL worldwide in the field of TEYL the majority of government policies and curricula promote communicative orientated teaching. Curiously the national examinations which continue to be grammar based remain the same. They are in fact completely incompatible with the newly adopted communicative methods. This situation results in stressed teachers who are on the one hand pushed to change the old „habits” of teaching but are, on the other hand, under pressure to follow the old syllabus and prepare the students for the old examinations (Carless 2003). Although this effect is observed on a larger scale at secondary level, it certainly occurs at primary level too (Carless 2003; Nunan 2003). For example, Pandian (2003) reports that in Malaysia this resulted in teachers focusing on reading, writing, grammar, and vocabulary rather than on listening and speaking (despite the adoption of the new communicative orientated policy) as these skills were not part of the Primary Schools Assessment test. The social realities of international assessment are as follows:

England and Wales: the government introduced a national curriculum and assessment at ages 7, 11 and 14 with baseline assessment at the age of 5, school entry.

Malaysia: 6-year grammar exam. From age 7, pupils are tested every month, every term and every year. The marks are used in some schools to place children in different groups within a class.

Bulgaria: There is no national assessment of English at primary level. However, from age 8 every teacher can plan and decide on the intensity of the assessment in English. The majority of them use the ‘every month, every term, every year’ scheme. The assessment of pupils’ learning achievement is expressed by using the scale: fail, good, very good, excellent. They are assessed by oral, written or practical tests and other forms of evaluation. A mark is presented after each test and an overall grade at the end of each school year. There are no examinations in class 4 but there is national external assessment in certain subjects excluding English. (UNESCO 2010/2011)

Although testing should assess a child’s progress, in many educational systems examination still consists of assigning a pass/fail mark. Numerous negative effects of this are observed.

- Stress is placed on children by the demands of assessment;
- Individual children’s learning needs are pushed away in the pursuit of covering the syllabus or course book before the next assessment;
- Classroom activity is restricted to test preparation.
- The most frequently used method of assessment is paper tests assessing the knowledge of single items of vocabulary and grammar through single sentences.
- Fair oral assessment is almost impossible especially in crowded classrooms.

Conclusion

In order to address some of the problems existing in the area of TEYL, they should be viewed from both global and local perspective, involving all participants in the educational process - policy makers, teachers and students. Some of the important implications for improving the quality of TEYL can be summarised as follows:

- Training of pre-service and in-service teachers is essential;
- Teachers need more channels through which to share classroom problems they experience and exchange „know-how” on solving them;
- Teachers need to continuously develop and improve their language knowledge and teaching skills;
- There should be a greater variety and availability of materials and resources;
- Educational policies on a global scale should be updated in order to meet learners’ expectations and needs;
- Educational policies should follow the latest research trends and findings in the area of TEYL.

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READING IN A FOREIGN LANGUAGE - PROBLEMS AND SOLUTIONS

Nataliya Skarlatova

Abstract: *The article discusses the status of reading in Bulgarian schools in relation to problems such as lack of importance attached to reading by students, low levels of interest and lack of motivation. This relates not only to reading in English, but to reading in general as an intellectual activity concerned with the acquisition of knowledge. It is reflected in the inability of teachers to develop reading skills and good reading habits among students. The survey on extensive and intensive reading shows that the majority of students do not read much out of class and the teacher uses classroom practices which do not lead to the development of effective reading skills, by for example failing to make good use of prediction, activating students' background knowledge before reading a text, or developing skimming and scanning sub-skills.*

Key words: *reading, sub-skills, skimming, scanning*

Introduction

Reading is fundamental to successful functioning in today's society. It is important because it develops the mind and imagination. Children who read for enjoyment every day not only perform better in reading tests than those who don't, but also develop a broader vocabulary, increased general knowledge and a better understanding of other cultures. That is why good reading skills are critically important for today's students. They are also fundamental in developing positive self-regard. Non-readers or poor readers often have low opinions of themselves and their abilities.

Most teachers traditionally give priority to teaching vocabulary and grammatical rules and then developing students' speaking skills. Oracy skills – listening and speaking are considered fundamental at the early stages of language learning, as speaking is considered the best way to acquire a new language. Later when learners are introduced to the English alphabet the importance of literacy skills, and reading in particular, grows as reading turns into a major source for comprehensible input. The importance of an early start in reading is also linked to developing the right attitude to reading and literature in childhood, and the transfer of skills and strategies which facilitate the development of learners' interlanguage.

At the beginning of school tuition most children consider English only as a school subject. In time, once they get used to reading in English as they do in Bulgarian, English can become part of the children's lives. As Christine Nuttall says: „we learn to read by reading” (Nuttall 1982: 168). Herein lies the teachers' role. Teachers can organize, motivate and encourage children to read more, and thereby improve and develop their reading strategies. In this way, teachers can show their students that reading has value not only at school or at work but also in their leisure time. Young learners prefer authentic texts with non-linguistic/non-verbal cues for them to interpret such as pictures, comics, ads, special children's books etc. Children like collages from food wrappers, from magazines, also they may build up a class library or a self-access corner provided the class have their own classroom and they do not share it with other pupils which is the case in some schools in Bulgaria.

In the Bulgarian context, since we follow the Cyrillic script, it was decided for children to start writing and reading in English, i. e. developing their literacy skills, in grade 2 when children are 7 or 8 years old and have mastered properly the Bulgarian language in terms of the four psycholinguistic skills. In the 2nd grade textbooks, the teaching of the English alphabet is introduced gradually, usually four letters in one lesson, following the tradition of introducing the Bulgarian alphabet step by step (Angelova, Ivanova 2007: 107-108).

The big picture – Do Bulgarian students read?

The study by the Center for monitoring and evaluating the quality of school education and *Together in Class* foundation again shows that the interest of students in reading is low. According to their data over 60% of children surveyed said that they read only if they have to. About 40% have difficulty reading a book to the end, and 32% believe that reading is a waste of time. It is believed that lack of interest or attention deficit may be reasons for children not reading. Children from families with more books and more educated parents have a greater interest in reading. The school does not always manage to compensate the disadvantages of family environment (<http://btvnovinite.bg/article/bulgaria/obshtestvo/dvama-ot-trima-uchenici-chetat-samo-ako-trjabva.html>).

Almost half of the students said that they have less than 25 books at home. The indicator - number of books at home – is used in almost every international comparative assessment. It illustrates not only the social status of the family, but also the overall cultural climate (http://www.dnevnik.bg/detski_dnevnik/2015/01/07/2449154_na_pochti_polovinata_shestoklasnici_im_e_trudno_da/?ref=rss).

Over 40% of Bulgarian students are illiterate, and the quality of education in the country is declining continuously. Bulgarian students do not understand well the content of the texts they read. According to our European partners, the reason for this is the lack of qualified experts to prepare appropriate curricula. According to international assessments, students in Bulgarian schools rank lowest in literacy – more than 80 000 Bulgarians are illiterate or have poor literacy skills. According to the European Commission, almost every second Bulgarian student has trouble reading and understanding the text in their native language. Bulgarians have basic literacy, they can read and write, but almost half of them have difficulties interpreting and analyze text.

The results from the *PISA* International Student Assessment show that Bulgarian students are among those with the poorest rates of literacy. Bulgaria has a serious problem with early school leaving – 38% of Bulgarians do not finish school. Most of them leave school after the first four years. As a consequence of this many Bulgarians can not find work because of the lack of any formal qualifications. 81,000 Bulgarian are in the category of those who never attended school. There is an increasing number of

children who do not go to school. The reason for this is the massive closure of classrooms in small areas. A report by the European Commission for Education, Culture and Youth reported that Bulgarian students up to 15 years of age have the worst reading skills compared with their peers in other countries of the European Union (<http://www.hermesbg.org/tr/nova-biblioteka/book-30/995-agonizira-li-obrazovatel-nata-ni-sistema.html>).

„Emas” publishers decided to gather some of the most widely read European authors in the new series of „teenagers beginners” – „European storytellers.” Their decision was prompted by the fact that for years the Bulgarian book market has offered almost no literature for children between 10 and 14 years old. It has been shown that this is exactly the age when Bulgarian children stop reading, resulting in the catastrophic *PISA* study figures, according to which 41% of 15-year-old Bulgarian students are functionally illiterate, which means incapable of gaining further qualification.

Computers, parents and society are not the only reasons for this. There is also a lack of appropriate reading material to interest children with books which are close to their concerns and problems. Parents and teachers force them to study in detail literary classics like „Mummy’s boy” by Karavelov and „Angelinka” by Elin Pelin which put them off reading for the rest of their lives, because these books are too far removed from the lives and needs of adolescents (<http://www.edna.bg / svobodno-vreme / knigi / kak-da-nasyrchite-podrastvashtite-deca-da-chetat-4629677>).

Extensive reading survey

The survey was conducted with students from 5th grade at Sv. Sv. Kiril and Metodii Secondary school in the town of Veliki Preslav. The school in Veliki Preslav was founded about 130 years ago and has had a long tradition in educating adolescents from the town and the region. Nowadays there are 25 pupils in every class on average. The pupils study English from their 2nd year in the school, i.e. from the age of 7 or 8 years old. Students can also study Russian or German. For their English classes the pupils are divided into small groups that enable teachers to work with them more effectively.

I used two types of surveys, one for the students and one for their teacher. The surveys contain both questions and statements (the survey of intensive reading) about students’ reading habits and their opinions on reading. Then their opinions were analysed and I tried to propose whether and how their reading routines could be improved.

The purpose of the survey was to find out whether students in a secondary school which provides an early start and intensive foreign language teaching:

- Devote time to reading in their leisure time;
- Think reading is important and useful for the process of their language studies;
- Read in a foreign language.

In terms of evaluating the nature and the quality of reading I wanted to find out:

- What students think about themselves as readers;
- What exactly happens in a reading activity in class;
- How the teacher helps students develop appropriate reading strategies;
- What their teacher thinks about students as readers.

Questionnaires for the students were written in Bulgarian as I expected that children would be more willing to answer the questions in Bulgarian and that they would share more information without being limited by their knowledge of English. The questionnaire for the teachers was in English. The questionnaire for the teachers consists of slightly different questions. For the purposes of the present discussion pupils' answers were translated into English. The teacher filled in the questionnaire in English.

The questionnaire on students' **extensive reading** habits consisted of the following questions:

1. *What do you read? Try to think about everything you read.*
2. *What do you like to read most?*
3. *Do you have any favourite author or book? You can write more authors or titles.*
4. *What was the last time you got or bought book? Try to remember the title of the book.*
5. *Do you have any favourite magazines or websites where you find some interesting information?*
6. *What do you read in English?*
7. *Do you have any favourite English magazines or websites you visit where you find some interesting information?*
8. *Where do you read most often?*
9. *How would you characterize a good reader?*
10. *Do you consider yourself a good reader? Why yes, why not?*

Results and analysis

1. *What do you read? Try to think about everything you read.*

For the first question children were asked to think about as many things they read as possible. In general, girls answered in more details than boys. Only 18 gave answers on this question.

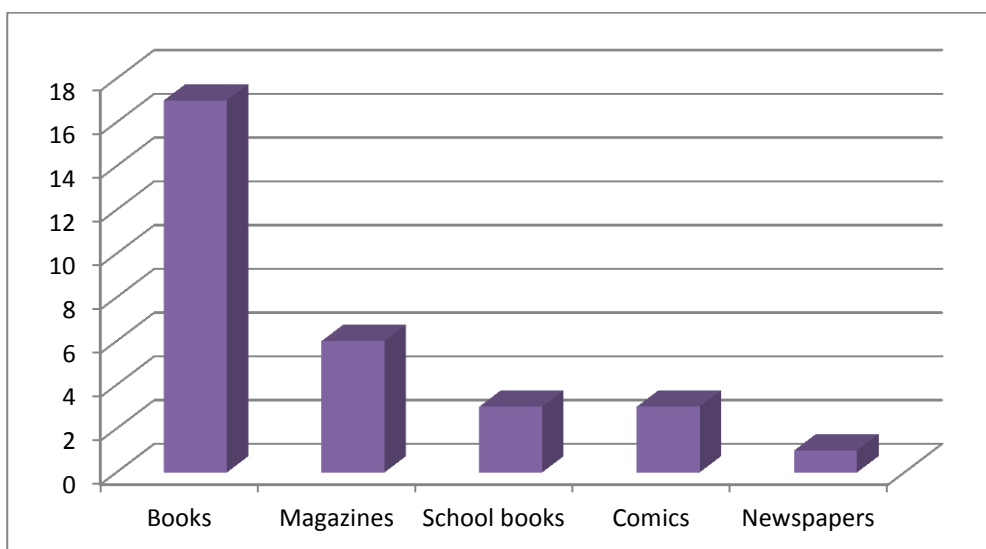


Figure 1: What do you read?

Some of the options in the question were chosen just once or twice. They are listed here:

- guides
- poems
- encyclopedias

Only one girl from the whole class didn't give any answer to that question. All children mentioned books in their questionnaires and there were magazines in the second place. Only three of them mentioned school books.

2. What do you like to read most?

Children were encouraged to think about everything they like to read. Results of this question could be useful when setting up a library. The teacher can learn from this question about pupils' interests, their favourite genres and favourite materials for reading. Only 12 gave answers on this question.

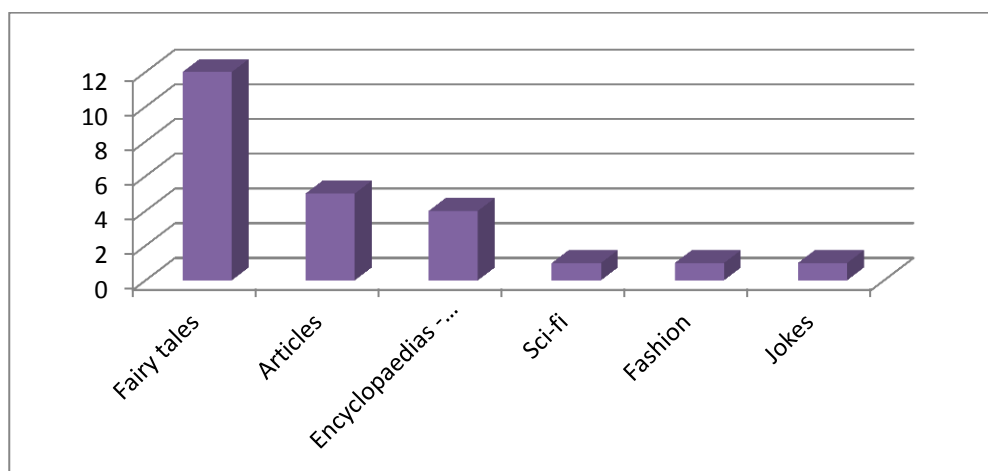


Figure 2: What do you like to read most?

In the graph, there are items that appeared more than twice in the questionnaires. The most favourite books in the whole class are fairy tales.

3. *Do you have any favourite author or book? You can write more authors or titles.*

In this question children were more specific and wrote particular authors and books that they like. Only one girl and two boys wrote that they have no favourite book or author. Others wrote a lot of names and titles of books. The most favourite authors in this class are Ivan Vazov, Ran Bosilek, Elin Pelin, Hristo Botev. Their favourite books are *Ian Bibian* by Elin Pelin and *Pippi Longstocking* by Astrid Lindgren. All the children mention Bulgarian authors and books in Bulgarian just because they do not read extensively in English.

4. *What was the last time you got or bought a book? Try to remember the title of the book.*

Students who filled in the questionnaire are 10 or 11 years old and it is supposed that most of them cannot afford to buy books by themselves. It is expected that their parents should encourage them to read and support them by providing and buying books for them. This question should reveal whether children have the opportunity to buy or get new books.

Three girls and two boys from the class didn't give any answer. Nine girls wrote that they get books for their birthday. Six boys prefer to borrow books from library. Books they got were – *Winnie the Pooh* by Alan Alexander Milne, *Eagles of the Prairie* by Karl May, *Great Children's Encyclopedia* by Angela Wilks, *Ian Bibian* by Elin Pelin, *Ugly Duckling* by Christian Andersen and *The Little Red Ridinghood* by Brother

Grimm. Boys did not go into much detail. Some of them get books from time to time but they do not remember the last time.

5. Do you have any favourite magazines or websites where you find some interesting information?

The materials from various websites and magazines that children like could also be used in their lessons either for intensive or extensive reading. As their answer showed, children do not have many favourite websites in Bulgarian they read. They use mainly the social network facebook.com and youtube where they probably look for further information about their interests. Concerning magazines, the answers showed that students read Bravo mostly. Ten children from the class didn't give any answer.

6. What do you read in English?

It was expected that children should be able to read in English effectively as they learn English for four years. They should read in English not only materials from their course books related to learning English but also magazines or books. Eight children didn't give any answer, the rest of the girls and boys answered that they read in English only their lessons in the student's book. Three boys read in English when they play games online.

7. Do you have favourite English magazines or websites you visit where you find some interesting information?

The answers to this question suggested that children do not read any English magazines and websites. Their teacher could show them how many opportunities they can find on Internet and that can be very useful in studying English. There was one and the same answer that they do not read any English magazine and that they do not visit any English website.

8. Where do you read most often?

This question aimed to help the teacher in preparing an extensive reading programme. The teacher can learn from his or her pupils' answers about pupils' habits and how they spend their leisure time. The choice of book can be also influenced by the place where people prefer to read.

I expected that most children would write that they read at home most often. Fourteen children answered that they read at home. Two of them read in the city library, because there is no library in the school. Maybe this is the reason why children do not read that much. Five of them didn't give any answer.

9. How would you characterize a good reader?

Some of them think that a good reader is the one who reads fluently and likes to read, who reads aloud showing his or her emotions, reads a lot, who can read aloud clearly in a loud voice or very fast when reading silently. Most of them didn't give any answer.

Here the students are guided by criteria related to reading in Bulgarian, more specifically – expressive reading aloud. Paradoxically, reading is not related to the understanding of the text, given the fact that what is most important in reading in English is reading comprehension. Students use the same habits and strategies for reading in English which they use to read in Bulgarian, but they do not always work, which sometimes makes things worse, as it is when reading aloud. Probably English teachers do not pay attention to these differences and do not teach students reading strategies that work in English.

10. Do you consider yourself a good reader? Why yes, why not?

In the following question children were asked to write whether they think about themselves as good readers. Some of the children gave very detailed answers. Eight of them didn't answer. Six children out of twenty wrote that they do not consider themselves to be good readers, but they do not know why and eight children wrote that they are good readers.

Children do not know what it means to be a good reader, even in Bulgarian. At the elementary level they still develop some techniques of reading but at the medium level where attention should be directed to the understanding and interpretation of texts, such work was not done by the teacher or the course books did not provide any advice for coping with this kind of comprehension problems.

The conclusion that can be made from these questionnaires is that students in the 5th grade think that they have very little free time and when they have it they prefer to surf the Internet and play games rather than reading books even in Bulgarian.

According to the international survey PISA 39,4% of Bulgarian students up to 15 years of age are below the critical level in terms of reading. Some of the findings of the international research on student performance PISA 2009 is that Bulgarian students do not understand well the content of the texts they read and prefer to read mainly magazines. Bulgarians have basic literacy, which means that they can read and write. But almost half of them have difficulties understanding and analyzing a text. They can not comprehend and evaluate the provided information well enough (http://clubz.bg/12834-shestoklasnicite_chetat_poveche_no_im_e_trudno_da_zavyrshat_zapochnata_kniga).

Intensive reading survey

The second survey for the students was aimed at uncovering the procedures and techniques used by the teachers in the practice of intensive reading. The aim of the statements was to reveal how students perceive and assess the effectiveness of the activities used in the classroom for the development of their reading skills. In response to the statements students had to choose between three options which marked the frequency of the respective teaching practices. The aim of this was to make some generalisations about the most frequently used techniques and their impact on students'

reading skills. The first group of statements focuses on teacher's routine practices in carrying out reading activities, and the second part – on students' active involvement in the activities.

Results and analysis – 5th grade (20 students)

Part I. Think about the reading you do in class. How often does the teacher do these things? Write 1 for always, 2 for sometimes and 3 for never

Statements	Always	Sometimes	Never
1. Gives us information about the text before we read it - about its author, topic, characters, etc.	8	9	3
2. Explains the task and gives instructions	16	4	0
3. Demonstrates what we need to do	6	13	1
4. Explains some new words before we read the text	10	7	3
5. Tells us to open the book and to start reading the text without doing the previous things	6	9	10
6. Asks who wants to read the new text aloud	6	12	2
7. Tells us to read the new text silently	2	14	4
8. Tells us how many minutes we have to read the text and then stops us	5	7	8
9. At the beginning reads the text herself and we listen and follow the text	14	6	0
10. After she reads the texts, she tells us to do the exercises from the book	7	11	2
11. Tells us to ask for the meaning of new words if there are any	13	6	1
12. Tells us to try and guess the meaning of new words in the text	2	14	4
13. Writes all new words after we have read the text	12	6	2
14. Asks questions which are not in the book	3	6	11
15. Gives us homework related to the text we read in class	5	5	10

Both parts of this survey aim to create a full picture of classroom proceeding from the point of view of the students. The idea is to assess the average frequency of certain types of behaviour on the part of the teacher and an individual student respectively.

The first part of the survey focuses on the teacher's actions in organising and carrying out a reading activity. The aim of the statements is to try and identify particular teacher's actions which facilitate or hinder the development of reading skills. The statements follow the usual routines in a reading activity, which go through the three stages of pre-, while- and post- stages.

Statements from 1 to 8 are related to pre-reading, which is aimed at preparing the students for the reading activity and giving instructions. Students' answers show that the teacher usually gives them some background information about the author, topic and characters in the reading texts. Most students think that the teacher explains the task and gives instructions, but rarely demonstrates what should be done in the task. The answers show that the teacher usually pre-teaches some key vocabulary. The answers to statement 10 ("Tells us to open the book and start reading the text without doing the previous things") somewhat contradict the previous findings in that more than half of the students (15) think that the teacher does this always or sometimes. The answers to 6 and 7 indicate that there is not an established routine for reading the new text: sometimes the teacher asks volunteers to read aloud, and sometimes they read the new text silently. The same applies to statement 8 - there is no evidence for consistent procedures for timing and teaching the students strategies for skimming and scanning within certain time limits.

The answers to 9 (At the beginning reads the text herself and we listen and follow the text) are indicative of a common practice in Bulgarian schools to avoid silences, which are natural and necessary in reading comprehension, and turn reading into a listening activity. The common excuse of the teachers for doing this is that the students don't read silently but rather waste their time doing something else or being disruptive. Unfortunately, this approach only exacerbates the situation, and instead of teaching them that reading is a quiet focused activity which requires thinking and concentration, it discourages students from making these efforts. The requirement to follow the text in the book which is read out, imposes the same pace and timing on all students, which would eventually prevent them from developing their own reading habits and strategies.

The answers to 10 show that the teacher relies mainly on the reading exercises from the course book without changing their order or trying to meet individual student's' needs.

Statements 11, 12 and 13 are related to exploring the reading texts for vocabulary teaching. The answers show that the teacher relies on the students for the identifying and coping with unfamiliar vocabulary rather than planning systematic vocabulary work. This approach of random identification of vocabulary is mechanistic and unsystematic and holds the risk of leaving out vocabulary items which are unfamiliar for students who are less proficient in the language or are simply shy to ask. The answers to 12 show that

a vitally important strategy in language learning - guessing meaning in context - is only used sometimes. 13 shows that the teacher prefers to deal with new vocabulary after the reading rather than in the course of the reading, giving students lists of unrelated vocabulary items, which they rewrite in their notebooks and often make spelling mistakes or do it mechanistically for the sake of having some written record of the lesson. Most students wrote that the teacher never asks questions which are not in the book, which strengthens the impression that the teacher relies only on the comprehension questions and exercises given in the student's book. The answers to the last statement show that half of the students never do homework related to the reading done in class. This means that the reading habits are not developed by systematic in- and out-of-class work.

*Part II. Think about the reading you do in class. How often do you do these things?
Write 1 for always, 2 for sometimes and 3 for never*

Statements	Always	Someti mes	Never
1. Look at the pictures in the book and think how they are related to the text	5	9	6
2. Try to guess what the text is about from its title	4	12	4
3. Volunteer to read a part in a dialogue	2	15	3
4. Volunteer to read the new text aloud	5	11	4
5. Feel bored when someone reads and I have to follow	3	13	4
6. Read the text silently	4	13	3
7. Read the text quickly to answer some questions	4	5	11
8. Read the text again to understand details	7	8	5
9. Try to guess the unknown words from the context	2	14	4
10. If I don't know a word I stop reading and ask the teacher or wait for her to explain	7	10	3
11. Work with my partner to answer question or do True/False exercises	2	11	7
12. When I read silently I whisper the words to myself	1	3	16
13. When I read I point with my finger	2	10	8
14. The texts in my textbook are interesting	5	12	3
15. I have to read the text again at home	9	7	4

The second part of the survey invites the students to reflect on their own behaviours and habits in reading. Statements 1 and 2 reflect students' preparation for reading related more specifically to the activation of their background knowledge and mental schemata. The answers show that the students have not built any systematic habits in using non-verbal (pictures) or verbal (titles) cues to help them predict the content of the text. The answers to 3 and 4 show that volunteering for reading aloud is considered by most students as something established and positive in reading. However, there are students who never volunteer, and who are in this way excluded from these presumably beneficial activities. Not surprisingly, most students feel bored when someone else reads and they have to follow. And the same number of students are ready to read silently when told so by the teacher. This means that the role of the teacher in organising reading and instructing students how to approach it is vital in the formation of good reading habits. The problem is probably that the teachers themselves are not always aware of what constitutes good reading habits.

The answers to 7 and 8 show that although the students read the text more than once, this reading is not done as skimming and scanning, and the tasks for these two sub-skills are not differentiated. Skimming, or reading for gist, seems to be most neglected, with 11 students saying that never do it in class. The answers to 9 show that most students try to guess the meaning of unfamiliar words in context, which is in line with teacher's instructions (see statement 12 in the first part), and confirms the observation that students tend to follow instructions. The answers to 10 show a troubling and counter-productive tendency to stop reading when encountering a new word and waiting for help from the teachers. Is encouraged, this habit can increase the dependence on the teacher, or some other external factor for help in understanding and interpreting the text. It should be discouraged as it will not only prevent students from becoming autonomous learners; it will prevent them from becoming competent readers and interpreters of meaning in general. Statement 11 shows that when encouraged, collaborative activities and peer-learning can work well for the students. Statements 12 and 13 are related to two negative reading strategies - vocalizing and finger-pointing. Although vocalizing (whispering) is avoided as not working in English, where spelling and pronunciation of words differ, finger-pointing, which slows down reading, is still used by more than half of the students. Most students find the text in their textbooks interesting, sometimes contrary to what teachers think and use as an excuse for students' low motivation. Finally, the majority of students feel that they have to read the texts studied in class again at home. This looks encouraging compared to the fact that they don't usually have homework related to the reading done in class. It means that the students think that it is important to read „the lesson” again at home, as they probably do in the other subjects they study. This is perhaps a case of positive transfer of learning strategies from one subject to another; something students do without being told.

The class teacher's questionnaire – results and analysis

The following questionnaire was filled out by the class teacher of the 5th grade students who took part in the surveys of extensive and intensive reading. The aim of the questionnaire was to identify the teacher's opinion of students as readers, as well as to clarify the procedures and routines used in reading activities in class. The teacher's answers are given next to the questions below:

1. *Why did you choose this class among the other classes you teach other classes for filling the questionnaire? Could you please briefly characterize the class?*

The teacher wrote that the students differ in their intellectual, cognitive and personality traits. A lot of them cope with the training materials and can work by themselves. Some of them are careless, others work slowly.

2. *How long have these children been studying English and what is their level of English.* Children have been studying English for four years and they are at level A2.

3. *Do you think that children from this class read in their leisure time as well?*

Some of them.

4. *Do you think that these children are good or bad readers? Why do you think so?*

The teacher answered that in her opinion most of them are good readers because they notice new and interesting words and add them to their active vocabulary. They can make a connection between the text they are reading currently and other texts that have been read or heard.

5. *How would you characterize a good reader in general?* A good reader, according to the teacher, has goals in reading, which means that the reading is purposeful, evaluates the text for important ideas, makes predictions, reads different kind of text differently, enjoys and appreciates literature.

6. *What types of reading activities are there in your lesson?*

The teacher outlines three types of reading:

Independent reading – with her support

Shared reading – teacher and students read a text together

Guided reading and reading aloud

7. *How much time do you usually spend on reading activities with the class?*

About 10-20 minutes.

8. *What materials do you use for reading activities (textbooks, articles, websites etc.)?*

The teacher usually uses the text book and websites.

9. *Is the organization of the class during reading activities different from other activities?*

The teacher does not think that the organization of the class is different during reading and during other activities.

10. *Do you have English books at school that children can take home and read?*

At Sv. Sv. Kiril and Metodii school there aren't any English books.

Conclusion

The overall picture which emerges from these surveys is that reading is not perceived as something different or deserving special attention in comparison with other activities done in class. Both students and teacher's answers create the impression of a typical mixed proficiency class which, however does not receive any special treatment on the part of the teacher.

From the answers of the students I can say that they do not read extensively, and I do not think that teachers and students ever talked about extensive reading in English. The teacher cannot tell how many or which children in her class read extensively at home or at other places like libraries.

The teacher doesn't seem to be aware of the qualities of a good reader. She links them with the ability to spot and remember new vocabulary items. The most important feature of effective reading - the ability to comprehend and interpret the text is not mentioned. I think that the teacher's words „reads different kind of text differently” mean that students use different reading strategies depending on the genre of the text they read.

The typology of reading activities done in class shows that the teacher is not familiar with a whole range of reading activities and types of reading done in and out of class. This implies lack of variety in classroom procedures and repetition of the same routines irrespective of the task or the text.

It seems that most reading done in class is reading aloud, followed by comprehension tasks. Silent reading is not mentioned, although some students in the intensive reading survey write that they sometimes do it in class. The time spent on reading activities in class seems to be sufficient to do both skimming and scanning, although these terms are not mentioned by the teacher.

The main resource for reading seems to be the coursebook. It is not clear what additional materials are used or how they are adapted to the needs of the students.

As for the organisation of the reading activities, the teacher does not think that there is anything specific, which makes them different from any other activities. She doesn't seem to be using the pre-, while- and post-reading sequence recommended in developing receptive skills.

The fact that there are no book in English in the school is indicative of the lack of any support or encouragement of students extensive reading. If most students don't have any books at home, and can't use any books at school, it is difficult to imagine that they would want to read, let alone develop good reading skills and strategies.

The survey on intensive reading shows that the teacher uses classroom practices which do not lead to the development of effective reading skills, by for example failing to make good use of prediction, activating students' background knowledge before reading a text, or developing skimming and scanning sub-skills. The teacher relies on traditional approaches such as reading aloud rather than letting students read the text silently, asking students to read the text aloud before they have processed it for meaning, and a lack of a systematic approach to the teaching of vocabulary.

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STUDENTS' ESSAYS

THE FIRE AT THE LIDDELL MANSION

Borislav Bonev

As I made my way to the police department, after being checked by the doctors who came immediately after the accident, shaking like a leaf, scared and obsessed with what had happened, I tried to put my thoughts together and hold on to my sanity, but as an eight year-old boy I could not erase the rupturing voices in my head of my family dying in the fire. My mother, father and sister were the victims of the blaze that broke out in our house. The fire that was the cause of the most traumatic event in my life. The fire that made me the last survivor and the only witness of what happened at the Liddell mansion. Suffering from survivors guilt and post-traumatic stress disorder, I began to lose my grasp on reality and was ultimately sent to Rutledge Asylum for my insanity. My doctor Harry Q. Wilson, was unable to cure me, even nearly after ten years of being committed. All these years I could not understand if the fire was an accident or did someone else was involved and caused it intentionally. They say it was caused by the gas lantern in the library, assuming that the cat had accidentally knocked it down over a pile of books on the floor. But I never believed this story. Maybe it was the truth, but how could I tell the truth from the lie, my mind had drifted into another world, I had become paranoid and full of questions about that night, and who knew the answers?

The Night of the fire I woke up hearing screams from the second floor and went in panic to check on my sister Lizie. I got to her room and started screaming and shouting , but she didn't call back, I tried to open the door but it was locked. At that point I got really scared and quickly ran to my parent's room. I heard them screaming in their room trying to get open the door. The smoke and fire were starting to get suffocating. I used what breath I had left to call my parents. Surprised and relieved to hear my voice, they just wanted me to get Lizie and get out of the house. I stood there thinking what I could do to save them. Then in an instant the flames covered the entire door. That was the moment I said to myself- There is nothing I can do to push through that door. I ran towards my sister's room, but I was already too late, the fire had rearranged the entire structure, parts of the ceiling and walls had collapsed on the ground. Burning wood and debris stood in my path. I knew that if I wanted to stay alive I needed to exit right then, so I ran to the main door down stairs, coughing and crying through the burning hell I used to call my home. When I got out I kept running, hoping I get to see my family, the neighbors saw me and got to me first, they asked a lot of questions, but I didn't know what to tell them from the shock. Shortly after, the fire department arrived to the scene, along with the police and an ambulance. From that day I started questioning everything about that night. – Who started the fire? Could I have saved my family? Are they dead because of me? My world was shattered, I never knew pain like this. Self-loathing became my companion as I spent the next fourteen years in the asylum.

A DAY IN THE LIFE OF A FARMER

Desislava Todorova

I woke up at 5 o'clock in the morning, as I do every day. It was going to be a busy day again.

As soon as I had breakfast and drank my coffee, I went out and started doing what I usually do every single day. First of all I fed and gave water to all of my animals – cows, goats, sheep, pigs, chickens and hens. Then I took care of my pets – 7 cats and 2 dogs, and gave them food and water. The rest of the morning I spent in my garden. I cut the grass. Then I watered my tomatoes, cucumbers, carrots, potatoes and maize. Having done this I watered my beautiful flowers. Then, at noon, I collected all the eggs my hens had laid. For the next three hours I was doing some household chores. I cooked a delicious omelette and made a fresh salad with my homegrown vegetables. I cleaned the house and did the laundry. In the late afternoon I fed my animals again and took care of them. After the long and busy day in the farm I had dinner with my family, watched TV and relaxed.

DO YOU THINK YOUR LIFE WOULD BE DIFFERENT IF YOU WERE OF THE OPPOSITE SEX?

Desislava Todorova

I am a girl. If I were of the opposite sex my life would definitely be different! Much more different!

Now, as I am a girl, I have to spend so much time on my appearance. In my opinion, girls should always look good and pretty. But if I were a boy, I wouldn't spend so much time on my hair or on make-up.

If I were a boy I would not spend so much money on make-up, clothes, shoes, bags and cosmetics. I would not have to do so many things such as epilation, straightening my hair or curling my hair, painting my nails, putting on make-up and so on.

Most boys and men don't gain weight as fast as girls do. It would be easier if I were a boy because it wouldn't be so hard to stay fit.

If I were of the opposite sex I would be much better at parking, I would spend a lot of time with my friends and we would play football together or watch football matches.

The best thing I could do if I were a boy is to be a real gentleman. I would be nice and kind to the ladies. What they hate are rude and arrogant boys so I would be a different one. When I find the perfect girl I would always make her happy and buy her cute sentimental gifts and flowers. Once I realize I love her I would never cheat on her!

One day when I have a family and children I would do my best to be a great father and husband. I would protect my family and do everything I could for them.

IF YOU WOKE UP AND FOUND YOU COULD MAKE YOURSELF INVISIBLE AT WILL, HOW WOULD YOU SPEND YOUR FIRST DAY?

Peter Dimitrov

Imagine this: hot summer morning, the sun is shining, birds are singing, kids are laughing outside, and there's me. Lying in bed with a thumping head from last night's gig, sore neck and back, and a huge hangover. I got up, my hair was everywhere. Going to the bathroom, passing through the mirror – there was no reflection but I didn't seem to notice. Greeting my parents good morning but they didn't seem to notice me either. While dressing myself up I checked the mirror and saw nobody. Nothing! As if I was invisible. I panicked. I thought to myself "Wish I wasn't invisible...", and then *poof*, suddenly I appeared back on the mirror. "Wait, so what if I could control this thing? Could I be invisible again?" I thought... I turned my head to the reflecting glass and I was gone again. Cool!

I had to find a way to exploit this new "feature" of mine. First thing that came to my mind – sneak in to the girls' locker rooms at school. Wasn't really what I had expected. I stormed out of there and started thinking again, "Where wouldn't I be let in if I were visible?" because, why try and help people with my invisibility when I could break the law. So I snuck into movies, theatres and zoos without having to pay any fee. I guess that's my idea of breaking the law. Walking down the streets I messed around with people. Whispering stuff into their ears or better yet, screaming as loud as I could in the middle of a crowded place. Messing with their ties, shoe laces and clothes, and watching them trip was hilarious. The faces they'd make were priceless!

It was all fun and games in my first day of being invisible but I decided that I'd start helping people more. And who knows, maybe someday the government will find out about me and take me for experiments and examination or make me a secret agent... or both.

SOMEONE WHO HAS HAD A BIG INFLUENCE ON YOU

Peter Dimitrov

One person who has had a huge influence on my guitar playing skills, singing, art and on me as a person is, believe it or not, Ed Sheeran. The young singer/songwriter has smashed the charts with his two records and last month has played at a sold-out Wembley Stadium for three nights straight.

Despite being a super famous pop star, he is very down to Earth, and looks just like a regular bloke you would meet at the pub. He's a bit short, a bit out of shape, a bit hairy... well, you could say that he'd be great for a hobbit. One thing that stands out though, is his fiery red ginger hair, some fans have even called him Ginger Jesus. He might not look like your every-day pop star, but is a very kind young lad and a huge professional on stage.

His dedication is one of the things that I admire the most. At the age of 18 he left his home in Suffolk to pursue a musical career in London, not knowing anyone or having a place to stay. Just him, his guitar, some clothes, and a backpack full of home-made CDs to hand out at gigs.

One thing particular about his performance is his use of the loop pedal, a device that lets the performer record a certain piece and then loops it during a song. He uses the guitar as a percussive instrument, hitting its body and muted strings to create a rhythm section, then records some lead parts and adds them to the loop, later on, depending on the song, he might add backing vocals or stop the whole thing and continue on acoustic. All of this, drums, bass, rhythm, leads, and vocals done by one man, his guitar and his loop pedal is amazing to witness. Also his songwriting is just as simple as it is genius. He could play the same four chords through a whole song and he would still make it awesome. One other thing that he's known for are his rapping skills. Some songs of his contain a lot of lyrics that he spits out so quick that you don't really understand anything if you don't check out the CD booklet or lyric sheet.

So that's it, a great musician, a huge professional, and most importantly a great person, Ed Sheeran, everybody!

WHAT WOULD YOU DO IF YOU SURVIVED A PLANE CRASH OR A SHIP ACCIDENT AND FOUND YOURSELF ON A DESERT ISLAND

Radoslav Hristov

If I survived a plane crash or a ship accident and I found myself on a desert island I wouldn't be desperate. I could have died so I should consider myself a lucky man.

On the first day on the island I would have two main priorities – to find or build a shelter and to start a fire. By doing this I would be protected from wild animals, I'd sleep in a warm place and I'd be able to cook my food later. Having a fire doesn't just help you but also motivates you. In the morning I would start to explore the area. My task would be to find drinkable water and food. When I made sure that I had something to drink and eat I'd look for any remains from the accident which could be useful for my survival such as ropes, knife, bottles and so on. The next few days I would go further and try to explore the island as much as I could. This could help me find many useful things, food, a better place for my camp. I'd find out if there were any dangerous animals. I'd try to upgrade my camp everyday in order to make it more comfortable and secure. Of course nobody wants to live alone on a desert island so I'd have to think of a way to get back to civilization. That's why it would be a good idea to build my shelter on the highest place if possible. From there I could see whether there were any ships nearby. I'd go to the beach and write "SOS" with big letters using branches and leaves. I'd hope that my signal for help would be seen by a helicopter or a plane. I'd also prepare a big fire which I'd ignite when I saw a boat, ship or a plane. I'd put green leaves in order to make as much smoke as possible. I'd also use a piece of glass or a mirror and the sun to attract my saviors' attention and I'd hope for the best.

A JOURNEY THAT WENT WRONG

Simona Pavlova

This weekend was supposed to be memorable. My best friend and I decided to travel all the way to London for a concert we were looking forward to for so long, and get back home in just two days.

We got on the plane to London on Friday evening from Sofia and landed as planned Saturday morning on Luton airport, in London. We were, of course, very tired, so we hurriedly caught the bus to the hotel we booked. The hotel was perfectly located just a few streets away from the hall where the concert was about to take place. However, we didn't reach our hotel! When the bus stopped and we looked around we couldn't figure out where we were. At first we panicked, but then we got our senses back and asked the bus driver where we were and where the said hotel was. It turned out that we got on a completely wrong bus – maybe because we were tired we caught the wrong bus in our hurry – and at that moment we were 5 hours away from the hotel. That just made us furious – we were exhausted and hungry from all this traveling and we had to travel again for more than 5 hours. However, after a few minutes we calmed down, caught the right bus and arrived at the hotel by the afternoon on the same day.

In our rooms we ate quickly and decided to take a nap before the concert – we were just very tired – and we had around 3 hours to do that. Unfortunately, we fell asleep deeply so we missed half of the concert. In the end we caught the last two songs of the show. We were so miserable. The next day we were to travel back home. On our way back we were complaining and complaining to one another about how our journey went completely wrong and nothing went on as planned. It was indeed, a very memorable weekend.

BEING INVISIBLE

Vasvie Redzheb

If I could make myself invisible somehow, first of all I would travel, yes, travel all over the world. This is one of my biggest dreams.

Invisible, and I could use all kinds of public transport without paying for it, for free. Sounds great! Invisible, and I could visit all museums, I could go to concerts, theaters, events without paying any additional charge for that. Apart from that I could be around the people who I know and I love, so I could enjoy and protect them.

Also I could be around those people who don't care about me that much, and they would not even notice me, and I could hear what they think and talk about me. That would not be very polite but, still, I would do that, because I am very curious.

Invisible, and I could be part of something different than this, like air, like light, like nature. Invisible, sounds great and funny but I really would like this “magic” to be only for a day. No more than that, because I would miss my hands to touch and feel my loved ones, my eyes, mouth, smile to contact and speak with them.

Invisible, yes, but only for a day.

IF I COULD BE INVISIBLE

Ziyneb Yacub

I really never have thought about what I would do if I could be invisible, but I'm going to think about that because my teacher wanted me to write an essay about 'what would I do if I could be invisible and how would I spend my first day'.

So, after thinking for a while what I would do, I think I would get into places without waiting in queues, I will get into theatres without paying or I will get into the restaurants and eat all the things that I love, I would get into people's houses and try to have fun by doing weird things to them. Also I would get into planes for free and travel all around the world. Of course I would try to do some good things too, because it is not just having fun or taking what I want but by being invisible I could help people, change the world, and would do a lot more things as well.

The first thing I would do is take a lot of food and give it to the people who are dying of hunger, who don't have money to buy food or they just live in a poor country, and grow up over there. The second thing I would do is take clothes and give them to the people who are freezing and they do not have anything to wear. I think people need a lot of people, also the little things can change somebody's life and of course their world. Of course you can give and change the things although you are not invisible but it is more difficult because you have to pay for them and trust me that the big companies of food and cloth, would not give them for free. So it would be a lot easier just by taking them without anybody noticing you.

A lot of people would do different things if they could be invisible. It depends on how old you are, the things you like to do, the way you think, what kind of values you have got, what things you are interested in, and a lot more different things.

I think if you have the power of being invisible it would be so cool. You really could do everything you want.

