

KONSTANTIN PRES LAVSKY UNIVERSITY OF SHUMEN

DYNAMICS, INTERDISCIPLINARITY, DIVERSITY



Konstantin Preslavsky
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INTERDISCIPLINARITY,
DIVERSITY**

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THE CONCEPT OF SADNESS IN ENGLISH AND BULGARIAN

Aglika Dobрева

Abstract: The article compares different definitions of the basic concept of 'sadness' and its Bulgarian counterpart 'тъга' provided by bilingual and monolingual dictionaries with some instances of their use in context. Although the concept of sadness is close in meaning to 'тъга' and 'нечал' there is no complete overlap in meaning between the three concepts mentioned above. Sadness covers a wider range of states: from those of being unhappy to those caused by a severe loss, while 'тъга' is closer in meaning to the English 'melancholy'.

Key words: concept, sadness, cognitive scenario, natural semantic metalanguage

In her book *Understanding Cultures through their Key Words*, Wierzbicka emphasizes the importance of the use of words in the context of collocations, proverbs, sayings, popular songs and book titles with regard to their cultural elaboration (Wierzbicka 1995: 15). An attempt is made to compare the definitions of the basic concept of 'sadness' and its Bulgarian counterpart 'тъга' provided by bilingual and monolingual dictionaries with some instances of their contextual use. The evidence provided by bilingual dictionaries shows the following correspondences.

English-Bulgarian Correspondences	Bulgarian-English Correspondences
sad – нажален, тъжен; опечален; мрачен, печален, унил; скръбен, тъжен, жален, нерадостен.	тъжен – sad; melancholy; sorrowful, mirthless, woeful
sadness – униние, печал, скръб	тъга – sadness, melancholy, 'скръб', pointed out as a synonym of 'тъга' – grief, sorrow)

Apparently, there is a lack of full overlap of meaning between 'sadness' and 'тъга'. The closest translation equivalent to 'тъга' is 'sadness', while the first equivalent to 'sadness' is not 'тъга'. It is 'униние'. In fact, 'sadness' is not given as an equivalent to 'тъга' at all in the Bulgarian-English dictionary quoted above.

Another inconvenience while comparing data from monolingual dictionaries of English and Bulgarian concerns some peculiarities of word-formation. It arises from the fact that in English the lexical item (related to the concept of sadness) from which a derivative is formed is an adjective ('sad'). In Bulgarian the lexical item is the noun 'тъга' (sadness). The above-mentioned difference creates some technical inconveniences in the comparison of lexical items because in the English language monolingual dictionaries the derivative is mentioned without any explanations of meaning. The following is an illustration of the above statement.

English language monolingual dictionaries	Bulgarian language monolingual dictionaries
sad – In <i>Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary</i> 'sad' is defined as 1. unhappy; causing unhappy feelings. /<i>It was a sad day for Mary when her mother died. Why is he looking so sad?</i>/. 2. Its second meaning is 'shameful, deplorably bad', e.g. '<i>a sad case of total callousness</i>'. Obviously, the second meaning is not typical of Bulgarian at all. sad – in http://dictionary.reference.com 1. affected by unhappiness or grief; sorrowful or mournful: to feel sad because a close friend has moved away. 2. expressive of or characterized by sorrow: sad looks; a sad song. 3. causing sorrow: a sad disappointment; sad news. 4. (of color) somber, dark, or dull; drab. 5. deplorably bad; sorry: a sad attempt. In the same dictionary synonyms are provided, too: 1.unhappy, despondent, disconsolate, discouraged, gloomy, downcast, downhearted, depressed, dejected, melancholy.	тъжен – given as a derivative of 'тъга' In <i>Bylgarski tylkoven rechnik</i> (Andreichin et al. 2007) without any further explanations
In <i>Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary</i> 'sadness' is mentioned only as a derivative without any further explanations.	тъга – In <i>Bylgarski tylkoven rechnik</i> (Andreichin et al. 2007) 'тъга' is defined as 'мъчително душевно състояние; мъка, жалба, скръб'. Its antonym is 'радост' ('joy'). In (www.rechnik.info) тъга is defined as "Чувство на жал; скръб, мъка. <i>Раздялата изтълваше сърцето и с тъга.</i>" while its synonums are "горест, печал, натъженост (същ.) съжаление, болка"

One of the above-mentioned on-line dictionaries (<http://dictionary.reference.com>) throws more light on the probable reasons causing someone to be sad as well as the expressions of sadness. It is evident that meanings 4 and 5 are not applicable to Bulgarian at all. However, the Bulgarian expression 'пълна скръб' is similar in meaning to 5.

On the other hand, in collocations 'sad' is used similarly in English and Bulgarian: it is combined with words meaning 'expressive of sadness' and 'causing sadness': e.g. a sad girl/ look/ story/ song. Тъжно момиче/ поглед/ песен/ история/

Wierzbicka (1998: 8) proposes the following scenario of sadness in English using NSM (natural semantic metalanguage) introduced in her research which is based on very simple terms common for all languages.

- (a) Something bad happened
- (b) if I didn't know that it had happened I would say I do not want this
- (c) I do not say this now
- (d) because I cannot do anything

According to Wierzbicka, the above cognitive scenario is a typical but not an obligatory one. It is the scenario native speakers of English relate to specific type of feelings or a range of feelings related to 'sad' and 'sadness'. In the same book (Wierzbicka 1998: 9) the full meaning of 'sadness' is represented as follows:

- (a) X feels something
- (b) sometimes a person thinks something like this
- (c) something bad happened
- (d) if I did not know that it happened I would say: "I do not want this"
- (e) I do not say this now
- (f) because I can't do anything
- (g) because of this that person feels something bad
- (h) X feels something like this

Wierzbicka suggests further on that (d) and (e) do not mean that a sad person humbly accepts a bad event because it has already happened. People could refuse accepting a past event if they think that they can do something. However, 'sadness' presupposes another attitude of mind in line with the following: 'if somebody had asked me about that before it happened, I would say I do not want it but now I do not say that because now I feel that I cannot do anything about it.' (ibid.) Wierzbicka makes an assumption that other languages may have different cognitive scenarios.

Some further specificities concerning the use of 'тъга' and 'печал' are the followie can speak of 'дълбока печал/ скръб' but not of *дълбока тъга,*дълбоко тъжен. The word 'печал' is used in the context of losing somebody very dear. On the other hand, we can say 'лека тъга' but not *лека печал. In her research on sadness and its Russian equivalents *грусть* and *печаль*, corresponding to Bulgarian 'тъга' and 'печал', Wierzbicka makes the distinction between these concepts pointing to the fact that with 'печал' there are a number of specific characteristics. First, it is predominantly used when the reason for the feeling is clear. Second, with 'печал', the negative evaluation of the event is generalized and goes beyond the boundaries of the event (e.g. This is bad). Thirdly, in the case of 'печал', the emotion (and the thought at its base) is seen as prolonged in time. (With 'тъга' *грусть* time is not implied). That is why we can hardly speak of *мимолетна печал. Wierzbicka concludes that each of the words (sadness,

грусть and *печаль*) has its own specific meaning. There is no reason to believe that one of the words corresponds to a universal cognitive scenario while the rest do not.

The scenarios provided by Wierzbicka in relation with the Russian words *грусть* and *печаль* can with some success be applied to their Bulgarian equivalents corresponding to ‘тъга’ and ‘печал’:

Wierzbicka (1998: 14):

- (a) X felt something
- (b) sometimes a person thinks something like this
- (c) something bad happened
- (d) this is bad
- (e) if I did not know that it happened I would say: “I don’t want this”
- (f) I don’t say this now
- (g) because I can’t do anything
- (h) because of this, this person feels something bad
- (i) like people feel when they think something like this
- (j) X thought something like this
- (k) Because of this, X felt something like this
- (l) X thought about it for a long time
- (m) X felt something bad because of this for a long time.

The above scenario represents ‘печал’. It is definitely longer than the scenario for the English concept of ‘sadness’ and apparently lays emphasis on the relation of the concept with a past event. The following scenario can be used for the representation of ‘тъга’ and was originally provided by Wierzbicka for the Russian concept of *грусть*. (Wierzbicka 1998:15)

- a) X felt something
- b) sometimes a person thinks something like this
- c) something bad happened now
- d) if I didn’t know that it happened I would say: “I don’t want this”
- e) I don’t say this now
- f) because I can’t do anything
- g) because of this, this person feels something
- m) X felt something like this.

Conclusions:

Although the concept of ‘sadness’ is close in meaning to ‘тъга’ and ‘печал’ there is no complete overlap in meaning between the three concepts. Secondly, with ‘печал’ there seems to be a more definite connection between the psychological state and its cause, whereas with ‘тъга’ the connection is sometimes vague. Thirdly, ‘sadness’ covers a wider

range of states: from those of being unhappy to those caused by a severe loss such as for example the death of a person, while 'тъга' is closer in meaning to the English lexeme melancholy. (It can be caused by an unhappy event whereas with 'тъга' the cause may not be pointed out or related to a serious loss.) Unlike the situation in English, in Bulgarian the words which are conceptually associated with more serious loss such as death, for example, are 'скръб/ печал' not 'sadness'. The above study is by no means extensive. The semantic field of the English concept of 'sadness' and Bulgarian 'тъга' is worth further exploration including more concepts, even if they are less basic.

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ASSOCIATIVE MEANING OF PROPER NAMES IN MEDIA TEXTS

Aleksandra Aleksandrova

Abstract: *Proper names are known to be mainly used for reference to people, places, unique objects and other individual entities. However, they can have not only referential, but also describing functions. In text, they can function as appellatives. They can contain specific connotation depending on language use.*

Key words: *proper names, proper lemmas, appellative nouns, associative meaning.*

The basic function of proper names is to refer to individual entities. However, it is sometimes possible for proper names to be employed in a secondary describing function. In this case, they function as appellatives.

Langendonck (2007) introduces the term “proprial lemma” for the form of the name that could appear in a dictionary. In text, proprial lemmas can act as proper names or appellative nouns. When used to refer to individual entities, proprial lemmas function as proper names. When used to describe those entities through their associative meaning, they function as appellative nouns.

The following excerpt exemplifies how associative meaning is used in the media:

1. Obama on Syria strike: “This is not Iraq, and this is not Afghanistan”

“This is not Iraq, and this is not Afghanistan,” Obama said. “This is a limited, proportional step that will send a clear message, not only to the Assad regime but also to other countries that may be interested in testing some of these international norms, that there are consequences. (The Washington Post, 03/09/2013)

Обама за удара върху Сирия: „Това не е Ирак, нито Афганистан”

Обама за удара върху Сирия: „Това не е Ирак, нито пък Афганистан” каза Обама. „Това е ограничена и пропорционална стъпка, която ще изпрати ясно послание не само към режима на Асад, но и към други страни, които възнамеряват да подложат на изпитание някои от тези международни стандарти, че има последици.

Here, both *Syria* and *Afghanistan* are proprial lemmas. *Syria* functions as a proper name, referring to the country *Syria*. *Afghanistan* and *Iraq*, on the other hand, are employed with a describing function. It is obvious that the country *Syria* is not the country *Iraq* or *Afghanistan*. The interpretation of this text has to do not with the lexical meaning of those proprial lemmas, but with their associative meaning.

The associative meaning of proprial lemmas refers to the connotations that a word can give rise to by way of either its referent or its phonological shape (Langendonck 2007: 82). Connotations are situated on the level of language use, while categorical meaning (the lexical meaning of the name) is situated on the level of linguistic convention. Here, *Iraq* and *Afghanistan* do not stand for the countries with those names, but for the war conflicts that happened on their territory. “This is not Iraq, and this is not Afghanistan” should mean that this (the planned action in Syria) is not the kind of action that was taken in Iraq and Afghanistan. Furthermore, since this is a “limited and proportionate action” and, at the same time it “is not Iraq” and “not Afghanistan”, it follows that in this text what is meant by *Iraq* and *Afghanistan* is “an unlimited, disproportionate military step”, or at least a military action wider in scope than the one planned in Syria. The proprial lemmas *Iraq* and *Afghanistan* are metonymically used to describe this notion.

When used to fulfill a describing function, proprial lemmas function as appellatives: they shift towards common nouns. This is even more apparent when they are preceded by definite or indefinite articles, determiners or adjectives that are normally used before common nouns. In the next excerpt, Chernobyl is preceded by the determiner ‘another’, which is usually followed by a common noun. This is similar to the previous example of *Iraq* and *Afghanistan* because the use is again metonymic:

2. Why Fukushima Daiichi won't be another Chernobyl

...The Chernobyl reactor was actually running – albeit at low power – at the time of the accident there. By contrast the Fukushima Daiichi reactors automatically shut down as soon as they felt the earthquake,... This means that, from the outset, the amount of heat being produced was much smaller than at Chernobyl. (New Scientist, 17/03/2011)

Защо Фукушима Даичи няма да бъде втори Чернобил

Чернобилският реактор всъщност е работел – макар и при ниска мощност – по времето на инцидента, докато реакторите на Фукушима Даичи автоматично са се изключили когато е усетено земетресението... Това означава, че количеството произведена топлина е била много по-малка от тази при Чернобил.

“Another” means “one more person or thing of the same type” (Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English, 2003). *Another Chernobyl* (a second Chernobyl) does not refer to another nuclear plant named Chernobyl, but to an accident similar to the one that happened with Chernobyl. Here the use of the name *Chernobyl* is not used to refer to a unique entity. It fulfills a describing function based on the associative meaning of the name. This meaning of Chernobyl here could be said to be “a great calamity with exclusively destructive consequences”. The associative meaning is achieved through metonymy. In the following excerpt, the name Margaret Thatcher is used to refer to a person with the ability to “correct the country’s horrendous problems”, someone with the qualities inherent to the former PM of the UK:

3. Why Britain needs another Thatcher

We need a new Margaret Thatcher, one with the vision to correct the country's horrendous problems, as she did in the 1980s. (CNN, 08/04/2013)

Защо Великобритания се нуждае от втора Тачър

Имаме нужда от нова Маргарет Тачър, човек с далновидността да реши ужасяващите проблеми на страната, както направи това през осемдесетте.

Margaret Thatcher is used metaphorically here. "Another Margaret Thatcher" does not mean "another person with the name of Margaret Thatcher" but someone with the same characteristic features.¹

Associative meaning can be positive or negative, depending on the connotation.

In the next excerpt, *Hitler* is used with the meaning "extreme nationalism". The relation between "Hitler" and "extreme nationalism" is one based on association.

4. 'Fall of EU could help a new Hitler come to power'

The political and economical crisis of the EU might help a new European Hitler to emerge, warns historian Geoffrey Roberts... Professor Geoffrey Roberts sees the rise of extreme nationalism in Europe as a test for the whole international democratic concept – with no predictable results. (<http://rt.com/news>)

'Разпадането на ЕС би довело до идването на власт на нов Хитлер'

Политическата и икономическата криза на ЕС може да спомогне за появата на нов европейски Хитлер, предупреждава историкът Джефри Робертс ... Професор Джефри Робъртс вижда издигането на крайния национализъм в Европа като тест за цялата международна демократична идея – без предсказуеми резултати.

According to Langendonck (2007), both referential 'content' and name form 'connotations' must be situated on the level of language use. Referential content is defined as "a set of properties attributed to the initial referent of that proper name in a

¹Compare *I know another Margaret*. or *There is another Margaret that also lives here*. Here, Margaret is an appellative expression, but it does not have a descriptive meaning. This is an example of what Langendonck (2007) calls "multidenotation", which is to be "attributed not to the proper name, but to the proprial lemma" since we deal with different proper names but with one proprial lemma.

universe of believes. This overlaps with the term ‘discursive knowledge’ or what Fowler calls ‘discursive competence’ (1993: 44). The discursive knowledge could be intersubjective or subjective in nature. This view is shared by Langendonck who has stated that associative meaning can be not only intersubjective, but also subjective and “it can even be personal, coming from the speaker, the hearer or other persons” (Langendonck 2007: 83). This is supported by the fact that one entity can have different connotations and, on the other hand, more than one entity can be described with one connotation. Langendonck gives example with the proper name *Napoleon*. “*Napoleon*, he points out, may have the content feature ‘The loser of Waterloo’ in one context and he may be considered a hero in another” (Langendonck 2007: 82). This is also supported by Fowler, who has stated that the relationship of reference exists only when language is actually being used and “it is not an inherent part of the meaning of the word (Fowler 1993: 81)”. In Lyons’ view, reference is an “utterance-bound relation and does not hold of lexemes as such, but of expressions in context” (Lyons 1991: 208). In the context of the above excerpt *Hitler* has the content feature ‘leader of extreme nationalism’ which is definitely a negative feature. In another article, however, Hitler is equalized with ‘great orator’, which, on the contrary, is a positive trait of Hitler’s:

5. I suggested... that our unelected president was surely no Hitler, since “Bush simply is not the orator that Hitler was” (www.counterpunch.org, 17/07/2003)

Споменах, че нашият неизбран президент определено не е Хитлер, тъй като Буш просто не е оратор какъвто беше Хитлер.

Proper lemmas may sometimes be preceded by the possessive pronouns. In the following excerpt *Monica Bellucci* is metaphorically used. It has the content feature ‘something attractive, succulent, unattainable, and fatal’:

6. Food is my Monica Bellucci

It’s 4:27 am and I am trolling the interwebs for pictures of food I cannot eat. I literally just kissed an image of a succulent dark chocolate cake that was on my monitor. This is a recipe for disaster and nothing good can come of it... My fatal weakness, my mistress –my Monica Bellucci – is food. (www.derbylife.com 23/03/2012).

Храната е моята Моника Белучи

Часът е 4:27 сутринта, а аз се ровя в интернет страници, търсейки снимки на храни, които не мога ям. Буквално целунах образа на апетитен сладкиш от черен шоколад, който беше на екрана ми. Това е рецепта, която ще ме съсипе и не води до нищо добро ... Моята фатална слабост, моята господарка, моята Моника Белучи – е храната.

While one and the same proper name can have different connotations depending on the context, the same connotation can have different referents, i.e. it can describe different entities. In both excerpts below, A and B, *Tina Turner* has the content feature ‘having specific vocal skills’. *The Bulgarian Tina Turner* is used to stand for “the Bulgarian equivalent of Tina Turner, the Bulgarian singer with vocal skills similar to those of Tina Turner”. In A, those characteristics are ascribed to Maya Krasteva, in B – to Silviya Katsarova.

7. А: Българската Тина Търнър спечели Гран при на конкурс в Новоросийск

Мая Кръстева, позната като българската Тина Търнър, спечели Гран при, първа награда и 100 000 рубли на Деветия международен конкурс за музикални изпълнители в гр. Новоросийск, Русия.

(www.anonce.bg, 07/01/2011)

В: Силвия Кацарова пее на откриването на винарна

Петима се обясниха в любов на българската Тина Търнър (в. „Марица”, 15/09/2013)

Bulgarian Tina Turner wins Grand Prix in a Novorossiysk competition

Maya Krasteva, known as the Bulgarian Tina Turner, won Grand Prix, first place prize and 100 000 roubles at the ninth international competition for music performers in Novorossiysk, Russia.

Silvya Katsarova sings at the opening of a winery

Five people declared love to the Bulgarian Tina Turner.

Consequently, we have:

Maya Krasteva = the Bulgarian Tina Turner; Silvya Katsarova = the Bulgarian Tina Turner

Tina Turner has an appellative use here aimed to describe the professional skills of the referred people.

Associative meaning usually involves the use and creation of metaphors and metonymies. Metaphor, according to Lakoff and Johnson is “a way of conceiving of one thing in terms of another, and its primary function is understanding” while metonymy “has primarily a referential function, that is, it allows us to use one entity to stand for another” (Lakoff, Johnson 2003: 30). For the proper understanding of the meaning of those proper names, what is also required is some background knowledge. Fowler uses ‘schema’ as a general term for the representation of background knowledge. He defines schemas as “units of tacit knowledge which are shared by people into a community (they are intersubjective) which permit external phenomena and other experience to be perceived as coherent and to be understood as significant” (Fowler 1993: 60). In his view, people manage the world, “make sense of it” by categorizing phenomena. Due to this general knowledge people can easily assume that *Iraq* and *Afghanistan* in (1) mean ‘a military action wider in scope than the one planned in Syria’, *another Chernobyl* in (2) stands for ‘a great calamity with exclusively destructive consequences’, *another Margaret Thatcher* in (3) means ‘a person capable of solving the country’s problems’, the meaning of *Hitler* in (4) is related to ‘extreme nationalism’ while its meaning in (5) has to do with his skills as orator and not vice versa. General knowledge can help the reader to relate *Monica Bellucci* to the idea of something succulent and fatal in (6) and to understand that the two singers in (7A) and (7B) are referred to as *the Bulgarian Tina Turner* because they possess or are thought to possess similar professional skills.

Associative meaning of proper names is achieved through the use of proper lemmas used as appellatives. The latter do not refer to individual entities but rather have a describing

function related to the qualities ascribed to the referent. This can be achieved through the use of metaphors and metonymies. Associative meaning is situated on the level of language use and for its proper understanding some background knowledge shared by both text producers and texts receivers is required.

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BULGARIA: A NEW STAGE FOR INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

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Abstract: *Bulgaria has for a long time claimed that it is a haven of peace as the various clashes happening around its territory seemed to just pass by it. There have been no serious accidents on the territory of the country for more than 10 years and terrorist attacks have been something Bulgarians learned about from TV. On 18 July 2012, however, the airport of Sarafovo, though of a smaller size, became the object of a terrorist attack. Seven people were killed, of which one Bulgarian, five Israeli tourists, and the suicide bomber. This act of aggression started a new line of thought which was presented by the government and the media through some powerful, yet familiar metaphors, of a theatre, a crime, and security as containment, among others. In this paper we will explore some of the journalistic presentations on the attack in Burgas using as a corpus articles from Bulgarian, Israeli, Iranian, and British newspapers. The method of analysis used is CDA.*

Key words: *terrorism, media discourse, metaphors, Burgas*

I. Introduction

Bulgaria and terrorism are two notions that sound very far apart mostly because terrorism on Bulgarian soil, at least until recently, has been an unthinkable phenomenon. Bulgaria has been considered an unlikely target for terrorist attacks not only by Bulgarian society but by other countries as well. Therefore, terrorism in Bulgarian psyche was more of an abstract notion than a real thing.

Surprisingly for many, though, on July 18, 2012 a Bulgarian bus conveying Israeli tourists to their hotels at the Bulgarian seaside became the object of a terrorist attack. This event changed the role of the country from a bystander into a victim and undoubtedly created a new way of thinking and talking about terrorism.

That is why the present paper looks into the way this particular act was presented in Bulgarian, Israeli, Iranian, and British media² with focus on the metaphors used in the analysed newspapers.

Metaphors, as figures of speech that connect two seemingly unrelated fields, are highly expressive and very provocative and are preferred in media discourse as they facilitate a more vivid presentation of the images that are being created and distributed.

One of the reasons for the high usage and productivity of metaphors is the fact that metaphors, as stated by Lakoff (1987), are born by and reflect people's experience: "[O]ur bodily experience and the way we use imaginative mechanisms are central to how we construct categories to make sense of experience" (Lakoff 1987: xii). Another reason is the fact that they are not only very productive, as one metaphor could be realized in various ways, but they are also thought provocative.

² The reason to choose newspapers for analysis from these four countries is the fact that all of them were involved in one way or another in the terrorist attack which was carried out at Sarafovo Airport on July 18, 2012.

At the same time, there are some universal metaphors that present similar cognitive patterns in various cultures mainly due to the fact that all of us as human beings are the same (see Lakoff 1987; Kovecses 2005). Differences in metaphor representations occur on the basis of different personal experiences and emotions mainly because emotions are considered highly individual, private, and culture specific. Thus the study of metaphors provides interesting examples of common cognitive patterns among various cultures.

The corpus of this paper consists of 107 Israeli articles, of which 61 from *The Jerusalem Post* (JPost) and 46 from *The Haaretz* (H) (only 20 of the articles are published in 2013, while most of those issued in 2012 are published in the 3 to 4 days after the incident); 11 articles from *The Independent* (I), 4 from *The Guardian* (G), 16 of which published in 2012, days after the attack; 224 from the Bulgarian *The Standart* (St), 173 of which published in 2012, 66 from *The Dnevnik* (Dn), 47 of which from 2012; *The Iran News Daily* (IND)³ – 3 articles, *The Iran Daily* (ID) – 2, *The Tehran Times* (TT) – 6 articles⁴. The method of research is Critical Discourse Analysis.

II. Analysis

After the attack on the World Trade Center in New York on Sept. 11, 2001 Lakoff (2001) in an essay entitled “Metaphors on Terror”, written only five days after the attack, studied the metaphors used by Bush administration and the US media in the depiction of the event. Some of the metaphors analysed by him are: TERRORISM IS A CRIME, TERRORISM IS A WAR, SECURITY AS CONTAINMENT, TERRORISTS ARE RODENTS, TERRORISTS ARE SNAKES/ LOWLY SWAMP CREATURES, with the employment of “the conceptual metaphors MORAL IS UP; IMMORAL IS DOWN (they are lowly) and IMMORAL PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS (that live close to the ground)”. (see Lakoff 2001)

The articles analysed in this paper show presence of thinking patterns and metaphors similar to those discussed by Lakoff in 2001. One of the highly presented metaphors in the corpus of analysed articles is TERRORISM IS A CRIME “with ‘victims’ and ‘perpetrators’ to be ‘brought to justice’ and ‘punished.’ The crime frame entails law, courts, lawyers, trials, sentencing, appeals, and so on.” (Lakoff 2001)

Some of the presentations of this metaphor in the analysed corpus on the attack in Burgas are:

(1) ‘Israel is *not a victim*, and even when *civilians are killed*, the occupying Israeli policy is *to blame*,’ Zoabi told Channel 10. [...] The media, she said, also ignored her central contention: that the ‘*occupation*’ is the *central act of terrorism*, the *center of conflict and suffering* in the region (JPost 22.07.12); (2) Israel Only *Culprit* behind Bus Explosion in Bulgaria /h/⁵ [...] He said that Iran was itself *a victim of terrorism*, citing the assassination of Iranian nuclear scientists as an example. (IND 3); (3) Bulgaria Bus Bomb *Blamed on Israel* /h/ (ID NO.4291) (*italics mine*).

³ As two of the Iranian newspapers – The Iran News Daily (IND) and The Iran Daily (ID) lack dates of publishing, the articles analysed from these two newspapers are marked by a successive number or by the number of the issue the article has appeared in.

⁴ The smaller number of articles from Iranian newspapers is governed by the language barrier that exists and the fact that those were the only articles in English which we could find.

⁵ /h/ - headline, /sh/ - subheadline, brackets with a prim (‘) mark translated version of an article provided by the author of the paper

(4) Ако разберем кой е човекът, който се е взривил, ще може да кажем цялата схема за атентата на бургаското летище. Но преди това не можем да си позволим да обявяваме за *престъпници* хора, които са *заподозрени*”, коментира още премиерът (St 06.12.12)

(4') 'If we find out who was the person who blew himself up, we will be able to present the whole plot for the attack at Burgas Airport. Before that, we cannot point *as criminals* people who are only *suspects*', commented the prime minister' (St 06.12.12) (*italics mine*)

Looking at the proper names used one can easily figure out the members involved in the “crime” frame: on the one hand, we have Bulgaria and Israel as victims, while on the other, Iran with Hezbollah as the perpetrators. Naturally, the articles published by Iranian media stand against Israel’s policy and the roles of the perpetrator and the victim are reversed.

At the same time some of the articles present the whole conflict not only as a single crime but as the longer process of leading a war “with ‘casualties,’ ‘enemies,’ ‘military action,’ ‘war powers,’ and so on.” (see Lakoff 2001):

(5) ‘This is a *global Iranian terror onslaught* and Israel will react forcefully to it.’ Defense Minister Ehud Barak said the attack was part of a ‘*long battle*’ that Israel was waging against attempts by Iran, Hezbollah and Hamas to *attack Israeli targets overseas*. He urged Israelis to continue traveling abroad and vowed that *the defense establishment would use all its force to ‘get its hands on the perpetrators and the plotters.’* (JPost 19.07.12); (6) The *death toll*, though still not officially confirmed, was reported by Bulgaria’s Sofia News Agency. (JPost 18.07.12; H 18.07.12); (7) Contemporary assessments viewed *the earlier campaign of terror as retaliation* to the *Israeli bombing* of a *Hezbollah training camp* in Lebanon in which 40 members of the organization were killed (H 22.07.12); (8) Ex-official: *Israel targeted Hezbollah army chief*; *Iran has been retaliating* /h/ [...] Israel was not a ‘*passive side*’ to the struggle against Iran and must do more to anticipate the responses. (H 18.07.12); (9) Visiting in Bulgaria, Tourism Minister Stas Misezhnikov says that Israel, Bulgaria and *all freedom fighting countries* share a *common enemy* – international terrorism. /sh/ (H by AP 23.07.12)⁶; (10) Talking about *terror*, thinking about Iran *nuke* /h/ (JPost 20.07.12); (11) Israel blames *Iranian campaign of terror* as bus bomb kills tourists /h/ (I 19.07.12); (12) Bulgaria bombing part of *Iran terror campaign*, says Netanyahu /h/ (G 20.07.12)

(13) Веднъж като е получен *сигнал*, че страната ни е *мишена*, не трябва ли да се поддържа по-високо ниво на сигурност? (Dn 27.07.12); (14) “За малка България да излезе и открито да каже, че ‘Хизбула’ е виновна за атаката, е все едно да влезе в *минно поле*” (St 31.07.12); (15) *Парола ‘мир’* на Женския пазар /h/ (St 23.07.12); (16) “Месецът на Рамадан е месец за *джихад* и за *самоубийствени атентати*, месец за *въоръжена битка срещу враговете на Аллах и Пророка му* – *евреите и техните поддръжници американците* (St 13.01.13).

(13') Having received an *intel* that our country is a *target*, shouldn't we maintain a higher level of security? (Dn 27.07.12); (14') “For small Bulgaria to step up and openly claim that Hezbollah is to blame for the attack is like walking into a *mine field*” (St 31.07.12); (15') Password ‘*peace*’ at the Women’s market /h/ (St 23.07.12); (16') “The month of Ramadan is the month of *jihad and suicide attacks*, the month of *armed struggle against the enemies of Allah and his Prophet* – *Jews and their supporters, the Americans* (St 13.01.13).

⁶ AP – Associated Press

The war metaphor which has been used in the examples above is quite startling as it implies massive military activities going on between Israel and Iran which could affect not only these two countries but the whole world. The imagery is especially vivid in (10) where the parallel structures identify terror with Iran nuclear bombs. The devastation that comes to mind is significant not only locally but internationally. That same notion of massive campaign waged internationally is presented quite obviously in many of the other excerpts (see 5, 9, 12, 16).

As could be seen from the analysed examples the two metaphors are inseparably followed by promises that the perpetrators of that “crime” or the “instigators of the war” will be brought to justice. The retaliation metaphor is perceived in the speech of both Israeli and Bulgarian officials and there is an actual punishment voiced in most of the articles:

(17) “We call upon our European allies and partners – including the EU – to join us, not only *in recognizing Hezbollah’s terrorist and criminal activities, but in condemning and disrupting those activities,*” Brennan said. (JPost 13.11.12); (18) Netanyahu blames Iran for bombing near Burgas airport, vows to act “*forcefully*” against Tehran-backed terror on targets abroad. /sh/ (JPost 18.07.12); (19) The President pledged to stand with Israel in this difficult time, *and provide whatever assistance is necessary to identify and bring to justice the perpetrators.* [...] The United States stands ready to offer any assistance necessary, and we will work with our partners in Bulgaria, Israel and elsewhere *so that the perpetrators can be apprehended swiftly and brought to justice for this appalling crime.*” (H 18.07.12; H 19.07.12); (20) “*If Iran suffers no consequences from its acts of terrorism, they will continue,*” the paper continued. “The Security Council should review the abundant evidence of involvement by the Revolutionary Guard and Hezbollah in this year’s attacks and *punish both those groups as well as the Iranian government with sanctions.*” (JPost 22.07.12); (21) Israel threatens a ‘heavy price’ for Iran after deadly Bulgaria bus bomb /h/ (I 20.07.12), see also (5).

(22) Атаентатът на летище Сарафово ни шокира със своята бруталност. *Тази атака няма да бъде забравена, а подобна жестокост няма да бъде толерирана. Рано или късно извършителите и поръчителите ще бъдат разкрити и справедливо наказани,* [...]. (St 11.09.12); (23) След 11 септември 2011 г. САЩ включиха “Хизбула” в списъка на терористичните организации, които трябва да бъдат ликвидирани, тъй като участват в задълбочаването на омразата между Запада и исляма (Dn 08.08.12).

(22’) The attack at Sarafovo Airport shocked us with its brutality. *This attack will not be forgotten and a cruelty of this kind will not be tolerated. Sooner or later the perpetrators and those who dispatch them will be found and rightfully punished* (St 11.09.12); (23’) After September 11, 2011 the USA included Hezbollah in the list of terrorist organisations that should be eliminated as they incite hatred between the West and Islam (Dn 08.08.12).

The concept of culprits brought to justice is especially frequently used by the analysed Israeli newspapers which often quote the words of their president or their Prime Minister. The language is very powerful and the tension between Israel and Iran is heightened – an observation that is explicitly presented in (20) where the conditional structure used predicts continuous terror unless Iran is punished.

Another conclusion that could be drawn from the excerpts analysed so far is that while Israel and Iran respectively use the names of the two countries as metaphors of terror, Bulgarian officials are more generic and on the safe side in their qualifications, avoiding the use of country names and referring to the generic *terrorists* instead. It could also be

stated that Bulgaria, despite the fact that it has given a victim to the terrorist attack in Sarafovo, is not an active participant in the whole conflict but it rather provides a stage for the actions that ensue from it.

Using the metaphor of crime and war, Israeli officials also very skillfully, though implicitly, present the country of Israel as the mother figure who cares for her children and manage to instill the image of an all-powerful and protective country:

(24) “The *State of Israel is responsible for its citizens wherever they are*,” Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu told the cabinet yesterday. “*We will continue to fight against terrorism, against the perpetrators and those who dispatch them.*” (H by AP 23.07.12)

Thus once again Netanyahu stigmatizes terrorism, which in this case is associated mainly with Iran, and promotes nationalistic love and pride.

A metaphor that is closely connected with the metaphors of crime and war and which is very frequently used by Bulgarian media and officials in the aftermath of the attack is the basic security metaphor defined by Lakoff (2001) as SECURITY AS CONTAINMENT:

(25) After many failed attempts to take advantage of *Israelis’ vulnerability abroad*, *Iran has managed to carry out a terrorist attack*. Cities like Bangkok, Burgas, New Delhi and Tbilisi *lack Israel’s security capabilities*. Only through closer international cooperation *can future attacks conceived by the Islamic Republic be prevented*. (JPost 19.07.12); (26) Israel has asked other countries in Europe to *increase security in bus parking lots used by Israelis and at airports*, and Bulgarian police have responded by *stepping up security at their country’s airports*. (H by AP 23.07.12); (27) Meseznikov said that when terrorism hit Israel in the past, and various countries warned against traveling to Israel, local reaction was that “*terrorism knows no boundaries*” and makes no distinction between nationalities. (JPost 22.07.12).

(28) *Национална сигурност по джапанки* /h/ [...] Но взривът в автобуса с израелските туристи на наша, българска територия, освен че показва, че *сигурността е вече мит* и за най-непричастните в големите решения на глобалната политика държави, е и тест (Dn 31.07.12); (29) Отговорността за *този пробив в националната сигурност* е обект на обществен и политически дебат в българските медии, но истината е, че *предотвратяването на актове на тероризъм изисква широка мрежа за наблюдаване на организираната дейност на разнообразни групи и общности*, което Израел прави от десетилетия, за да поддържа относителна сигурност. [...] “*Религиозни училища, проповядващи радикален ислям*, се появиха в Родопите и в Североизточна България с подкрепата на радикални ислямски фондации от Близкия изток (Dn 27.07.12); (30) Ако участието на Хизбула бъде доказано, това ще бъде

(28') *National Security in Flip-flops* /h/ [...] The blast on the bus with Israeli tourists on our, Bulgarian territory has shown not only that *security is a myth* even to the countries which are the least involved in the big decisions in global politics, but that it is also a test (Dn 31.07.12); (29') The responsibility for this *national security breach* is the subject of social and political debate in Bulgarian media but the truth is that *foiling terrorist attacks requires a wide network for the surveillance of the organized activities of various groups and communities*, something that Israel has been doing for decades in order to maintain a relative security. [...] “In the region of the Rhodope mountain and in North-Eastern Bulgaria there appeared *religious schools preaching radical Islam backed by radical Islamic foundations from the Near East* (Dn 27.07.12); (30') If Hezbollah's participation is proved, then that will be *the first successful attack carried out by the group in Europe since the 1980s* (St 05.02.13); (31') Tsvetlin

първият успешен атентат на групировката в Европа от 80-те години на миналия век. (St 05.02.13); (31) Цветлин Йовчев: Имаме тежък проблем със сигурността /h/ [...] (St 30.07.12); (32) Сами не можем да се опазим от терор /h/ (St 29.07.12), see also (85).

Yovchev: We have a very serious problem with security /h/ (St 30.07.12); (32') We cannot protect ourselves from terror on our own /h/ (St 29.07.12).

As analysed by Lakoff (2001) the main idea conveyed by the metaphor is “keeping the evildoers out. Secure our borders, keep them and their weapons out of our airports, have marshals on the planes”. While in the Israeli publications the metaphor has that same meaning mixed with the notion of an all-powerful Israel, specialist in border control and having high security capabilities, the analysed Bulgarian newspapers, use the metaphor more as a term of reproach for bad intelligence, low border control, low security. These notions are implicitly presented through the image of the flip-flops, the mythical nature of Bulgarian security, the existing religious schools in radical Islam and the fact that if proven, the attack in Sarafovo will be the first successful terrorist attack on European soil since the 1980s. Contrary to Israel, Bulgaria cannot protect itself on its own and compared to Israel Bulgaria appears weak and helpless.

The latter notion is conveyed through another basic metaphor: SOFT IS BAD, FIRM/STRICT IS GOOD. In this case soft is bad for Bulgaria but it is good for the terrorists.

(33) The Iranian/Hezbollah foiled or failed attacks took place in what could be defined as “soft countries” in Asia and Africa, countries where the intelligence and law enforcement agencies are not sufficiently professionally trained to challenge this kind of threat, and where the Iranian and Hezbollah activities are in any event low priority for the local security forces. Additionally, some of the attacks have been aimed at “soft targets” like Israeli tourists or local Jewish facilities where the level of security may be even lower (H 22.07.12); (34) Israel believes that Hezbollah, with which it fought a month-long war in 2006, has shifted its focus away from attacking Israel itself and has instead turned its attention to ‘soft’ targets, such as Jewish tourists in Europe. (I 05.02.13).

(35) “Мека цел” ли е България? (Dn 27.07.12); (36) Ако се окаже, че именно тази структура е отговорна за атентата в Бургас, както и за предишните девет неуспешни опита, това ще означава, че Техеран се е преориентирал тактически, преминавайки от атаки срещу посолства към по-леките цели – израелските туристи. (Dn 08.08.12), see also (32)

(35') Is Bulgaria a “soft target”? (Dn 27.07.12); (36') If it is proven that this unit in particular is responsible for the attack in Burgas, as well as for the previous nine unsuccessful attempts, that will mean that Tehran has reconsidered its tactics, shifting from attacks against embassies to easier targets – Israeli tourists (Dn 08.08.12).

On the one hand, the metaphors used implicitly compare Bulgaria to Israel in terms of security and present Israel as a patron who is willing to teach a child how to protect themselves. On the other hand the examples relate Bulgaria to Israeli tourists in terms of self-protection and emphasize once again the motherly figure that Israel is trying to show itself as.

Terrorism and terrorists like publicity. Through the various attacks and mainly through their execution terrorists try to attract public attention just like the actors in a play. This

specificity of terrorism has probably given rise to the creation of the metaphor of theatre which is also very frequently used by the media:

(37) Bulgarian President Rosen Plevneliev, Foreign Minister Nikolay Mladenov and the country's interior minister all rushed to *the scene of the bombing*. (JPost 19.07.12); (38) It seems Hezbollah is only *a supporting actor* in yesterday's incident. (H 19.07.12); (39) After a series of failed or foiled terror attempts against Israeli targets this year, Iran and Hezbollah finally staged a "successful" attack. (H 22.07.12); (40) Tehran Denies Role in Bulgaria Blast /h/ (IND 2); (41) Iran's UN envoy blamed Israel for *staging a suicide bomb attack* on an Israeli tourist bus in Bulgaria. (ID No.4291).

(42) Бургас и задкулието на международния тероризъм /h/ [...] Атаката на летището в Бургас може да се окаже върхът на айсберга – *прелюдия* към нова фаза на близоизточната конфронтация, която обаче няма да се ограничава с традиционния *театър на военните действия*, а все повече ще акцентира върху разширяването на територията на терористичните атакати, включително и в Европа. А *действащите страни* ще бъдат не само "Ал Кайда, но и държави и разузнавателни служби. [...]" (Dn 08.08.12); (43) Бойко: *Да не влизаме в чужд сценарий за "Хизбула"* /h/ (St 18.01.13); (44) Поради което Техеран е сочен с пръст като основен спонсор и *диригент* на тероризма по света. (St 04.10.12). see also (61).

(42') Bургас and the Backstage of International Terrorism /h/ [...] The attack at Burgas Airport could prove to be the tip of the iceberg – *a prelude* to a new phase of confrontation in the Near East, which, however, will not be confined to *the traditional theatre of military activities* but will focus more on the increase in the territory for terrorist attacks, including Europe. And the *active participants* will not only be "Al-Qaeda but also countries and intelligence agencies [...]" (Dn 08.08.12); (43') Boiko: Let's not Go into *Other Scenarios* about Hezbollah /h/ (St 18.01.13); (44') That is why Tehran has been pointed a finger at as the main sponsor and *conductor* of terrorism worldwide. (St 04.10.12)

The image of a performance is completed by the involvement of main and supporting actors, a stage where the action takes place, a scenario/ script that is followed. A slight nuance to this metaphor is added by the usage of *conductor* and *scene* which bring associations with an opera, rather than a play, but the idea of something performed for the public to see is still there.

An interesting metaphor employed mainly by one of the analysed Bulgarian newspapers, *The Standart*, is of TERRORISM AS A GAME:

(45) *Сляпа баба* с терористи /h/ (St 06.02.13); (46) *Играчка-плачка* с джихада /h/ (St 04.10.12); (47) Израел *крие козове* за камикадзето /h/ (St 06.01.13).

(45') *Blind Man's Bluff* with Terrorists /h/ (St 06.02.13); (46') *A Game Gone Awry* with the Jihad /h/ (St 04.10.12); (47') Israel *Hides Trumps* on the Kamikaze /h/ (St 06.01.13).

The association is an interesting one as on the one hand it suggests a children's game which is supposed to be easy but which, however, if not played carefully can have a bad end. The third example of this group although suggesting a more sophisticated game which involves more thinking in order to beat the opponent, still bears the idea of trying to outwit the other player and win, despite the fact that the result is not certain. Or, to sum up, all three examples implicitly suggest that dealing with terrorism and/ or terrorists is a tricky undertaking.

Another metaphor used by the analysed Bulgarian, Iranian and Israeli newspapers presents TERRORISM AS AN ENTERPRISE/ INSTITUTION:

(48) Mehman-Parast said, however, that, “The Zionist regime (Israel), as *the biggest sponsor of state and organized terrorism*, [...]” (IND 2); (49) “Security experts say the Quds force – *a unit of the Iranian Revolutionary Guards – has recruited* a number of white European Islamic converts, including two Germans, one from Sweden and a couple of Britons.” (TT 25.07.12); (50) *Britain is supporter of state terrorism*: Iranian official /h/ (TT 15.08.12); (51) The Israeli minister said his country and Bulgaria “have a common enemy: international terrorism ... *financed and supported by Iran and other countries connected with Iran*. [...]” (H by AP 23.07.12); (52) Brig.-Gen. (res.) Nitzan Nuriel, the former head of the Counterterrorism Bureau, said Hezbollah and Iran could have *recruited operatives*. [...] “Israel condemns Iran for standing behind terror attacks around the world by *funding training and arming terrorist organizations*” (JPost 19.07.12, 18.07.12; H 18.07.12; H 19.07.12).

(53) Като при повечето терористични организации, и в “Ал Кайда” има *разделение на труда*. *Групата на преките извършители* – хората, които разпознават потенциалните цели, набавят материали за сглобяване на бомбата и извършват самия атентат, са подкрепени от *медийния апарат на глобалния джихад*, който действа като *независим отдел* (St 13.01.13); (54) *Електронният джихад* напоследък се е превърнал и в основно *средство за набиране на доброволци за “живи бомби” или за бойци в Сирия, Сомалия, Афганистан и Чечня*. [...] Целта е да се активират по нета екстремисти, които нямат достъп до преки *вербовчици за джихад* или до *тренировъчни лагери*. [...] *Менторите* от своя страна провеждат *дистанционно обучение на самодейците – видеа, инструкции за градски бой и наръчници за сглобяване на бомби*. (St 13.01.13); (55) Цветанов за атентата в Бургас: Имаме данни за *финансиране и съпричастност* към “Хизбула” /h/ (Dn 05.02.13).

(53`) Similar to most terrorist organisations there is *a division of labour* in Al-Qaeda as well. The group of the *direct perpetrators* – the people who study the potential targets, supply the parts for the bomb and carry out the attack itself, are supported by *the global jihad’s media unit, which functions as an independent department* (St 13.01.13); (54`) *The electronic jihad* has recently turned into *the main means for recruitment of volunteers for human bombs or fighters* in Syria, Somalia, Afghanistan, and Chechnya. [...] The goal is online activation of extremists who do not have access to *direct recruiters for jihad or to training camps*. [...] *The mentors* on their part provide *distant learning course to the amateurs – videos, civil combat guidelines and bomb-making manuals* (St 13.01.13); (55`) Tzvetanov about the attack in Burgas: We have data on *funding and commitment to Hezbollah* /h/ (Dn 05.02.13).

The metaphor presents terrorism as an organization that receives its financial strength through sponsorship from Iran, or Israel, or Britain (based on the point of view). This “company” also has various centers, recruits operatives, distributes tasks between them, and they even provide training and education courses. The latter also presupposes the idea, which is actually presented through another metaphor, that terrorism is a subject that could be taught and learned or that terrorism is a (military) school with mentors, online courses, manuals, guidelines, textbooks, etc.:

(56) Атака в Бургас по учебник на "Ал Кайда" /h/ Взривяването на рейса носи белезите на глобалния джихад /sh/ (St 13.01.13); (57) Атака в Сарафово е горчив урок /h/ (St 29.08.12); (58) Сарафово като наръчник по психологическа война /h/ (St 11.02.13), see also (54), (62).

(56') The Attack in Burgas by the Book of Al-Qaeda /h/ The Bombing of the Bus Bears the Signature of Global Jihad /sh/ (St 13.01.13); (57') The Attack in Sarafovo is a Bitter Lesson /h/ (St 29.08.12); (58') Sarafovo as a Guide in PsyWar /h/ (St 11.02.13).

Closely connected with the business metaphor is the presentation of terrorism not only as a company but as a commodity or goods which could be exported. The metaphor suggests that terrorism could be subcontracted, franchised, and billed to organizations or countries:

(59) "For over a year, Iran, along with its protégé Hezbollah, has been waging an international terror campaign," he said, calling Iran "the world's number one exporter of terror" and Hezbollah its "long arm." (H 20.07.12); (60) In addition, operatives of Hezbollah, which he dubbed Iran's terrorist "sub-contractor," have been arrested both in Cyprus and Thailand (JPost 22.07.12).

(61) [...] оста, в която "Хизбулла" е една основна страна, в последно време е започнала да изнася своите операции в територии, отдалечени от традиционния близкосточен военен театър, като дава пример за това атаката в Бургас". (Dn 08.08.12); (62) Тероризмът сега се продава на франчайз. [...] Но съвременните бомби не са продукт на хора от типа "самотен вълк", радикализирани от статии в интернет. (St 27.08.12); (63) Подхвърлянето на името "Каидат ал Джихад" е опит да се припише терорът на летище Сарафово на сметката на "Ал Кайда". (St 23.07.12)

(61') [...] the axis at the end of which Hezbollah is a main side has recently started exporting its operations to territories further away from the traditional theatre of military action in the Near East, and gives as an example the attack in Burgas". (Dn 08.08.12); (62') Terrorism is being franchised nowadays. [...] But contemporary bombs are not the product of people of the kind "lone wolf" who have been radicalized by articles on the Internet. (St 27.08.12); (63') Tossing the name Qaedat al-Jihad is an attempt to put the terror at Sarafovo Airport on Al Qaeda's account. (St 23.07.12).

Looking at the analysed examples we can easily see that the newspaper discourse is quite prolific in its use of metaphors, employing two, three, or more metaphors in a single article or even in a sentence.

Another metaphor, which is very frequently used by all newspapers analysed herewith is the Living Organism metaphor. It presents terrorist organisations or terrorism in general as an organism with arms, fingerprints, brain, face, footsteps, etc.:

(64) "It [Israel] has the means and the will to silence and paralyze terror organizations," Peres asserted [...] "Eighteen years exactly after the blast at the Jewish community center in Argentina, murderous Iranian terror continues to hit innocent people. This is an Iranian terror attack that is spreading throughout the entire world." (JPost 19.07.12); (65) "Fortunately there, the terrorist was caught, he admitted that he worked on behalf of Hezbollah, Iran's long terror-arm." (JPost 22.07.12); (66) Meseznikov said that Iran uses terror cells to spread terrorism throughout the world (JPost 24.07.12); (67) [...] Netanyahu said that nearly two decades later, "deadly Iranian terrorism continues to strike at innocent people. (JPost 19.07.12); (68) Waxman continued: "We have no doubt regarding the Iranian involvement in the terror attack in Bulgaria last week. Their finger prints are found time and again in all attempts to harm Israeli citizens and Jews around the world. Iranian terrorism had already spread to five continents and dozens of countries. [...]" (H by

Reuters 26.07.12); (68) Iran and Hezbollah had nothing to do with the Bulgarian bombing. It had Mossad *fingerprints* all over it. Car bombs are a favorite tactic. (TT 25.07.12); (69) Bulgaria bus bombing bears the *hallmark* of Israel: Iran's UN envoy /h/ (TT 28.07.12)

(70) *Спящата клетка*, която приписват ту на "Хизбула", ту на "Ал Кайда", е замисляла и организирана *пъкленото си дело* някъде в Западна Европа и благодарение на свободния режим за пътуване е успяла да го реализира в Бургас. (St 25.07.12); (71) [...] Имад Мугния – *мозъка на терористичните акции* срещу американци и израелци. [...] Въпреки това *възможностите на това ядро* не бива да се подценяват, [...] (Dn 08.08.12); (72) Терорът от Сарафово *оживява* край Ихтиман /h/ (St 21.04.13); (73) И Обама *влиза в дирите* на атентата в Сарафово /h/ (St 05.01.13); (74) Плевнелиев: *Грозното лице* на тероризма не ни подмина /h/ (St 11.09.12); (75) *Тероризмът няма цвят, няма религия, няма етнос*. (St 27.07.12); (76) [...] азербайджанските служби съобщиха, че има данни за *разклонения на терористичната клетка* и у нас (St 23.07.12).

(70') *The sleeping cell* which they attribute now to Hezbollah, now to Al Qaeda, has contrived and organized *its hellish act* somewhere in Western Europe and due to the free passage rules has succeeded in performing it in Burgas (St 25.07.12); (71') [...] Imad Mugnie – *the brain of terrorist acts* against Americans and Jews. [...] Despite that fact *the abilities of that core* should not be underestimated, [...] (Dn 08.08.12); (72') *The Terror of Sarafovo Comes to Live* near Ihtiman /h/ (St 21.04.13); (73') *Obama Retraces the Footsteps* of the Attack in Sarafovo /h/ (St 05.01.13); (74') Plevneliev: *The Ugly Face of Terror* did not Pass Us By /h/ (St 11.09.12); (75') *Terrorism does not have colour, or religion, or ethnicity*. (St 27.07.12); (76') [...] the services of Azerbaijan announced that there are data of *nodes of the terrorist cell* reaching in our country (St 23.07.12).

The organism metaphor is established not only through the naming of specific body parts but through references to activities characteristic of living organisms like being alive, hitting, striking, silencing, paralyzing, etc. At the same time the frequent usage of the word *cell* used in collocations with verbs like *spread*, *sleep*, or with nouns like a *node* brings associations with a deadly disease like cancer or contagion which spreads in the organism and finally kills it. The reference to disease is further supported by the following examples, which are quite explicit: (78) "The painful murder of seven people, including five Israelis, and the wounding of dozens more, remind us all *how exposed* the entire world is to terrorism. No place, be it crowded or desolate, is *immune*." (H 20.07.12), or (79) "The official said that what distinguished the current *rash of terrorism* was that it was "a wave," and not just individual attacks. (JPost 20.07.12)

Terrorism is also presented as a low life form: an animal, a bird, a frog, or a plant:

(80) Opposition leader Shelly Yechimovich responded to the "murderous terror attack" in Bulgaria on Wednesday, saying "there is no doubt that the instability in the region is *spawned* by Iran aiming especially for Israelis and Jews throughout the world." (JPost 19.07.12, 18.07.12); (81) "We also cannot talk about so-called *homegrown* terrorism. [...]" (JPost 04.08.12); (82) The European Union agreed on July 22 to put the *armed wing* of Hezbollah on its terrorism blacklist [...]. (H by Reuters 01.08.13, 27.07.13, 29.07.13); (83) "Israel will reach out and act regarding *every terror nest* around the world." (H 18.07.12); (84) Brussels has broken ties with *military wing* of the Lebanese organisation – but what will it mean on the ground? /sh/ (I 22.07.13).

(85) “Макар все още да няма доказателства, свързващи атаката в Бургас с българските мюсюлмански общности, силите за сигурност на страната нямат друг вариант, освен да наложат по-силен контрол над проникването на радикален ислям сред местните мюсюлмански общности с цел избягване на ситуация на българска територия да се *развъждат* потенциални терористични заплахи. (Dn 27.07.12); (86) Учат туроператорите да *ловят* терористи /h/ (St 31.07.12); (87) “Хизбула” пуска немски *корени* /h/ (St 06.02.13); (88) Пред тероризма няма пречки, той е *неизкореним*, [...] (St 19.07.12); (89) Издирват *леговището* на терориста от Сарафово до Слънчев бряг /sh/ (St 21.07.12); (90) Дипломати твърдят, че ще бъде трудно да се разграничи напълно между *военното и политическото крило* на групата, [...]. (St 22.07.13).

(85`) “Although there is still no evidence connecting the attack in Burgas with Bulgarian Muslim communities, the security forces of the country have no other option but to impose stricter control on the advent of radical Islam among local Muslim communities in order to prevent the *breeding* of potential terrorist attacks on Bulgarian territory (Dn 27.07.12); (86`) Tour Operators Are Being Taught How to *Catch* Terrorists /h/ (St 31.07.12); (87`) Hezbollah *put down roots* in Germany /h/ (St 06.02.13); (88`) There are no obstacles to terrorism, *it is ineradicable* [...] (St 19.07.12); (89`) They are trying to discover *the lair* of the terrorist from Sarafovo to Sunny Beach /sh/ (St 21.07.12); (90`) Diplomats claim that it will be very difficult to distinguish completely between *the military and the political wing of the group*, [...] (St 22.07.13).

The images created by the use of these metaphors contribute to the negative image of the perpetrators of terrorist attacks. In most of the cases the references are to Hezbollah and Iran, however Iranian articles, although few, also use said metaphor to depict Israel. One could also notice that while Israeli and British publications associate terrorism mostly with a bird, a plant or an amphibian, the Bulgarian newspapers present it as a plant with roots or as an animal, in some cases explicitly named as a wolf, in others, implicitly presented as a lion, a bear, or any other predator, that lives in a den or lair.

In addition some of the articles use a metaphor which presents terrorism as an elemental force: water/ sea or fire:

(91) One senior security official said the Burgas attack was a part of *a long wave of terrorism* that began in 2011 and had included at least 20 attacks and attempted attacks by Iran and Hezbollah, either acting independently or together, on five continents. [...] The official said that what distinguished the current *rash of terrorism* was that it was “a wave,” and not just individual attacks. Netanyahu, in his statement, termed this effort a “global terror campaign.” He said the “time has come” for the world to say clearly *that Iran was behind this wave of terrorism*. (JPost 20.07.12); (92) The current campaign, which began more or less four years ago, is not *the first wave of Iran-Hezbollah attacks against Israeli and Jewish targets abroad* [...] (H 22.07.12).

(93) Прогноза: Идва *ужасяваща вълна от насилие* /h/ (St 20.07.12); (94) Планетарният атентатор Меркурий е отговорен за *вълната от тероризъм, попарила* летния ни сезон. (St 19.07.12); (95) Служителите са привикани под тревога на работните си места заради *кървавия атентат на летище “Сарафово”* и появилата се следа, водеща към “Хизбула” и *огнищата на ислямски фундаментализъм* (St 22.07.12).

(93`) Prognosis: A *Terrible Wave of Terror* is Coming /h/ (St 20.07.12); (94`) The planetary bomber Mercury is responsible for *the wave of terror* that *scorched* our summer season. (St 19.07.12); (95`) The employees have been rushed back to their work places because of the bloody attack at Sarafovo Airport and the lead on Hezbollah and *the outbreaks of Islamic fundamentalism* (St 22.07.12).

The three metaphors presented above – TERRORISM AS A LIVING ORGANISM, TERRORISM AS A LOW LIFE, and TERRORISM AS AN ELEMENTAL FORCE all hint at the devastating power of the phenomenon. On the one hand terrorism is presented as an organism that can reproduce very fast (spawn), it can spread like a disease and infect people (cells, node, lack of immunity), it is also blood-thirsty (wolf, predator), it is uncontrollable (wave, fire), and at the same time it is something that cannot be easily gotten rid of (roots). In addition it has arms and wings and can easily move from place to place so that it is difficult to catch and apprehend it.

III. Conclusion

In conclusion it can be stated that the topic of terrorism provoked by the recent attack in Burgas is quite prolific in metaphor usage. As the analysis has shown, Bulgarian, Israeli, Iranian, and British newspapers employ various metaphors which in most of the cases are overlapping.

The metaphors which are encountered in all analysed newspapers are: TERRORISM IS A CRIME, TERRORISM IS A WAR, (with the extension that Perpetrators Must be Brought to Justice), SECURITY AS CONTAINMENT, SOFT IS BAD – FIRM/ STRICT IS GOOD, TERRORISM IS A THEATRE, TERRORISM IS AN ENTERPRISE/ ORGANIZATION, TERRORISM IS A SCHOOL SUBJECT, TERRORISM IS A COMMODITY, TERRORISM IS A LIVING ORGANISM, TERRORISM IS A LOW LIFE FORM. All these metaphors show common thinking patterns used by the different countries, which speaks of common understanding of terrorism as well as of sharing similar experience with terrorism and terrorists. In the case of Bulgarian newspapers it is probably more of having similar understanding and perception of the phenomenon, rather than having similar experience.

There are, however, some metaphors which show difference in cognitive patterns. The metaphor presenting the country as a caring mother is used only in the analysed Israeli newspapers.

The analysed Bulgarian newspapers present Bulgaria as a helpless child that needs the protection of his/ her mother. TERRORISM IS A GAME and the notion that this game can very easily go wrong is used only by the analysed Bulgarian newspapers. The reason for this metaphor is probably the fact that Bulgaria is not actively involved in any conflict and terrorist attacks are something which rarely happens in the country. The last metaphor also corresponds to the image of Bulgaria as a helpless child.

Iranian newspapers, at least those that are a part of the corpus for this paper, do not use the metaphor associating terrorism with elemental force, or the metaphor TERRORISM IS A LOW LIFE FORM.

Regardless the variety of metaphors the intention behind their use is stigmatization of terrorism and terrorists and probably this is the common feature that unites all publications analysed in this paper.

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QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE APOLOGY SPEECH ACT 'SORRY'

Deyana Peneva

Abstract: The paper dwells on the quantitative and qualitative analysis of an apology speech act in spoken language discourse. The data in the analysis are taken from British National Corpus of spoken language considering a particular speech act and namely, the speech act of apology and in the present paper – the performative adjective 'sorry'. The paper focuses on the description of the reference corpus, the purposes of the quantitative analysis, followed by a detailed overview of the basic *sorry* patterns, the quantitative analysis itself and finally the paper attempts to make assumptions and draw conclusions with respect to the quantitative and qualitative analysis of the data.

Key words: apology, performatives, quantitative analysis, reference corpus, 'sorry' classifications

The paper has made an attempt to collect, classify and analyze a Reference corpus of apology speech acts and exactly performative apologetic utterances represented by one of the four main explicit apology structures and namely by the performative predicative adjective 'sorry' focusing on its quantitative analysis and syntactic manifestations.

Naturally, the Reference corpus is usually quite large. In BNC of spoken language there are 4452 'sorry' constructions, but only 825 of them stand for an apology. The referent apology constructions are speech acts which have been taken from conversations, radio programmes, TV shows, movies, etc.

The corpus focuses only on speech acts and all samples which are not speech acts are excluded of the survey. In that respect we have to make a difference what a speech act is and what constitutes a non-speech act.

In the speech act theory speech acts are defined as utterances which have and serve a specific function in communication. They usually and mainly constitute an apology, request, complaint, invitation, compliment or refusal (Searle 1969). Any speech act includes real-life interactions which in the case of apologizing includes an apologizer, an apologizee and a transgression/harm/wrongdoing that has been done. A speech act also contains a performative verb which in the case of apology are: *apologize*, *excuse*, *regret* and the adjective *sorry*. Since speech acts are classified into assertives, directives, commissives, expressives and declarations the speech act of apology falls into the group of expressives and contains a performative verb which expresses the speaker's attitudes and emotions towards the proposition (Crystal 2001).

Any expressive speech act is mainly performed in first person singular or in the least in first person plural (though very rarely) and excludes the personal pronouns *you*, *he*, *she*, *it*, *they*. If the performative verbs *apologize*, *excuse*, *regret* and the adjective *sorry* occur in a sentence construction with subject different from first person singular, these sentence constructions are not accepted as speech acts but mere statements. Another characteristic feature of the speech act of apology is that the performative verbs occur in present simple tense, though there are a few exceptions, which when analyzed qualitatively show

deviations of the notion of “apology”. The speech acts of apology also cannot occur in an interrogative form and if they do, they are not counted as apology communicative acts.

Main purposes of the analysis

The main purposes of the quantitative analysis are to classify linguistic features which are identified in the reference corpus, then these features are counted and made part of bigger and more complex models. In that respect the qualitative analysis does not make any attempts to assign frequencies to linguistic features as it only uses the data as a basis for identifying and describing the various aspects of usage of the apology utterances and provide “real-life” examples of particular phenomena (Biber, Conrad, Reppen 1998). Schmied (1993) points out that the qualitative analysis should precede the quantitative analysis as it is more useful: first the linguistic phenomena should be identified and then classified and counted.

The quantitative analysis is essential in that respect that it offers a unique overview into the dynamics of language and does not only include studying single words and their frequency but also wider patterns and word collocations. It also facilitates the foreign language acquisition. As a result of this students can get a better ‘feeling’ for the current language tendencies and most importantly: learn the language as if it is used in real rather than hypothetical situations (Meyer 2002).

What quantitative analysis does not explain is why frequency of one linguistic phenomenon has increased or decreased over time. Qualitative analysis can provide a rich set of examples with respect to their language usage but statistically reliable results can be provided only by quantitative analysis (Tognini-Bonelli 2001).

Since this study provides evidence of natural linguistic information and the corpus comprises ‘real-life’ utterances or speech acts which are basically a product of real-life situations, this makes the study a valuable source for socio- and pragma-linguistics and will contribute extensively to the spoken verbal communication.

Basic ‘sorry’ classifications

According to the *Communicative Grammar of English* (Leech, Svartvik 1994) and *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language* (2002) ‘sorry’ is in adjective which is used mainly predictively since it comes directly after the verb. For example: ‘*I’m sorry to...*’; ‘*I feel sorry for...*’

It is also possible that ‘sorry’ can function as an attribute, for example: ‘*I feel so depressed that we keep silent about the whole sorry affair...*’, but that aspect of ‘sorry’ will not be discussed in the present paper since it does not express apology.

As a predicative ‘sorry’ becomes explicit in five basic syntactic groups of constructions:

1. **‘Sorry’** can be used in plain predicative structures which come as follows:
 - Predicative only. For example: *Sorry*.
 - Subject + aux. verb + ‘sorry’ (contracted form). For example: *I’m sorry*.
 - Subject + aux.verb + ‘sorry’ (full form). For example: *I am sorry*.
 - Subject + feel + ‘sorry’. For example: *I feel sorry*.

2. **‘Sorry’** can be used with a complement having the form of what the Cambridge practical grammar calls a content clause:

- ‘sorry’ + that complement clause. For example: *I am sorry that I had to delay the meeting.*
- ‘sorry’ + complement clause. For example: *I’m sorry I was late.*
- ‘sorry’ + if complement clause. For example: *Sorry if I was impolite and rude to you.*

3. **‘Sorry’** can be used with a preposition phrase headed by ‘for’:

- ‘sorry’ + for + a complement NP (denoting an act). For example: *I am sorry for my stupid actions.*
- where the preposition ‘for’ has as a complement a subjectless gerund-participle clause, that is: ‘sorry’ + for + ing. For example: *I am sorry for bothering you last night.*
- ‘sorry’ + for + complement clause. For example: *I am sorry for what I did to you.*

4. **‘Sorry’** can be used with a preposition phrase headed by ‘about’:

- ‘sorry’ + about + a complement NP (denoting an act). For example: *I am sorry about it.*
- where the preposition ‘about’ has as a complement a subjectless gerund-participle clause, that is: ‘sorry’ + about + ing. For example: *I am sorry about interrupting you.*
- ‘sorry’ + about + complement clause. For example: *I am sorry about what I said when I was angry.*

5. **‘Sorry’** can be used with an infinitive form:

- ‘sorry’ + simple infinitive. For example: *I am sorry to lie to you that way.*
- ‘sorry’ + perfect infinitive. For example: *I am sorry to have missed the lecture.*

All the above mentioned classifications can be taken as apologetic structures though preference is given to specific ones which become obvious from the corpus analysis.

Corpus analysis. Reference corpus

The reference corpus comprises **805** apology utterances randomly collected in which the word ‘sorry’ and ‘sorry’ constructions occur with the meaning of regret, feeling regret or penitence. The constructions which express sadness or distress through sympathy with someone’s misfortune were excluded from the survey. For example: *I was sorry to see what happened to your brother last week.*

The data were collected, counted and classified with regard to the frequency of occurrences of ‘sorry’. The overall number of ‘sorry’ utterances and their percentage rate is presented in the table:

Number of the overall ‘sorry’ constructions – 805

Table of the overall distribution of ‘sorry’ utterances and percentage rate according to the basic categories of constructions:

Reference corpus Classification	Frequency Number of utterances	Percentage rate
1. <i>Predicative 'sorry'</i>	251	31,18%
1. <i>'sorry' + complement clause</i>	286	35,53%
2. <i>'sorry' + preposition (for)</i>	25	3,1%
3. <i>'sorry' + preposition (about)</i>	165	20,5%
4. <i>'sorry' + to infinitive</i>	78	9,7%

In the Reference corpus the predicative *'sorry'* occurs 251 times, that is 31,18% of the total number of occurrences. In 212 out of 251 cases, which is 26,33% of the total, *'sorry'* is used in a subjectless construction, that is only *Sorry*. The contracted *I'm sorry* structure is used 12 times (1,5%) and the full form *I am sorry* becomes explicit in 27 utterances, that is 3,35%.

Predicative *'sorry'*

Classification	Number of utterances	Percentage rate
1.1. Plain predicative <i>'sorry'</i>	212	26,33%
1.2. Subject +Aux. Verb +predicative <i>'sorry'</i> (contracted form)	12	1,5%
1.3. Subject + Aux. Verb +predicative <i>'sorry'</i> (full form)	27	3,35%

It is an interesting fact that the full predicative form *I am sorry* occurs in 5 emphatic utterances: *I AM sorry*.

Classification	Number of utterances	Percentage rate
1.3.1. Subject+Aux.Verb+predicative <i>'sorry'</i> (full form) (non-emphatic)	22	2,73%
1.3.2. Subject+Aux.Verb+predicative <i>'sorry'</i> (full form) (emphatic)	5	0,62%

'Sorry' + complement clause structure is used in 286 cases which is 3, 53% of the total number of examples. As this basic pattern is divided into three sub-structures the figures respectively come as follows:

With respect to the second pattern of constructions the results are the following:

'Sorry' + *that complement clause* structure is present in 64 cases, that is 8% of the overall number of classified utterances.

'Sorry' + *complement clause* structure occurs in 211 of the cases (26,21%) of the total and 'sorry' + *if complement clause* structure becomes explicit in 11 of the instances that is 1,37 %.

'Sorry' + complement clause

Classification	Number of utterances	Percentage rate
1.1. 'sorry' + that +compl.clause	64	8%
1.2. 'sorry' + compl. clause	211	26,21%
1.3. 'sorry' + if +compl. clause	11	1,37%

With view of the third group of structures: 'sorry' + preposition 'for', the referent number of classified examples is 25, 3,1% of the all.

'Sorry' + for + NP (denoting an act) sub-structure is used in 3 of the cases which is 0,37% of the total.

'Sorry' + for + gerund participle structure is present in 22 out of 25 utterances (2,73% (of the total number of instances))

and 'sorry' + for + complement clause structure does not become explicit in any of the cases, that is 0, 00%.

'Sorry' + preposition (for)

Classification	Number of utterances	Percentage rate
3.1. 'sorry' + for + NP	3	0,37%
3.2. 'sorry' + for + gerund participle	22	2,73%
3.3 'sorry' + for + compl. clause	0	0%

It should be mentioned here that in two of the cases in the above mentioned basic classification, which is 0,25% the sub-structure '*feel sorry for*' occurs where both of the utterances are followed by a NP.

'*feel sorry for*'

Classification	Number of utterances	Percentage rate
3.1.3. ' <i>feel sorry for</i> ' + NP	2	0,25%

With view of the fourth classification the overall number of classified examples is 165, that is 20,5% of the all. It comes into three main sub-classifications and the results are distributed respectively:

‘Sorry’ + about + NP (denoting an act) sub-classification has 159 instances which is 19,8% of the total.

‘Sorry’ + about + gerund participle clause sub-classification is present in six out of 165 cases, that is 0,75% and

‘Sorry’ + about + complement clause sub-classification is not present in any of the cases.

‘Sorry’ + preposition (about)

Classification	Number of utterances	Percentage rate
4.1. ‘sorry’ + about + NP	159	19,8%
4.2. ‘sorry’ + about gerund participle	6	0,75%
4.3. ‘sorry’ + about + compl. clause	0	0,00%

The 4.1. sub-classification ‘sorry’ + about + NP is developed into ‘sorry’ + *about* + *this*, ‘sorry’ + *about* + *that* and ‘sorry’ + *about* + *NP (other)*.

It is an interesting fact that ‘sorry’ + *about* + *that* occurs in 126 cases that is 15,7%.

‘Sorry’ + *about* + *this* is present in 13 utterances (1,61%). The rest number of examples – 20 which is 2,5% become explicit in ‘sorry’ + *about* + *NP (other)* classification.

‘Sorry’ + preposition (about) + NP

Classification	Number of utterances	Percentage rate
4.1.1. ‘sorry’ + about + that	126	15,7%
4.1.2. ‘sorry’ + about + this	13	1,61%
4.1.3. ‘sorry’ + about + NP (other)	20	2,5%

The last classification ‘sorry’ + to infinitive is present in 78 of the examples. 7 of the cases follow ‘sorry’ + simple infinitive sub-classification, that is 0,87% of the total, whereas ‘sorry’ + perfect infinitive sub-classification is present in 65 of the utterances which is 8,07%.

‘Sorry’ + to infinitive

Classification	Number of utterances	Percentage rate
4.1. ‘sorry’ + simple infinitive	7	0,87%
4.2. ‘sorry’ + perfect infinitive	65	8,07%

There are 6 examples of another classification which belong to ‘sorry’+ *to infinite classification*, but a modal construction is inserted between the predicative *sorry* and the infinitive: ‘sorry’ +*to* +*have to* + *simple infinitive*. The example comes as follows:
‘Sorry to have to delay the meeting.’

‘Sorry’ + to have to + present infinitive

Classification	Number of utterances	Percentage rate
1. ‘sorry’ +have to + present infinitive	6	0,75%

Corpus analysis

The corpus analysis is made on the basic of three criteria: syntactic, semantic and pragmatic, that is –form and function, meaning and usage respectively when distinguishing different parts of speech.

Form and Function

The word ‘sorry’ as a word may be discussed in terms of morphology as it is a single word and it consists of morphemes but it can also be discussed syntactically since the word is considered to be the smallest unit in syntactic analysis. Therefore, syntactically it should be analyzed with respect to its form and the functions it may express (Radford 2004).

‘Sorry’ as one of the basic Structural units (Word, Phrase, Clause, Sentence) falls into one of the two basic groups of words (content and function words): it is a content word because it falls into the group of adjectives and forms one of the constituents of the clause, and exactly the Adjective phrase (Downing, Locke 2006). Also, as a Functional Unit, it is mostly used as a predicative. Consequently, ‘sorry’ is a predicative adjective or as it is recently used *subject complement* (Muhammed Abbas 2006) and is characterized by the linking verb in the sentence. ‘Sorry’ is used on its own as a complement. It always stands after the link verb or can be used independently as an adjective.

‘Sorry’ is usually linked to two copular verbs: *be* and *feel*. *Feel* functions as a link verb of sensation or perception. For example:

I am sorry for my delay. (predicative-only function)

I feel sorry for what I’ve done. (predicative-only function)

Sorry. (predicative-only function)

The most typical syntactic pattern with respect to the main clause constituents (that is the form):

NP + VP +Adj.P

I am sorry

Constituents can be further analyzed with respect to their function in the clause:

NP + VP + Adj.P

S V Predicative

I am sorry

So the form is mainly connected to the various realizations of the word (in the case of 'sorry' – only one form) but the functions can be different (Quirk, Greenbaum 1973). 'Sorry' serves only one function and becomes explicit predicatively. I exclude here 'sorry' used as an attribute adjective as in this function it does not carry the meaning of apology.

Additionally, since 'sorry' occupies a specific, constant position in the exact sentence structure or syntactic pattern and exactly as a predicative adjective, it can be followed by a number of syntactic patterns which vary in form and function and become explicit in the basic 'sorry' classifications (see above).

It is obvious that 'sorry' does not change its form. It is always an adjective. 'Sorry' also does not change its function: it is always a predicative. But it can add a number of syntactic patterns which differ in meaning.

Meaning

When speculating on meaning we should take into account that meaning is rather hard to define and differentiate. According to linguists apart from dictionary/grammar meanings (lexical/grammatical) which actually refer to the meanings of words and structures that can be found in dictionaries and grammars there are two other types of meaning – semantic and pragmatic (Burge 1990). Murcia (1999) points out that grammatical structures do not only have a morpho-syntactic form, they are also used to express meaning (semantics) in 'context-appropriate use' (pragmatics). Semantic meaning is usually about understanding human expressions through language and signs and is about how people mean and refer in terms of likely intent and assumptions whereas pragmatic meaning is about how context affects meaning beyond the intent and assumptions.

As the relationship between words and meanings is rather complicated and belongs to the area of semantics we should take into consideration that words do not have single, simple meanings (Halliday 2001).

The term 'meaning' which we often associate with its lexical component in fact unites lexical, semantic and pragmatic meaning. When we focus on form, we actually focus on form, function and meaning.

Since apologies as speech acts are expressive performative utterances they do not simply convey a message but they also have illocutionary force (Bach 2004). It means that they are statements but with a specific illocutionary force. By uttering the speaker is making an apology, though beyond the words he utters the speaker implies something else. *I am sorry that I hid the truth from you.* The speaker says that he regrets not telling the truth (which refers to semantics), but what he implies is that he did something wrong (which refers to pragmatics).

As it was mentioned above 'sorry' is a predicative adjective which occupies a constant position (it is always after the link verb). It cannot carry different meanings since it does

not change its position and its semantic meaning is closely connected to the link verb. In the case of *sorry* there are two copular verbs: *be* and *feel*.

A0F 2411 *I am sorry.*

B9G 345 *I feel sorry.*

As a predicative adjective '*sorry*' serves to express a property that is assigned to the "subject", which usually is the clause subject – '*I*'. In this case the semantic meaning refers to a temporary condition which expresses a certain feeling and namely the feeling of regret, guilt, shame, penitence. For example:

- feeling of regret: **C5S 2218** *I am sorry that I didn't come up on time.*

- feeling of guilt: **BVD 452** *I am sorry that I didn't tell you about the lecture. You probably won't have missed it.*

- feeling of shame: **BG3 322** *I am sorry that I lied to you.*

- feeling of penitence: **FCD 342** *I am so sorry. I shouldn't have done it myself. I did wrong. How can I make it up for you? Are you willing to forgive me?*

(all examples are taken from BNC)

We cannot miss the fact here that the semantic meaning of '*sorry*' goes hand in hand with its pragmatic meaning which is context and situation-dependent and refers to the use of the word. Both expressions: *I am sorry* and *I feel sorry* are expressive performative utterances and as '*sorry*' is an expressive adjective, it expresses emotion (Doerge 2006). When comparing both sentences *I feel sorry* can be viewed even more expressive since it contains a verb which means "to have feelings" and it is rather obvious that *feel* implies emotions. With respect to the frequency of its usage British native speakers prefer to use *I am sorry* more often.

In the syntactic patterns 1.1. and 1.2. there are no differences in meaning since in 1.1. pattern the subject and the verb are omitted but the meaning remains the same as in 1.2., and that is: feeling regret. '*Sorry*' characterizes the subject *I* even in case when it is hidden. It can be added here that saying '*Sorry*' or '*I am sorry*' is rather a vague utterance since it does not become clear what we are sorry for. It could be for present, past or future (no examples were found in BNC) situations and events. For example:

X8D 1137 *I am sorry. I am always late for our dates (present);*

H0R 2435 *I was sorry. I was really sorry that I wasn't able to see you at the party (past);*

I will be sorry if I don't write the article you are asking me for (future).

The last example is not taken from BNC, it is hypothetical and does not actually connote the idea of feeling regret, guilt, shame or penitence, but it rather connotes the meaning of feeling sad or disappointed. It does not sound as an apology.

With respect to the use of the pattern, it can be used in formal, informal (casual/intimate) and neutral register (Crystal 2001). There are not any obvious nuances which can show the exact register of the pattern if it is used out of context. But the BNC data show that it is used in the three basic register forms. (Crystal 2001)

In the second classification of syntactic patterns: *sorry* + complement clause it becomes clear what we are sorry for. The explanation or the account of the apologetic act is presented in three ways: by *that clause*, only by *a clause* and by *if-clause*. In the three syntactic patterns the most frequently used tense in the compl. clause is Past simple. In BNC there are two examples of future simple tense of *that*-clause and two examples of present perfect. I will give examples in the three tenses and analyze the expressions to find out the syntactic structure and the elements that occur in it, that is: make a syntactic and semantic analysis of *sorry* + compl. clause structures. Examples:

1. Past simple tense of the complement clause

C5S 2218 [I] [am] [sorry] that [I didn't come on time] is a sentence with a S **I** in first position, a V **am** (copular verb) in second position, a C **sorry** and another C clause *I didn't come on time* attached to the main clause. Until this moment, we have been dealing with a SENTENCE, that is its grammatical structure. If we analyse the same expression by its meaning structure, we will get a PROPOSITION (Crystal, 2001) which refers to the information content that we grasp in understanding a sentence. The question here is in what way the given sentence can be matched with the proposition it expresses. It is not an easy task as sometimes the sentence cannot match directly with the proposition unless the proposition is connected to some extent to the context in which the sentence is used. The proposition can be either true or false, can be asserted, denied, known, believed or doubted (Cann 1993; Lyons 1977)). In our case it is neither true nor false unless we present the whole situation. If we add the hearer's answer, for example:

Speaker: **C5S 2218 I am sorry that I didn't come on time.** (an apology is made)

Hearer: *I don't believe you. You are always late.*

The apology act is not taken as a sincere one. Consequently, it is not true, it is not believed, but it is doubted. And the complement clause refers to an event.

2. Future Simple tense of the complement clause

C6 1330 I am sorry that I will not be able to see you next week.

Actually future simple tense expresses intentions about the future and the sentence can be considered true or false, believed or not believed unless we see the context in which it occurs. The hearer's answer is: *Ok, see you some other time*. The sentence is taken as sincere and is believed in. So, the sentence is matched to the proposition it expresses, to the information content in fact.

3. Present perfect tense of the complement clause

BX3 2319 I am sorry that I haven't finished with it.

Again the sentence cannot be taken as true or false, believed or not believed in unless in a given context. And the reference (Crystal 2001) here is not clear unless we hear or read the ending of the apology speech act. What actually **it** represents in the outside world. *It could stand for an act, a state, an event or a process or an entity*. In that case it stands for an entity, a thing from the outside world.

Speaker: *I am sorry that I haven't finished with it. The assignment is so difficult.*

Going further into the analysis of 'sorry' + *compl. clause* pattern we should take into account what kind of utterance this pattern represents. In general all sentences are speech acts, but in particular they are explicit performative utterances (Jaszczolt 2000) where truth-value semantics is not appropriate. We do not ask if the sentence is true, but whether it works. And it works if it is successful. If it is successful we say it is felicitous. In that respect all 4 examples are considered speech acts. They are neither true or false but successful or unsuccessful. And we have to separate the propositional content (which is a characteristic feature of semantics and works on sentence level) of the utterance from the speech act that it conveys.

To sum up, there are differences in meaning of the complement clauses if the tense changes. Pragmatically, that is the use of the patterns in spoken language, there are differences with respect to politeness and register.

The third and fourth classifications of syntactic patterns 'sorry' + *for/about* come into three syntactic patterns but there are examples only of the first two:

G4N n't know (unclear) I've been to bloody shop myself (pause) but **I am sorry about it**, but I've done what I've wanted to do and I

KB0 **Sorry about cutting** the top of your head off

KBX *Sorry for interrupting you, Max ...*

KBCX *Sorry for the late reply but I got home so severely tired that*

The syntactic patterns refer to past events and situations. We are expressing regret for something that was done in the past. Regarding the pragmatic side of the utterances the data show *sorry* + *about* is far more frequently used than *sorry* + *for* and the most preferable utterance is *I am sorry about that*. It is a tricky moment here to explain what is the difference between *I am sorry about the delay* and *I am sorry for the delay*. The question is if these two utterances are interchangeable. Definitely according to a number of researchers they are both interchangeable, but I have checked that British people prefer *sorry about* than *sorry for*, the latter is mostly preferred with Americans. Actually there is a slight difference which tends to be culture specific. In my opinion *sorry about* and *sorry for* are interchangeable when the offence or the wrongdoing is not actually our own fault. But if we feel personally responsible we would probably say 'sorry for'. Examples:

I am sorry about the mess. (there is no much I can do about it, it is beyond my control.

I am sorry for the mess. (if I had managed my time better, the mess might have been cleared up).

If an utterance asks for being convincing and taken as sincere (felicitous, respectively) it should end either with a NP or a gerund, since only these syntactic patterns can provide an explanation or account of the offence that was done.

With respect to 'sorry' + *simple infinitive* pattern it mainly implies that we are sorry for something that is happening in the present and the speaker has the intention of doing the activity now. For example: *I am sorry to disturb you* can mean that the other person has to be disturbed. Regarding 'sorry' + *perfect infinitive* pattern it implies that we are sorry for past events or situations. It is perfectly good English grammatically and

pragmatically, but it sounds rather formal and from the data we can come to the conclusion that in everyday conversations people do not feel comfortable using it.

In general, I think, though it is not only my opinion that British speakers are less inclined to use casual, informal colloquial expressions. And definitely the cultural context has a huge impact on their choice of 'sorry' patterns. It is obvious that formality and more polite utterances are preferred by British speakers.

'Sorry' preference order in relation to syntactic patterns:

Syntactic pattern	Number of utterances	Percentage rate
Predicative-only (<i>Sorry.</i>)	212	26,47%
'Sorry' + complement clause (<i>I am sorry I didn't come on time</i>)	211	26,34%
'Sorry' + about + NP (<i>Sorry about that.</i>)	159	19,85%
'Sorry' + perfect infinitive (<i>I am sorry to have kept you waiting.</i>)	65	8,11%
'Sorry' + that compl. clause (<i>I am sorry that I hurt you.</i>)	64	8%
Predicative 'sorry' – full form (<i>I am sorry.</i>)	27 – 5—emphatic (<i>I AM sorry.</i>); 22 – non-emphatic (<i>I am sorry.</i>)	3,37%
'Sorry' + for + NP (<i>I am sorry for my bad behavior.</i>)	22	3%
'Feel sorry for' + NP (<i>I feel sorry for all this mess.</i>)	2	
Predicative 'sorry' – contracted form (<i>I'm sorry.</i>)	12	1,5%
'Sorry' + if complement clause (<i>I am sorry if I have bothered you.</i>)	11	1,37%
'Sorry' + perfect infinitive (<i>I am sorry to have bothered you.</i>)	7	0,87%
'Sorry' + about + gerund (<i>Sorry about lying to you.</i>)	6	0,75%
'Sorry' + for + gerund (<i>I am sorry for being impolite.</i>)	3	0,37%
'Sorry' + about + compl. clause (<i>no examples</i>)	0	0,00%
'Sorry' + for + compl. clause (<i>no examples</i>)	0	0,00%

It is obvious that three syntactic patterns take the leading positions with respect to their overall use: *predicative-only*; *'sorry' + compl. clause*; *sorry + about + NP* structures with respective numbers of 212, 211 and 159 utterances which in percentage is 26,47%, 26,34% and 19,85% respectively. This makes 87,6% of the total number of 'sorry' utterances. We should assume from these results that in everyday conversations and typical situations (for example: bumping into someone, being late, hurting someone's feelings ...) which require an apology British speakers when feeling regret almost equally

prefer to say simply 'Sorry' or are willing to explain or give account for the wrongdoing they have performed by using two other structures: 'sorry' + compl. clause; 'sorry' + about + NP. All 'sorry' constructions apart from the predicative-only pattern require an explanation or account, which makes the apology sound more sincere. Though 'sorry' is considered to be an apology and is one of the four central performatives in apology speech acts (*apologize, sorry, excuse, regret*), it does not mean to apologise. To apologise is to admit that you are at fault. But sorry only expresses regret. That is, something has happened, which you would prefer had not happened, so you are sorry. By using these three syntactic patterns the semantic meaning remains the same, it does not change and that is that you regret doing something or having done something, though the pragmatic meaning changes with respect to politeness and the severity of the offence which is context-dependent.

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PREDICATIVE ADJECTIVES IN ESP – A CORPUS-BASED METHODOLOGY

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Abstract: *This paper describes a three-year experience in teaching English to bachelor students at the Department of Mechanical Engineering, University of Applied Sciences, Hamburg. The present first year intermediate ESP module in an international classroom is an attempt to teach students how to use engineering language so that their written and oral communication is more native-like. Being non-native speakers, students often lack extensive practice and form linguistic expressions in an untypical way, thinking of individual adjectives outside the context of their modification and complementation. For that purpose attention is drawn to the retrieval of predicative adjective patterns and the method described is an initial key stage in the recognition of patterns with the help of a linguistic software program. The analysis is illustrated with corpus sentences.*

Key words: *predicative adjective patterns, technical corpus, linguistic tools.*

In specialised language the most typical grammatical category is that of the noun [NP], followed by that of the verb. However, adjectives are complex enough in respect to their functions. While prototypical nouns function as arguments and prototypical verbs function as predicates, adjectives are associated with two main functions: they can predicate a property (with the help of a copular verb) and they can function as modifiers. Thus they play a significant role in both their attributive and predicative use.

Concerning grammaticality the attributive adjective position in a sentence is optional (*Products delivered to the customer need to be serviced and repaired during their **useful** lifetime./ Products delivered to the customer need to be serviced and repaired during their ~~useful~~ lifetime*). Functioning attributively adjectives primarily describe the referent in terms of some (descriptive, classifying, etc.) property, thus being premodifiers (attributive modifiers) in construction with the noun head (Herbst & Schüller 2008).

Adjectives in their predicative use are quite different as they parallel verbs:

*The tensile strength of cast iron is **very low**, and excessive tightening of a set screw into a cast iron thread may cause the thread to crumble, thus permanently damaging the casting. /The tensile strength of cast iron is ~~very low~~, and excessive tightening of a set screw into a cast iron thread may cause the thread to crumble, thus permanently damaging the casting.*

In this function they become obligatory sentence members and acquire part of the properties associated with verbs (Herbst 2010). In predicative position the adjective is the focus of the phrase (head): *Some plastics become soft when heated, and hard when cooled*. Adjectival heads which participate in such constructions are expanded by modification and complementation due to constituents which follow the head. They can take prepositional phrases as post-head complements (be + adj. + prep: *be accurate in; be similar to; be different from; be suitable for*, etc.). The adjective head controls the complement which in return completes the meaning of the adjective. Thus

complementation (the major subcategory of post-modification in our paper) provides specification of the meaning implied by the head. This realization is possible only in predicative use and is especially typical for ESP as compared to spoken discourse. For example: *A lot of time is required for tool setting and tool changing, with the result that this type of work is not suitable for production* (81 sentences in Technical corpus)/ *Therefore I think it would be a better idea if units could be set up and the children could be taken out of an ordinary school for perhaps one or two or three years, according to how much time is required, where they could give the individual attention and the specialist teaching to help them to overcome this particular problem* (61 sentences in BNC spoken section).

We offer a small representative selection of examples, grouped according to importance of predicative adjective patterns appearing in a technical corpus collocations (Lewis 2007). Creativity in language is possible by achieving freedom to approach the same head from different perspectives or by seeing similarities between different patterns and experiment by analogy.

Retrieval method

Adjective patterns are usually outside the focus of attention in an ESP classroom, thus left to the students' intuition. When encountering new/specialized vocabulary one standard help is the use of on-line dictionaries in the classroom: Collins Cobuild Advanced Learner's English Dictionary (<http://www.mycobuild.com>); Merriam-Webster's Online Dictionary, 11th Edition; <http://www.merriam-webster.com>; The Wordsmyth English Dictionary-Thesaurus (<http://www.wordsmyth.net>); OneLook (<http://www.onelook.com>) to mention but a few among the most popular ones.

The adjective **hard** had numerous dictionary entries (as many as 30), represented in Collins English On-line Dictionary (<http://www.collinslanguage.com/english-dictionaries-thesauruses/free-online-english-dictionary-thesaurus>) in attributive use only: *firm or rigid; not easily dented, crushed, or pierced; toughened by or as if by physical labour; not soft or smooth; difficult to do or accomplish; arduous; difficult to understand or perceive; showing or requiring considerable physical or mental energy, effort, or application; stern, cold, or intractable; exacting, demanding; harsh, cruel; inflicting pain, sorrow, distress, or hardship; etc.*

Here is a random choice of sentences from the technical corpus for comparison (**hard**):

1. Cutting tools, razors, etc. which need to *be hard* but not so tough, are tempered at 200-250°C and acquire a pale yellow colour.
2. Thermoplastics soften when heated and *become hard on* cooling.
3. The surface of the component *becomes hard due to* the formation of hard nitrides on the surface.
4. Hardened steel acquires a needle like grain structure called martensite which *makes it glass hard*.

Thus looking at the dictionary entries alone it is not possible to figure out and fully understand this phenomenon (Mishan 2005, Schmitt 1997). A basic adjective (**hard**) usually depends on the wider context for its internal meaning and also for its typical syntactic behaviour. Comparing the same adjective with the Valency Dictionary of English (Herbst et al. 2004) three adjective senses and the following patterns are listed:

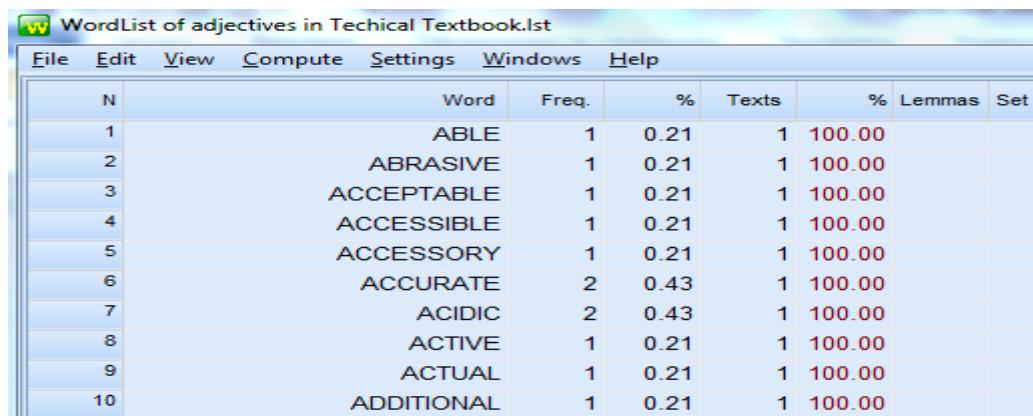
adj. + to_INF , [it] + adj. + to_INF; adj. + for_NP; [it] + adjective + for_NP + to_INF; adjective + on_NP; [it] + adjective + on_NP + to_INF; adjective + to_NP.

The method described in this section is the initial key stage in the extraction of predicative adjective patterns from an electronic textbook for mechanical engineering students, *Englisch für Maschinenbauer* (Jayendran 2007). The textbook articles are converted into text files prior to the application of the software programme WordSmith Tools 6.0 (Scott 2012). They serve as a technical corpus and the extraction process is carried out for adjectives that also have a profile in VDE. Three programme functions - WordList, KeyWord and Concord - are tested for ESP purposes (Doykova 2013).

WordList (the unrefined procedure):

According to their frequency *WordList* generates a list of all the words in the corpus (Scott 1998). Irrelevant lexical units that tend to occupy top positions in WordLists as pronouns, articles, etc. need to be eliminated first by applying a lexical filter (a stopword list). One disadvantage is that if a text-oriented approach is to be reliable it has to be combined with close in-text observation on the part of the researcher. Hence the extracted words are consequently identified and analysed in context in order to select true adjectives only. Those lexical units that raise any doubts were left for further analysis in order to determine subsequently whether they have adjectival status or not. Thus we ended up with a list of 400 adjectives, appearing in our corpus (Appendix 1: WordList Adjectives in Technical Textbook). Usually the top items are considered prototypical and the last ones - core or central for the specialized field, represented in the corpus. For our analysis adjectives that are considered representative have varied complementation patterns (complex valency properties) and frequent language use.

A WordList (Table 1) is usually rather extensive and can serve to further obtain a KeyWord List which reveals saliency. A KeywordList is important as it compares the corpus under study with a reference corpus.



N	Word	Freq.	%	Texts	%	Lemmas	Set
1	ABLE	1	0.21	1	100.00		
2	ABRASIVE	1	0.21	1	100.00		
3	ACCEPTABLE	1	0.21	1	100.00		
4	ACCESSIBLE	1	0.21	1	100.00		
5	ACCESSORY	1	0.21	1	100.00		
6	ACCURATE	2	0.43	1	100.00		
7	ACIDIC	2	0.43	1	100.00		
8	ACTIVE	1	0.21	1	100.00		
9	ACTUAL	1	0.21	1	100.00		
10	ADDITIONAL	1	0.21	1	100.00		

Table 1 exemplifies the resulting WordList adjectives arranged in alphabetical order.

KeyWord List (the refined procedure)

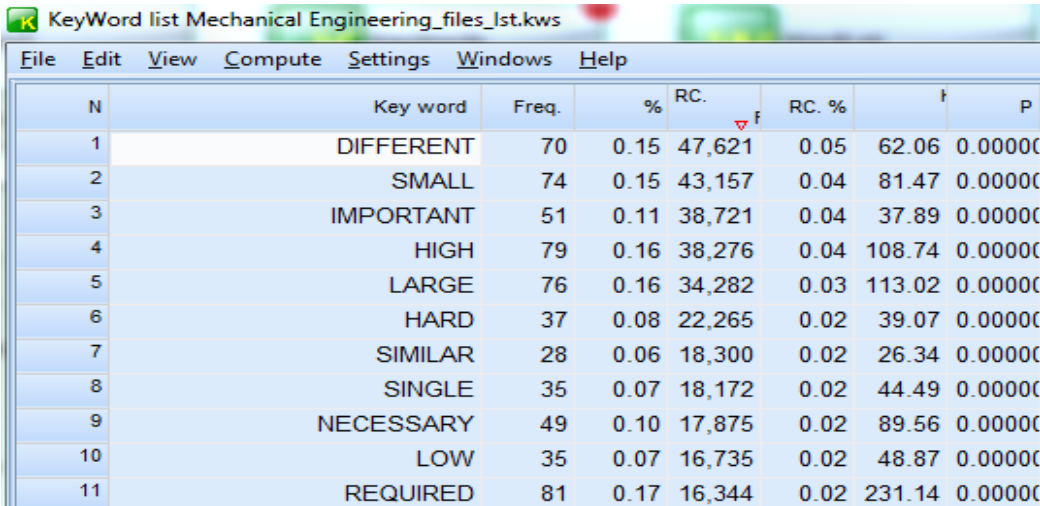
Other criteria could further complement the frequency data obtained by WordList as is the KeyWord function. The “key words” are calculated by comparing the frequency of

each word in our corpus with the frequency of the same word in a reference word-list. In this case the British National Corpus is selected as a reference corpus and a BNC word list is downloaded from:

<http://www.lexically.net/downloads/version4/downloading%20BNC.htm>.

The British National Corpus (BNC) is a 100 million word collection of samples of written (90%) and spoken (10%) language from a wide range of sources (newspapers, periodicals, fiction, academic books, essays and many other kinds of text) from the later part of the 20th century. We can search for words and phrases, part of speech (POS), surrounding words (collocates), find their frequency in registers (spoken, academic, poetry, medical, etc.) or compare them. One of the most valuable help is the possibility for a semantic search in a corpus. When adjectives are explained with synonymous adjectives, their senses overlap and there are no boundaries specified in dictionaries (*be able to + Inf.* = be capable of; *be accurate in* = proper; *be available* = accessible; *be different from* = not identical; *be appropriate* = suitable; *be essential* = necessary or required; *be possible* = capable of; *be tough* = hard, resistant to or firm; *be fixed* = rigid; *be important in* = essential in, etc.) subtle nuances are missed and most often wrong patterns are produced by learners.

For example in Table 2 below two similar adjectives (*required/ necessary*) appear in the KeyWord list. A comparison of results for *required/ necessary* in order to determine the difference in meaning or use between them is essential (Nesselhauf 2005).



N	Key word	Freq.	%	RC. f	RC. %	t	P
1	DIFFERENT	70	0.15	47,621	0.05	62.06	0.00000
2	SMALL	74	0.15	43,157	0.04	81.47	0.00000
3	IMPORTANT	51	0.11	38,721	0.04	37.89	0.00000
4	HIGH	79	0.16	38,276	0.04	108.74	0.00000
5	LARGE	76	0.16	34,282	0.03	113.02	0.00000
6	HARD	37	0.08	22,265	0.02	39.07	0.00000
7	SIMILAR	28	0.06	18,300	0.02	26.34	0.00000
8	SINGLE	35	0.07	18,172	0.02	44.49	0.00000
9	NECESSARY	49	0.10	17,875	0.02	89.56	0.00000
10	LOW	35	0.07	16,735	0.02	48.87	0.00000
11	REQUIRED	81	0.17	16,344	0.02	231.14	0.00000

Table 2. Key textbook adjectives - a sample of results obtained with the KeyWord function (WordSmith Tool) with BNC WordList as a reference corpus.

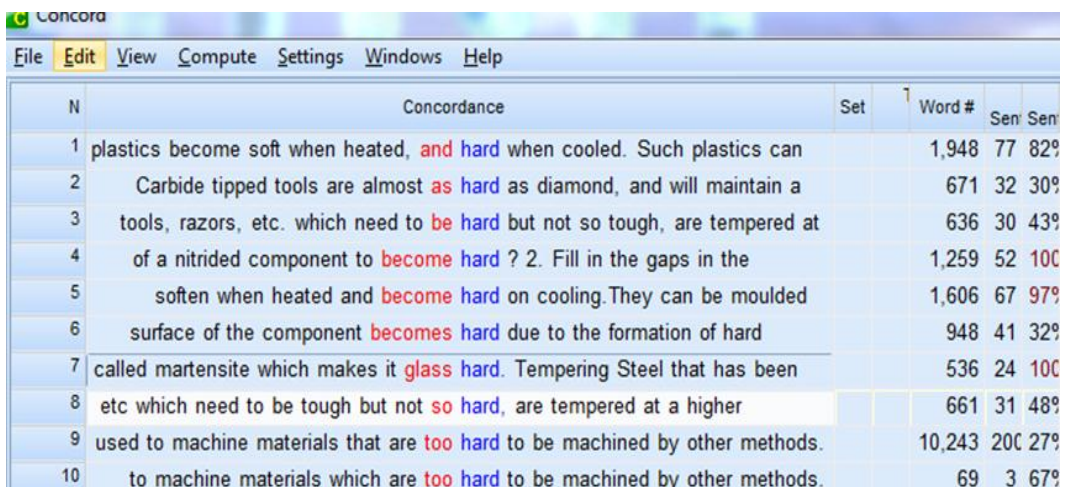
The snapshot shows (Scott 1998): 1. each key word; 2. its frequency in the source text(s) where these key words are key in; 3. the % that frequency represents; 4. its frequency in the reference corpus (RC. Freq. column); 5. the reference corpus frequency as a %; 6. keyness (log likelihood statistic); 7. p value.

Here the statistics procedure is log likelihood and the probability (p) is displayed to the right of the value. The criterion for what counts as “outstanding” is based on the minimum probability value selected before the key words were calculated. The words

appear sorted according to how outstanding their frequencies of occurrence are. Those near the top are outstandingly frequent. The column Keyness assigns value to each word – the higher the value, the stronger the keyness. Comparing the lexical units from the WordList with the retrieved keywords we limit the scope of our research analysis to statistically high frequency words in the technical corpus for teaching purposes.

The Concordance function

The Concordance function determines the immediate “neighbours” of a search word (a predicative adjective) and makes it possible to see words that occur immediately before and after it. Thus all the occurrences of a search pattern are displayed on the screen, together with a span of running text to the left and right. At this point the combinatorial behavior of the lexical units has to be included in our analysis. Concord can generate concordance lines (Keyword in context or KWIC) with collocates, clusters (3/4/5-word groupings) and patterns for a selected word. It shows the source text and provides evidence of the use of the lexical items in context.



The screenshot shows the Concorda software window with a menu bar (File, Edit, View, Compute, Settings, Windows, Help) and a concordance table. The table has columns for line number (N), the concordance text, a Set column, Word #, and two Sen columns. The search word 'hard' is highlighted in blue in the concordance lines. The following table represents the data shown in the screenshot:

N	Concordance	Set	Word #	Sen	Sen
1	plastics become soft when heated, and hard when cooled. Such plastics can		1,948	77	82%
2	Carbide tipped tools are almost as hard as diamond, and will maintain a		671	32	30%
3	tools, razors, etc. which need to be hard but not so tough, are tempered at		636	30	43%
4	of a nitrided component to become hard ? 2. Fill in the gaps in the		1,259	52	100%
5	soften when heated and become hard on cooling. They can be moulded		1,606	67	97%
6	surface of the component becomes hard due to the formation of hard		948	41	32%
7	called martensite which makes it glass hard. Tempering Steel that has been		536	24	100%
8	etc which need to be tough but not so hard, are tempered at a higher		661	31	48%
9	used to machine materials that are too hard to be machined by other methods.		10,243	200	27%
10	to machine materials which are too hard to be machined by other methods.		69	3	67%

Table 3. Concordance lines with HARD

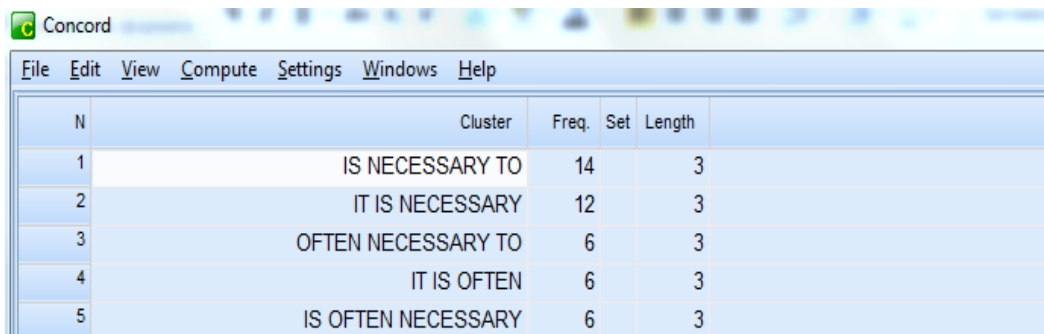
It is hard to find characteristic lexical patterns in concordance lines hence the collocate, cluster and pattern functions can be applied.

Clusters are words which are found repeatedly together in sequence. All words have a tendency to cluster together with some others. These clustering relations may involve colligation (the linkage between neighbouring words and grammatical items, usually prepositions in English: *hard to*; *hard due to*); semantic prosody (the tendency for cause to come with negative effects such as accident, trouble, etc.) and collocation. Collocates are the words that appear in the immediate context of the search word (node) according to frequency of appearance. The present corpus is not representative enough in order to obtain reliable clusters for all adjectives (most adjectives do not exhibit clusters but mainly collocates). Hence the clusters, collocates and patterns of *necessary* are exemplified below.

Cluster application

Thus the phraseology of the textbook can be extracted by the Cluster application of Concord. The collocational horizons could be set 5L to 5R by default or smaller if we

want the cluster to contain a particular search word. Table 4 below shows the clusters for the node word NECESSARY (with a cluster setting of 3L and 3R).



N	Cluster	Freq.	Set	Length
1	IS NECESSARY TO	14		3
2	IT IS NECESSARY	12		3
3	OFTEN NECESSARY TO	6		3
4	IT IS OFTEN	6		3
5	IS OFTEN NECESSARY	6		3

Table 4. Meaningful clusters obtained for NECESSARY

The higher frequency is highlighted in red and by clicking at the position number the concordance lines are displayed. Likewise the statistics in Table 5 show top collocates of *necessary* which include *is*, *it*, *to* and very common words as *often*, *that*, *the*, *and*, etc.

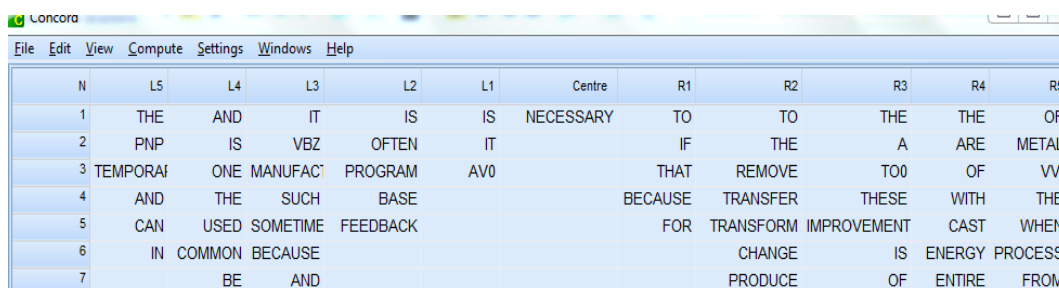
Concord

File Edit View Compute Settings Windows Help

N	Word	With	Relation	Texts	Total	Total	Total	f	L5	L4	L3	L2	L1	Centre	R1	R2	R3
1	NECESSARY	necessary	0.000	14	53	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	53	0	0	0
2	IS	necessary	0.000	12	44	42	2	1	3	0	15	23	0	0	0	1	0
3	TO	necessary	0.000	12	37	0	37	0	0	0	0	0	0	27	5	0	0
4	IT	necessary	0.000	11	26	25	1	0	1	8	12	4	0	0	1	0	0
5	THE	necessary	0.000	9	20	5	15	2	2	0	0	1	0	0	4	7	0
6	OFTEN	necessary	0.000	5	10	9	1	0	0	1	2	6	0	1	0	0	0

Table 5. Collocates of the node NECESSARY

Patterns application performs a similar function but the display of words is different. The words adjacent to the search word are organized in terms of frequency within each column. The effect is to make the most typical items in the neighbourhood of the search word to appear to the top. Thus when we are interested in the habitual company of predicative adjectives we activate the Search Horizons option of the WSTool and obtain results as in Table 6 below which we consider the most straightforward option of the three Concord applications for our technical corpus.



N	L5	L4	L3	L2	L1	Centre	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5
1	THE	AND	IT	IS	IS	NECESSARY	TO	TO	THE	THE	OF
2	PNP	IS	VBZ	OFTEN	IT		IF	THE	A	ARE	METAL
3	TEMPORAL	ONE MANUFACTURE	PROGRAM	AVO			THAT	REMOVE	TOO	OF	VVI
4	AND	THE	SUCH	BASE			BECAUSE	TRANSFER	THESE	WITH	THE
5	CAN	USED SOMETIME	FEEDBACK				FOR	TRANSFORM IMPROVEMENT	CAST	WHEN	
6	IN	COMMON	BECAUSE					CHANGE	IS	ENERGY	PROCESS
7		BE	AND					PRODUCE	OF	ENTIRE	FROM

Table 6. Patterns for the node NECESSARY

Having selected the applications that are suitable for our analysis, we initiated the retrieval process for each predicative adjective from the KeyWord List and summarized the extracted corpus patterns in Table 7 below. To establish the degree of obligatoriness of the prepositional element in the pattern we consulted also the following sources:

WordNet (<http://wordnet.princeton.edu>);

The BBI Combinatory Dictionary (Benson, Benson & Ilson 2010)

A Valency Dictionary of English (Herbst 2004).

be able to +inf.	be difficult to + inf.	be un/suitable for
be accurate in	be easy to + inf.	be essential in
be available with/in/to +inf.	be economical to + inf/ in	be important in
be different from	be useful in/for/when	be necessary for/to/when
be possible to/by		

Table 7. Predicative Adjective Patterns in Technical Corpus and in the Valency Dictionary of English (VDE)

Most dictionaries indicate typical usage and do not give a full account of the combinatorial aspect of these words thus providing not enough evidence about the variety of prepositions accompanying them (Mishan 2005). Table 8 contains the prepositional patterns not included in the Valency Dictionary of English (Herbst 2004):

<i>make free of</i>	<i>be known as</i>	
<i>become hard due to</i>	<i>become hard on</i>	<i>be hard to +inf.</i>
<i>become important with</i>	<i>be inclined at</i>	<i>be similar to</i>
<i>be perpendicular to</i>	<i>be proportional to</i>	<i>be parallel to</i>
<i>be composed of</i>	<i>be equal to</i>	<i>be true to</i>
<i>be permanent in</i>	<i>be convenient to</i>	<i>be smooth in</i>
<i>be unique in</i>	<i>be dependent on</i>	<i>be expensive to</i>
<i>be central to</i>	<i>be equipped with</i>	<i>be required for</i>
<i>be fitted with</i>	<i>be fixed with/on</i>	<i>be suited for</i>
<i>be stronger/softer/simpler/quicker/smoother/smaller/greater than</i>		

Table 8. An extensive list of adjectives in Technical corpus not included in VDE

Thus in predicative constructions the adjective becomes the most decisive and meaningful element in the right part of the sentence and opens slots for other primary sentence members to complete its meaning. Adjective phrase complements are primarily realized by prepositional phrases or by to-infinitive clause (or *that*, *wh*- subordinate clauses).

The corpus has proved very useful for finding information about collocates as shown in Tables 4, 5, 6 for *necessary* (Seizova-Nankova, in press). Hence students are encouraged to investigate the information in the corpus by generating concordance lines with recurrent adjectives (significantly consistent words as per frequency count) (Barlow 2002). When a search word generates a large number of concordance lines (44 for *necessary*, 81 for *required*), students are instructed to turn to the collocates and the clusters display (Lewis 2007).

A comparison between the Technical corpus and the BNC corpus shows that *required* and *necessary* are significant key words in the technical textbook content. Some statistics:

a) Frequency of *required*
0,17% (Technical corpus)/0,02% (BNC reference corpus)

Much more frequent in Technical corpus;

b) Frequency of *necessary*
0,10% (Technical corpus)/0,02% (BNC reference corpus)

More frequent in Technical corpus.

Thus a corpus often leads to somewhat unexpected discoveries. Here is one more proof:

WordSmith Tool applied to technical corpus makes a pattern *it is often necessary to* evident (Table 6), but no such pattern is found in BNC in comparison.

The higher frequency of occurrence of such unexpected patterns in a technical corpus is related to the features of the technical writing style. Main features of technical style are the strengthening of weak constructs (hence the use of participles and highly specific words) and in our case - predicative adjectives relating to importance (*necessary*, *required*). The visual thesaurus models of the two adjectives are compared below as they are synonymous and often the boundaries between their senses are not clear enough for students:



Fig.1 Visual thesaurus entry - *required* (a participial adjective, strictly specific meaning)

from Thinkmap Visual Thesaurus <<http://www.visualthesaurus.com>>

Dictionary entry: needed by rule; necessary for relief or supply

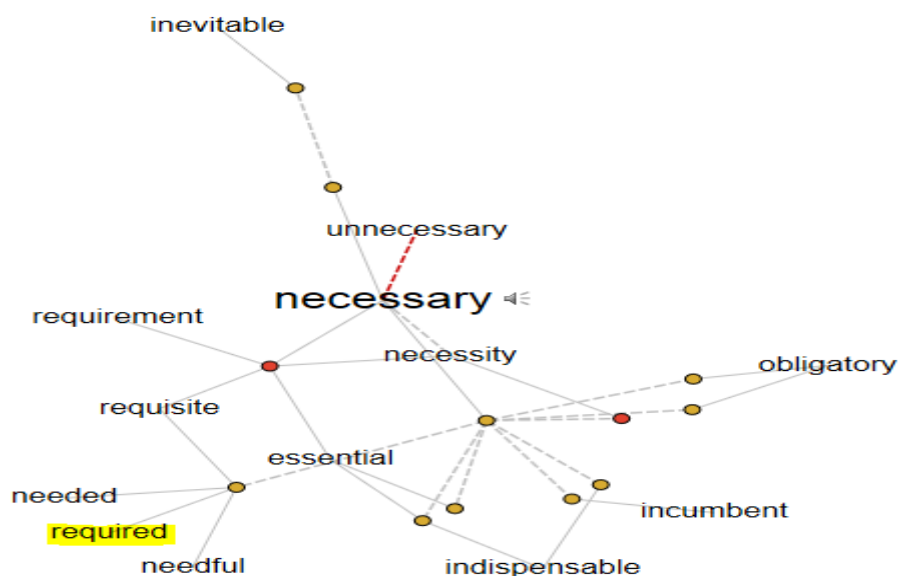


Fig.2 Visual thesaurus entry – *necessary* (a modal adjective, general meaning)
from <<http://www.visualthesaurus.com>>

Dictionary entry: absolutely essential; unavoidably determined by prior circumstances; incapable of being avoided or prevented; absolutely necessary;

Conclusion: By introducing linguistic tools into the ESP classroom the teacher assists students in becoming pattern sensitive and familiar with the special features of technical style (such as preference to precise adjectives and participles and adjective patterns as strong predicative elements). Predicative adjective patterns and their effective teaching are further explored in future papers.

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OneLook <<http://www.onelook.com>>.

RAISING TEACHER-TRAINEES AWARENESS OF INPUT-BASED OPTIONS FOR FOCUS ON FORM

Irina Ivanova

Abstract: *The article focuses on the importance of raising teacher-trainees' awareness of some contemporary teaching approaches for focus on form in instructional paradigms emphasizing negotiation of meaning and pragmatic appropriateness. The idea of autonomous language learning makes it essential for teacher-trainees to be aware of a variety of teaching choices, among which are input based options, such as processing instruction, textual enhancement and discourse-based teaching. These instructional options need to be included in the theoretical course in methodology, so that the trainees can make them part of their teaching repertoire and make informed decisions when choosing the best approach to teaching a particular group or class of students. The input-based options are illustrated through classroom activities and mapped against the context of the Bulgarian EFL classroom.*

Key words: *input-based options, focus on form*

It is very often the case with teaching practice that pre-service teacher training fails to help trainees make use of the theories and ideas known as received knowledge (Wallace 1991), and more specifically, of research-based findings and recommendations. As a result, instead of being the time for creative experimentation and application of accumulated ideas and know-how, school-based teaching practice looks more like unimaginative risk-free routine, heavily grounded in exclusive course book use and ways of teaching which have little to do with recent developments in the field of FLT. This is particularly true when it comes to teaching grammar, or, to use a broader term, providing focus on form in a communicative context. Discussing university FL instruction Bruton (1994: 53) says that “university students have trouble articulating even a rough definition of grammar, distinguishing grammar from morphosyntax and the lexicon, or discriminating meaning in grammar, though they might be able to label some constructions appropriately”. For most of the trainees teaching grammar means explaining the rules which are given in the respective lesson in the coursebook. This should not come as a surprise, since in practice, as Chalker (1994) points out, most teachers learn their grammar from the same books as their learners. These learners' grammars are to be found either in coursebooks, to be assimilated under teacher's supervision, or in reference grammars, to be assimilated more independently. Irrespective of the source of grammar knowledge though, it is obvious that pre-service university teacher training courses should be designed so that they not only provide trainees with knowledge of the subject matter, but also help them find their way and make use of the received knowledge.

Over the past few decades there has been a fundamental shift in the teaching of grammar from one in which grammar instruction is central, to one in which it is absent, and to a recent reconsideration of the role of grammar instruction. SLA research has demonstrated that grammatical or form-focused instruction is especially effective when it is incorporated into a meaningful communicative context. Moreover, much of language is not rule-governed and hence has to be learnt as chunks (see Pawley, Syder 1983). All this, and the assumption that “grammar knowledge evolves organically, rather than

growing in discrete steps” (Leech 1994: 19), makes it necessary for any pre-service teacher-training course to raise trainees awareness of various options for teaching grammar communicatively. On the other hand, Ellis (1993: 37) emphasises the necessity of a shift in our approach from one focusing on teaching the language to one emphasising learning and acquisition of language. This change of focus encourages reconsidering the role of the classroom as a setting within which opportunities for learning are provided rather than as a place where language is formally taught. Unfortunately, though, most trainee teachers I work with, when asked what their main aim is regarding teaching practice, admit to being concerned mainly with teaching what they have planned for a lesson rather than providing opportunities for students to learn something in class.

Arguing for an enlightened, eclectic approach, Douglas Brown (2007: 43) states that this approach should be “a theoretically well-informed global understanding of the process of learning and teaching. It is inspired by the interconnection of all your reading and observing and discussing and teaching, and that interconnection underlies everything you do in the classroom.”

In many Bulgarian classrooms (and EFL contexts in general), the prevailing teaching approach corresponds to what Thornbury describes as a very weak form of communicative language teaching (Thornbury 1998: 110). In such classrooms, a communicative element has been absorbed into the **P-P-P (Presentation-Practice-Production)** model of teaching, so that new language is presented to learners in order to make the form and meaning clear and memorable. The presentation stage is followed by some form of grammar practice, which generally proceeds from more teacher control to more freedom in the process of communication. Controlled exercises such as grammar drills are used for working on the form, and occasional grammar games or other creative activities provide freer practice. The aim of the freer practice stage is to have students use the structures in as natural and fluent a manner as possible, as in information-gap and role play activities. However, it often happens that the students, when given freedom, choose not to use the target structures, in which case inexperienced trainees just carry on through the routines and get students to do the exercises in the coursebook. The feedback students receive from the trainees during the practice and production stages is concerned mainly with the nature and treatment of students’ errors. Although the underlying theory for a P-P-P approach has now been discredited (see Nassaji and Fotos 2011), it remains very popular with many teachers, and many pedagogical texts and textbooks continue to advocate its inclusion among the range of grammar teaching strategies.

Currently the main instructional alternative to the P-P-P paradigm within the communicative approach is **Task-based learning (TBL)**. In task-based learning the focus is on process rather than product, and its basic elements are purposeful activities and tasks that emphasize communication and meaning. Learners learn the language “by interacting communicatively and purposefully while engaged in activities and tasks which are sequenced according to difficulty, where the latter depends on a range of factors including the previous experience of the learner, the complexity of the task, the language required to undertake the task, and the degree of support available” (Richards, Rogers 2001: 25). In this strong version communicative approach successful completion of the task is seen as more important than successful application of a rule of grammar. Recently, though, as Thornbury (1999: 21) points out, task-based learning relaxed its approach to grammar, largely through recognition of the value of a focus on form. Even this,

however, did not succeed in making task-based learning more popular with both practising teachers and trainees in Bulgarian mainstream classrooms for numerous reasons. Some of the most obvious reasons are the lack of experience in using TBL, the nature of textbooks and instructional materials used in class, which are not task-based, as well as time constraints and the pressure to teach the material as planned in a teacher's yearly workplan.

Another option presented to the trainees in the methodology course is the so-called **focus on form (FonF)**, proposed by Long (1991) in response to problems associated with traditional approaches to teaching grammar, and dissatisfaction with purely communicative approaches. Long distinguished a focus on form from both a focus on forms (FonFs) and a focus on meaning. Whereas FonF draws the learner's attention to linguistic forms in the context of meaningful communication, FonFs is the traditional approach based on the assumption that language consists of a series of grammatical forms that can be acquired sequentially and additively. As has already been pointed out, language acquisition research does not support this idea, since grammar knowledge evolves organically, rather than growing in discrete steps. Long (2000) argued that FonFs is problematic because it leads to lessons which are dry and consist of teaching linguistic forms with little concern for communicative use. Focus on meaning is problematic because it does not lead to desired levels of grammatical development and is not based on learner needs. FonF, on the other hand, is learner-centered, and happens when the learner is attending to meaning and has a communication problem.

In a recent review Nassaji and Fotos (2011: 14) state that "FonF must be a component of a broader L2 instructed learning that provides ample opportunities for meaningful and form-focused instruction including a range of opportunities for L2 input, output, interaction, and practice". It should be approached in ways that are responsive to the needs of the learners, and take into account the various context-related variables and learner characteristics including their age, developmental readiness, and other individual differences.

Current SLA theory and research have begun to examine these opportunities for focus on form, and one of the options proposed in this respect is **input-based instruction**.

Input is defined as the language "that learners hear or see, to which they attend for its propositional content (message)" (VanPatten 1996: 10). It is the sample of language – oral or written – that the learners are exposed to and attempt to process for meaning. In her review of input-based studies, Larsen-Freeman states that in earlier studies of the SLA process, all one really needed to know was the learner's L1, and most of the efforts went into describing syntactic forms in learners' speech and arguing about whether they were due to mother tongue interference or not. "In input studies, the more we know about the learner – not only his or her L1, but also his or her age, socioeconomic status, target language proficiency, sex, opportunities for interaction with target language speakers, conditions under which learning took place, etc. – the more we will know about the nature of the input the learner is likely to receive. Thus input studies provide a natural synthesis of foci on the learner and learning." Larsen-Freeman (1985: 434).

In this context, the idea of autonomous language learning makes it essential for the trainees to be aware of the input based options and their potential for teaching grammar.

There are several input-based options for teaching grammar: processing instruction, textual enhancement and a discourse-based option (Nassaji, Fotos 2011). All these options need to be included in the theoretical course in methodology, so that the trainees can make them part of their teaching repertoire and make informed decisions when choosing the best approach for teaching a particular group or class of students.

Processing instruction, as an approach, emphasizes the central role of input in language acquisition and maintains that grammar can best be learned when learners attend to it in input-rich environments (Lee, VanPatten 2003). In it an initial exposure to explicit instruction should be combined with a series of input-processing activities that aim to help learners create form-meaning connections. VanPatten has defined input processing as strategies that learners use to link grammatical forms to their meanings or functions. He has made a distinction between processing and other related concepts, such as perception, noticing, and intake, which can take place prior to or without assigning any meaning to a particular form. However, processing involves both perception and noticing and also assigning meaning to the form. Intake refers to that part of the input that the learner has noticed and stored in his or her working memory for further processing, which will later become the basis of language learning.

One problem L2 learners have in processing input is the difficulty in attending to form and meaning at the same time (VanPatten 1996). VanPatten has outlined an input processing model that has tried to show how learners process input in their memory and how they derive intake from input while their focus is on meaning. The model contains the following four main principles:

1. Learners process input for meaning before they process it for form. Thus, they pay more attention to forms that express more meaning than those that express less meaning. For example, in the sentence *He works in a factory*. *He* and *-s* express the same grammatical information, and the learner might focus on the main lexical item (*he*) to get that information and so may not notice the inflection *-s*, or may not process it adequately.
2. For learners to process form that is not meaningful, they must be able to process information at no or little cost to attention. In other words, forms that do not have much communicative value will be attended to only when attentional resources required for processing meaning have not been used up. Such items are usually acquired later. An example of this might be the order in which learners first acquire the verb morpheme *-ing* and then the third person *-s*. The reason for this, VanPatten argues, could be that *-ing* has a higher communicative value than the third person singular *-s*.
3. Learners possess a default strategy that assigns the role of agent (or subject) to the first noun (phrase) they encounter in a sentence/utterance. Principle 3 concerns the order of words in a sentence and how learners process them. According to VanPatten (1996), the first-noun strategy works successfully in languages where the subject of the sentence is usually the first word, such as in English with its subject–verb–object (SVO) word order, but not in languages that do not have such a word order.
4. Learners first process elements in sentence/utterance initial position. Thus, they process and learn these words more quickly than those which appear in other positions.

Processing instruction as a pedagogical technique is based on the principles of the input processing model and rests on the assumption that by understanding how learners process

input, the teachers will be able to devise effective instructional activities to aid input processing. The key components of processing instruction as a pedagogical intervention should first be introduced and tested on the trainees in the methodological seminars. The steps are the same as those proposed by VanPatten:

1. Learners are provided with information about the target linguistic form or structure.
2. They are informed of the input processing strategies that may negatively affect their processing of the target structure.
3. They carry out input-based activities that help them understand and process the form during comprehension.

In both observation classes and methodology seminars trainees should be given the opportunity to observe and explore the principles of VanPatten's model. Then they can find materials in the textbooks or design their own activities and, under the supervision of the methodologist, test the principles of the model in micro-teaching sessions with their peers at university first and later with school students.

The oral and written classroom activities that are used in input-processing instruction are called structured input and are designed to force students to focus on the target structure and to process it for meaning. Structured input activities are of two main types: **referential** and **affective** (VanPatten 1996). Referential activities are activities for which there is always a right or wrong answer, whereas affective activities require learners to provide a response by indicating their agreements or opinions about a set of events.

The following referential activities given in Nassaji and Fotos (2011: 32), illustrate the potential of processing instruction, and can be used as an illustration with the trainees:

Activity 1 can be used for students in upper-beginner or lower-intermediate level classes. According to the input-processing model, learners prefer processing lexical items to morphological items. The goal of the activity is to push learners to process the morphological marker *-ed*, which they may not otherwise notice if the past adverbial is provided. The instruction for the learners is to listen to the following sentences and decide whether they describe an action that was done before or is usually done.

1. *The teacher corrected the essays.*
2. *The man cleaned the table.*
3. *I wake up at 5 in the morning.*
4. *The train leaves the station at 8 am.*
5. *The writer finished writing the book.*
6. *The trees go green in the spring.*

Activity 2 focuses on the causative constructions of the type “*have someone do something*” which can be difficult for learners, since they include two agents and, according to the input processing model, students may always assign the role of the doer to the first noun. Therefore, they may have problems interpreting the statements accurately. The instruction for the students is to listen to each of the following sentences and decide who is performing the action.

1. *The girl made the man check the house for mice.*
2. *My dad made my brother babysit the children all night.*
3. *Mom let the boys go to three different circuses in one week.*
4. *The boss had the chef prepare several roast geese for the wedding dinner.*
5. *Jack let Joe collect some of the data required for our project.*
6. *The professor had the students create hypotheses for their science experiment.*

Comprehension is checked by asking the following questions:

1. *Who checked the house for mice? The girl or the man?*
2. *Who babysat the children all night? My dad or my brother?*
3. *Who went to three different circuses in one week? Mom or the boys?*
4. *Who prepared several roast geese for the wedding dinner? The boss or the chef?*
5. *Who collected some of the data required for our project? Jack or Joe?*
6. *Who had the students create hypotheses for their science experiment? The professor or the students?*

Affective Activities require learners to express their opinion and do not have right or wrong answers. They can be used with students in a lower-intermediate level class.

The aim of activity 1 is to push students to process the present and past participle adjectives. The students have to read the following sentences and decide whether they agree or disagree with them.

1. *The book was boring.*
2. *I am bored when someone tells a joke.*
3. *People who gossip a lot are very irritating.*
4. *I get irritated with small talk.*
5. *It is interesting to talk about yourself.*
6. *The book was interesting.*

Activity 2 helps learners process past simple tense. The instruction involves two steps:

Step 1: Read the following activities and indicate whether you did the same things over the weekend. Step 2: Form pairs and compare your responses with your classmate to see whether he or she did the same activities.

1. *I did my homework.*
2. *I watched TV.*
3. *I wrote a letter to my friend.*
4. *I had a birthday party.*
5. *I walked to the beach.*
6. *I cleaned my room.*

Trainees should be invited to discuss and evaluate these activities in terms of their effectiveness, shortcomings and limitations. One of the limitations for example is that processing instruction can address only certain linguistic forms or constructions that have transparent form-meaning relationships. Trainees should also take into consideration the contexts of their teaching and their learners' goals and objectives.

Another input-based option for focus-on-form is **textual enhancement**, which aims to raise learners' attention of linguistic forms by making input more salient. This can be done through highlighting certain aspects of input by means of bolding, underlining, and

italicizing in written input, or acoustic devices such as added stress or repetition in oral input. Such visual or phonological modifications of input make grammatical forms more noticeable and subsequently learnable, so that input can successfully turn into intake. The process through which the salience of input is enhanced is called input enhancement, a term introduced by Sharwood Smith (1991) to substitute for the original term consciousness-raising. Input enhancement can vary along at least two basic dimensions - explicitness and elaboration. Explicitness is the degree of directness in how attention is drawn to form, and elaboration has to do with the duration or intensity of the enhancement procedures. In explicit enhancement the teacher explicitly directs learners' attention to particular linguistic features through various forms of metalinguistic explanation and rule presentation. Implicit enhancement occurs when learners' attention is drawn to grammatical forms while their main focus is on meaning, and may take the form of a teacher's gesture to indicate an error in learners' production. Similarly, enhancement may vary in terms of intensity or elaboration. It may take the form of repeated explanation or correction of an error over an extended period of time, or it could be done through a brief or single explanation of correction. Another distinction is between positive and negative enhancement (Sharwood Smith 1991). Positive input enhancement refers to those strategies that make a correct form salient, whereas negative input enhancement highlights incorrect forms, thus signaling to the learner that they have violated the target norms. Input enhancement can also be achieved internally or externally. Internal enhancement occurs when the learner notices the form himself or herself, and external enhancement occurs when the form is noticed through external agents, such as the teacher.

Textual enhancement can be used with both written and oral texts. The text can either be authentic, if it contains enough examples of the targeted form, or it can be modified for that purpose. In textual enhancement, learners should read the text for meaning. This can be achieved by using various forms of post-reading activities. The teacher should not explain why certain forms are highlighted in the input and should not provide any additional metalinguistic information either. For example, in the following enhanced text the target form is the third person singular verbs in English. Each instance of the target form has been highlighted using the bold type:

*The man **goes** with his dog to the park. He **brings** a ball with him to throw for the dog. When he **arrives** at the park, he **throws** the ball very far, and the dog **chases** after it. The dog **comes** back with the ball in his mouth. The man **is** very happy to see the dog come back with the ball. He **spends** the rest of the day throwing the ball for his dog to chase.*

In oral enhanced texts input can be made more noticeable through various intonational and phonological manipulations, such as added stress, intonation, or repetitions of the targeted form, or even through gestures, body movement, or facial expressions. In the following example from Nassaji (2007: 59) the learner has made an error in the use of the past tense of *catch* during his conversation with the teacher. The teacher has reformulated the learner's error and has enhanced it with an added stress and rising intonation:

Student: And she caught her.

Teacher: She CAUGHT her? [Enhanced with added stress]

Student: Yeah, caught her.

In general, trainees are familiar with textual enhancement since they themselves as students have been exposed to this type of text manipulation in textbooks. Very often though the enhancement techniques in textbooks are used for different purposes which are not always transparent to the trainees unless there are explicit instructions in the teacher's guide how to use the enhanced bits. Most often, enhanced items are used as an illustration to the rule which has already been introduced.

One potential problem with textual enhancement is the contradiction arising due to the fact that enhanced items immediately attract learners' attention, although the learners might be asked by the teacher to ignore them temporarily, so that other, usually skill-development work be done before focusing on grammar. In order to overcome this problem the trainees should have a clear idea of what their aims are, and plan the instructional steps they are going to use in order to avoid possible confusion.

The same potential difficulties arise in the use of another form of input enhancement, known as **input flood**. In this technique, learners are provided with numerous examples of a certain target form in the input (either oral or written). Input flood makes the target form perceptually salient and provides the learner with ample exposure to the target form. Since this technique does not involve any direct intervention, it also provides an implicit method of focus on form. In the following example from Nassaji and Fotos (2011), the target forms are the definite and indefinite articles. According to the authors, the text has been designed to include numerous instances of those forms without typographically highlighting them:

A chipmunk sat on some branches in a great big tree. It was very hungry, so it decided to leave the tree and look for food. It climbed off the branches and reached the trunk of the tree, and went down the trunk to the ground below. The chipmunk saw lots of grass, and in the grass lay many acorns! The chipmunk, in its delight, took as many acorns as it could, put them in its mouth, and ran back up the tree trunk to its nest. There, the chipmunk had a very good meal.

The studies of the effectiveness of textual enhancement and input flood have shown varying results, from positive and facilitative effects to limited and even no effects. This is not surprising as textual enhancement simply provides learners with correct models of the language, without even specifying what language has been enhanced. Thus for example, when asked what grammar has been targeted in the text above, most trainees thought it was past simple tense of irregular verbs. Although textual enhancement may promote noticing, it alone may not be able to bring about learning. Trainees need to be made aware of its shortcomings, as well as the options for making it more effective by including explicit instruction, plus various forms of input and output-based practices and corrective feedback.

The third option for input-based instruction is **teaching grammar through discourse**. A discourse-based language teaching differs from the other form-focused approaches in that it considers the meaning and use of grammatical forms within the larger discourse context. Celce-Murcia and Olshtain (2001:4) define discourse as "an instance of spoken or written language that has describable internal relationships of form and meaning that relate coherently to an external communicative function or purpose and a given audience/interlocutor". This approach deals with the possible grammatical realizations of speech acts such as requesting and suggesting, the way grammatical categories such as

tense, aspect and modality are realised in texts, and the role of grammar in creating textual cohesion and information structure through devices of thematization such as adverbial placement, the use of the passive and clefting (see Trappes-Lomax 2004: 154). Thus, an essential function of grammar is its pragmatic meaning in context, a fact which is somewhat underestimated in quite a lot of coursebooks and teacher's guides, leaving it to the teacher to decide how to introduce a certain structure's pragmatic meaning to students. Halliday's systemic linguistic approach states that teachers need to consider language in its entirety "so that whatever is said about one aspect is to be understood always with reference to the total picture" (Halliday, Matthiesson 2004:19). This is especially essential for today's language learners and teachers since most institutional tests of language proficiency (e.g. TOEFL) now present listening, speaking and writing skills at the discourse level, often requiring learners to synthesize both written and spoken items when producing their answers.

The discourse-based view of language teaching emphasizes the **communicative use of grammar**, suggesting that learners must comprehend what is actually being communicated, regardless of the apparent meaning of the syntax. For example, when someone in a room tells another person in the same room "It's hot here, isn't it?" the speaker is probably requesting that a window be opened, and does not expect the answer "Yes, it is" or "No, it isn't" although it would be syntactically correct.

Research findings (Biber, Reppen 2002; Ellis 2002, 2007) indicate that learners must encounter target structures repeatedly in discourse-level contexts until a certain threshold of encounters is reached, at which point the form often becomes incorporated into learners' interlanguage system. Many pedagogical grammars now provide functional introductions to the structural presentation of grammar points, emphasizing use of the target forms in communication. Corpus linguistics also has important implications for a discourse-based approach to L2 instruction in the areas of syllabus design, materials development and classroom activities. It provides an approach to language teaching known as **data-driven learning** (DDL), defined as "the use in the classroom of computer-generated concordances to get students to explore regularities of patterning in the target language, and the development of activities and exercises based on concordance output" (Johns, King 1991: iii). DDL learning is seen as an important resource for remedying the current mismatch between authentic target language and the language presented in most L2 textbooks. For example, many texts suggest that the most common use of the simple present tense is habitual activities and routines ("I go to school every day"). However, corpus analysis indicates that this usage occurs only 5.5% of the time, whereas 57.7% of the usages is the actual present ("I see what you mean") or neutral time ("My name is Ann") (Tsui 2004: 41). Since many textbook presentations of grammar structures do not reflect real-life usages, it has been strongly suggested (Biber, Reppen 2002) that material developers should use corpus analysis to determine the frequencies of grammatical structures in authentic language and be careful to reflect these frequencies in the materials they design.

A different approach to corpus-based L2 grammar teaching makes use of learner corpora to identify areas of difficulty (Nesselhauf 2004). For example, the Longman Learner Corpus was used to identify common learner errors, and these were incorporated into the Longman Essential Activator (1997) and the Longman Dictionary of Common Errors (Heaton, Turton 1987). Another approach has used corpus analysis of clusters, defined as

words which follow each other in a text (Scott, Tribble 2006: 131), such as “as a result of” or “the way in which,” in the instruction of English for Academic Purposes to create word cluster lists of academic phrases for L2 writing. Teacher trainees should be encouraged to explore the findings in these reference sources and map them against their observations and experience with Bulgarian school students.

In accordance with research findings, form-focused discourse is becoming increasingly used in newer ESL/ EFL textbooks to teach the four skills through various receptive and productive activities. Nunan (1999) suggests providing learners with opportunities to explore grammatical relationships in both authentic and non-authentic texts. This can be done as a seminar activity with the trainees. For example, they can be asked to study two extracts, one of which is a piece of genuine conversation, and the other is taken from a language teaching textbook. Trainees have to decide which is which, to list the differences between the two extracts, to guess what language the non-authentic conversation is trying to teach, and also what grammar they would need in order to take part in the authentic conversation.

Discourse-based input activities can be used to build a sense of cohesion and coherence in written and spoken texts. For example, to work on cohesion, teachers can choose an authentic piece of text and ask the students to examine how target grammar items create links across sentence boundaries. Students should focus on how words are related to create different patterns of usage. To build a sense of coherence, the teacher can select a piece of text containing multiple uses of a target form, such as the definite article. Students are requested to examine the function of each use of the in the discourse, and then to analyze the context of its use, making generalizations about its occurrence, its meaning, and the circumstances of its use and non-use.

Research findings suggest that the provision of discourse-level input based on authentic or simplified target language discourse, the study of discourse-level communicative contexts in which L2 forms are used, and the provision of opportunities for form-focused discourse-level output can greatly support implicit and explicit grammar instruction and can promote increased learner awareness of grammar forms, thus leading to successful foreign language acquisition. In order to be able to use these instructional options in their teaching, trainees need a solid theoretical background, received knowledge which has already been assimilated and made easily accessible for further use in a specific teaching context.

In conclusion, it should be emphasized that input-based options for focus on form should be used together with output-based options, since language teaching and learning are multifaceted processes, which require different instructional strategies depending on the circumstances in which teaching and learning take place. In order to attain communicative competence learners need continuous exposure to input and ample opportunities for output in the language classroom. That is why it is important to provide teacher-trainees with a number of research-based teaching proposals, and give them opportunities to apply what they have learnt in the theoretical course in their school-based teaching practice. This knowledge can enhance teachers’ awareness of the way language learning and teaching take place and consequently may make them more intellectually engaged and responsible for their own teaching.

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TEACHING GRAMMAR TO YOUNG LEARNERS – A MULTIDISCIPLINARY PERSPECTIVE ON SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

Miroslava Tsvetkova

Abstract: *Learning a foreign language is a long-term, complex, and dynamic process that involves different types of language skills and various stages of development. Second language acquisition (SLA) is a multidisciplinary field whose goal is to understand the processes that underlie the learning of a non-native language. SLA draws from a variety of scholarly areas, among them the various branches of linguistics, cognitive psychology, and education.*

The paper offers new insights into the acquisition of English as a foreign language. It presents a discussion of how the field conceptualises grammar through a multidisciplinary model for acquiring the English present progressive construction.

Key words: *second language acquisition, construction, multidisciplinary perspective*

Learning a foreign language is a long-term, complex, and dynamic process that involves different types of language skills and various stages of development. Second language acquisition (SLA) is a multidisciplinary field whose goal is to understand the processes that underlie the learning of a non-native language. The author uses the term a “second language” to refer to any language, which is acquired/ learned after one’s first language with a variety of goals in any language learning context.

SLA draws from a variety of scholarly areas, including linguistics (syntactic theory, pragmatic theory, cognitive linguistics, and discourse analysis), sociolinguistics, cognitive psychology and psycholinguistics (including first language acquisition), and education.

That is why it is difficult to define the scope and nature of the field. Compounding this lack of clarity is the position of SLA at the interface between theory and practice (Kramsch 2000: 318).

The discussion here makes it clear that there is a significant overlap in the areas considered. The plurality of approaches needs to be welcomed rather than deplored, particularly in light of the multidimensional nature of SLA. In this spirit Gebhard has claimed that “use and acquisition are two faces of the same process; artificially pulling them apart therefore does not strike me as helpful” (Gebhard 1999: 550). On the other hand, as Firth and Wagner (1998) make clear, language acquisition will not occur without language use. The SLA field will surely benefit from understanding how these two proposals may relate.

Still more linguists and psycholinguists claim that second language acquisition quickly turns into one of the most dynamic and encouraging fields of research of cognitive science. The traditional methods of studying SLA are connected with language acquisition. But contemporary theoretical and empirical studies have convinced more and more scholars that thorough research of the process of SLA is a way in understanding the cognitive processes involved in the acquisition or the biological language resources.

The paper offers new insights into the acquisition of English as a foreign language, enabling us to account for language acquisition in a way simply not possible in the “meaningful words and meaningless rules” approach. Recent research suggests that young children do not structure their early language with rules of any kind. It outlines how the field conceptualises grammar through a multidisciplinary model for acquiring the English present progressive construction (Tsvetkova 2010). The practical implication of this approach has to do with the improvement of the grammar teaching method. It should help students study grammar in a more active-interactive way so that grammar teaching might change in a significant way. The author’s multidisciplinary model enables learners to synthesize, think critically, and re-examine the world. It demonstrates how the shift in this paradigm is occurring from purely linguistic to multidisciplinary learning, which is appropriate for describing many of children’s early linguistic productions.

Multidisciplinary instruction is an approach that thoughtfully incorporates and connects key concepts and skills from many disciplines into the presentation of a single unit. Teaching in that way involves social, educational, pedagogical, linguistic, personal, and cognitive dimensions. In the last two decades, in general education the cognitive dimension of teaching has been recognized as central to successful teaching. Helping learners become aware of the cognitive processes may enhance their learning efficiency. The author’s hypothesis is that EFL students may profit from learning about the cognitive processes. A research to test this hypothesis was conducted to investigate the effects of cognitive awareness of the concept of tense and aspect in English and the result sufficiently proved that the author’s cognitive model for acquiring the English present progressive construction is effective in improving learners’ ability and provides motivation for language learning.

Theoretical and methodological issues on language acquisition are introduced from the perspectives of linguistics, cognitive linguistics and education. On the one hand, the model grounds on linguistics and the contemporary research in the field. On the other hand, it is related to the acquisition of the present progressive construction but acquisition is a function of the cognitive processes and a question of an adequate theory which accounts for the nature of these processes.

The theoretical framework focuses on generative and cognitive approaches to explaining language acquisition. They are expressed through Chomsky’s generative theory and Tomasello’s usage-based approach, coming from the idea that one theory only cannot explain the variety of phenomena in the grammar system.

Focusing on constructions as the main units in language (Langacker 1987; Goldberg 1995; Croft 2001), the model starts with the definition of a ‘construction’, proceeding to the relation part-whole in a new manner and describing the parts of the construction in relation to the whole construction, as well as in relation to the other parts. The idea of taxonomic hierarchy of constructions is applied, as they are discussed in chronological order, with an emphasis mainly on this very construction with those preceding it. The role of context, the meaning of lexicon as well as the relation with the argument structure are also discussed. All that is developed according to the age of the learners in primary schools – the illustration ‘kitty’ is used as a visual aid in order to make the acquisition of the semantics of the construction easier. The development of the illustration which is based on the children’s knowledge of the extralinguistic world is applied for the purpose

of FLT to support the learners' understanding and semantisation of the present progressive construction in a simpler way. The cat demonstrates and visualizes successfully this semantics with the help of its characteristic features - flexibility, facility and rapidity (all of them are attributes of the action). In this way children's early language is cognitively grounded on their understanding of the world, which corresponds to grammatical constructions as well.

The reason for that is the lesson should be fun, meaningful and memorable. Approaches of the kind enable us to talk about children's mastery of meaningful linguistic units of different shapes, sizes, and degrees of abstraction, and how these are gradually transformed into more adult-like linguistic constructions.

The psychological features of foreign language acquisition are connected with the ideas of cognitive psychology and Gestalt psychology. The representatives of the cognitive approach in foreign language teaching are interested in the nature and activity of the mental processes during learning.

The teaching of a concept using the multidisciplinary approach is in line with the philosophy of Gestalt' theory that, 'the whole is greater than the sum of its parts'. This implies that the teaching of a concept, not with the use of only one discipline, but with the use of three or more disciplines or subjects will aid better understanding of the phenomenon under study. In this way, related subjects are utilized in teaching and ultimately make connections between and among disciplines toward a better understanding of humans and their interaction with their total environment. After all, this is a principal aim of education irrespective of people or boundaries.

The methodological aspect of the linguistic conclusions about the English present progressive construction is the base of the study namely the way the construction is built, which rules and regularities of the target language can be found and how they can be acquired.

The multidisciplinary approach thoughtfully incorporates and connects key concepts and skills from many disciplines into the presentation of a single unit. And it is methodology to help students make connections. Mathison and Maston (1989) observe that multidisciplinary instruction helps students connect and use information that they have learned from one discipline to address the problem at hand. A child sees the world as one unit and naturally asks questions which cut across artificial subject divisions. An integrated approach to learning attempts to follow the child's natural way of learning, viewing the world as a whole.

Furthermore, multidisciplinary instruction provides learners with a more comprehensive learning that is rich and interesting. The fact that the different disciplines borrow knowledge from each other potentially makes learning amusing and thought provoking.

The main points that the model follows are:

- Cognitive grammar extends the notion of symbolic units to the grammar of language.
- Linguistic structures are motivated by general cognitive processes.
- The model draws analogies between linguistic structure and aspects of visual perception.

Appropriate teaching methods that address the individual and collective needs of learners are required in the teaching and learning of a foreign language. The use of different approaches to improve learning should always be explored by teachers who are intent on making a difference.

For teachers of language, it is important that their methods and approaches aim towards the all round development of the learners taking into consideration their needs, problems, and abilities.

This approach is learner-centred as it empowers learners to see the connections, generalize and transfer knowledge to a variety of problem solving situations in the real world. In addition, it enables students gain and apply knowledge, skills and strategies in multiple subject areas that allow them to construct a more integrated web of knowledge and information.

In my own experience, the deductive approach is undoubtedly time saving and allows more time for practising the language items thus making it an effective approach with lower level students. The inductive approach, on the other hand, is often more beneficial to students who already have a base in the language as it encourages them to work things out for themselves based on their existing knowledge. That is why the inductive approach is favoured.

Psycholinguistic perspectives on SLA do not represent a single and unified system but include a number of approaches that embody diverse goals and analyses. Common to all the strands within this paradigm, however, is a focus on mental processes that drive language development, and the recognition of cognitive variables as the central focus of inquiry.

Focusing on language use, the field of SLA finds expression in Kramsch's definition (2000: 314). As well as traditional research on psycholinguistic factors that influence foreign language acquisition, it includes "applied SLA research" that explores the nature of the learning environment and its role in facilitating or hindering linguistic development. This definition establishes firmly the strong links between SLA research and foreign language pedagogy, a field that "inquires about the social, psychological, cognitive and institutional dimensions of language instruction" (Kramsch 2000: 315).

Psycholinguistic aspects of SLA are clearly important here, but cognitive structures are seen to be influenced and developed through social engagement (Firth, Wagner 1998). Since cognition is rooted in the daily social and cultural practices of the communities in which individuals participate as active agents (Gebhard 1999), the emphasis shifts from the product of interaction to the social and cultural contexts of interaction and exploring how these impinge on the learner. Learners are thus seen as active and creative agents in a socio-cognitive complex task (Hall 1997).

The model has useful applications for both FL teachers and learners. It helps students develop their existing knowledge more effectively.

The cognitive characteristics of linguistic objects, constructions in our case, are revealed in order to facilitate their acquisition. I am talking about the present progressive tense, but my view is that it fits in a construction that is a unity of constructions in a hierarchical relationship to other constructions in English. At each stage of acquisition factors that

influence the construction are reported, as I dwell on the intralingual and interlingual connections and interdependencies.

The suggested cognitive model for acquiring the English present progressive construction is based on significant tendencies in the development of linguistics, psychology, psycholinguistics and education. The interdisciplinary character of the study assumes that a topic, concept or theme is better taught and understood when more than one subject is involved in the teaching and learning of the subject matter.

Multidisciplinarity is vital in the present global era because of the belief that the global world is a culturally and linguistically diverse entity that can best be understood in an integrated way. As an innovation, it tries to rectify the divisive effects that the old traditional concept of learning as a discipline, pursued in the study of subjects, has upon the child's concept of knowledge. A multidisciplinary approach enables learners to recognize contrasting perspectives, synthesize, and re-examine the world we take for granted (Davis 1997). It makes students tackle complex issues in a meaningful way. Therefore, it is a learning approach that should be explored, encouraged and made easy for teachers to utilize in instruction.

It is known that the linguistic data is too abstract and difficult to acquire. If we manage to make it part of the world of the learners, it will improve the quality of foreign language education and motivate learners to search, decode and use the information all life long. Finally we hope models that will make the acquisition easier are given to primary school learners in the future.

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НЯКОИ ПРОБЛЕМИ НА СЪПОСТАВИТЕЛНИТЕ ИЗСЛЕДВАНИЯ ВЪРХУ ЕФЕКТИВНОСТТА НА ТЕКСТОВЕ ОТ ЕЛЕКТРОННИЯ ДИСКУРС

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Abstract: *The following paper offers a brief discussion of some of the most common problems characteristic of comparative electronic discourse studies, particularly those which focus on the application of the regulative principles of textuality.*

Keywords: *electronic discourse, comparative studies, Discourse analysis, efficiency*

I. Увод

Началото на 21 век се характеризира с преобладаващото влияние на глобализацията във всички сфери на човешкия живот. Може би най-ярък пример за хегемонията на „глобалното село” и основен фактор при създаването и репродуцирането на тази реалност е Глобалната мрежа, или Интернет. Правейки възможно виртуалното общуване и обмена на информация на първо място, Интернет създава възможности за формиране и развиване на общности от хора, които се базират главно на общи интереси, независимо от местонахождението им в пространството. Тази нова култура на комуникация се облагодетелства и от икономическата изгодност на Интернет – в масата от страните по света достъпът до Интернет е или безплатен, или реално обвързан с минимален разход на средства. Ползването на Интернет за дейности, които традиционно се свързват с разход на материални ресурси и време (от лична кореспонденция, през пазаруване, до работа без да се излиза от дома за компания на хиляди километри) превърна този начин на действие в широко разпространяваща се тенденция, демонстрираща все повече предимства и все по-малко недостатъци.

Правейки възможен обмена на информация между хора от всички части на света, глобализацията е в диалектична връзка с успоредно създаващата се култура на глобалното общуване. Особеностите на общуващите са основен фактор, който определя облика на самата комуникация и в този смисъл фактът, че участниците в глобалната комуникация чрез Интернет са потенциално хора от цял свят е от решаващо значение. Друг определящ фактор е характерът на медиата, която опосредства това общуване. Именно тук възниква въпросът какво именно прави възможна успешната реализация на комуникативния акт в условията на културен, езиков, социо-политически, медиен и индивидуален плурализъм. Как е възможно да се осъществи общуване, създаване и поддържане на усещане за принадлежност към общност между толкова много и толкова различни хора, посредством какви средства и способности се постига „разбиране” и до каква степен е осъществимо то.

Да се отговори на тези въпроси става още по-трудно, когато във фокуса на вниманието на изследователя попадне не междуличностното интернет общуване, което, макар и опосредствано, е все пак малко ли много директно поради наличието на обратна връзка (или т.нар. „feedback”) и може да се счита за реална комуникация, а напротив – псевдо-комуникацията, осъществявана посредством медиите. Именно такъв вид общуване се осъществява посредством употреба на

текстове в електронния дискурс, което само по себе си предполага възникването на проблеми при постигането на текстуална ефективност.

Настоящата статия не претендира за изчерпателност, а има за цел да набележи някои от най-често срещаните проблеми, възникващи при опитите за съпоставка на електронни текстове по отношение на тяхната ефективност.

II. Проблеми при междуетиковия пренос на понятието „ефективност” на текста

В българоезичната лингвистична литература съществуват известни несъответствия при определянето на термин, еквивалентен на английското понятие *efficiency*. В настоящото изследване това понятие се разбира по смисъла на Богранд и Дреслер като един от трите регулативни принципа, контролиращи комуникацията с текстове, който принцип следи за „възможно най-ниската степен на разход и усилия от страна на участниците в комуникацията при употреба на текста” (Богранд, Дреслер, Йовчева 1995: 23).

Във вече цитираното издание на български език на книгата „Увод в текстовата лингвистика” съавторката и преводач на текста Ст. Стоянова-Йовчева използва термина „ефициентност”, за да обозначи регулативния принцип *efficiency*. Останалите регулативни принципи, въведени от авторите, са *ефективност* (*effectiveness*) и *съобразност* (*appropriateness*), отчитащи съответно доколко текстът оставя силно впечатление и създава предпоставки за постигане на дадена цел и как спазването на критериите за текстуалност съответства на контекста, в който се появява даденият текст (вж. Богранд, Дреслер, Йовчева 1995: 23).

От друга страна при Добрева и Савова (2000: 100-104) е направен един по-широк обзор и са изредени по-голям брой принципи, наречени „критерии за прагматическа оценка на текста” (пак там, стр. 100), като сред тях фигурира понятието „икономичност”, което „отчита разхода на труд, напрежение, време, енергия и средства от страна на продуцента при създаване на текста и съответно от страна на реципиента в процеса на възприемане на този текст”, „(х)арактеризира начина за постигане на максимален резултат с минимални усилия” и при което се цени „лекотата на преработката, интерпретацията на повърхнинните съотнасяния и извличането на смисъла с най-малко натоварване” (пак там, стр. 104), като според тези дефиниции това понятие съответства на въведеното от Богранд и Дреслер (2002) понятие ефективност. Останалите изброени критерии са приемливост (оценката на реципиента за това доколко продуктът е текст, по подобие на критерия за текстуалност наречен от Богранд и Дреслер *акцептабилност* (*acceptability*); уместност (касаеща доколко един текст е подходящ в дадена ситуация, съответстваща на регулативния принцип *съобразност* (*appropriateness*) при Богранд и Дреслер); ефективност (отчитаща доколко текстът създава условия за изпълнение на даден резултат, еквивалентна на вече споменатия термин на Богранд и Дреслер); ефектност (отговаряща на атрактивността и интересността на даден текст, тясно свързана с петия от седемте критерия за текстуалност, а именно информативност (*informativity*) (вж. Богранд, Дреслер, Йовчева 1995: 21).

Тези терминологични разминавания, които често водят до объркване и неяснота за кой точно принцип става дума и какво точно денотира даден термин на български език, са вероятно следствие от една страна на донякъде размитите граници между понятията ефективност и ефектност, а също и от трудностите, които традиционно съпътстват преноса на термини между езиците. Много често ефективност и ефектност се използват като синоними, без да се отчитат специфичните отсенки в значението на двете понятия. Друго усложнение се дължи на факта, че тези понятия са много тясно свързани и взаимнозависими, а също така и на това, че за абсолютно съблюдаване на регулативните принципи едва ли може да се говори – можем да разглеждаме единствено степени на проявление на всеки един от принципите, като флукуациите в нивата на проява на единия влияят на нивата на другия, което допринася за сложността и объркването. Често ефектността се реализира като едно от условията за постигане на ефективност, като същото се отнася и за „ефикасността“ или икономичността – в едни случаи атрактивността е целесъобразна (ефективна), в други това се отнася за икономичността (ефективността, ефикасността). Така се оказва, че ефективността е едно по-широко понятие в сравнение с ефектността.

III. Проблеми при избора на методология за изследвания в областта на електронния дискурс

Естеството на изследванията на текстове от електронния дискурс налага възприемането на мултидисциплинарен подход. Подобен вид изследвания налагат избор на методология, адекватна както за анализиране на текстове като материална проява на дискурса, така и взимаща предвид естеството на дискурса като език в употреба, тоест отчитаща влиянието и особеностите на контекста на употреба на самите текстове. Тъй като ефективността е един от регулативните принципи за оценка на текст, би следвало текстолингвистиката като наука с добре развит методологичен апарат да е способна да предложи подходящ инструментариум за лингвистичен анализ на способите за постигане на ефективност.

Друг важен аспект, а именно фокуса на изследванията върху способите на постигане на езикова ефективност, тоест максимално разбиране при минимални усилия, налага да се вземат предвид постановките на Когнитивната лингвистика, занимаваща се с особеностите на структурирането на познанието и неговата езиково- и културно-специфична страна, което би било полезно при идентифициране на оптималните условия за постигане на ефективност, както и би могло да обясни и евентуално да спомогне за предотвратяване на затрудненото разбиране, особено в контекста на изследвания, които целят да съпоставят не само различни езици, но и различни култури.

Интердисциплинарният характер на Анализа на дискурса го прави изключително удачен за цялостна рамка, която да включва различни подходи и да инкорпорира методологията на различни други дисциплини. Това позволява при изследванията да използва едновременно аналитичния апарат на Текстолингвистиката, Контрастивната лингвистика, Когнитивната лингвистика, Джендър изследванията и Културологията и да ги комбинира по оптимален начин.

Необходимостта от плътно придържане към дадена теория и метод при подобни изследвания се диктува в много голяма степен от трудностите, възникващи в следствие на близката връзка между дискурса, който подлежи на изследване, и самия изследовател, която проблематизира възприемането на дискурса като една от многото възможни социално конструирани системи от значения (Йоргенсен, Филипс 2002: 21). Поради проблематичното дистанциране от иначе приеманите за даденост разбирания и с цел да се поставят въпроси, които не биха възникнали без тази дистанция, е важно да се поставят предварително теоретични и методологични рамки, които да направят едно такова изследване валидно (по този въпрос виж Йоргенсен, Филипс 2002: 171-174).

Именно фактът, че при комуникация се работи при посредничеството на знакови социални конструкти, е един от факторите, които проблематизират преработката на текстовете и съответно тяхното разбиране. Тук се появява нуждата от приемане на естеството на комуникацията като съществуваща в рамките на един социален конструкт, условно наречен „реалност”. Възприемането на едно такова разбиране за понятието “комуникация” от своя страна мотивира изследването на особеностите на преработката на продуктите на дискурса и в частност как точно се постига максимална лекота на преработката и разбиране.

Тъй като при тази постановка адресат и адресант не разполагат с една унифицирана, обективна действителност, на която да могат да базират своята комуникация, то се налага една постоянна координация между структурите на познание (за света и езика), с които разполагат комуникационните партньори. В случая на масова комуникация, характеризираща се с времева и пространствена отдалеченост между партньорите, индиректност, анонимност на реципиентите и липса на реална обратна връзка, интерес предизвикват механизмите на социално конструиране на реалността, които позволяват и осигуряват достатъчно голямо съвпадение между познавателните структури на партньорите, та да се изпълни първото условие за осъществяване на комуникация – разбирателство.

В това отношение от полза са и постановките на Критическия анализ на дискурса, които се фокусират върху идеологията и властовите отношения в дискурсите. Подобни практически съществуващи механизми за продуциране и репродуциране на дадена социално-конструирана „реалност” се разглеждат като залегнали в основата на създаването на обща база от познание, като максималната близост на актуалния текст до тази „традиционна”, утвърдена идеологически и посредством властов превес конфигурация, е предпоставка за постигане на лекота на неговата преработка, или с други думи висока ефективност. Властовата неравнопоставеност между медиите и техните потребители/ аудитории, а също и постановката, че дискурсът играе активна роля при конструирането на света, водят до предположението, че медийният дискурс разполага с механизми за формиране и деформиране на познавателните конструкти на тези, които го използват, тоест да манипулира, използва и променя онези социално-конструирани бази от познание, при чието напасване се реализира разбирателство. Все пак една толкова крайна гледна точка не е напълно оправдана, поради което напоследък преобладава схващането, че дискурсът е в диалектична връзка със света. Конкретно по отношение на медийния дискурс за пример може да послужи фактът, че

продуцентите на медийния дискурс в най-общ смисъл са също и негови потребители, което предполага взаимно влияние (Йоргенсен, Филипс 2002: 5-7).

Във връзка с така изложените накратко постановки може да се предположи, че анализът на текстуалната практика (Феърклаф 1992) в комбинация с изследване на активираните от дискурса познавателни конструкти биха могли адекватно да очертаят картината на способите и начините за постигане на езикова ефективност в рамките на глобалния електронен дискурс. Лекотата на преработка при това положение би следвало да разчита на поддържането и репродуцирането както на утвърдени текстуални и дискурсивни практики, така и на активирането на налично познание за света.

IV. Заключение

Изследванията на ефективността на текстове от електронния дискурс неизбежно се изправят пред трудности и неясноти, възникващи по презумпция вследствие от липсата на спонтанна обратна връзка, от еднопосочния поток на информацията, от различната степен на унифициране на съдържанието за сметка на персоналния подход при общуването между конкретни личности, също така от факта, че целевата аудитория на глобалния електронен дискурс е както хетерогенна, така и необозрима и с неясен състав. И все пак, въпреки всички тези обстоятелства, които биха могли да наведат на мисълта, че постигането на ефективност е невъзможно, практиката показва, че ефективността не само не е химера, а напротив – нейното постигане е основна характеристика на доказали своя успех медии в Интернет пространството. Такива медии не само успяват да „говорят” на лесно разбираем език със своята аудитория, те също така съществуват в диалектична връзка със своята аудитория, която води до качествени изменения и в двете страни.

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“#ДАНС WITH ME”: SUBJECTIVITY IN THE MEDIA

(A COGNITIVE LINGUISTIC PERSPECTIVE)

Rumyana Todorova, Zlatko Todorov

Abstract: *The paper deals with British, American and Bulgarian media coverage of the protests in Bulgaria, Turkey and Egypt happening at the same time in 2013. Although the protests are undoubtedly political events the analysis presents them only from a cognitive linguistic perspective trying to show the subjectivity of the media in reflecting these issues. The paper pretends to “interpret” the information in the most objective way by emphasizing on the different approaches of the media to one and the same event but by using various linguistic means.*

Key words: *media coverage, metaphor, play on words*

As every political event, the protests in Bulgaria, Turkey and Egypt in 2013 attracted media attention almost everywhere in the world. The events provoked thoughts in a lot of people not only directly involved in the demonstrations but also in those indirectly involved in them – from the respective countries as well as “outsiders” not belonging to the same cultures. These happenings have been presented in different ways which inevitably led to subjectivity of the media coverage, in some cases depending on the different standpoints of journalists, in others – on the various recipients’ ways of decoding the information if the latter were rendered by interviewees. The articles and the news reports are so many that it is practically impossible to follow all media materials reflecting what is actually taking place in the above-mentioned countries but even the comparatively few ones that have been analysed are sufficient enough for anyone to get an idea of the respective situations. The newspapers the articles are extracted from are The Guardian/G (June 21, 2013; July 27, 2013), The International Herald Tribune/IHT (June 5, 2013; June 7, 2013; June 21, 2013), Financial Times/FT (June 21, 2013), The Observer/O (August 4, 2013), The Global Edition of the New York Times/GENYT (June 19, 2013), USA Today/UT (June 19, 2013), Standart/S (June 7, 2013; June 21, 2013; July 12, 2013; July 26, 2013), www.usatoday.com. The period encompasses two months (June – July 2013) in which the protests were most numerous in the three countries. We have deliberately disregarded social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter and blogs because, in our opinion, newspaper coverage is supposed to be more objective and balanced than the above-mentioned ones.

There are a number of references, metaphors, play on words, ambiguities and other tropes used in all the presented information on the issues. Part of the title of the present paper itself is purposefully ambiguous as it is a quotation from the media coverage of the events in Bulgaria.

“#ДАНС WITH ME” actually stands for two interrelated domains, which can become obvious only for those who are familiar with the “plays” on the Bulgarian political arena or we can say on the “dance floor” just to be in unison with the idea rendered by the verb “to dance”.

The sign # at the beginning is called a *pound sign* or *hashtag*. If it is placed in front of a word or words ‘on a social network, it will turn that word into a metadata tag. In simple

English, the # symbol turns the word(s) immediately following it into a searchable term that can be used on that website or social network, which is activated by someone clicking on that hashtag' (<http://www.nicklewiscommunications.com/what-does-a-hashtag-pound-sign-mean-in-social-media/>). Hashtags are mostly supported by and associated with Twitter and Facebook as the most widely spread social media platforms 'to emphasise a point or to be ironically humorous...' (op. cit.) So, it becomes pretty obvious that this expression is used in an ironic and derogatory way.

The word "ДАНС" is written in Bulgarian because if it is transliterated in English it would be immediately connected with the second interrelated domain "dance" and its first meaning will be lost. Although a metaphor is usually based on the interrelation of two domains, here there is yet a third domain. Thus, the first domain is grouped around one of the meanings of the word which is actually an acronym standing for State Agency for National Security, or "ДАНС" in Bulgarian. There would not have been anything wrong with that agency if the present government had not decided to appoint the notorious Delyan Peevski (involved in the ownership of a number of Bulgarian-language broadcast and print media) as the Head of the Agency. One of the headlines on the Internet about the negative attitude of most people towards the nomination reads: 'Uproar at nomination of Peevski to head State Agency for National Security' (see <http://sofiaglobe.com/2013/06/14/uproar-at-nomination-of-peevski-to-head-state-agency-for-national-security/>; emphasis ours). The online Free Dictionary gives the following definition of 'uproar' which has a negative connotation: '1. A condition of noisy excitement and confusion; tumult; 2. A heated controversy' (see <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/uproar>). The second meaning of the word which has the same pronunciation as the Bulgarian word is the verb "to dance" in the imperative, which is a kind of an invitation to dance, i.e. an invitation to join all the others in their protests against the new government and their unreasonable actions and deeds in times of financial and political crisis. In an article on Bulgaria's situation in the electronic version of USA Today, the way Delyan Peevski is described reads: "People here see Peevski as a symbol of everything that's gone wrong in the country because he controls a good chunk of the media" (see <http://m.usatoday.com/article/news/2582071>).

Last, but not least, the third meaning of the phrase "Dance with me" can be related to the once famous or notorious (depending on the point of view) song performed by the Socialist Democratic Forces called "Last waltz" ("Posleden vals" in Bulgarian) directed towards the Bulgarian Socialist Party (former Bulgarian Communist Party) and their slim chances for success during the election campaign, which again has a negative reference and is an irony and even satire towards this party.

The domains are interwoven to such an extent that at times it is difficult to grasp all the possible interpretations. There is mapping of the more concrete domain of conceptual structure onto the more abstract ones. In other words, there is mapping structure from the 'source domains' onto 'the less easily apprehended structure, referred to as target domains' (Evans 2010: 2). There is also re-shifting of frames and at the same time blending and incongruity of mental spaces. There are two cognitive models which "cohabitate" in the situation in question. In principle, dancing is a positive phenomenon and is connected with positive feelings and emotions. But in this case, what inevitably remains is the explicit negativism towards the current situation in Bulgaria, i.e. towards the present government and its actions. The positive semantic features of the verb "to

dance” are used with a negative sign. From a linguistic and cognitive perspective, the mentioned play on words does not carry in itself any positive, negative or even neutral connotations. The positive or negative “orientation” comes from the interpretation heavily dependent on the situation and on each participant’s reading. There is a lot of intertextuality and the allusion can only be understood if recipients are aware of the references made. What is done is using familiar mental spaces but rearranging the information in an interesting, intriguing and definitely memorable way, closest to addressees’ frames of reference. This is possible because text receivers apply their experience and cognition to frames and schemas they see for the first time only because they have come across similar situations before. The mediation is small because all the political events the phrase is connected with happened not long ago. There is also a merge of two concepts into one which is actually blending valid only for the respective situation. While decoding the phrase addressees try to combine classes of entities that do not even have semantic features in common at first glance. It is even difficult to make the necessary connections and associations. The reason for this is the fact that “lexical concepts facilitate access” to more than one cognitive model (Evans 2010: 15).

The phrase “#ДАHC with me” is a kind of a “trademark” belonging to a group of protesters in Bulgaria. The strangest thing in all that is that when the media talk about “supporting the protesters” what is had in mind is the protesters against the present government. Moreover, it is taken for granted. It has nothing to do with the other group of people who are in favour of Oresharski and his government and even collect signatures for the government. Some articles in Standart (July 26, 2013) reflect the actions of the left-wing supporters by using a very spicy, ironic and biting language, bordering on aggressiveness, because the information sounds positive but actually the attitude in the whole material is quite negative. The headline is „Шамара, който гали властта” (Shamara who pampers government):

“Лошото момче Мишо Шамара е неузнаваемо. Твори пламенно речи, не използва цинизми, уважава възрастните хора. Истинско пионерче, което се готви да стане комсомолец. От идол на разхайтени тинейджъри той стана верен поддръжник на сегашното правителство. И любимец на хиляди баби и дядовци... След появата му той бе определен единодушно и като лице на контрапротеста, съставен главно от преминали разцвета на силите си избиратели на БСП. Михайлов, който се пъне да се превърне в новия Веско Маринов, дори се включи и в едно от събиранията пред дома на бившия премиер в Банкя.”

(The bad boy Misho Shamara is beyond recognition. He creates speeches fiercely, does not use cynicisms, respects elderly people. A real little pioneer who is getting ready to become a member of the Comsomol. From an idol of spoilt teenagers he became a true supporter of the present government. And a favourite among thousands of old grannies and grandpas... After his appearance he was unanimously appointed to represent the counter protest consisting mainly of Bulgarian Communist Party voters past their prime. Mihailov, who is struggling to become the new Vesko Marinov, took part in one of the rallies in front of the ex-premier’s house in Bankya).

The way the text is presented borders on cynicism at times, which once again shows the media reporting subjectivity in expressing their attitude towards some representatives of the ruling party.

The seemingly kind words which are definitely positively loaded are used with a negative connotation. The reference made when speaking of Misho Shamara is by using his family name, Mihailov, which nobody knows. There are also one-time references to socialist

organizations no longer existing. It is a well-known fact that Veselin Marinov was the Bulgarian Socialist Party's favourite pop singer (not any longer as now he performed for the opposition). He is still considered a favourite of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, and is disdained by the opposite party members no matter whether he sings well or not. Moreover, most members of the BSP are elderly people. There is even reference to this in the non-verbal component: Misho Shamara (*shamar* in Bulgarian means *slap*) has raised a fisted hand and there are two old men behind him.

The words used about the events happening in the three countries are "protests" (Rival protests erupted across the capital/www; "anti-government protests" and a few more times at a later stage/GENYT; ...Turkish government were to involve the military in its attempts to control the protest/UT; В Турция полицията бие, а тук пази протеста/In Turkey the police beat the protesters; here they guard them/S); demonstrations/UT; "raids" (Scores arrested in Turkish raids/GENYT; IHT); "strike", "massive rallies"/UT; "turmoil" (Erdogan grapples with the turmoil that has swept the nation/G, June 21, 2013); "riot"/FT; "mass rallies"/FT; "uproar" (see <http://sofiaglobe.com/2013/06/14/uproar-at-nomination-of-peevski-to-head-state-agency-for-national-security/>); and for Bulgaria, along with the word "protest", "conspiracy" occurs, implying a number of meanings/S. "Conspiracy" also appears in an article for Turkey in Financial Times (June 21, 2013). A very neutral phrase ("anti-government street movement") is used in the International Herald Tribune newspaper (June 21, 2013) for the events taking place in Turkey. While in USA Today the tone in the article is somehow mitigated at the beginning, in GENYT the headline itself is strongly negative by the use of "scores" standing for the protesters – a very "good" way of opting out by staying a little neutral and pretending not to take sides – and at the same time using the word "raids" which has a negative emotional colouring. The words and phrases for the events in Turkey and in Egypt are: "collision" for Turkey/FT; "internationally orchestrated conspiracy" for Turkey/FT; and "violence/IHT (June 5, 2013 for Turkey) and for Egypt/G (July 27, 2013). Erdogan is accused of "authoritarianism" (IHT/June 21, 2013; S/June 7, 2013) and is called a "wilful premier"/FT, a "dictator"/IHT (June 21, 2013), "sultan" and "padishah"/S (June 7, 2013), to name but a few, which does not mean, however, that the other government leaders are not attacked in a similar way. The very fact that Standard newspaper (June 7, 2013) published more than 3 materials on the situation in Turkey and on Erdogan (one of the headlines is even "Sultan Erdogan") speaks a lot of the subjectivity of the media. Erdogan's behaviour is characterized as "paranoid"/FT, which borders with schizophrenia and a term from the discourse of medicine is used, "intolerant"/FT, a word from sociology is "borrowed" and "his authoritarian whims"/FT borders with the discourse of child psychology. In connection with what is happening in Turkey words and phrases belonging to the discourse of sports are also used: "For Turkish progressives who have supported some form of Kurdish autonomy for decades, it is bitterly ironic to see their old allies becoming pawns on Mr. Erdogan's chess board as he seeks to fulfill his presidential ambitions"/IHT (June 5, 2013). Financial Times (June 21, 2013) talks about "shield of Erdogan club rules" where "shield" can be a term borrowed from either sports or history.

Actions are named "crackdown" which is quite a strong negative word for what leaders in Turkey and Egypt do: "Liberals desert Erdogan over crackdown"/IHT (June 21, 2013); brutal and organized crackdown on the Islamist party and its supporters appeared to be gathering pace/G (July, 27, 2013). The Free Online Dictionary gives the following

definition for “crackdown”: “An act or example of forceful regulation, repression, or restraint” (www.thefreedictionary.com/). While for Egypt the events were described by The Guardian (July 27, 2013) as “violence”, for Turkey the same issue of the newspaper used very moderate and somehow neutral phrases for the negative actions of the police – “misuse of pepper gas” and “certain physical interventions”. The second phrase is very indefinite and it is left for the readers’ imagination to decide what these “interventions” can mean and actually be. The International Herald Tribune (June 5, 2013) uses the expression “assault on the secular republic” and “assault on the political and civil liberties” for the deeds in Turkey and The Guardian (July 27, 2013) talks about “the lethal assault on the Muslim Brotherhood supporters” in Egypt. The first usage is figurative, while the second one is both literal and figurative merged into one. All words and expressions used in each of the articles belong to one lexico-thematic field in which the key nomination with a prevalent semantic feature is “disapproval” or “disagreement”; yet, the degree of these words and phrases varies and the order of occurrences is different in the different articles. However, the idea behind the information is the same for the three countries.

The location of the events in Turkey is called “stage”, a metaphor borrowed from the theatre discourse: “The stage is set for a collision between an inward-looking Europe and a willful premier in Ankara”. The same article (“Turkey lays bare club’s cultural blind spot”) also uses words and phrases from a number of other discourses such as religion (“resurrect”), war (“fallen victim”), engineering (“engine of reform”), etc. The Bulgarian newspaper Standart (June 21, 2013) published an article whose headline is “Circus of the Protest” (Zirk na protesta). Both metaphors are from the discourse of art. We can add “orchestrated conspiracy” to them. This time music (the root is *orchestra*) comes in. There is cross-domain mapping of meanings the reason for which is quite obvious. In principle, ‘the source domain inference patterns’ allow for reasoning about ‘the target domain’ (see Lakoff, Johnson 2003: 176; see also Ungerer, Schmid 1996: 120). In the respective cases, by making the right inferences we can make correct judgments about the reason why the words *stage*, *circus* and *orchestra* appear in connection with the location of the protests. The common semantic feature of these words is *dynamism*, which is typical for the activities taking place in the three countries. Everything is happening quickly and the presumption is that things will be changing. The source domain model of the theatre/ circus/ music is mapped onto the target domain of protest and as readers are quite familiar with the discourses they will easily connect the two domains on a subconscious or even unconscious level. The discussed metaphors refer to the more general domain of entertainment and one of the presuppositions for their usage is that they will be related to something pleasant but judging by context text recipients become fully aware of the fact that the metaphors are used humorously, ironically and even satirically, which again leads to the subjectivity of the media coverage of these events. By availing ourselves of familiar frames it will not be a problem for any of us to not only accept but decode and interpret correctly the new information which inevitably introduces new frames with which the already existing ones are interrelated and superimposed.

In relation to the reactions of the demonstrators, one of the posters the protesters showed at the demonstrations in Sofia read “Citizens strike back”/S in analogy with the famous film *The Empire Strikes back*. In these examples, there is not only re-shifting of frames based on previous knowledge and beliefs about the model of the real world but the

existing frames from the source domain and the target domain are in constant interrelation. The used lexical concepts facilitate access to more than one cognitive model and due to the context in question recipients make constant references to either model thus establishing the necessary links. Every time figurative language occurs in the text, it is interpreted due to the conceptual processes involved in meaning construction and deconstruction of the message. The two phrases, the one in the text and the one reference is made to, are superimposed and at the same time kept apart thus influencing text receivers to an even greater extent. Intertextuality is again achieved much easier as the time for mediation is shorter because the references made are to famous films, quotations, proverbs, idioms, etc. Such an example is the figurative expression “nail in the coffin”/FT (June 21, 2013) used as a reaction to Erdogan’s actions. If in the English newspapers the tone is negative but more moderate and balanced, though at times too harsh but within limits, the Bulgarian media avail themselves of the more colloquial way of expressing opinion on the issues discussed. One of the headlines in Standart newspaper (June 7, 2013) is „Ердоган се заинати...” (Erdogan got stubborn); later in the text there are quite a lot of conversational and colloquial expressions not typical for the expected media use of language: „Премиерът набеди чужденци за бунтовете” (The Prime Minister blamed foreigners for the riots) instead of the more literate „обвини” (which corresponds again to the English *accused*). In the same newspaper, in another article on Erdogan, the expression that is used is „протестите плъзнаха” (the protests overspread; as can be seen the English equivalent of the expression cannot simply be rendered in a colloquial way).

Again in Standart from July 12, 2013, there is an article on the protests and one of their specificities connected with drinking coffee in front of the Bulgarian Parliament called „Кафеджиите на бунта” (Coffee Makers of the Riot). It is full of slang words and expressions, colloquialisms and words and phrases which will normally be expected to appear in everyday conversations between friends as well as newly invented collocations. Following the requirements for “selectional restrictions” such usages cannot possibly be accepted but having in mind the political situation and the ensuing circumstances in Bulgaria they will be considered perfectly acceptable especially for people supporting the protests, which will, however, not be in unison with the “principle of objectivity in the media”. One of the sentences goes in the following way: „Уточнява, че в този момент осъзнал, че човек първо трябва да си оправи **кочинката** (държавата) и чак тогава да мисли за себе си” (He clarifies that at that moment they had realized that one has to tidy their pigsty (the state) up and only then should they think about themselves, emphasis authors’). There is another mention of “**caffeine headquarters**” („кофеиновия щаб”; emphasis authors’), which in itself is an unthinkable combination but it is perfectly clear to all Bulgarians following the developments of the events related to the protests. As in every situation there are people putting everything to the doubt and they are called “Doubting Thomases” („тома-неверници”) in the text in question. The very juicy expression „лаф на рекламата” if translated will not carry the same emotional load at all and this is the case of most expressions in those articles. It means “the motto of the advertiser”. There are direct attacks towards some of the deputies and the language used is not only figurative but a strange “mixture” of styles belonging to different discourses: one of them – to the discourse of art (шедьовър/”masterpiece”), and the other one – to the discourse of fairy tales (“Maya the Bee”; it is the same in Bulgarian). There is a third idiomatic expression which is used mostly in everyday language and is very negative – „гнездо на оси”. The text reads: „Последният шедьовър е гнездо на оси, символ на

парламента, а отвътре се подава пчеличката Мая” (The last masterpiece is a hornet’s nest, a symbol of the Parliament, and from within Maya the Bee sticks out her head). The reference made when speaking of *Maya the Bee* is to Maya Manolova, who is the Deputy Chair of the National Assembly. There is again re-shifting of frames, superimposing of frames: the hornet’s nest is a symbol of parliament according to the text, and then personification (i.e. the reference of Maya the Bee to a real human representative). There is also constant transformation and transference of information which undoubtedly means that one should be into all this so that they can understand the subjective attitudes and the references made. The fairy tale reference goes on with an agricultural reference: „После щели да завардят пространството с палатки и блокада, докато тия вътре **не разтурели кошера**” (Then they would barricade the space with tents and blockades until the ones inside pulled down the beehive; emphasis authors’). And one last example from the same article which is not least but in it a Bulgarian word of Turkish origin is used is: „... **дават нишан** за изход от ситуацията родните предприемачи” (the native entrepreneurs give a sign for a way out; emphasis authors’). It is true that each article is signed with the name of the person having written it but still there should be some censorship not for changing the content of the information but for not allowing the use of such a “nasty” language irrespective of whether the material refers to events of the opposition or of the counter opposition. After all, no matter what our political affiliations are, we are all human and we all live in the same country.

An interesting linguistic phenomenon occurred at the time of the protests. New coinages were formed either out of showing off or for the sake of shortening the phrases. The new words are: „митингуващи” (meaning people who are active participants in the protests) and „ваканцуващи” (people who are on holiday). The first word has a positive connotation: “София под обсада. Кола блъсна митингуващ, арестуваха четирима за хулиганство (Sofia under siege. A car hit a protester, four were arrested for hooliganism/S, July 12, 2013). Another possible reason for the newly coined word can be that one and the same word is constantly repeated („протестиращи”/protesters) and we are perfectly aware of the fact that tautology is considered bad style in Bulgarian. As for the second word – „ваканцуващи” – it has been ironically and even sarcastically used on Bulgarian TV channels more than once, obviously with a negative connotation, to refer only to the deputies from the National Assembly, the reason being that they worked for less than a month or two and decided to take their time and go on holiday and leave people protest against their actions or rather against passivity. So, though the forming suffixes are one and the same the connotations of the new words are positive for the first one and negative for the second one. Moreover, they will definitely be used by certain circles only. The new words are occasionalisms as they were introduced in the media for the first time but they will appear at a later stage to refer to other similar events, and they will also occur in everyday language in other settings, no doubt for humorous reasons. The idea behind these other usages will be taken for granted and the usage will be considered shared knowledge because if somebody else, not being aware of the circumstances under which the words were utilized, hears or reads the words they would not know what the reason for their appearance is. The effect will definitely not be the same if this knowledge is not transmitted in one way or another.

To sum up, instead of using neutral words for rendering the described events the media, pretending to be quite objective, obviously show their attitude towards all the protests,

which come to prove the fact that journalists do not even hide their subjectivity. Even in cases where there are interviews, which should inevitably be rendered in the way they appear, the commentaries accompanying them should be seemingly objective just stating the facts and the details without expressing their opinion on the issues discussed. The list of similar articles is too long and the discussions can go on endlessly but these are just a very few examples of what the media do and how they represent and reflect the hot issues of the day in the respective countries.

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ERROR ANALYSIS, INTERLANGUAGE AND LANGUAGE TRANSFER AS A CONCRETE FOCUS IN THE YOUNGER LEARNER EFL CLASSROOM

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Abstract: *Errors and their analysis constitute an eminently data-rich focus for applied research by teachers in their own classroom, viewed through the prism of interlanguage (IL), that is, 'learner language' in its everyday realities. The paper examines a particular illustrative example with young Bulgarian learners, namely errors in using the definite/indefinite article in spoken and written production of English, based on empirical input, and explores practical implications, along with action research suggestions.*

Key words: *Error analysis, Interlanguage, definite/ indefinite article, Young learners, Action research*

1. Introduction

The errors that learners make have been a key empirical and theoretical focus in applied linguistics (Spada, Lightbown 2010: 119-20; Brown 2000: 207-44) and what has come to be called 'educational linguistics' (Spolsky, Hult 2008) for nearly 60 years. Errors and their analysis constitute an exceptionally data-rich focus for applied research by teachers in their own classroom, viewed through the kaleidoscopic prism of interlanguage (IL), that is, 'learner language' in its everyday realities. Selinker's (1972: 214) classic description of interlanguage (IL) is: "the existence of a separate linguistic system based on the observable output which results from the learner's attempted production of a TL norm." At a fundamental frame level, the paper suggests that teachers in the Bulgarian schools, given their 'front line' positioning in the classroom, are well situated for conducting empirical applied 'action research' on a range of questions concerning what is happening in their students' learning. Their classrooms are a veritable 'living laboratory' for IL and its inquiry. The present paper centers on grammatical error analysis, the determiner category 'article.'

The paper reviews some of the background of this focus (sec. 2.) and then examines a particular illustrative example with young Bulgarian learners, namely errors in using the definite/indefinite article in spoken and written production of English (sec. 3). In its fourth section, the paper explores some practical implications for the teacher and possible applications for treating & correcting those errors, touching on the learner's dynamic system of 'interlanguage', the value of metalinguistic awareness (formal grammar explanation) and 'noticing', and a possible corrective role for Extensive Reading (ER). Sec. 5 suggests some directions for action research on errors. In sec. 6, we touch briefly on the question of the *communicative salience* of errors in grammar and lexis: trends in English as a lingua franca (Jenkins 2005; Seidlhofer 2001) tend to downplay learner language errors that do not interfere with the basic message. Sec. 7 provides concluding thoughts.

2. CA, error analysis and IL: a brief overview

Brown (2000: 207) notes that applied descriptive linguistics, as it burgeoned in the 1950s and 1960s, was marked by "an era of preoccupation with studies of contrasts between the

native language and target language (contrastive analysis) and the effect of native on target language (now called ‘cross-linguistic influence’).” The term “language transfer” is now used more widely for such influence (Skehan 2008: 412). CA then gave way to an “era of error analysis, with its guiding concept of interlanguage, now also widely referred to as ‘learner language.’” The Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis (CAH) claimed that the main barrier to second language acquisition was interference of L1 with L2, and that a taxonomy of linguistic contrasts between them in phonology, morphosyntax and lexical semantics would permit linguists to ‘predict’ what difficulties a learner of L2 would likely encounter, and there were attempts to establish a hierarchy of difficulty for different language combinations. Selinker (1972: 215-16) also introduced the concept of ‘fossilization’ to refer to a freezing or halt in learning development, with deviant structures maintained:

Fossilizable linguistic phenomena are linguistic items, rules, and subsystems which speakers of a particular NL will keep in their IL relative to a particular TL, no matter what the age of the learner or amount of explanation and instruction he receives in the TL. ... whatever the cause, the well-observed phenomenon of ‘back-sliding’ by second-language learners from a TL norm is not, as has been generally believed, either random or toward the speaker’s NL, but toward an IL norm.

Fossilization is probably a key problem in the interlanguage of many ordinary learners in Bulgaria, especially grounded on the IL strategy of ‘simplification’ (Selinker 220). Longitudinal research over several years is needed to substantiate this (Skehan 2008: 420). Selinker (1972: 221) also notes intriguingly:

Many IL linguistic structures are *never* really eradicated for most second-language learners; manifestations of these structures regularly reappear in IL productive performance, especially under conditions of anxiety, shifting attention, and second-language performance on subject matter which is new to the learner.

It may well be that our own Bulgarian students display such fossilized structures, ‘back-sliding’ *particularly in anxiety-enhancing situations like quizzes and tests, and when forced to speak in class*. This deserves research (see also goo.gl/p0XG4). Although the strong version CAH is not adhered to by most error analysts today (CA under-predicted some errors and could not account for them, over-predicted others), it seems obvious that the negative transfer of features of L1 or L_x to the target language can account for a whole range of errors learners make. As Spada & Lightbown (2010: 116) note:

In spite of the rejection of contrastive analysis by some second language acquisition researchers, most teachers and researchers have remained convinced that learners draw on their knowledge of other languages as they try to learn a new one. Current research shows that L1 influence is a subtle and evolving aspect of L2 development.

3. A pinpoint focus in error analysis: learning the English article

The very small but highly significant focus of the definite/indefinite article and its usage in Standard English in the interlanguage of many Bulgarian learners clearly reflects that, born out by my own experience (S.G.) teaching young learners at a beginning and mid-elementary level. The proper use of the article is difficult for learners of English from many L1 backgrounds. A recent quantitative study in Iran (Miryan, Farahzad 2012) found that verbal tense had the highest no. of errors (31.23%), while definite/indefinite article (15.12%) and preposition (10.31%) errors were also significant among Iranian learners. Their L1 Farsi has no articles. Brown (2000: 225) includes a useful empirical summary

table of common errors made by English learners in using the article, though he attributed many of these errors to intralingual transfer, such as overgeneralization, and the learners had a broad range of different L1 backgrounds. Interesting for research is whether L1 speakers of other languages that have no definite/indefinite articles, such as Farsi, Japanese, Chinese, Korean, Vietnamese, Thai, Latvian, Lithuanian, most Slavic languages, among many others, encounter similar difficulties learning the English article, making a range of similar errors in IL (goo.gl/1ULFR), and how teachers respond.

3.1 Data on article errors from Bulgaria

We first detail data from a recent study in Ruse and then present data from my own students at a school in Shumen province (S.G.). Material from a now classic but dated study (Danchev 1988) has not been included. Much of the data from Ruse is also very similar to what we can encounter in classrooms with young and older learners across Bulgaria.

In an empirical investigation, Harakchiyska (2010) presents and analyzes a corpus of errors by Bulgarian learners with the indefinite article, comparing young learners from three schools in Ruse/Bulgaria (560 pupils, aged 8 to 11 years) with beginner adult students (42 students) at Ruse University. Her main focus was on the question of age difference in acquisition and whether any salient differences in errors from her five groups of learners --- three groups in grades 2, 3 and 4 at primary school and two groups of students at the university -- could be found. She concluded (120) from the study that “not the age of learners but the influence of L1 syntax is what influences the ultimate attainment of the target language.”

Harakchiyska’s data corpus was constructed from texts written by students in their notebooks and course workbooks, and she collected a total of 573 errors, of which she classified 68% as stemming from L1 negative transfer and 32% on “inadequate L2 grammar knowledge” (121). She analyzed only the larger 68% that she classified as from “transfer of L1 grammar knowledge.”

Noting that the semantic universals involved in article choice in languages that have articles are ‘definiteness’ and ‘specificity,’ she states (122):

The English language, like the Bulgarian language, chooses the definiteness setting for its article choice. Based upon this, articles in English and in Bulgarian are divided into definite and indefinite. The feature [+ definite] is morphologically marked in English through the definite article the and the feature [- definite] - through the indefinite article a.

The function of [-definite] is that the receiver/hearer does not have a shared familiarity with the speaker about a specific referent, while [+definite] involves some shared speaker/receiver awareness of a more specified referent.

The Bulgarian system is more complicated for [+ definite], with a number of postfixes on nouns for masculine, feminine and neuter in gender in the singular: -ът, -ят, -а, -я, -та, -то; plural: -те, -ра). Bulgarian will use [+definite] in what may be called cases of “generalized nominals” or “abstract nouns,” whereas English does not, a common source of error for students from many language backgrounds learning English (see below).

Significantly, Bulgarian has no [-definite] article marker, and instead “non-definite” is marked by the words: “един” (for countable masculine nouns), “една” (for countable

feminine nouns), “едно” (for countable neuter nouns), as in the examples: “Срещнах една жена” (I met a woman) and “Търся един ученик” (Im looking for a student). That difference leads to numerous errors by Bulgarians in the use of the indefinite article in English in written and oral production. Harakchiyska (2010) found that in her corpus of errors, 78% were due to omission of the indefinite article in English, and 22% from overuse of the article. (123). She states:

The lack of a marker for the semantic feature [- definite] in the L1 of the study subjects is the probable reason why Bulgarian young learners of English and the university level students omit the indefinite article a in the sentences they construct.

Table 1. Omission of the English Indefinite Article (adapted from Harakchiyska, 2010: 123)

A. Errors in the use of the English indefinite article
Examples (from Group A, 2nd grade) • This is *lion. • This is *blue kite. • Maria has got *dog. • He hasn't got *pen. • Mark's got *ball. • This is *picture. • It is *big and fat cat. • It's got * long tail. • It's * butterfly. • It's *elephant. • Is this *zebra? • Is this *bear? • This is *sofa • Have you got * pen? • I've got *cat. He has got *computer.

The university students made similar errors in her data but with more academic vocabulary. These errors can be attributed to transfer from L1, where learners “faced with the semantic feature [-definite] choose to omit the L2 indefinite article a and construct sentences that follow the Bulgarian word order - e.g. “Майка му е лекар; Те ни дадоха книга; Има картина на стената” (Harakchiyska 2010: 124). There is also significant overuse of the indefinite article in Harakchiyska's error corpus from her work with young learners in Ruse.

Table 2. Overuse of the English indefinite article (adapted from Harakchiyska 2010: 124-5)

A. Insertion of the indefinite article a before a noun
In plural or a noun phrase with a plural noun
Examples (Group A, 2nd grade) • * It's a trousers. • * It's a jeans. • * They aren't washing a dishes. • * Are there a butterflies? • * Are these a lions? • * It's got a blue eyes.
B. Insertion of the indefinite article before an uncountable noun
Examples (Group A): • * I'm eating a breakfast. • * He's got a long hair. • * She wants a water. • * He's drinking a milk.
C. Other errors that are a result of overuse of the indefinite article
Examples (Group A): * What's a colour is this? • What colour is this? – *It's a orange. • * It's a red. • * This is her a bike .• How many rulers has he

got? - * He has got a one. **(Group B, 3rd grade):** * What's your an address? • * It's a green a pencil. **(Group C, 4th grade):** • * There is a one book. • * How well does she play a tennis? • * He isn't playing a basketball. • * Mark plays a football. • * Will we go to a school tomorrow?

3.2 Data from classes in Shumen district

It is clear that many of the errors of these young learners are not due to specific transfer from L1 but probably are due to over-generalizing the use of the article used to mention a singular noun for the first time, and general lack of any clear rule in the IL of most of these learners for use of the indefinite article. The target language article system causes Bulgarian learners of any age considerable difficulty. Space precludes looking here at the various subcategories of article errors.

The students I taught as beginners (S.G.) make very similar errors with [-definite] articles, including also use of 'one' instead of 'a/an,' clearly transfer from L1. Some additional errors based on work with Shelagh Rixon, *Tip Top* are given below.

Table 3. Errors with a Group in 3rd Grade

Errors in use of the indefinite article
Rixon, Book 1: What is it?→ / What's this?→ *This table. *This one TV. *It bed. *It's one a cat. *This a umbrella. *It one elephant. *This is castle. *This is one toilet. *It one a kitchen. Book 2: *A traffic is big problem. *This is song about one traffic. *My father he bus driver. *I want a rice. *She like a sugar *My dad need a money.
B. Errors in use of the definite article
Rixon, Book 2: What can you see in the picture?→ *I see the kangaroos. *He see the sheeps. *I am see the elephants. * Can the birds can fly? *The cats can't.

These errors reflect overuse of 'a,' non-use of morphophonemic 'an,' substitution of 'one' for the indefinite article (clear transfer from Bulgarian) and use of the definite article with generalized nominals (*The birds can fly), also probably cross-linguistic interference from L1.

Some examples working with *Hello! English for the 4th Grade* Koleva and Georgieva, generated other errors with article, verb, word order. Interesting is the incorrect use of the definite article in a number of examples, again transfer from L1. It is difficult to learn the lexicogrammar of generalized or collective nominals in English that exclude a definite article, but may normally include [+definite] marker in Bulgarian, German and a range of other languages.

Table 4. Errors with 4th Grade Students

Units 4, 7: Have you got a pet? What is it? *It's hamster. *It one cat. *It's a one dog. *She doesn't like the snakes. *He hasn't got the friends. *Let's have one cup of coffee in café there. *The horses have four the legs.
Unit 20: *The sharks sometimes lives in the rivers. *The people are smaller than the whales. *I go to a school on the time. *I watch the TV after a school. *He now at the home.*I go to the bed late on a night. *The cats eat never the apples. *The dogs doesn't like a vegetables.

Errors with expressions like 'go to school,' 'go to bed,' 'at home,' point up another aspect connected with article use and standing phrases that exclude the article and must be learned as 'chunks' (Kryszewska, Davis 2012) as part of the "company words keep," as once formulated by J. R. Firth (1957: 11): "You shall know a word by the company it keeps!" (see sec. 4.1 below).

4. Feedback and correction: treatment of errors

Larson-Freeman and DeCarrico (2010: 28) stress: "SLA research makes clear to most researchers that some attention must be given to grammar by second language learners. However, it is also clear that attention to form should not come through the use of decontextualized drills or isolated grammar exercises." When learner attention "shifts to a more communicative interaction, the grammar will have been forgotten" if learned largely through pattern drills. It is also boring for most learners, and mechanical, even though many quizzes and tests used in Bulgarian L2 instruction may still focus on eliciting form in a de-contextualized frame.

There are numerous approaches to help incorporate new forms into students' IL. Brown (2000: 240) provides a graphic model for classroom treatment of deviant utterances. Harmer (2007: 137-52) has a whole chapter on "mistakes and feedback," including L1 interference, developmental errors, students assessing themselves, feedback during fluency work (such as "gentle corrections," 145-46) and involving students in the correction and assessment process. Feedback can involve direct correction through 'recast' that student repeats orally (or reads in corrected homework), or giving a 'prompt,' where the teacher repeats the error with rising intonation but withholds correction and approval, waiting for the student to self-repair or another student to suggest the correct form (Larsen-Freeman, DeCarrico 2010: 30). Important is for students to 'notice' what it is they are doing wrong and have to learn (ibid., 28). Schmidt's (1990) "noticing hypothesis" has been much discussed and researched. It involves some kind of explicit instruction in metalanguage about what is to be learned in the constructions where student errors occur, what Swain (2006) has termed "languaging"—that is, students explaining/reflecting on language (see also Swain, Suzuki 2008: 562-66). Ellis (1994: 98) stresses that explicit knowledge "may facilitate the process of noticing-the-gap. Thus learners are better able to compare what they have noticed in the input with output derived from their current interlanguage grammars if they are equipped with explicit knowledge" in one's own interlanguage. For example, in the case of 'a/an,' a simple explicit rule should suffice for most learners, since the allomorph is phonologically motivated.

Ellis (2008) provides a detailed discussion of form-focused instruction (FFI) and SLA, including a useful table of implicit and explicit forms of FFI (438); he stresses the “ample evidence that both proactive and reactive explicit FFI assist acquisition” (452), including “noticing” as conscious attention to “surface elements” (439). An implicit means of promoting student noticing can be through “input flooding,” i.e. increasing the number of times students encounter the target structures in a set of texts (Larson-Freeman, DeCarrico 2010: 29). This is one way to better teach “uncountable” nouns [no article], often difficult (→ *I bought a jeans, an equipment, a clothes. *I need an information. *We got a furniture. *They want teachers with an experience. *I did a research. (see goo.gl/BWnRk).

My own experience (S.G.) suggests that students in Bulgaria need to have more communicative tasks or games where certain structures are explicitly practiced, what Larsen-Freeman has called “grammaring” (Larson-Freeman, DeCarrico 2010: 29). There are many such games, space precludes their mention here (cf. Harmer (2007: 219) who suggests one such activity).

4.1 Alternatives to explicit correction and ‘focus on form’

More generally though, we tend to think that Krashen is right, especially when it comes to changing approaches in the Bulgarian classroom. Krashen (1994: 48ff.) argues that more skill-building, more correction, and more output do not consistently result in more proficiency, and stresses Extensive Reading as a major pathway to Comprehensible Input (63ff.). In his view, supported by considerable research, Krashen has argued consistently for three decades that language is largely learned through implicit processes occurring when a learner is receiving comprehensible L2 input and that subconscious acquisition dominates in second language performance (Ellis 2011: 36; Krashen 2004).

What this would entail in particular is more Extensive Reading for young learners, utilizing a whole battery of easy graded readers (Seizova-Nankova, Templer 2012). Numerous readers are now available at the level of 200-word, 300-word and 600-word vocabulary levels, such as Penguin Easystarts (goo.gl/FFXaZ). Children could be reading and ‘noticing’ as they read, they would be exposed to a rich multitude of tokens of the article and many other grammar features and “chunks” of recurrent language, a “flood” of graded input. “Summer reading” (Krashen 2004: 9, 88-89) should also be encouraged, it is seriously lacking in the schools here.

Indeed, many linguists believe that “much of language is made up of such ‘multi-word units’ [...] Because we now believe that a great deal of language is stored in people’s minds as these ‘chunks,’” it make little sense to see them as if generated according to grammar rules (Schmitt, Celce-Murcia 2010: 12). We would perhaps extend the scope of such multi-word units likewise to sequences of article plus noun, and to many prepositional phrases young learners encounter, such as “at home,” “at the corner,” “to school,” “to bed,” and in learning all kinds of lexical “collocations” and types of “prefabricated language” (Seizova-Nankova 2011, 2012a, 2012b) within a broader “chunking” conception of the “company words keep” (Kryszevska, Davis 2012; cf. video: goo.gl/EYp9B). So one key is much more massive readily comprehensible exposure of students to lexis. This can be coupled with a certain amount of metalinguistic explanation, encouraging “noticing” and “languaging” (Swain 2006), even in Bulgarian.

Important is also increased use of CALL (Computer Assisted Language Learning) for error correction.

This is in keeping with “connectionist” or “neural network” models of SLA where repeated exposure to target language forms strengthens connections in the “neural network” and thus promotes learning (Larson-Freeman, DeCarrico 2010: 27). Closely associated with connectionism is another model, often termed “emergentism,” where performance is less managed by a “‘top-down’ rule governed system” and depends more on repeated encounters with structures, and grammar learning is “facilitated by the frequency of use of the forms in the language to which the learner is exposed” (ibid. 27-28).

4.2 Transfer from L_x to L3

Not discussed much in error analysis and IL research is the influence of another language learned at home (in Bulgaria, such as Turkish or Romanes) or in school as first foreign language, which then impacts on the learning of English as a target L3. It is widely known that such transfer phenomena are often encountered by learners, who find their pronunciation of a second or third language learned at school is influenced by another language they have studied earlier. Moreover, they may encounter transfer in lexis when speaking, where they think of the German word, say, but not the English. Our familiarity with the literature on error analysis and IL suggests that the impact of such additional learned languages on IL has not been well studied. A rare recent study by Lin (2011) is looking at L3 acquisition adult strategies, emphasizing the need for more studies to examine the strategies used by L3 learners and their effect on L3 development. Research in Bulgaria could examine such interference phenomena for learners of English who know or have formally studied another language other than Bulgarian. Georgieva (2012) addresses some of these problems in regard to Turkish as L1, common in the Shumen district.

5. Possible action research: some suggestions

Given the rich corpus of errors any teacher can assemble from written and spoken production in class – and also from student logs or journals if they are introduced and encouraged, a kind of free writing for 10 minutes a day, for example, preferably at home in less anxiety-laden environments – teachers can engage in research on the learning of particular structures using a treatment and control group. The treatment group could, as we see it, be given a significant amount of graded reading (now absent from most syllabi), and then tested to see if improvement in control of production of the article, prepositions, and lexical formulaic structures like “___ ago” are better learned by those who encounter much more text per week through ER. Research could also utilize other techniques (“noticing the gap,” explicit explanation, drama practice) explicitly administered to a treatment group.

6. Plenty enough for communication: the challenge of English as a Lingua Franca

Jenkins (2005), citing work by Barbara Seidlhofer on EuroEnglish (2001), notes that features in ELF deemed perhaps ‘acceptable’ include “omitting definite and indefinite articles where they are obligatory in NS English, and inserting them where they do not occur in NS English.” As determiners, articles rarely carry much semantic weight. Most of the examples of errors given above are “comprehensible,” though of course incorrect.

Certainly this is a highly controversial topic, also touching on the ‘sociopolitics’ of teaching EFL, correctness in dynamic tension with effective communicating, including ‘txt-speak’ (SMS and online), with all its recurrent modes of simplification, often omitting articles (see <http://goo.gl/cgnUc>).

7. Concluding thoughts

Teachers should find more communicative contexts for less explicit teaching of grammar and “focus on form,” and should definitely push for ways to have their students exposed to far more text in English, through ER and much more Extensive Listening (EL), if possible. That would require new types of school reading and listening resources often not developed, and extra funding for such resources. Teachers should also be encouraged to do action research on aspects of grammatical and lexical error analysis and IL, since they are exclusively privy to a huge potential corpus of such data in their classroom “living laboratory.” And teachers can think of imaginative ways of expanding that corpus, by student journal-keeping, and forms of student interaction such as role plays, perhaps recorded in class, student drama, perhaps even records of student ‘texting’ and ‘chatspeak’ (GSM and online) and other channels where learners (even quite young) use some English in their ‘e-life.’

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CLAUSAL SUBSTITUTION

Snezhana Obeyd

Abstract: *The paper deals with the text-forming resource that sets up a relationship between words and phrases, especially the relation of substitution. The substitute item appears to be “a carrier” of some information that differentiates the case of its occurrence from the other case to which it relates by cohesion. Since substitution operates at three levels there are three types of substitution. My analysis aims at characterizing clausal substitution in English and its mechanism of operation.*

Key words: *substitution, cohesion, clause, contrastive context*

One of the resources of text construction is substitution. It is a type of a cohesive relation that is not semantic but lexico-grammatical – 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 signaling that interpretation is to be retrieved from elsewhere. The notion of contrast is essential for substitution. Its significance is in the establishment continuity of occurrences in contrastive setting. The main principle is that there should always be some redefinition of the environment of the presupposed instance. Substitution is a way of signaling new information. Structurally substitution is operative at three levels: nominal, verbal and clausal.

Clausal substitution is a type in which an entire clause is presupposed and the contrast lies beyond the clause. It makes use of the items *so* and *not* operating instead of a given clause. They differ in that *so* is the positive clausal substitute, while *not* is its negative equivalent.:

Are the Browns coming to dinner?

a. “I hope **so**.”

b. “I hope **not**.”

In (a) *so* stands for *the Browns are coming to dinner* and *not* – for *the Browns are not coming to dinner*. What is substituted is the whole of the previous clause, either positive or negative, and the contrast is provided by the verb *hope*, which is outside the presupposition.

The possible environments for *so* and *not* to function as clausal substitutes are those of report, condition and modality. Reported, conditional and modalized clauses have a dependant status, that is, they are dependent on another clause without being structurally part of it. Hence, they are related to the other clause by hypotaxis and not embedded in it. Since embedded clauses function as immediate constituents of what is sometimes called a superordinate clause (the clause of which a constituent is realized by another clause), such clauses are considered to be “downgraded in rank, or ‘rankshifted’ (Halliday, Hasan 1976: 136, 221). With hypotaxis, there are two clauses, one of which is dependent on the other, but not a constituent of it. Therefore, the general environment of clausal

substitution is that of context where hypotaxis is involved. Substitution is used to display a clause as a repetition of another clause, but in a context of report, condition or modality. A reported clause is hypotactically related to a clause that contains a reporting verb. The most common reporting verbs, which can be followed by *so* and with some exceptions by *not* are: *believe, expect, guess, hope, say, suppose, tell, think*, etc. Report is connected with the notion of ‘speech’ and the clausal substitutes could be seen as the exact replacement of what was said in a context projecting a report.

The reported clause for which *so* and *not* stand is always declarative, no matter whether the presupposed clause is interrogative or imperative (see Halliday, Hasan 1976: 131). Hence, the clausal substitutes cannot be used after verbs such as: *ask, demand, inquire, order*, and *wonder*.

A disputable question arises, concerning the use of pronouns in such cases. It seems quite natural to use *it, that* or *this* instead of *so*:

No one wants to give up personal transportation, riding in his own car. All our surveys say so/ that.
(Hailey 1971: 279, with *that* added)

In the expression *say so*, *so* refers to the content of the utterance, it represents the exact words of what the surveys say. In case a reference word such as *that* is used, this word refers to the actual utterance, it presents the quoted words as a fact, since they refer to a real event that can be referred back to. In short, *so* replaces certain words, while *that* refers back to words and the assertion (fact) made by using the words. There are contexts in which the difference is more evident and the replacement of *so* by *that/ it* or vice versa would not be quite right:

a. *Mary said that Britain caused the Second World War.*

But she couldn't get anyone else to believe it.

b. *Mary thinks that there is another planet beyond Pluto.*

But no one else thinks so. (cited from Salkie 1995: 56)

In (a), *it* refers back to the fact concerning Mary's assertion about the cause of the war. In (b), *so* replaces only the content of the previous clause *that there is another planet beyond Pluto* and does not refer to Mary's belief. Therefore, reports could be considered to be lexicogrammatical structures, whereas facts – semantic ones. Though both facts and reports are “encodings” in language, the former are encoded as meanings and the latter – as “wordings” (Halliday, Hasan 1976: 131-2). A fact clause is an embedded one, while frequently a reported clause is hypotactically related to another one. Sometimes, the distinction is not quite clear. Nevertheless the general difference is valid and provides the grounds for differentiating reports from facts.

Being lexicogrammatical structures, reports are connected with saying as well as with thinking, believing, and assuming. Hence, the use of *so* and *not* can also be applied to reported beliefs, assumptions, and emotions.

However, there are some restrictions concerning the use of *so* and *not* after certain verbs. Some verbs require the negation to be drawn into the reporting clause, as in the following example:

“Wes says it’s part of the whole scene. Besides, he’ll edit sympathetically.”

“If I didn’t think so, “Wingate said, “we wouldn’t be here.” (Hailey 1971: 293)

Hence the usual pattern of *think* plus *not* is *I don’t think so*. According to Halliday and Hasan, in this case “the word *not* can be interpreted as the “portmanteau” realization of the substitute and negative polarity” (1976: 133). The use of *not* as a substitute with *think*, *believe* and *expect* is considered rare and formal. *Not* is not used with *tell*, and when it happens to be used with *say* there should be a modal in front of *say* (see Collin’s Cobuild English Grammar 1990: 392). With other verbs and adjectives such as *know* and *(be) sure*, neither *so* nor *not* can normally be used but the whole clause can be ellipped (*I know*, *I am sure*), or else the pronoun *it* or *that* can be used: *I know it/ that*; *I am sure of it/ that*. As a whole, in sentences expressing certainty, we cannot use *so* and *not* but *not certainly so*. This results from the different natures of reports and facts. A report asserting the truth of the words is like a fact, except when the assertion is negated.

Substitution is frequently used in the impersonal type of report. There is a possible overlap between this type and the case in which *so* stands for an attribute. For example:

“Is the document ready?”

“It seems so.”

In such cases *so* can be interpreted either as substituting the attribute *ready* (*The document seems ready*), with *it* referring to *the document*; or as clausal substitute (*It seems that the document is ready*), with the impersonal *it* (referred to as anticipatory *it*). The ambiguity is resolved in the plural, but what matters most is that in both cases *so* is a substitute.

Occasionally *so* is put at the beginning of the clause when used with several verbs, particularly *say*, *believe*, *guess*, and *understand*. This often has the effect of casting doubt on the truth of the words mentioned (see Collin’s Grammar 1990: 392).

“Most people are backing the Oxford crew.”

“So the sports writers say but that doesn’t mean they’ll win.”

(cited from Quirk et al. 1985: 881)

The negative substitute could not be used in such cases. But *not* can be used as a substitute in other context, apart from the previously mentioned. When a negative in some way qualifies an answer, the substitute *not* is used (see Halliday 1985: 298):

“I shouldn’t be hungry for it you know.”

Not at first.”

(Halliday 1985: 298)

In addition, the substitute *not* appears in the expression *Why not?*, whose context is suitable also for substitution in the positive *Why so?*

The second environment suitable for the use of clausal substitutes is that of conditional structures:

Would the girl miss the package she had put down?

If so, would she remember that Erica had been close by?

(Hailey 1971: 120)

Condition may be expressed by *if* or by some verbs of ‘cognizing’ such as *suppose*, *assuming*, etc.

Finally, modalized clauses can be substituted by *so* and *not*. When modality is expressed as a separate clause, the modalized one is also hypotactically related to it, as in *it might be so*. However modality is often expressed by adverbs within the clause, but the scope of substitution also includes this realization:

“I dare say you never even spoke to Time!”

“Perhaps not.

(cited from Halliday 1985: 297)

All these three contexts that allow for clausal substitution to take place are semantically related. They provide an environment for the truth of the statement to be open to question. As Halliday and Hasan have put it: “all three types have the property of being at one remove from (statements of) reality: they are hypothetical” (1976: 136).

At first sight it would seem that clausal substitutes cannot be used to make a contrast, since they replace a whole clause. However, the clause is projected in a new contrastive context, which does not necessarily reject some other one, but there should always be “some redefinition of the environment of the presupposed clause” (Halliday, Hasan 1976: 136). That is the main principle of clausal substitution, which also applies to substitution as a whole.

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ORGANIZING VERB-PARTICLE CONSTRUCTIONS COGNITIVELY: THE CASE OF ON AND UP

Svetlana Nedelcheva

Abstract: This study gives some insights how to assist foreign language learners of English, not just students but teachers and translators as well, to understand and memorize more easily verb-particle constructions so that they can use them in speaking and writing. Following the cognitive linguistic approach we claim that particles are not purely idiomatic but rather build clusters of related meanings and can be used in a quite motivated way. The paper focuses on two of the most frequently used particles: ON and UP. The analysis aims to demonstrate that these particles are polysemous and their meanings derive from a central locative meaning which gives rise to figurative extensions. These abstract meanings develop systematically and this systematicity, hidden behind the apparent arbitrariness, should be explored if we would like to reduce the weight of foreign language memory work.

Key words: verb-particle constructions, cognitive approach, semantic networks, spatial domain, abstract domains

Introduction

Verb-particle⁷ constructions (VPCs), also known as phrasal verbs (PVs)⁸, are not a recent development and their trickiness to foreign learners was noticed and pointed out as early as 1755 when Samuel Johnson published *A Dictionary of the English Language*:

“There is another kind of composition more frequent in our language than perhaps in any other, from which arises to foreigners the greatest difficulty. We modify the signification of many verbs by a particle subjoined; as to come off, to escape by a fetch; to fall on, to attack; to fall off, to apostatize; (...); with innumerable expressions of the same kind, of which some appear wildly irregular, being so far distant from the sense of the simple words, that no sagacity will be able to trace the steps by which they arrived at the present use.”⁹

The approach teachers and textbook writers usually use for selecting and grouping VPCs for teaching purposes is organizing them by the verb. This approach is also reflected in the strategies students use for learning phrasal verbs. They are given long lists of phrasal verbs they need to memorize, e.g. *go* can combine with *against*, *along with*, *away down*, *for*, *off*, *on*, *out*, *over*, *part*, *round*, *through*, *up*, *with*; *get* forms VPCs with *across*, *along*, *away*, *away with*, *by*, *down to*, *in*, *off*, *on*, *out over*, *through*, *to*, *up*; etc. (see Fig. 1)

When the focus is on the verb the items are likely to be seen as unrelated in meaning, which makes them hard to remember by learners.

⁷ There are still ongoing discussions as to how to define the second element in a verb-particle construction, whether it is a preposition, an adverb or both. Since this study looks at phrasal verbs as lexical units, the term *particle* will be used to avoid unnecessary confusion.

⁸ Throughout the paper the term “verb-particle construction” (VPC) is used interchangeably with “phrasal verb” (PV).

⁹ <http://www.bartleby.com/39/27.html>



Figure 1: Lists of Phrasal Verbs

This article is mainly concerned with the meaning of the particles, namely *on* and *up*. Our hypothesis is that particles are not purely idiomatic, their meanings are interrelated and build up a semantic network organized around a central meaning. Each particle's semantic network can encourage learners to look for and identify systematic features of meaning in the way particles are used and any underlying cognitive links between different senses. Organizing phrasal verbs in a more motivated way can also help lexicographers in constructing their dictionaries¹⁰ in a more stimulating way for non-native users. This paper illustrates the hypothesis by the semantic networks of two particles: *on* and *up*.

Previous research on the semantics of the English VPCs

Due to their idiosyncrasy phrasal verbs have been long neglected by scholars. Only in the 20th century did they start to receive some interest by linguists – both in terms of their syntactic behavior (e.g. Kennedy 1920; Sroka 1972; Fraser 1976), semantic features (Bolinger 1971; Lipka 1972; Lindner 1983) and pragmatic functions (O'Dowd 1998).

Traditional grammar generally considers idiomatic meanings of VPCs as arbitrary and unpredictable. Therefore, it focuses mainly on their syntactic behavior. According to Fraser, the particle has no semantic features, only phonological and syntactic (Fraser 1976: 77). He claims that when the particle loses its literal, concrete meaning it loses its meaning completely. VPCs with non-literal meaning he sees as idioms where the components lack their own meaning.

In his book Bolinger (1971) divides the particles which take part in phrasal verbs into literal and figurative. Examples with *up* of the type *He climbed up the hill* are literal, while such as *The girl finished up the book* are figurative. Among the figurative meanings he distinguishes three perfective meanings:

- resultative meaning – an object has reached some kind of result, e.g. *I don't see how they catch up with him*;
- ingressive or completion meaning – a process has been started or completed, e.g. *It is used to block up cars for tire changes*;

¹⁰ Most major dictionaries (except for Merriam-Webster) have published separate specialized volumes dedicated only to phrasal verbs. However, their content is identical with that found in the corresponding general dictionaries.

- intensive meaning – a process has gained high intensity, e.g. *And that's going to help speed up his recovery.*

A different interpretation is put forward by Lipka (1972) who assigns meaning to particles in VPCs selectively. Those particles which combine with semantically empty verbs such as *do*, *have*, *get*, *give*, *make*, etc. have their own meaning as in *make up* and *put out*. With no semantic content are considered particles which are redundant (in the dictionary they are pointed out as optional) and VPCs with deadjectival verbs.

Lindner (1983) takes a cognitive point of view and claims that particles are not semantically empty and code a part of VPCs' meaning. She opposes Fraser's analysis in terms of analyzability. Fraser only discusses combinations where the component's meanings correspond to those of the lexical items, namely the verb and the particle. Lindner's aim is to find motivation particularly for those combinations which were regarded as unanalysable by previous researchers. She suggests that particles are not meaningless at all but polysemous and they establish patterns of semantic extensions. These extensions are interrelated and form a semantic network which she analyzes taking into account various phrasal verbs with *out* and *up*. She also discusses how predictable their meanings can be. She states that there is no complete regularity among VPCs and rejects the idea of productive rules by saying that "many aspects of language are best expressed in terms of tendencies and likelihoods" (Lindner 1983: 67).

Her model is usage-based and she observes that a given concept can be expressed not by a single unit but by a combination of units. This involves choosing a number of salient aspects of the concept and applying them in the linguistic expression. It doesn't matter which aspects will be used still there will be a lot of aspects left implicit. Hence, only certain salient aspects are explicitly coded in the meaning of a unit and when the unit has a complex structure the meanings of the components usually cannot exhaust the meaning of the whole.

This theory gives insights about the complexity in coining such forms as compounds and phrasal verbs. It explains why understanding and acquiring them is so demanding for non-native speakers of English. The interaction between human cognition and linguistic convention in a particular speech community is situated in the usage-based model where regularities are extracted from instances. It directly opposes the generative approach where units are generated by regularities which make them predictable.

The present paper uses the cognitive approach and the usage-based model to deal with the organization of phrasal verbs to assist learners in their acquisition of these constructions and lexicographers in arranging their entries. The complexity of phrasal verbs being their composite structure of a verb and a particle is not the purpose of this study. We do not aim to conduct separate analyses of these elements but analyze them as an inherent semantic unity. As the meaning resides in the whole structure it is only natural that PVs should be granted the status of lexical items in dictionaries, although usually not as lemmas but rather as sub-lemmas. The following sections look at the research done to organize PVs and improve their representation in textbooks and monolingual dictionaries of English.

The semantics of English participles

This study is based on the analysis of a corpus collected mainly from the specialized Longman edition Dictionary of Phrasal Verbs. The dictionary contains more than 5000 idiomatic combinations of verb + adverb/ preposition which are organized by the verb. Therefore, the corpus for the present research was extracted manually in order to find the tendencies in the meanings of the particles *on* and *up*. In the dictionary the senses of each phrasal verb are listed in order of frequency. However, to avoid double counting only the most frequent meaning of each phrasal verb is considered in the analysis. The corpus contains 229 VPCs with *on* and 434 with *up*. The sentences used as examples are obtained from Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA).

For both particles the network starts with the central sense, which according to the Prototype theory (Rosch 1970) corresponds to the most prototypical meaning of the particle. Usually the spatial sense is regarded as the central one. All the other senses extend from the central sense through metonymy and metaphor or are extensions of the extended senses which makes them more peripheral.

We need to introduce two other cognitive notions used in recent approaches of prepositions and particles (Lindstromberg 1997; Tyler, Evans 2003) for the purposes of the present study: Trajector and Landmark.

Trajector (TR) is the entity that is located or described in reference to another entity called Landmark (LM). The TR is the profiled element in the conceptual scene and is the most prominent/ foregrounded among the other elements. It may be an object, e.g. *Gordon was still in his pyjamas, his hair sticking up at all angles*; or a person, e.g. *Can you break up some of these sticks?*; or an abstract entity, e.g. *The prices went up*; in fact, any entity on which we focus our attention. In most of the cases it is the smaller, moving entity.

Landmark is the entity serving as a reference point or background for the TR. It usually happens that the LM is bigger in size and is considered located and immovable as opposed to the TR. For example, in the domain of abstract notions *leave* in *She is on leave* acts as the LM.

THE SEMANTICS OF ON

In the semantic network of *on* we include both its uses as a preposition and as an adverbial particle. We suggest that their meanings are related and extend from the central sense which is the spatial one:

○ ‘CONTACT with a surface’, for example: *be etched on, fall on, feast on, force on, jam on the brakes, pop on*, etc.

32 phrasal verbs out of all 229 belong to this group. They can be divided into a couple of domains:

- CONTACT of the TR with food and beverages (*feast on, feed on, gorge oneself on, lavish on, sip on, snack on*, etc.) (see 1):

(1) Owls *feed on* mice and other small animals.

Afterwards they went to a posh restaurant and *feasted on* smoked salmon and champagne.

Haney *sipped on* his tea and looked bored.

- CONTACT of the TR with clothes (*pull on, put on, slip on, throw on*, etc.) (see 2):

(2) I spent two hours *trying on* every coat in the shop, but none of them were just right.

Throwing on a dressing-gown, I stumbled downstairs to open the door.

Now, if you'll just hop out of bed and *slip on* your dressing gown, we'll take you along for an X-ray.

- CONTACT of the TR with a physical LM, which leads to the functional element of SUPPORT (*jam on the brakes, seize on, set on/upon, sign on, slap a tax*, etc.) (see 3)

(3) If you *don't step on* it, we'll miss the plane!

Don't try to be nice to everyone all the time - you'll just end up getting *trampled on*.

At the time of her death she *was working on* a new novel.

○ SUPPORT is closely related to 'contact with a surface' as the surface serves to support the object, for example: *act on, based on, bear on, be bent on, build on, count on*, etc. (see 4)

(4) I bought a car so I didn't have *to depend on* public transport all the time.

A student's job prospects *can hinge on* his performance in these exams.

Friendship is important - you need someone you can trust and *lean on* for support.

28 of all 229 phrasal verbs fall in this group. The LM is bigger and more substantial than the TR so that it can sustain the TR's weight. There is also a metaphorical extension of the SUPPORT meaning when the LM is used as an abstract support for the TR, e.g. financial support: *At that time we were living on \$50 a week*.

Other functional elements related to CONTACT are POTENTIAL CONTACT and GOAL/ FOCUS OF ATTENTION.

○ POTENTIAL CONTACT suggests that there may be some distance between the object in focus (TR) and the reference object (LM), e.g. *latch on to, front on,/ onto, round on/ upon, verge on/ upon*, etc. (see 5):

(5) the states that *border on* Texas

My childhood home was a giant Victorian house that *fronted onto* a park.

He thought her behaviour *was verging on* insanity.

○ GOAL/ FOCUS of attention is the most numerous group, e.g. *close on, come on, converge on, descend on*, etc. (see 6):

(6) Traders who had *bet on* a rise in share prices, lost money.

He stopped in Chicago in order to *call on* an old friend.

Recently I was wandering around a department store, when I *chanced upon* an old school.

97 verbs in the *on*-corpus belong to this sense. It is the most varied group because there seem to be almost no requirements to the TR or the LM. The TR is usually animate, while the LM can be any kind of goal. The verbs express some kind of motion of the TR in the direction of the LM, or there can be an abstract activity of the TR focusing on the LM.

○ TOPIC. This sense is directly related to the previous sense because the topic represents the focus of attention of a given conversation, lecture or book, e.g. *expand on*, *dwell on*, *chew on*, *crap on*, *gabble on*, etc. (see 7):

(7) Hutton *expands on* this theme in the next chapter of his book.

Ken *figured on* about 100 people coming to the party.

He was a nice old man, but he spent the whole journey *gabbling on* about his past.

○ WORKING. A small group of verbs (only 5 in our corpus) combine with *on* to denote that the LM starts working , e.g. *click on*, *put on*, *switch on*, *turn on*, etc. (see 8):

(8) Are we allowed to *have the TV on*?

Can you *put the lights on*?

I *turned on* the radio and listened to the six o'clock news.

This sense is motivated by the experiential correlation between switches and working machines, devices, lights, etc. A switch has an electrical contact which can be either “closed”, when the contacts are touching and electricity can flow between them, or “open Rudzka-Ostyn”, when the contacts are separated and the switch is nonconducting. This clearly shows the relation between the WORKING sense and the CONTACT sense.

○ CONTINUING (progressing) sense, e.g. *carry on*, *draw on*, *drive on*, *drone on*, *follow on*, *hurry on*, *keep on*, *linger on*, *move on*, etc., seems the most peripheral but it is probably the most salient among all the senses (see 9):

(9) As the night *wore on*, Corrie grew more and more anxious.

The two climbers *struggled on*, despite the severe weather conditions.

As Seb neared the winning-post, he heard Sarah's voice above the noise of the crowd, *urging him on*.

Although the corpus shows only 39 verbs in this group, we consider it as the most salient because the continuing sense is the first that comes to the speaker's mind when the particle *on* is mentioned.

THE SEMANTIC NETWORK OF ON

It is very important to represent visually the meanings in the network so that the students can see how the different uses relate (Figure 2).

It turns out that 229 verbs with *on* found in Longman dictionary of Phrasal Verbs can be classified in those 7 senses. However, some of the examples are not easy to define as they are polysemous and belong to more than one of the senses, e.g. CONTACT and SUPPORT; FOCUS OF ATTENTION and TOPIC, etc. This leads us to Wittgenstein's idea of 'Family resemblance' where things which may be thought to be connected by one

essential common feature may in fact be connected by a series of overlapping similarities, where no feature is common to all. Although, in this case the functional feature of CONTACT can be seen as common to all senses.

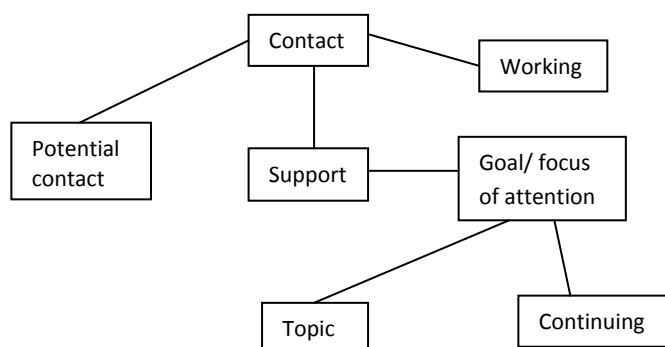


Figure 2: Semantic Network of ON

THE SEMANTICS OF *UP*

Up combines with a lot more verbs to form VPCs than *on* (There are 434 phrasal verbs with *up* in our corpus). Its frequency is motivated in our everyday experience by the fact that the upward position, both physical and abstract, dominates our lives.

The spatial meaning of *up* is important for our orientation as the vertical dimension is considered more significant than the horizontal. Also within horizontality orientation along the front-back axis is more salient than the orientation along the left-right axis. The basic prepositions of orientation come in pairs: UP-DOWN, OVER-UNDER, ABOVE-BELOW, FRONT-BACK and BEFORE-BEHIND.

○ UPWARDS, e.g. *bob up, beam up, get up, go up, grow up, pick up*, etc.(see 10):

(10) She reached forward to pull down her skirt, which *had ridden up* over her thighs.

The birds suddenly *rose up* in the air and flew away.

Gordon was still in his pyjamas, his hair *sticking up* at all angles.

This is the spatial meaning of *up* which is also considered the central one of its semantic network. Typically, spatial *up* is found with verbs of motion and involves a shift from a lower to a higher place. However, *up* may also be used in situations where there is no real change of place, e.g. *There is a cottage up the hill*, which means that the cottage is situated somewhere on the hill, at a place higher than observer's present position. Or *up* may change the position of the TR from horizontal to vertical, e.g. *Is Nick still in bed? No, he's been up for an hour*.

○ MORE, e.g. *add up, brighten up, fatten up, heap up, heat up, pile up*, etc.

A very salient conceptual metaphor is MORE IS UP (Lakoff, Johnson 1987). Examples are found in every field of human life and society. *Up* can mean that the TR becomes more important (e.g. *Mr. Smith is getting up in the world*), higher in rank (e.g. *He went up to London* – a usage which is conventionalized following the belief that London is the

place highest in rank), accumulates greater quantity (e.g. *We clocked up a lot of mileage*) or increases in size (see 11):

(11) A price war is *boiling up* between the US and Japan.

She thought she'd *bolster up* his ego a bit by asking for his advice.

His latest book has been *bulked up* with lots of pictures, but it isn't very well written.

How *up* and MORE are interrelated can be explained from the point of view of our life experience. Tyler & Evans in their 2003 book point out that there is an experiential correlation between quantity and vertical elevation. When the quantity of a liquid in a container increases there is a certain point where no more liquid can be contained. Hence, the activity of pouring is complete. Thus, there is a correlation between a liquid filling up a container and the capacity of the container being completely used.

Another conceptual metaphor, GOOD IS UP, refers to the general idea that upward orientation tends to go together with positive emotions (e.g. *brighten up*, *cheer up*) and feelings (e.g. *I feel up today*). However, apart from expressing various situations of IMPROVEMENT in human mood and status, *up* can be used also with verbs of destruction, where the TR inflicts damage to the LM. As a result the LM breaks to pieces which in some cases visually go up in the air (see 12):

(12) An army bus carrying IO soldiers was *blown up* by a land mine.

Can you *break up* some of these sticks? They're too big to start a fire with.

The fire *had burnt up* forty acres of corn crops.

It can be argued that the DAMAGE group should be subsumed under the COMPLETION category (the one, which shows that a process is brought to its end). The improvement/damage sense of *up*, however, indicates not only that a limit has been reached, but something more, that the whole object has been affected by the action. Therefore, we call it the CHANGE-OF-STATE sense:

○ CHANGE-OF-STATE, e.g. *brush up*, *catch up*, *cheer up*, *dress up*, *freshen up*/*break up*, *blow up*, *chop up*, etc.

Non-native learners find serious confusion in the fact that *up* can combine with verbs opposite in their semantics, e.g. *speak up* – *shut up*; *tighten up* – *loosen up*; *slow up* – *speed up*; *tie up* – *split up*; *open up* – *close up*, etc. The correct interpretation and acquisition of these phrasal verbs should start with the awareness that each pair belongs to the opposites of a scale or continuum, from open to close, from tight to loose, from slow to fast, etc. In other words, *up* contributes to the meanings of these verbs by showing a change to an envisaged state located along a scale of state change.

○ COMPLETION, e.g. *drink up*, *block up*, *blow up*, *bottle up*, *box up*, etc.

The COMPLETION sense as the name suggests has to do with the notions of completeness and thoroughness. It shows that the TR has reached a goal state. The motivation behind this sense lies in the fact that when something goes up or increases it inevitably reaches a limit. A common example is found in our everyday interaction with containers, e.g. cups and glasses: *Can I fill up your glass?* When the glass is full it can contain no more liquid and then the pouring should finish. There is a correlation between a liquid being up and the container being completely used.

It might be argued that the verb *fill* carries the meaning of completion in itself. However, there are other examples where the verbs do not imply completion, e.g. *Did you remember to turn off the lights and lock up?* Still, when it combines with *up* it acquires the sense of completion. The implicature is that the process will proceed until the task is complete.

This interpretation can be traced in another COMPLETITON subgroup which denotes DEPLETION, e.g. *blot up, dry up, time is up, drink up*, etc. At first sight it seems that the meaning of depletion cannot be related to *up* because it is opposite to increasing in quality and size. However, if we look at these activities as continuing until they are finished in the end, then they can be associated with the COMPLETION sense of *up*.

Another COMPLETITON subgroup comprises verbs of PROTECTION (e.g. *buckle up, bandage up*, etc.) and ENCLOSURE (e.g. *bag up, box up*, etc.). They are correlated by the close association between staying inside and being protected from any outside influence. The TR is safe when it is buckled up and its wound is protected when it is bandaged up. Also, what is enclosed in a bag or box not only won't be damaged but it is hidden from the viewer's eyesight and the activity coded by the verb is completed.

A very common mistake made by foreign learners when using phrasal verbs is to skip the particle when their meaning relates to that of the main verb, for example:

(13) Expensive restaurants and nightclubs were *opening* all over the city.

Expensive restaurants and nightclubs were *opening up* all over the city.

She *brightened* as soon as she saw us.

She *brightened up* as soon as she saw us.

I *stopped* to watch the baseball and it went on until after twelve.

I *stopped up* to watch the baseball and it went on until after twelve.

The difference between phrasal and simple verbs of this type is that *up* points to an object's change of state. This change of state is considered salient. There is some visible evidence and as a result the TR is quite different from its initial state and the change is relatively permanent. With simple verbs processes result in no perceivable change of state.

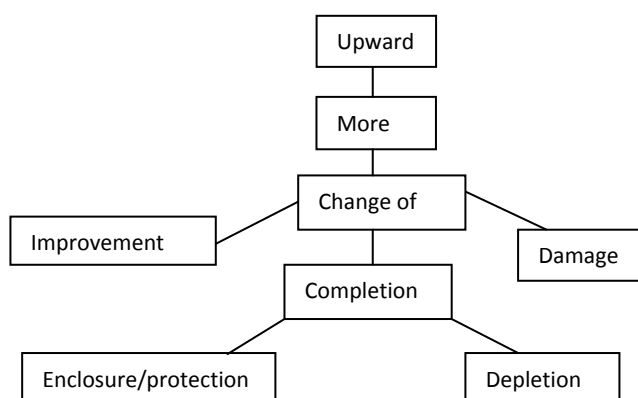


Figure 3: Semantic Network of *UP*

To sum up, the domains structured around the vertical axis and *up* in particular (Fig. 3), cover a wide range of senses and include quantities (*heap up, mount up, pile up*), rates (*hurry up, quicken up, speed up*), strength of sound (*sing up, speak up, sharpen up*), temperature (*heat up, warm up*), emotions (*tense up, hot up, work up, liven up*), social ranking (*get up in the world*), etc.

Final remarks and future work

This paper demonstrates how the meanings of polysemous English verb particles are interrelated and derive from a central, prototypical, spatial sense. The metaphorical meanings are not a random development but are systematically motivated. This systematicity turns to be crucial if we try to reduce the efforts for memorization that foreign learners of English (not only students but also non-native teachers, interpreters and translators) need to devote to learning numerous phrasal verbs. Meanings of particles can also be traced in compound nouns and adjectives, e.g. *onset, ongoing, on-looking, on-screen, on-site, oncoming, up-to-date, up-to-the-minute, upbeat, upcoming, update, uphill*, etc., where they contribute to the meaning of the whole.

The discussion of the different senses of *on* and *up* supports the idea that polysemy is best understood when analysed from cognitive perspective, applying the usage-based model. We believe that this approach to the semantics of particles can help learners avoid the confusion when learning VPCs and to encourage them to study and use them logically on the basis of their meaning.

This paper gives an idea how to teach VPC more effectively. However, it hasn't been tested empirically yet. An experiment should be performed and statistical results acquired. This would probably reveal certain gaps in our thinking and would lead to new insightful analyses.

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