

KONSTANTIN PRESLAVSKY UNIVERSITY OF SHUMEN

CURRENT TRENDS IN THE STUDY OF ENGLISH



УНИВЕРСИТЕТСКО ИЗДАТЕЛСТВО
"ЕПИСКОП КОНСТАНТИН ПРЕСЛАВСКИ"

KONSTANTIN PRES LAVSKY UNIVERSITY OF SHUMEN

**CONTEMPORARY TRENDS
IN THE STUDY OF ENGLISH**
(A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS)

Konstantin Preslavsky University Press

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CONTENTS

IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER

Aglika Dobрева. Metaphorical schemes in the representations of some emotions.....	
Alexandra Alexandrova. Nicknames in English and Bulgarian media texts..	
Deyana Peneva. Speech situation, speech event and speech act in the domain of apology speech act pragmatics.....	
Evdokia Marinova. The metaphor of theatre in understanding news discourse..	
Iliyan Ivanov, Desislava Cheshmedzhieva-Stoycheva. Russians in the Bulgarian and the British Press.....	
Irina Ivanova. Facilitating trainee-teachers' decision in lesson planning during pre-teaching discussion.....	
Miroslava Tsvetkova. On the inseparability of grammar and lexis in the English present progressive construction.....	
Radostina Iglíkova. Efficiency in the discourse of relationship articles from the American and the Bulgarian online editions of cosmopolitan women's magazine (a comparative study).....	
Rumyana Todorova, Zlatko Todorov. London Olympics 2012 as a cultural, social and linguistic phenomenon.....	
Todor Todorov, Desislava Cheshmedzhieva-Stoycheva. The mosque: a cradle of faith or an incubator of terrorists (religion as part of one's identity in some American, Bulgarian and British online newspapers).....	
Snezhana Obeyd. Verbal Substitution.....	
Svetlana Nedelcheva. It's better to do it over than overdo it: polysemous prefixes and particles.....	
Sylvia Teneva. Multiculturalism, xenophobia and identity in Rammstein's "Mein Land".....	
Temenuzhka Seizova-Nankova,Bill Templer. Galvanizing fresh strategies for intensive and extensive in Bulgarian ELT.....	

METAPHORICAL SCHEMES IN THE REPRESENTATION OF SOME EMOTIONS

Aglika Dobрева

Abstract: *There is a close relationship between emotions and language, especially in the field of metaphorical language. Metaphors that stand for emotions in English and Bulgarian are the focus of the article. The emotion concepts combine physiological experience and culture-specific models. The article focuses on different schemes representing basic emotional meaning. The cognitive models and schemes are probably universal but there are different linguistic representations and some culturally modified forms of representations.*

Key words: *metaphors, schemes, basic emotions, cognitive linguistics*

There is considerable research done by cognitive linguists in the field of emotion concepts (Lakoff, Johnson, Kövescs, Wierzbicka). In fact, most linguists, psychologists and anthropologists have pointed out the close relationship between language and emotions. However, it is the linguistic perspective of the research on metaphors and metonymies for the respective emotion concepts that is of special interest. Moreover, being expressive figures of speech, metaphors and metonymies are especially useful in research as they are often used to represent emotion concepts. Imagery that is characteristic of metaphors is typical of human thinking and actions (Lakoff, Johnson, Kövescs, Palmer). Metaphors and metonymies are also representative of folk theories of emotions, giving evidence of a picture of a world that is related to human values and beliefs. Nowadays, the analysis of emotion metaphors is a well-established area of research in English. Research was carried out in other natural languages, too.

There are two general issues that linguists are interested in: 1. Are there basic (prototypical) emotions common for most languages? 2. Is emotion meaning affected by culture?

Regarding the first issue, there are two contradictory beliefs. For certain researchers there are five universal emotions – anger, love, sadness, happiness and fear. Kövescs has pointed out certain common cognitive structures (scenarios). For Wierzbicka (1972) there seem to be almost no universals in the field of emotions. There is a third approach (Kövescs, Palmer 1999) according to which the emotion concepts combine universal experience of physiology with culture-specific models and interpretations. Here common physiology is mixed with differences in cultural knowledge and pragmatic functions of the discourse, which are effected through different culture-bound rules and scenarios. The analysis of phraseological units in English and other languages, including Bulgarian, tend to identify with the third

viewpoint. The aim of the study is to present cognitive schemes and models for the conceptualization of emotions in two languages that are not closely related i.e. belong to different language families (English and Bulgarian).

For example 'keep a low profile' / 'ovesvam nos' are metonymies for desperation. A typical feature of the phraseological units is the fact that they do not name emotions. They rather reveal their aspects/signs of description – a degree of intensity, control, cause, direction. These signs are often absent from the dictionary definitions of emotion terms but are closely related to human activities. Therefore, phraseological units are not simply more expressive nominations of phenomena, already named by lexical units. The importance of PHU (Phraseological units) for the analysis of the language of emotions should be pointed out and interpreted in that very sense as it has already been pointed out by Lakoff Johnson and Kovecses.

The following part of the paper deals with conceptual models (metaphors and metonymies) as well as conventional expressions (PHU) used in language situations that are related to emotions.

The group of PHU expressing emotions, most of which involve name of the part of the body (somatism), will be considered. The models are grouped around more general categories (prototypes), giving the general cognitive schemas of the metaphorical models. Each prototype depicts an image picture of the correspondent ethnic mental world. The approach of reconstructing a language prototype through groups of language metaphors was suggested by G. Lakoff and Kovecses.

1. Cognitive schema (prototype) of force or (image schema of force elaborated by M Johnson 1987).

The most widely spread model for its realization is a vector of force (i.e. source) - impact on an object – trajectory of the movement of the object under the influence of the force. It could be interpreted either literally as movement with a definite goal, or non-literally as change in the state, caused by some reason, and even as development. The different interpretations of the prototype form the wide range of its application for activities aimed at achievement of a specific goal, processes related with the change in condition, expression of causality etc. Not all structural elements of the prototype are realized. On certain occasions only the source and goal are made explicit and on other occasions only the final point (the result). This schema can be found in PHU in both languages under analysis through the following models:

1.1 Emotions are directed activities (the emphasis is on the impact and the source).

Bulgarian:

Поливам с вряла/студена вода някого (причинявам неприятна емоция на някого)

*Pour hot/cold water on somebody. (make somebody feel unpleasant)

Изкарвам акъла /ума на някого (уплашвам някого)

*Take the wits out of somebody. (frighten somebody)

Поставям пръст в раната (карам някого да страда)

*Put a finger in somebody's wound. (make somebody suffer)

(The above translations are literal in order for the imagery to be preserved)

English:

Scare the wits out of somebody/to be scared out of one's wits (frighten somebody)

pour/throw cold water on something (informal)

The above expression formally resembles the Bulgarian expression and is used with a similar meaning. Compare with the English PHU. If you pour cold water on opinions or ideas, you criticize them and stop people believing them or being excited about them. e.g. Margaret Thatcher poured cold water on the idea of a European central bank.

1.2 Emotions are the impacts of a natural force.

Bulgarian:

Камък ми пада на сърце(то) (мъка) *A stone fell on my heart. (grief)

Червей ми гризе сърцето (мъка) *A worm is eating my heart (grief)

Мравки ми лазят по гърба (страх) *Ants are creeping on my back.

English:

I was overwhelmed.

I was swept off my feet.

The idea of the moving of the entity from one location to another is present in the above examples.

1.3 An emotion is pressure on a container (the body or an organ). The emphasis is on the activity

Bulgarian:

Пръска ми се, пука ми се главата (притеснение)

*My head will burst. (frustration)

English:

Burst with pride

to be full as if to the bursting point with pride. My parents were bursting with pride when I graduated from college. I almost burst with pride when I was chosen for the first prize.

Burst with excitement

Fig. To have a strong feeling of excitement. Joe was just bursting with excitement because of his triumph. The new toys had the children all bursting with excitement.

Burst with joy

Fig. [for someone] to be full to the bursting point with happiness. (To be so filled with joy as if to burst.) When I got my grades, I could have burst with joy. Bill was not exactly bursting with joy when he got the news.

1.4 An emotion is the effect of a force on a body organ that breaks its normal functioning. It is even possible that it can be destroyed. (the emphasis is on the result). The results can vary from change in the size, temperature, colour, making the organ motionless, appearance of additional parts.

Bulgarian:

Надува ми се главата (досада) *my head swells (boredom)

Очите ми стават на ластик, понички (интерес) *my eyes become elastic (interest)

Нозете му се скъсили (страх) *his feet have become shorter (fear)

Изсъхва ми сърцето, душицата (мъка) *My heart goes dry (sadness)

Черно ми е, чернее ми пред очите (гняв) *it is all black in front of me (anger)

Изтрили ми са се веждите (срам) *my eyebrows are wiped (shame)

Езикът ми хвана мазоли (досада) *my tongue has blisters (annoyance)

Със замряло, премряло сърце (страх) *with withering heart (fear)

Къса ми се сърцето(тъга)

English:

Hair-raising (fear)

(very frightening) e.g. Driving through the mountains was a hair-raising experience.

to have cold feet (fear)

to see red (anger)

The above model is associated primarily with fear or anger in English while in Bulgarian there are more emotions associated with the model (sadness, interest, irritation).

‘Hair-raising’ has the same equivalent in Bulgarian.

2. The container schema (after Lakoff and Johnson, 1980)

The above-mentioned schema allows for the conceptualization of all kinds of objects, (including those that are not clear-cut). What is ‘convenient’ in this model is: order – the objects are fixed within a whole entity, they are accessible/inaccessible for observation. Secondly, their restriction within a whole means they are protected against external influences.

The reason why this schema is used for emotions lies in the attempt to present their due place in the human body like localization of physical objects within an object embracing them as a whole.

The container scheme is realized by means of three models. (Body is a container for the emotions; The emotion itself is a container; The body/or part of it is experiencer.)

The reason why this schema is used for emotions lies probably in the fact that emotions occur in the human body, serving as a divide between the inner and outer world.

2.1 Body is a container for the emotions.

Bulgarian:

В X се събужда съжаление, злоба....към(*regret is aroused in somebody)

В X се ражда надежда за.... (*hope rises in somebody)

English:

anger rising,

Anger rose in him.

2.1.1 The heart is a container.

Bulgarian:

Напълва ми се сърцето (доволство)* My heart is filled. (an expression of satisfaction)

Кръв капе от сърцето (скръб) *Blood is dripping from my heart. (deep sorrow)

Мед ми капе, пада на сърцето (доволство) *Honey drops on my heart.
(satisfaction)

Затваря ми се сърцето (мъка, скръб, безразличие) * My heart is closed.
(sorrow, sadness, indifference)

Пада ми, падне ми в сърцето (liking as an emotion is in the list of pleasant emotions in Bulgarian) * Falls on my heart. (to like something)

English:

a bleeding heart (someone who shows too much sympathy for everyone)The anti-hunting campaigners are just a bunch of bleeding hearts who don't understand the countryside.

your heart bleeds (if your heart bleeds for someone who is in trouble, you feel sadness and sympathy for them)

Usage notes: This phrase is often used humorously to mean the opposite.

(often + for) My heart bleeds for the poor children caught up in the fighting.
Brenda can't afford another diamond necklace? My heart bleeds!

2.1.2 The head is a container.

Български:

Качва ми се кръвта в главата (гняв) *Blood rises to my head.

English:

a head of steam (energy to quickly make progress There's no question, though, that the drive to stop capital punishment has picked up a head of steam.)

Etymology: based on the literal meaning of a head of steam (the pressure that is needed in the engine of an old-fashioned steam train to make it start moving)

2.1.3 Eye is a container/Eyes are containers of emotions.

Bulgarian:

Пълня окото, очите на някого (харесвам се) * Fill the eye/eyes of someone.
(liking)

Напълват ми се очите (доволство) * My eyes are filled.

Наливат ми се очите с кръв (гняв) * My eyes are filled with blood.

(Поглъщам нещо с очи - интерес)

English:

eyeful

2.1.4. The soul is a container.

Bulgarian:

Напълва ми се душата (доволство) *My soul is filled. (satisfaction)

2.1.5. The throat is a container.

Bulgarian:

Сърцето ми се качва в гърлото (страх) * My heart goes to my throat.

English:

a frog in one's throat Fig. a feeling of hoarseness or a lump in one's throat. (Often regarded as a sign of fear.) e.g I feel like I'm getting a frog in my throat when I have to speak in public. She says she gets a frog in her throat when she is nervous.

A lump in one's throat, e.g. Whenever they play the national anthem, I get a lump in my throat. I have a lump in my throat because I'm frightened.

2.1.6 Skin is a container.

Bulgarian:

Излизам от кожата си (гняв) *Go out of one's skin.

English:

get under somebody's skin

1. to annoy someone . e.g.It really got under my skin when he said women were bad drivers.

2. to affect someone very strongly in a way that is difficult to forget
e.g.Something about the haunting beauty of the place really got under my skin.

2.1.7 Heels are a container.

Bulgarian:

Отива ми сърцето в петите (страх) *My heart goes to the heels.

English:

somebody's heart is in their boots

if someone's heart is in their boots, they feel sad or worried. E.g. His heart was in his boots as he waited for news of the accident.

2.1.8 Veins are a container.

Bulgarian:

Vein -A pervading character or quality; a streak: e.g. "All through the interminable narrative there ran a vein of impressive earnestness" (Mark Twain).

2.1.9 Chest is a container.

Bulgarian:

.....

get something off one's chest

to unburden oneself; to confess something; to criticize or make a personal complaint to someone. E.g. You will feel better if you get it off your chest. I have to get this off my chest. I'm tired of your rudeness to me!

2.1.10 Eye sockets are containers.

Bulgarian:

Очите изскачат от орбитите си (изненада)

English:

pop out - bulge outward; "His eyes popped"

2.2 The emotion itself is a container. The analogy of the body and its organs as a container is evident here.

Bulgarian:

Обзема ме гняв, ужас, радост, тъга, безпокойство.....(* be overwhelmed by anger, horror, joy - free collocation)

English:

Despair overwhelmed me.

There are different variants in both languages. Soul, for example is viewed as a container in Bulgarian as in other Slavic languages but not in English. Almost all body parts can be containers of emotions in Bulgarian. Besides, as will be seen later, the concept of 'container' is often combined with the motion and 'in' or 'out' orientation.

2.3 The body/or part of it is experiencer. The model is proposed by Palmer, Bennet & Stacey (1999).

Bulgarian:

Плаши ми се, уплаши ми се окото (уплаха) *my eye was scared

English:

bleeding heart - a person who is considered excessively sympathetic toward those who claim to be underprivileged or exploited.

3. Scheme of intensity of emotions.

The above is an important characteristic in verbalization of emotions. The objects' location is fixed. The models are the following:

3.1 An emotion is heat/cold in a container. (heat can be associated with positive or negative emotions).

Bulgarian:

Вря и кипя (гняв) *boil and seethe (anger)

Кръвта ми ври (възбуда, вълнение) *my blood boils (agitation, excitement)

Кръвта ми се смразява, замръзва (страх) *my blood freezes (fear)

Изстива ми сърцето към някого (липса на любов) *my heart goes cold towards someone

English:

seethe with something

[for someone] to be agitated with anger, hatred, scorn, disgust, etc. e.g. Laura was seething with rage as she entered the tax office. We were seething with disgust at the rude way they treated the people who had just moved in.

a heart of stone - an unfriendly and unkind character. e.g. The sad condition of these refugees would move a heart of stone to sympathy.

blood-chilling

There was a coldness in her voice which chilled him. (dishearten, discourage)

3.2 An emotion is a thickened body part, associated with negative emotions.

Bulgarian:

Имам дебели очи (be shameless) *have fat eyes

thick-skinned - insensitive to criticism [tough-skinned](#) - [insensitive](#) - deficient in human sensibility; not mentally or morally sensitive; e.g. insensitive to the needs of the patients

3.3 An emotion is the depth of a container.

Bulgarian:

Потъвам в земята от срам. *sink in the ground with shame

English:

Be deeply moved.

Deep in my heart.

Deep in my soul.

Intensity of emotion is similarly represented in both languages. Blood-boiling associated with anger. It is a strong emotion. However, it is weaker than rage and fury.

4. Orientational scheme. These are models of space orientation in the terms of the oppositions up/down, in/out etc. (up is good, down is bad). Many situations have space dimensions in real life and could be explained by physical and cultural experience and relating the oppositions with situations and notions is specific in every case. For example, happiness in English and not only in English, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) point out, is associated with upward orientation whereas sadness is associated with down orientation. Similarly, notions, such as health/illness, heavy/light, bright/dark, more/less etc. are also interpreted as spacial and evaluatory, which affects their association with positive/negative emotions. The models used for the linguistic expression of space parameters are the following:

4.1 Vertical movement:

Bulgarian:

Настръхват ми, изправят ми се, шръкват ми косите (страх) *My hair rises. (fear)

Повдигам рамене (безразличие) * shrug shoulders (indifference)

Вдигам пара (раздразнение) *let off steam (irritation)

English:

my hair raises.

to shrug shoulders, walk on air

4.2 Horizontal movement:

Bulgarian:

Излиза ми душата (мъка) * my soul goes out (grief)

Вадя душата някому (причинявам мъка) *take someone's soul out

Тегли ме сърцето към някого (влечение) *my heart draws me toward someone

English:

tug at your heartstrings also pull on your heartstrings

to cause strong feelings of affection or sympathy. e.g. He looked into his son's smiling eyes and felt a tug on his heartstrings.

e.g. The stories he told plucked at your heartstrings.

4.3 An emotion is lightness in the body (its organs).

Bulgarian :

Олеква ми на душата (успокоение) *my soul goes light (comfort)

Тежи ми, тегне ми на душата (мъка) * my soul is heavy (grief)

English:

light-hearted

4.4 An emotion is lightness/darkness in (or around the body).

Bulgarian:

Просветва ми пред очите (успокоение) *I see light in front of me (comfort)

Притъмнява ми пред очите (гняв) *I see dark (anger)

English:

light up -[for someone] to become interested and responsive in something.e.g. We could tell from the way Sally lit up that she recognized the man in the picture./ She lit up when we told her about our team's success.

With emotions the oppositions front/back, right/left are not used. It is difficult to give an account for that selectivity in language.

5. Ontological scheme. Here the abstract (including emotions) is examined through terms of ontological entities – material objects and substances that are captured through the senses.

5.1 Emotion is fire.

Bulgarian :

Гори ми сърцето (мъка, скръб) *my heart is burning (grief)

Запалва ми се, запалила ми се е главата (въодушевление) *my head is set on fire (elation)

Прегоряха ми очите от срам. *my eyes are burned

English: My face is burning. (as a symptom of anxiety) One of the examples which shows that emotions are accompanied by actual physical sensations.

5.2 Emotion (the negative one) is an unpleasant taste.

Bulgarian :

Правя кисела физиономия (недоволство) *make a sour face (dissatisfaction)

С кисело лице (недоволство) *with a sour face (dissatisfaction)

Не се ядосвай, че ще ти се вкисне жлъчката (гняв) * Do not get angry. Your gall will get sour.

English: sour - ill-natured and disagreeable. e.g.The old man greeted us ill-naturedly, his face as sour as vinegar./ Jill: Is Mary in a bad mood today? Jane: Yes, sour as vinegar.

5.3 Emotion is a hard object. .

Bulgarian :

Кораво сърце (липса на емоция) * hard hearted (lack of emotion)

English: a heart of stone -an unfriendly and unkind character. e.g.The sad condition of these refugees would move a heart of stone to sympathy.

5.4 Emotion is an object-source of sound.

Bulgarian :

Писва ми главата (досада) *my head rings (boredom)

Гръмва ми главата (“ – “) *my head blasts

Писват ми ушите (“ — “) *my ears ring

6. Schema with common cultural and culture-specific element.

This schema does not suggest that a cultural component is missing in the previous examples. However, in the following models the cultural model is made more explicit. The following phrases refer to typical behavior – cultural habits, rituals, beliefs, etc.

Bulgarian :

Обичам като леща на Великден (нехаресване) *like it as I like to have lentils at Easter (dislike)

С черен повой е повиван (нещастие) *wrapped with a black belt (misfortune)

Срамува се като невяста в понеделник (срам) *feel ashamed as a bride on Monday

Посипвам си главата с пепел (отчаяние) *put dust on one's head (despair)

7. Scheme with a Christian element or mythological element.

Bulgarian :

Бълвам огън и жупел (гняв) *let out fire

Разпъвам на кръст (причинявам страдание) * crucify (cause suffering)

Вземат ме, хващат ме дяволите (гняв) *devils catch/grab me (anger)

Трънен венец (мъка) *thorn wreath (grief)

Седни, па се кръсти (изненада) * sit and keep crossing yourself (surprise)

English:

crucify

Cognitive schema with mythological element. Bulgarian:

Танталови мъки *tantal suffering

English:

Tantalize

Conclusions:

There is a tendency of combining more than one model per emotion in both languages (usually two models are combined).

In Bulgarian the acting force is combined with orientation (vertical). The restriction within a container suggests the possibility of entering and going out of it. In Bulgarian the emphasis is on dynamics, the change of state. More subtle are the differences in grammatical structure (Karagiozova 2004, 2005). Eventually, common physiological experience and the ability to think metaphorically combine certain specificities for each language.

The question is whether such specificities have socio/ethno/cultural character? There are different views concerning that issue. According to Veronica Telia the ethno-cultural character of a PHU does not even require argumentation. Still others (Dobrovolski 1997) think that linguistic and cultural specifics are not identical: the choice of different linguistic means is not always related to cultural differences – only when language structures correspond to different cognitive structures (or image schemes), is there ground for searching cultural differences in conceptualizing reality. As it has been pointed out a cognitive schema (prototype) is realized through a certain set of mental structures (models) which every language has. This often means different imagery (naive idea of the object) present in PHU for emotions as well as its different grammaticalization. The conclusion that can be drawn is that the differences presented above are primarily

linguisti (which doesn't exclude a certain amount of chance). For example, the force schema is represented in both languages. It seems that it represents a wider variety of emotions in Bulgarian.

Concerning rage Bulgarian is quite diverse (six prototypes and nine models). If one emotion is represented by more models can we claim that it is more important in a culture? It is difficult to prove the above hypothesis because more codes should be studied (not only emotions but also beliefs, rituals, superstitions)

Few of the models are related to different cultural codes – beliefs, rituals superstitions. From this point of view we can speak of not only linguistic but also socio/ethnocultural specifics in schemas 6,7. With the rest of the schemata-prototypes the cognitive differences in the linguistic interpretation of emotions are not sufficient evidence for cultural specifics. It is quite realistic to adopt Dobrovolski's view on different linguistic realization of the same models.

On the other hand, there are certain language analogies. For example, there is an analogy in prototype 3 (intensity) for the languages examined above.

The cognitive schemas and models of interpretation of emotions are most probably universal. However, they give the common framework behind which languages demonstrate their creativity through different imagery, different linguistic representation of the models in different languages.

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NICKNAMES IN ENGLISH AND BULGARIAN MEDIA TEXTS

Aleksandra Aleksandrova

Abstract: *The paper deals with nicknames in English and Bulgarian media texts. Nicknames can have a positive or negative connotation, depending on the context and the attitude towards a nickname's bearer. Nicknames can be formed as a result of blending, metonymy or metaphor.*

Keywords: *nicknames, media, personal names*

Nicknames are usually defined as descriptive names “given instead of or in addition to the one belonging to a person, place, or thing” or “a familiar form of a proper name” (Merriam-Webster Dictionary). Nicknames are very close to pseudonyms. Usually, a marker of equality is put between the two terms. However, there seems to be a slight difference between them. A pseudonym is defined by the Longman Dictionary as “an invented name that a writer, artist, etc. uses instead of their real name” (Longman Dictionary), while a nickname according to the same source is “a name given to someone, especially by their friends or family, that is not their real name and is often connected with what they look like or something they have done”. Following those definitions, it can be assumed that a nickname is usually a name given to somebody by somebody else, while a pseudonym is the name people have created for themselves. In this paper both nicknames and pseudonyms will be discussed.

According to the Longman Dictionary, the word “nickname” originates from “an ekename, mistaken for nekename, from eke ‘also’ (from Old English ‘eac’) and name”. Nicknames and pseudonyms have identical sources of formation. Usually those are metaphor, metonymy and blending.

Klerk and Bosch (1997: 1) define nicknames as “relatively impermanent informal names which allow users considerable linguistic licence in breaking the rules”. A nickname can give its referent a sense of uniqueness, especially when their real name is one of very frequent occurrence. This is most often true of people in show business, film and music industry. Some people in those industries even have more than one nickname.

Sometimes a nickname can be used to refer to more than one person. When two media figures are perceived as a whole, they come to acquire a common name or nickname. Such is the case of the Hollywood couple Brad Pitt and Angelina Jolie. They are very often referred to as Brangelina. It may be suggested that the creation of such a name is aimed at strengthening the image of the two people as an unbreakable couple. As Robert Thompson has stated, “as silly as it sounds, this

new tendency to make up single names for two people, ...is an insightful idea. 'Brangelina' has more cultural equity than their two star parts" (en.wikipedia.org). Although intended to stand for a single entity, the verb following the name Brangelina is not in the third person singular but in the third person plural, as in the following example of The Sun:

Brangelina plan booze for wedding

Brad Pitt and Angelina Jolie have sorted one of the most important details of their upcoming nuptials – the booze. (The Sun, 28/08/2012)

Бранджелина планират пиене за сватбата

Брад Пит и Анджелина Джоли са избрали един от най-важните детайли за бъдещата си сватба-алкохола. (в. „Сън“, 28/08/2012)

Here, the verb “plan” is not in the third person singular, suggesting that after all the name Brangelina refers to two people.

Actually, this is not the only case when two people attain a single name or nickname. Other famous Hollywood couples have also attained a common name, this way signifying their unity – Beniffer for Ben Affleck and Jennifer Lopez, TomKat for Tom Cruise and Katy Holmes, etc. in the following headline, a common nickname, Johnifer, for Jennifer Aniston and her then partner, John Meyer, was created:

Brangelina v Johnifer

Jennifer Aniston and her fella John Meyer hit a rocky patch when ex-hubby Brad Pitt celebrated the arrival of his twins with Angelina Jolie and the entire world. (The Sun, 18/08/2012)

Бранджелина срещу Джонифър

На Дженифър Анистън и нейния приятел Джон Майер не им върви когато бившият съпруг празнува появата на своите близнаци с Анджелина Джоли и целия свят. (в. „Сън“, 18/08/2012)

The formation of nicknames of this type is a result of blending of the personal names of the two people referred to. The nickname “Johnifer” differs from the nickname “Brangelina” in that it is not an established nickname, used to always refer to Jennifer Aniston and John Meyer. It is rather created to be used in this article and is a play on words. Those nicknames most often have a positive connotation, as their referents are well-liked public figure. In Bulgarian media texts, however, such nicknames are applied to people from the criminal world. The notorious criminal Bratya Galevi (*Братя Галев*, *the Galevi brothers*) actually are not brothers. They do not even have the same family name. Their real names are even not always mentioned in the press, as they are recognizable by the wide audience by their common nickname. The linguistic source of those

nicknames, however, is not blending, as Galevi is not created by blending the names of the two people. Galev is actually the real name of one of them.

Many people of the criminal world are referred to with their nicknames in the press. Another couple from the criminal world Marginite (*Маргините*) are also known by their nickname. Sometimes those nicknames are created by the press as a result of some event related to the nickname referent. After a scandal of concealed excise duty by the brewery owner Mihail Mihov, the latter obtained the nickname Misho Birata (*Мишо Бирата*, *Misho the Beer*):

Имоти на Михаил Михов за 9.6 млн. лв. излизат за продажба
Имоти на починалия бизнесмен Михаил Михов (станал известен с прякора Мишо Бирата) в Русе, оценени на 9.6 млн. лв., излизат за публична продажба.

(в. „Капитал”, 13/02/2012)

Property of Mihail Mihov to the value of 9.6 million leva go to public sale

Property of the deceased businessman Mihail Mihov (known with the nickname Misho the Beer) in Russe, evaluated at 9.6 million leva, go to public sale.

(Capital, 13/02/2012).

The nickname Misho Birata has a negative connotation, as it is coined as a result of a scandalous event. Similar is the case of the nickname Valio Toploto (*Вальо Топлото*, *Valio the Warm*), created as a result of a scandal of money embezzlement. The linguistic source of these nicknames is metonymy.

Some nicknames are created just for a specific situation and used in a particular occasion. They are usually formed by play on words with the person's real name. Sometimes this way of referring to people is actually a nickname for a nickname, as in the following headline from The Sun newspaper. It was coined after the pop artist Lady Gaga smoked marijuana on one of her concerts. The press called her “Lady Ganja”.

Lady Ganja

Star smokes a “wondrous” spliff on stage during gig.

Lady Gaga puff on a giant spliff during a live gig as she tells fan about the “medical wonders” of ganja. (The Sun, 18/09/2012)

Лейди Ганджа

Звездата пуши „чудна” цигара с канабис на сцената по време на участие.

Лейди Гага пуши огромна цигара с канабис по време на участие на живо и разказва на феновете за „медицинските чудеса” на ганджата. (в. „Сън”. 18/09/2012).

„Lady Ganja” is used only in the headline. In the text of the article, the artist's usual nickname is used instead. Unlike the nickname “Lady Gaga”, which is her

official stage name and pseudonym, “Lady Ganja” is used only fugitively, for the sake of attracting the readers’ attention towards the article, but also to make hint about the article’s content.

Nicknames of people in show business are usually intentionally created to make them unique, to attract attention and to distinguish the respective from other people with the same name. In those cases, nicknames can be viewed as designators of identity. In some cases, however, a person can happen to have the same nickname as someone else. Such is the case of Fergie. The name could refer to Sir Alex Ferguson, the Scottish football manager of Manchester United F.C., to Sarah Ferguson, Duchess of York and a former member of the British Royal Family, or to Stacy Ann Ferguson, American singer and member of the Black Eyed Peas. When the nickname is mentioned in the headline, its referent cannot be clearly identified. In a wider context, however, it is clear who the person referring to that nickname is. This is exemplified in the following headline from The Sun newspaper:

Berbatov: I lost Respect for Fergie.

Бербатов: Изгубих уважение към Фърги

It is not clear if the football player has lost respect for the football manager, for the pop singer, or for the Duchess of York. It is in the subhead that the reader becomes aware that the person who Berbatov respects no more is Sir Alex Ferguson. Taking into consideration the fact that Berbatov is a football player we can predict the fact that the reference is to the football manager rather than to any of the other two:

Dimitar Berbatov last night launched a blistering attack on Alex Ferguson and said: “I don’t respect him any more.” (The Sun, 03/08/2010)

Димитър Бербатов атакува остро Алекс Фъргюсън снощи и каза „Вече не го уважавам”. (в. „Сън”, 03/08/2010)

In another article, Fergie, stands for the pop singer:

Fergie nails it with varnish collection launch

Фърги приковава вниманието с пускане на бляскава колекция.

Singer unveils range of sexy colours. (The Sun, 05/09/2012).

Певицата разкрива гама от секси цветове. (в. „Сън”, 05/09/2012)

It is often discussed that a proper name can have more than one referent. In the above example it is clear that it is also possible for a single nickname to have more than one referent.

In the two articles above it is not only context that helps identifying the referent of the nickname, but also some extra-linguistic materials, such as photographs.

The linguistic source of the nickname discussed above is shortening. As it was already mentioned, the creation of nicknames is very often based on metonymy. This is very often the case of people in show business, especially actors, associated with the movie character they represent. In the following abstract, the actor Sylvester Stallone is called Rambo after his famous movie character:

Rambo Wanted to Play Solo

Sylvester Stallone tried out for the part of Star Wars hero Han Solo, he has revealed. (The Sun, 04/08/2010)

Рамбо искал да играе соло

Силвестър Сталоун разкри, че се е опитал да получи ролята на Хан Соло от Междוזвездни войни.(в. „Сън”, 04/08/2010)

Here it is not difficult for the reader to identify the person behind the nickname of Rambo, as it is one of Stallone's emblematic movie characters. The use of "Rambo" is entirely positive. Here, Rambo is a nickname but in other cases, as with Lady Gaga, they are pseudonyms.

The nickname Rambo also applied to the US President Reagan. As Fowler pointed out, "the characterization of President Reagan as "Rambo" appeals to readers to applaud his macho determination and power." (Fowler 1993: 119).

The above examples of the nicknames 'Fergie' and 'Rambo' exemplify the arbitrary relation between a nickname and its bearer, as is the case of the relation between a proper name and its referent. Lyons describes this relation as follows:

"Proper names, when they are employed as referring expressions, identify their referents, not by describing them in terms of some relevant property or properties which the name denotes, but by utilizing the unique and arbitrary association which holds between a name and its bearer." (Lyons 1991: 214).

Sometimes figures from the political world can have one "official" nickname by which they are usually referred to and easily recognizable by it. Nevertheless, other nicknames are sometimes used to refer to them, but they appear in certain contexts and are not so well established. One of the prominent cases of such nicknames is the way the UK Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher is called The Iron Lady- a metaphor for the policy she followed. According to Fowler, Mrs Thatcher's reputation as "the Iron Lady" was consolidated after with the victory over General Galtieri (Fowler 1993: 118). Based on her conduct of the Falklands

War against Argentina, Margaret Thatcher was called “Falkland Maggie”, which according to Fowler is meant to convey approval (Fowler 1993: 118).

Nicknames in media texts are used to refer to specific people. Depending on the context and the attitude towards their referent, nicknames can be used negatively, positively, or neutrally. Although usually created for the source of uniqueness, nicknames can happen to have more than one referent and it is the context that determines the specific referent. On the other hand, a single person may have more than one nickname formed as a result of different circumstances. Linguistically, nicknames are usually formed by metaphor and metonymy and sometimes by blending.

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SPEECH SITUATION, SPEECH EVENT AND SPEECH ACT IN THE DOMAIN OF APOLOGY SPEECH ACT PRAGMATICS

Deyana Peneva

Abstract: *The present paper focuses in general on three discourse phenomena in the domain of speech act pragmatics with regard to the functions of language, the structures of the interaction and the relationship between text and context. In particular it dwells on the structure of the speech situation, speech event and speech act with view of their specific characteristics in the area of apologetic communicative acts in English and Bulgarian. It also discusses one basic socio-cultural and linguistic variable that describes the apology speech situation and in part determines the form of successful utterances. Additionally, this variable is presumed to constitute the specific circumstances or situational constraints which the interlocutors in an interaction must be able to identify in order to produce adequate and appropriate communicative acts that conform to them.*

Key words: *apology, discourse, speech situation, speech event, speech act*

There are three basic units in discourse analysis: speech situation, speech event and speech act which help studying the communication of a particular culture. Their social, cultural and linguistic properties are embedded in one another though their structure and functions are context and text-dependent (Hymes, 1975). The Speech situation refers to the time and place of the communicative interaction and its participants and also includes one or a series of speech events; the speech event, in turn, comprises one or a set of utterances which in practice constitute a conversation, a dialogue, a set of communicative acts and it also reflects aspects of language such as purposes, prosodic cues, norms and genres; whereas the speech act refers to a single communicative act performed via utterance (e.g., apology, complaint, compliment, invitation, promise, request). In other words: speech acts stand in the center of any speech event, which comprises more than one speech acts, whereas the speech situation may comprise several speech events and certain extra-linguistic factors such as setting and participants in a certain communicative interaction.

I. General characteristics of speech situation, speech event and speech act

1.1. Speech situation

James states that the speech situation is usually regarded as a social instance of communication with more than one speech event and has as prerequisites a speaker, an utterance, and a hearer who interprets the utterance (James, 1980). Austin points out that by means of linguistic conventions the interlocutors follow certain rules: the speaker expresses his/her intention by actually performing a speech act to the hearer; the hearer, on the other hand, is induced to give a certain response. Oishi summarizes that by uttering a performative sentence (including a

performative verb, which is a marker for a certain speech act, for example: *apologize, regret, sorry*) the speaker indicates a certain speech situation where: certain people take part in the communicative interaction (typically these people are called *participants, interlocutors, speaker, hearer* (see and the communicative interaction takes place under certain linguistic and non-linguistic circumstances, similar to the speaker and the hearer. By linguistic circumstances Yule means that both participants in the interaction can easily recognize the exact speech acts as they are supposed to share common linguistic knowledge, whereas the certain speech acts are not obligatory to be performed at one and the same time and place for both participants (Yule, 1996). He also adds that linguistic circumstances refer to the speech event in particular, while non-linguistic ones refer to the speech situation.

Each speech situation is different from others with regard to a) the type of participants and the objectives behind it (Vanderveken, 2001). It also varies with regard to b) the context or the circumstances in which the interaction takes place (Frank, 1983; Tarski, 1999). The aim of any speech situation is to explain meaning expressed by any speech act which is created by relations between sentences, the actual performance (relations between sentences and states of affairs), and the speaker's expressed intentions. That undoubtedly determines the nature of communicative behavior which is different from situation to situation.

1.2. The speech event

Jakobson first introduces the term "speech event" which according to him refers basically to a specific type of speech (spoken or written) that is restricted to activities or aspects of activities that are directly governed by rules and norms for the use of speech (Jakobson, 1960). A speech event (Jakobson, 1960; Hymes, 1974) is a particular example of language use which could include a linguistic message, an utterance, or simply a single speech act but often comprises several speech acts which takes place between particular people, at a specific time and place, in a particular social and cultural context exploiting particular language, with a specific means of communication (ordinary speech, TV, telephone call, etc.). When the speech acts, which constitute the basic units of the verbal interaction are arranged in a recognized sequence and are governed by the adequate social rules of a given community, they constitute a speech event.

According to Yule a speech event is mainly an activity in which participants interact through language in some conventional way in order to arrive at some outcome (Yule, 1996). In a speech event the speaker normally expects (Grice, 1975) that his/her communicative intention will be recognized by the hearer and both speaker and hearer are supported and helped by the circumstances surrounding the utterance. These circumstances with the speech acts included are actually called the speech event. They refer to purposes, key (prosodic cues), channel of verbal communication, norms and genres. Yule and Hymes discuss the

circumstances – they have to go together). A speech event is subject to these circumstances or situational constraints which the communicating individual must be able to identify in order to produce utterances that conform to them. These constraints are socio-cultural variables that in part determine the form of successful utterances (Hymes, 1974). Any element of the speech event represents a variable, a range of possible values which may describe the speech situation expressed by a particular speech act (Johnstone, 2002).

In order to define and analyze the collection of data about speech events and speech acts with regard to cross-cultural comparison Hymes (1972) suggests a list of **features** or **components** of these events to be described. The aim of this descriptive tool is to focus on the structure and reveal similarities and differences between events and between ways of organizing speaking among languages.

Hymes identifies seven such variables which must refer to the characterization of any particular speech event – Setting, Participants, Ends, Key, Channel, Norms, Genre (Jakobson suggested the first six social variables, later Hymes introduces “genre” as another social variable). Both linguists consider two of the variables: setting (time and place of the verbal interaction) and participants rather contradictory elements as they constitute the main elements of any speech situation which in its turn comprises the speech event in itself. For the purposes of the present paper I have organized and systemized the main aspects of the speech event components with regard to the apology speech situation and apologetic speech acts and divide the variables into two parts associating Setting and Participants with the speech situation as they refer to the non-linguistic circumstances; Ends, Key, Channel, Norms and Genre with speech event as being linguistic circumstances. Generally, a speech event can be defined as a unified set of components throughout:

- same purpose of communication
- same topic
- same participants
- same language (the exact apologies and responses)
- as a larger unit with multiple talk turns (Hymes, 1992).

A speech event:

- may include one obvious central speech act
- and (may include) other utterances leading up to and subsequently reacting to that central communicative action.

1.3. The speech act

A speech act usually stands in the center of the speech situation and is an obligatory part of any speech event as it is regarded as a communicative action performed via utterances (Searle, 1969). It may be considered as the minimal unit of speech and may be expressed by an individual or a group, it may vary in its size from a single word, like “Sorry” or a long sentence or a sequence of sentences. For example: “*I really do apologize for the words I’ve told you. Please, forgive me.*” The performance of a speech act involves the performance of three types of acts: locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary. The first refers to the literal meaning of the utterance with determinate sense and reference; the second refers to the functions of the words and the specific intentions that the speaker has in his mind, for example the utterance: “*Sorry for hurting your feelings*” is used to perform the illocutionary act of apologizing; the third refers to the effect of the utterance on the hearer and hearer’s reactions (Dimitrova, 2004).

The speaker performs a specific speech act in a certain way (with one or a combination of several speech acts and the hearer reacts to it in a certain way. The speaker-apologizer makes an apology, takes responsibility or simply performs an apologetic communicative act out of politeness; the hearer – apologizee either keeps silent, accepts the apology or neglects it being aware of the apologizer’s intentions.

The speech situation, the speech event and the speech acts are basic components in any communicative interaction and discourse analysis. Any speech situation must be discussed in terms of the speech events which occur in it and are performed via utterances, that are speech acts.

Examples of speech situation, speech event and speech act: (A) – apology, (R) – response, (NR) – no response

[1]

The speech situation:

Abigale is sorry for shouting angrily at Luke (her closest colleague in the office) a few days ago when he asks her a polite question about the parking fee. Abigale enters her colleague’s actually aiming to apologize to Luke.

Participants: Abigale – the apologizer, Luke – the apologizee

Setting: Luke’s office, the communicative interaction takes place simultaneously for both participants, at one and the same time

The speech event: more than one utterance occurs (the apology speech acts are underlined)

(A) Abigale: *Luke, have you got a minute?*

- (R) Luke: Well, it's not like I've got a ton of things to do, is it?
- (A) Abigale: No, no, it's not. Luke, I want to apologise for the way I spoke to you the other day.
- (R) Luke: Oh yeah?
- (A) Abigale: Yeah. I was well out of order. I've been having a hard time lately but that's no excuse. I'm sorry.

The speech act: (the underlined utterances refer to apology speech acts)

(from the American sitcom "The Office", ep.7)

[2]

The speech situation:

Siana promised her boyfriend Dannie, who she lives with, to come back home in time and go to a restaurant together but she was late because she met her son's father and spent some time with him. A friend of Siana and Dannie's sees her with Charlie (her son's father) and calls Dannie. Siana later tries to apologize and explain the situation.

Participants: Siana – apologizer; Dannie – apologizee

Setting: the participants share the same time and place of the communicative act.

The speech event: more than one utterance occur (the apology speech acts are underlined)

- (A) Siana: Dannie, sajalyavam. Tryabvashe da ti se obadya.
- (R) Dannie: *I zashto ne go napravi?*
- (A) Siana: *Ne znam i az. Obarkah se. Prosto ne znam. Vsepak e bashta mu. Kak tryabvashe da reagiram, kaji mi?*
- (R) Dannie: *Koi sam az za teb, nikoy li? Otgovori mi?*
- (A) Siana: *Ti si moya Dannie. Naistina sazhalyavam. Dannie, molya te, prosti mi. Ne znam kakvo drugo da ti kaja.*
- (NR) Dannie: *(keeping silent)*

The speech act: the underlined utterances refer to apology speech acts

(from the Bulgarian sitcom "Staklen dom", ep.5)

In both situations the apologizer and the apologizee share common linguistic conventions according to which uttering certain words in certain circumstances counts as performing a certain speech act with a certain conventional effect. There is a speech situation in which an apology speech act is performed revealing the apologizer's intentions.

II. Social variables. Participants.

In this section I shall focus on one socio-cultural variable which constitutes a main element of any speech situation (in particular – the apology speech situation) with respect to its pragmatic features and certain communicative demands.

Key terms: speaker – apologizer; hearer – apologizee; speaker and hearer – interlocutors; age, gender, social status, social power, social distance, turn-taking, adjacency pair

The composition of the social individuals who participate in the interaction of different speech situations is a major component of any speech situation. The role of the participants is viewed from different aspects such as **age, gender**, relationships of persons to each other, **social status, social power** and **social distance**. Hymes identifies four participant roles: **addressor, speaker, addressee, hearer**. In the case of apology there are two main categories of participants (Hymes, 1975):

the **apologizer** (the offender), that is the speaker and the **apologizee** (the offended side), that is the hearer. Speech to one's boss is different from speech to one's inferiors. This difference comes from the fact that any communicative situation and respectively any communicative act is determined to a great extent by the **age, gender, social status, social power** and **social distance** of the participants and their respective social roles in interaction. The apologizer could be any person irrespective of his/her age, social status, gender and social power. The same is also valid for the apologizee. It could be a student apologizing to his teacher, a boyfriend asking his girlfriend for forgiveness; it could be a complete stranger apologizing to someone unknown or others.

Additionally, the **physical placement** of the participants in the speech event reflects their respective roles as well as their use of language. For example, in a situation of apology, definitely the apologizer is supposed to perform the communicative act of apology using the appropriate linguistic structures typical of that speech act and the right combination of apologetic strategies in order this apology to be properly understood and adequately answered. In that respect the apologizer – the speaker has a crucial role as he/she is responsible for the proper organization of the speech event. Whereas the apologizee – the hearer has his work to do – he/she can either accept the apology or just neglect it according to the degree of sincerity on the speaker's part and the level of severity of the offence. Regarding that fact the apologizer and the apologizee are the two main constituents in the speech of apologizing who depend on each other's interaction.

On the other hand, their **social status** and **local roles** in the interactions are crucial factors which determine the linguistic means and structures through which the very act of apology is due to be performed and the respective responses on the part of the apologizee.

For example, in the situation with a professor and an assistant who fails to save on the computer an important file, the social status is of great importance since the professor hierarchically stands superior with respect to his social power and consequently the assistant is obliged to use specific register and formal linguistic means and at least to use a combination of two or three apologetic strategies.

The example comes as follows: (This is a real situation that was presented to the students in order to choose the better apologetic structures):

[3]

The speech situation:

Bill goes to a very important conference with his chief as an assistant. His presence is necessary to make sure that the technical equipment and the time procedures will not cause any problem at the presentation. When the conference starts, Bill realizes that the file has not been saved on the computer and his chief has to make the speech without the materials Bill was supposed to prepare on the computer.

The speech event:

- Assistant: *I can't believe your file hasn't been saved on the computer. I am very sorry, sir.*
- Chief: *You know that you put me in a rather awkward situation. I had to improvise, actually.*
- Assistant: *I am really sorry for the nuisance, but actually I remember I have saved the file on the computer.*
- Chief: *Nothing can be done at present. You have to be more careful next time.*
- Assistant: *I will try to find someone to send me the file before your turn. You know, sir, I am not an irresponsible person.*
- Chief: *Anyway, I will make do without it.*
- Assistant: *I feel so embarrassed. Nothing to say to defend myself.*

(from "The office", ep.11)

The speech act: the underlined utterances refer to apology speech acts

The assistant – the apologizer uses a variety of apologetic strategies: a pure IFID (Illocutionary force indicating device – *I am very sorry*), justification (*actually I remember I have saved the file on the computer*), offer of repair (*I will try to find someone to send me the file before your turn*), expressing embarrassment (*I feel so embarrassed*) whereas the apologizée's response is a combination of explanation of the consequences of the offence done (*You know that you put me in a rather*

awkward situation. I had to improvise, actually), and a caution (You have to be more careful next time).

In that case a set of indirect strategies are preferred as the speaker (according to Dascal, 1983) knows from experience that an indirect approach is likely to succeed and so he uses it. But by far the most frequent uses of indirect speech acts is that speakers employ indirectness for reasons of politeness which could derive either from an intended motivation for **indirectness** (Leech, 1983) or as “a surface-level adherence to social norms”. And according to Brown and Levinson (1978:1987) the participants’ choice of using indirect strategies depends on the four factors of **social distance** which comprises the psychologically real factors such as 1. Status 2. Age 3. Gender 4. Degree of intimacy which together determine the “overall degree of respectfulness”; relative-power and size of imposition. All these factors have to be taken into consideration when related to cultural context.

On the other hand, in a situation when the participants exercise equal **social power**, for example - two university students, the register and linguistic means are not required to follow a certain level of formality. For example:

[4]

The speech situation:

A boy wants to show his friend his new digital camera and his friend unintentionally drops it on the ground. The example comes as follows:

The speech event:

- Student 1: *Oops! I am (keeping silent, a pause) really so..... sorry!*
- Student 2: *What have you done? It's brand new!*
- Student 1: *(a silent pause). Oh, God, I am such an idiot!*
- Student 2: *Needless to say it's worth a fortune!*
- Student 1: *I have to do something about this. Anyhow, it's my fault. Is it still under guarantee?*
- Student 2: *Indeed it is. But...*
- Student 1: *You believe I didn't mean it, don't you? We have to go to the shop and see if it can get a quick fix.*
- Student 2: *We'd better go. Uff! I just got it. I can't believe you broke it.*
- Student 1: *Oh, I am so sorry. So stupid of me! If it can't get fixed, I will buy you a new one. Don't get upset. We are still friends, right?*
- Student 2: *I can't get angry with you. Right.*

(from "Teenage kicks", ep.2)

The speech act: the underlined utterances refer to apology speech acts

The one who made the offensive act uses a variety of apologetic strategies: a repetition of direct expression of apology, respectively regret (*I am really so..... sorry*), taking on responsibility (*Anyhow, it's my fault*), explicit self-blame (*Oh, God, I am such an idiot!*), expressing lack of intent (*You believe I didn't mean it, don't you?*), offer of repair (*If it can't get fixed, I will buy you a new one.*) whereas the offended side uses a combination of two apologetic response structures: blame to the apologizer (*What have you done? It's brand new!*), acceptance of the apology (*I can't get angry with you*).

With respect to **gender** expectations about how men and women tend to speak (that is, gender norms) this varies across cultures, as norms typically regard the use of indirectness. A number of research works have been conducted on gender differences in speech acts realization, though not much attention has been paid to sex differences in the performance of the speech act of apologies. The findings seem to suggest that gender differences exist in politeness - in that respect that women are considered to be more polite, less critical and willing to use more softening techniques and devices than men (Lakoff, 1975; Tannen, 1990; Holmes, 1995). Mainly women enjoy talking and regard this as an essential medium to keep in contact with friends and people in their social surrounding. Women tend to see and use language more to establish, maintain and develop personal relationships whereas men tend to see language more as a way of obtaining and providing information. Women are more prone to using positive politeness than men which supports the fact that women show concern for the feelings of the people they are talking to. Regarding the context of apologizing Zimmerman and West (1975), Fishman (1980) and Tannen (1990) suggest that there are both similarities and differences between males and females with respect to apologies which result from social variables such as age, ethnicity, social status and rank. But it is undoubtedly wrong to say that there are contexts in which women are inclined to be more indirect than men. Typically they apologize more than men but most to hearers of equal power while men apologize to women irrespective of status. The data analysis from the Bulgarian corpus shows that the same criteria are valid for our native culture in that women show more concern for the overall opinion and feelings of the offended side but there is not a clear distinction which way of apologizing – direct (explicit) or indirect (implicit) is most preferred by both sexes.

An example of indirect politeness in apologizing (from the sitcom "Staklen dom", ep.8):

[5]

Boryana to her ex-husband: *Predpolgam, che ne pomognah mnogo.*

Turn-taking. Another point to bear in mind with regard to participants of the apologetic speech situation is the way the apologizer and the apologizee organize and maintain an interaction, how they accept and adapt roles, the way they act and interact, the way they take **turns in talk**. As the apology speech acts, like most of the other communicative acts require alternating between the roles of speaker and hearer, the overlap and listener response along with the rate of speech and pausing contribute to the successful accomplishment of the exchange of turns. In pragmatics this phenomenon is known as **adjacency pair**. It is composed of two utterances by two interlocutors, one after the other. The performance of the first utterance (the first-pair part, or the first turn) “provokes a responding utterance” (the second-pair part or the second turn). By *turn* James (1980) means a time during which a single participant speaks, within a typical, orderly arrangement in which participants speak with minimal overlap and lap between them. Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974) point out that “the turn-constructive component is a nut that is quite easy to get a feel for intuitively, but hard to define”.

When a conversation is initiated then the issue of turn-taking takes place. Knowing when it is acceptable or appropriate to take a turn in a communicative situation is rather essential for the successful performance of the exact speech act. This knowledge comprises factors such as knowing to recognize the turn-exchange points and how long the silence gaps or pauses between turns should be. It is also of great importance for the participants in a speech situation to know if they may talk while someone else is talking or in other words if overlap in the conversation is allowed. What’s more, since not all communicative acts keep the same rules of turn-taking among cultures it is also essential to know and be acquainted with the cultural differences in view of turn-taking as they lead to conversational misunderstandings or breakdown, misinterpretation of intentions and interpersonal conflicts (Wolfram, Estes, 2006). With view of the study it is appropriate to state here that when a speaker starts his turn the hearer is given some idea which becomes clearer as the turn proceeds, of what kind of pragmatic implications are being made and of what it will take to complete the turn (Schiffrin, 1994). The hearer knows and realizes when it is appropriate for him/her to take the turn floor. The following extract shows an example where the turn-taking component briefly breaks down:

[6]

Employee: *Sorry I didn’t make it on Wednesday. I was ...*

The chief manager (interrupting him): *It’s a shame!*

Employee: *I was absolutely stricken by a flu bug.*

The chief manager: *I see now.*

(from “The office”, ep.3)

The employee starts with a rather conventional opening for an apology and the chief manager can reasonably expect the employee's turn to be complete when the apology is complete. Though, most of the apologies consist only of one word "sorry", so how is it that the chief manager does not initiate her response at that point? According to Sperber, Wilson (1995) the explanation is that: until the employee has stated what he is apologizing for, the relevance of his utterance is not evident to the employee. Once the relevance of the apology is established, the apologizee produces a favourable response, though the apologizer continues simultaneously with an account of his absence, with the result that the two utterances overlap.

When one starts discussing the issue of speech situation, speech event and speech acts with respect to cross-cultural pragmatics and particularly in the domain of discourse analysis one should undoubtedly look more closely at how linguistic and non-linguistic elements work together to communicate meaning and negotiate social relationships in interaction; how their use can differ from one cultural group to another and how these differences affect the outcome when speakers of different cultural backgrounds communicate with each other. The individual sensitivity to these elements determines a speaker's communicative competence, that is: *who* says *what* to *whom*, *where* and *when*, *how* and *why* (James, 1980).

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THE METAPHOR OF THEATRE IN UNDERSTANDING NEWS DISCOURSE

Evdokiya Marinova

Abstract: *The article deals with the metaphor of THEATRE as part of everyday language as well as media language. The focus is on how it contributes to the understanding of news discourse. When used, cognitive metaphors evoke the pre-existing knowledge and cognitive models, presented as frames and scripts and they get activated. This process forms in readers' minds mental pictures that can last over the whole text. Thus metaphors provide coherence in the text.*

Key words: *cognitive metaphor, theatre, frames, scripts, coherence*

The aim of the article is to provide some explanation of how the THEATRE metaphor in the Bulgarian and the British media is understood and how it contributes to the understanding of news discourse having in mind its importance to our everyday life and to media language.

The language we produce every day is a reflection of the language of media and vice versa. As Bell points out "Society is pervaded by media language" and at the same time "media generate a lot of the language that is heard in society" (Bell 1991: 1, 3).

The THEATRE metaphor and its manifestations (Marinova 2010, Marinova 2011) is a basic one which means that it is conventionalized and it is used unconsciously without great effort (Lakoff, Turner 1989: 51, 80).

Media language has some specific devices in order to create vividness, to make it attractive to the audience. One of the ways to achieve this is by using metaphors. On the other hand, metaphoric language serves as "shortcuts to explanation" (Ibrahim, Mohamad 2005) and stands instead of lengthy explanations of a particular event. In other words, metaphors provide cohesion and coherence along the text (Koller 2003, Lukeš 2005, Kövecses 2010: 285).

Metaphors contribute to the understanding of texts by making them **coherent**. A text is considered coherent "if the information in it is organized around well connected **global cognitive models**, related to knowledge of basic concepts" (Todorova 2007: 104). Different researchers refer to these cognitive models as "frames", "scripts", "plans" or as "schemata", "scenes", "scenarios".

Comprehension of news viewed as a "top-down process" (Bell 1991: 234, Brown, Yule 1989: 234) involves using previous knowledge of the world in understanding the new information. It is where the notion of "cognitive model" comes into play as it represents this knowledge "experienced and stored for a

certain field by individuals and social groups or cultures” (Ungerer, Schmid 1996: 120). In analyzing how the audience understands news Bell (1991: 234) defines two types of schemata – formal and cognitive. **Formal schemata** provide the knowledge about news stories having a particular form and consisting of headlines, lead paragraphs, commentaries, etc. **Cognitive schemata** provide information about the world.

Frames are one way of representing background knowledge. Minsky explains their essence in the following way:

“When one encounters a new situation (or makes a substantial change in one’s view of the present problem) one selects from memory a structure called a Frame. This is a remembered framework to be adapted to fit reality by changing details as necessary.

A frame is a data-structure for representing a stereotyped situation....” (Minsky 1975: 1)

The notion of frames is given a cognitive interpretation by Fillmore (Fillmore, Atkins 1992: 75 in Ungerer and Schmid 1996: 209) who states that frames are “cognitive structuresknowledge of which is presupposed for the concepts encoded by the words.” The frame contains slots which should be filled.

Lakoff and Turner called that structured knowledge “**schema**” and its elements that are to be filled – “**slots**”. (Lakoff, Turner 1989: 60-61) This is a very useful model when explaining metaphors which are represented as mapping of slots in the source-domain schema (theatre) onto slots in the target-domain schema (life). Lakoff and Turner (1989: 20-21) discuss the LIFE IS A PLAY metaphor and point out to the fact that plays have a very rich schema which includes actors, audiences, stage, scenery, scripts, parts, roles, etc. The notion of the broader term THEATRE adds to the frame the slots for director, playwright, producer, etc. It was already mentioned that the THEATRE metaphor has many manifestations which were studied in details and described in several publications (Marinova 2010, Marinova 2011, Marinova). Here are just a few examples for illustrating this point:

Playing

*Germany’s chancellor, Angela Merkel, is a **major player** on the **European political stage**. (I/ 24.06.10).*

*Дянков съветва други страни за кризата. (заглавие) **Гастрол**: Симеон Дянков излиза на **международната сцена** (написано върху снимката) (Dyankov advises other countries about the crisis (headline) **Guest-performance**: Simeon Dyankov on the **international stage** (written under the photograph) (168/31.12.10).*

Directing

*Egypt’s ‘election’ was pure stagecraft, **directed** by a dictator (headline) (G/1.12.10)*

Бойко е **режисьорът** на опасния театър на Волен (заглавие) (Boyko is the **director** of Volen's dangerous theatre (headline)) (Г/26.05.11).

Producing

За първи път имаме правителство, което **продуцира** политика в истински реалити формат. (For the first time we have a government which is a **producer** of politics in a real reality format.) (24/9.09.09).

Writing scripts/scenarios

In the British media there are lexemes such as “script” and “scenario” whereas in the Bulgarian ones there is no such a distinction. “Scenario” is widely used with different variations “worst-case scenario”, “more likely/likeliest scenario”, “fanciful scenario” and so on. In the Bulgarian media “scenario” is also exploited a lot. It can be “optimistic”, “pessimistic”, science-fiction”, “imagined”, etc.

"Before the season started we went about our business plan for the year meticulously. We did our **scenario** planning, mapping out the season, the results we were seeking, and in those plans we looked at the options open to us if we were in a position when we needed to look for a new manager before Christmas," Cook revealed. (G/22.12.09)

Yet he was soon at ease, relaxing into the performance, almost beginning to enjoy this enforced comeback, remembering **all his old lines** about Iraq and delivering a few fresh ones about Iran which he had **scripted** to command the attention of that night's news bulletins and the next morning's front pages. (G/31.01.10)

Докторката....тропна с юмрук по масата и предупреди журналистите: "Ще ми позволите аз да реша **сценария**. ..." (The lady doctor... banged her fist on the table and warned the journalists: "Let me decide on the scenario myself...." (168/17.12.10)

There are cases when all these lexemes are used together to enhance the perception of life in terms of theatre.

Ако след това, което ще кажа в комисията не бъдат предприети мерки, наистина ще изпълня обещанието си да назова **сценаристи, актьори в тези големи сценарии, режисьори** и със сигурност ще кажа имена. (If, after what I am going to say to the commission, measures are not taken, I will really fulfil my promise to name **playwrights, actors in these big scenarios, directors** and I will indeed name some.) (bTV/ 12.11.09)

The rich schema is one of the reasons why this metaphor is so productive. The second reason is that plays have a formal structure - prologues, acts, scenes, intermission, epilogue, etc.

Драмата идва от там, че колкото и да се тупаме в гърдите, че сме правова държава, подобни **сцени** ни връщат обратно към реалността. (The drama comes from the fact that, no matter how much we boast of being a constitutional state, similar **scenes** take us back to reality.) (M/16.07.10)

The news gave their stricken community a glimmer of hope amid **scenes** of devastation in the coastal town of Ishinomaki. (Mr/22.03.11)

The third reason for the productivity of metaphors is their narrative structure – introduction, complication, climax, etc.

***Кулминацията** на премиерското самоволие бе обявено от Борисов съгласие на Сърбия да участва в строежа на АЕЦ „Белене”. (The **culmination** of the prime minister’s self-will was announced by Borisov and it was Serbia’s consent to take part in the construction of the NPP “Belene”). (Г/12.08.10)*

*One Islamic student group said the mob incident was the **culmination** of a series of attacks. (I/ 9.11.09)*

All these allow for different aspects of metaphor to refer to different aspects of life.

Related to frames are “**scripts**” which represent the knowledge for recurring sequences of events. Having experienced these sequences and possessing the respective knowledge it becomes easier to interpret any new information. Below there is a presentation of [GOING TO THE THEATRE] script from two points of view – as a viewer or as a participant (player).

[GOING TO THE THEATRE] script from the point of view of the viewer:

Before the performance	Going to the theatre → buying tickets → waiting
During the performance	1. entering → buying food, drinks (in the cinema or the circus) → looking for seats → taking seats 2. watching the performance → giving response (laughing, applauding, yawning, etc.) 3. standing up → applauding
After the performance	Going out of the theatre

This script is connected to the understanding of news discourse as far as the audience’s response is concerned – the people watching understand and react to what has been said.

*За няколко секунди публиката не можеше да разбере какво празнуват и очакват тези хора.... За европейската публика стана ясно, че макар и със сто години закъснение в София се открива метрото. (For a few seconds **the audience could not understand** what these people were celebrating and expecting...For **the European audience it became clear** that, although with a hundred-year delay, in Sofia the metro is being opened.) (Г/19.02.11).*

Тези нередности **предизвикали бурна реакция в част от присъстващите**, които казали, че събранието е **фарс** и напуснали залата, като обявили, че напускат и партията. (These **irregularities caused a violent reaction in part of those present** who had said that the meeting was a **farce** and left the hall declaring that they would leave the party as well.) (СвБр/8.07.11).

Евтиният театър, породен от паниката, **отврати зрителите**. (The **poor theatre**, caused by the panic, disgusted **the audience**. (Г/20.01.11)

Yet the battle with the coalition began in earnest last night, with the Tories issuing an immediate challenge for him to "own up to his **role** in creating the mess that Britain is in and tell us what he'd do to fix it". No 10 sources stressed that there were "**no whoops of delight**" at the junior Miliband's victory, despite earlier reports that it was David they most feared. "There is not an air of complacency from the PM at all." A veteran of the selection process in his Doncaster seat before the 2005 general election recalls he "never said anything earth-shattering, but **he made them feel good** about where we were going". (I/26.09.10)

The following example is more complicated in a sense that the suggestion of a theatre performance is not overtly expressed.

The Iraq inquiry, **with the length of time we waited for it, the projected timetable of a year and the special logo designed for it** in serious blue, all seemed to promise a fierce sense of purpose and formality to match the grave **act of** taking the country to war. Somehow, even by day four, it doesn't feel like that.

Perhaps because it was Friday, the Great British **public was hardly jostling for space**. The **queues of day** one and the protesters in carnival masks were long gone. The inquiry room was chilly, as though they had switched the heating off a bit early for the weekend, and barely a third full.

Watching Sir Jeremy Greenstock, once our man at the United Nations, being put through his very deliberate and carefully judged paces, was a small and scattered **audience of more women than men...**(I/28.11.09).

However, we comprehend it as such due to the expressions like "waited", "queues", "public was hardly jostling for space", "watching", "audience" which activate the script. Thus the whole text is viewed as an example of the THEATRE metaphor.

The [GOING TO THE THEATRE] script from the point of view of the player takes a major part in comprehending news texts. A possible explanation might be that a news story describes people's actions placing them in the central place so that they receive the whole attention just as actors receive the attention of the audience.

[GOING TO THE THEATRE] script from the point of view of the player:

Before the	Going to the theatre → entering <i>behind the stage</i> → getting
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performance	dressed → receiving instructions → rehearsal
During the performance	<i>On the stage:</i> 1. the curtain is raised → receiving applause 2. playing/performing → saying remarks, cues, dialogues, monologues → (in the circus) performing tricks, riding horses, timing animals, juggling, etc. 3. the curtain call → bowing → receiving flowers
After the performance	1) <i>behind the stage</i> → getting undressed → receiving compliments, flowers, etc. 2) going out of the theatre → fans/journalists/cameramen waiting

Some examples from the British and Bulgarian press are presented to illustrate some parts of the script.

The curtain is raised

*The **curtain is up** – and the **drama** has just begun. (G/1.12.10)*

*Първанов **открехна завесата** над охранителното минало на премиера. (Parvanov **half-raised the curtain** of the prime-minister's past as a body-guard.) (Г/19.11.09)*

Receiving applause

*If Gordon Brown and Alistair Darling were hoping for some **plaudits** for their plan to rescue Northern Rock from bankruptcy or nationalisation, they will be sorely disappointed. (G/22.01.08)*

***Аплодисменти** за Кристилина Георгиева (заглавие) Кристилина Георгиева **обравациите** на депутатите при изслушването ѝ в Европарламента вчера... (Applauses for Kristalina Georgieva (headline) Kristalina Georgieva **received ovations** from the members of Parliament during the hearing at the European Parliament yesterday...) (24/4.02.10).*

Cues

*...the fluent former prime minister was given the stage and the **cues**. (G/31.01.10)*

*Няма премиер по света, който да остане след такава **реплика**... (There is no such a prime-minister in the world who would remain in power after such a **cue**... (Г/20.01.11).*

Dialogues

Тук проблемът винаги е бил в едно – ние не сме подготвени да водим **диалог** с фонда. (Here the problem has always been that we are not prepared to have a **dialogue** with the [International Monetary] Fund.) (Г/24.06.10).

But it's also the way in which the language of penance, and arguments over it, have become such a major part of modern political **dialogue**. (G/14.03.05)

Juggling

Жонглирайки с думите и с оценките, че не се справяме с кризата, ..., президентът Първанов продължава да подхранва напрежението между институциите, въпреки че твърди, че трябва да бъде подновен диалогът. (**Juggling** with words and evaluations that we cannot cope with the crisis,....., President Parvanov continues to feed the tension between the institutions although he claims that the dialogue has to be renewed.) (M/2.04.10)

"The ideal of a woman **juggling** a full-time career with the demands of motherhood is going out of fashion as a new era of flexible parenting rights takes root," the paper says. (G/30.04.07)

Bowing

Suave to the end, Melvyn Bragg **takes a final bow** - (but not without a few well chosen barbs) (headline) (G/27.12.09)

Curtain call

Изказването му бе придружено от възгласи от страна на мнозинството "БКП" и "Бус". (His speech was accompanied by exclamations on part of the majority "BKP" and "**Encore**") (C/31.03.10).

While some speculated whether last night's joint White House press conference by President George Bush and Tony Blair was a **final curtain call** for international diplomacy's star duo of recent years, others simply noted that the so-called "Lame Duck Summit" amounted to little more than a sideshow, writes Peter Walker. (G/26.05.06)

All these activities happen on stage. That is why mentioning "**stage**" activates the script, forms a mental model and forces the interpretation on the part of the reader.

There was a strong desire at the Socialists' meeting for a woman and therefore a consensus – if not unanimous support – for Lady Ashton, despite her being an unknown quantity in her own country, let alone on **the world stage**.

Moreover, once created this mental model allows for not so obviously metaphorical pieces of text to be considered examples of the metaphor of THEATRE. This can be illustrated by the following example which is a continuation of the above-mentioned news text.

Lady Ashton seemed rather bemused by all the attention. All week she had not known whether she would even keep her job on the Commission; if Mr Hoon or Lord Mandelson

had won the Socialists' backing, she would have lost her post, since Britain has only one commissioner.

Suddenly, the unassuming former Leader of the Lords was being handed a huge bunch of flowers and being kissed and hugged by Europe's most powerful men in suits.

The knowledge of what happens during a theatre performance helps the reader interpret the event in terms of theatre. Lady Ashton receives “attention” and “flowers”] she is “kissed and hugged”.

The next part of the same text activates the script of what happens after the performance. Popular actors and actresses are followed by “cameramen and photographers”.

She was like a tiny scrum half, in danger of being crushed by a moving scrum of 30 TV cameramen and photographers. Security men tried to shield her as the scrum crashed into a press table. (1/21.11.09)

The whole article is pervaded by the theatre metaphor making the text coherent.

Metaphors can provide coherence in a single text or between different pieces of text. Thus we speak of **INTRAtextual and INTERtextual coherence**, respectively.

The texts considered so far presented examples of intratextual coherence with the theatre metaphor running through a single text. In the following excerpt, a witness describes the consequences of the earthquake and the follow-up tsunami in Japan.

*В този момент телевизиите почнаха да предават директно. Страшна **трагедия**.... 4-5 часа не спирам да гледам телевизия. **Трагедия!**...Гледам ужасяващи кадри. Улици в Токио са разцепени, не напукани. Дават как гори АЕЦ. Има и **комични** гледки на фона на **трагедията** (At that moment televisions started broadcasting the event simultaneously. A terrible **tragedy**! I could not stop watching TV for 4-5 hours. A **tragedy**. ... I was watching terrifying scenes. The streets in Tokyo were split into two, not cracked. A nuclear power plant was shown burning. There were also **comic** scenes against the background of **tragedy**...) (24/12.03.11).*

However, when the described event is of great significance as in this case, the same metaphor (“tragedy”) is used in different news texts and thus provides coherence among them. I will illustrate this point with few examples.

*На 11 март трус от 9 по Рихтер, най-силният в историята на страната, отприщи 10-метрово цунами, което помете градове. За Япония това бе **тройна трагедия**, защото вълните заляха АЕЦ "Фукушима" и предизвикаха най-тежката ядрена криза в света след "Чернобил". (On 11 March an earthquake shock of 9 on Richter scale, the strongest in the history of the country, provoked a 10-metre tsunami, which swept towns. For Japan that was a **triple tragedy** because the waves flooded NPP Fukushima and caused the most severe nuclear crisis in the world after Chernobyl.) (24/21.12.2011).*

*The nuclear crisis has triggered international alarm and partly overshadowed the human **tragedy** caused by Friday's double disaster, which pulverised Japan's northeastern coastline, killing an estimated 10,000 people. (Mr/16.03.11)*

*Japanese lessons in dealing with **tragedy** (headline)As we witness the appalling suffering of the people of northern Japan, there is, I suppose, one consoling thought. It couldn't happen here.I speak of the devastation and loss of life caused by the tsunami NOT the nuclear crisis that came afterwards. It was a dignity I have never forgotten and it is on display again now, as Japan endures its darkest days since the Second World War. (Mr/20.03.11)*

Different news articles add different elements to the description of events and in this way form one coherent picture of what happened in the readers' minds.

Apart from describing the triple disaster, "tragedy" is used to refer to it without any explanations while focusing on other issues.

*JAPAN'S earthquake **tragedy** could dent production at UK car plants, an industry leader warned (Mr/18.03.11).*

The article continues with an explanation of the impact of the tragedy on American economics. It does not explain what "JAPAN'S earthquake tragedy" is, but the readers can easily understand what stands behind the expression due to the fact that they have background knowledge of the events.

Similar intertextual coherence relationship can be seen in the following excerpt:

*Правителството на ГЕРБ е на път да създаде най-драматичния прецедент в развитието на проекта АЕЦ „Белене“, като подпише договор за строителството без изискваните по закон лиценз, строителна виза и евакуационен план. точно когато светът се опитва да се отърси от **трагичния** инцидент във Фукушима (GERB government is on the way to create the most **dramatic** precedent in the development of the project for Belene NPP by signing a contract for construction without the licence required by our legislation, construction permit and emergency evacuation plan...at the time when the world is trying to shake off the **tragic** incident in Fukushima.) (168/15.04.11).*

Mentioning the "tragic incident in Fukushima" evokes certain background knowledge in readers' minds. Due to the fact that they have been exposed to other news items describing the event, they know what the incident is as well as what are its consequences. The reference to the "tragic incident" is understood as a warning of what might happen in a future nuclear power station plant in Bulgaria if the legislative norms are not obeyed.

The same metaphoric term "tragedy" is used to refer to similar events that happened a long time ago.

*Експерти изключват варианта да се повтори **трагедия**, подобна на тази от Чернобил през 1986 г. (Experts exclude the scenario for a **tragedy** similar to that of Chernobyl to be repeated.) (24/12.03.11).*

In these cases coherence is provided not only across different texts of the same period but also across texts of different periods of time.

It may be concluded that metaphors contribute to the understanding of news and everyday discourse by forming cognitive models. Frames and scripts provide a way of representing these models. Once created they can either last over a whole piece of text or transcend it and thus create coherent structures by helping readers make necessary inferences in order to understand the texts. When coherence is created within a single text we speak of intratextual coherence. When metaphorical expressions make different texts coherent we speak of intertextual coherence. Texts can refer to one and the same event or to events from different historical periods.

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Abbreviations:

G – the Guardian; I – The Independent; Mr – The Mirror; М – в. „Монитор”; С - в-к „Стандарт”; 168 – в-к „168 часа”; Г – в-к „Галерия”; 24 – в. “24 часа”; Свб – в. „Свищовски бряг”; bTV – телевизия

FACILITATING TRAINEE-TEACHERS' DECISION MAKING IN LESSON PLANNING DURING PRE-TEACHING DISCUSSION

Irina Ivanova

Abstract: *The article focuses on an important aspect of trainee-teachers' preparation – thinking about and planning their first lesson taught in authentic classroom environment. This stage of pre-service training is seen as crucial for the successful relation of theory to practice and it shows the methodologist the level of trainees' preparation for the high risk/cost real classroom teaching. The methodologist is seen as a facilitator of trainees' decision making regarding the lesson content, procedures and management. The facilitation can be done in a freer discussion initiated by the trainee, based on a chronological description of teaching activities, or it can be structured by the methodologist through a series of topics/areas or questions.*

Key words: *facilitation, decision making, lesson planning*

One of the most rigorous tests for the trainee teachers of English as a foreign language is their very first lesson taught in school during their initial teaching practice. Under existing regulations for obtaining a teaching qualification, trainees have to teach in a real school environment in the last year of their BA studies (7th and 8th semesters).

At Shumen University the “Teacher of English” qualification can be obtained as both compulsory (for the primary school teachers) and optional or additional qualification (for the BA and MA students of English, and the students of applied linguistics with two foreign languages). The instruction for this qualification comprises both theoretical input and practical training. The theoretical input is provided by compulsory, elective and optional subjects. The compulsory academic subjects are taught starting from the first year of university studies and include Pedagogy (theory of education and didactics), Psychology (general, developmental and pedagogical), Audio-visual and Information technology and Methodology of teaching English.

The elective academic subjects are divided into two groups in accordance with the characteristics of the course of study, e.g. English studies or Applied linguistics. The 1st group includes pedagogical, psychological and methodological disciplines. For the English philology and Applied Linguistics students a Course in Teaching English to Young Learners is compulsory. It enables them to teach English in the Primary school if there is no qualified primary school teacher of English at the school. The 2nd group is comprised of interdisciplinary and applied subjects. The trainees are obliged to choose one or two subjects from each of the two groups.

The practical training preparing trainees for teaching, starts in trainees' 3rd year and takes the form of the following subjects, each of which lasts for one semester: 1. Observation and analysis; 2. Initial teaching practice, and 3. School-based teaching practice.

The number of hours for each academic subject is currently being changed in response to the latest Ministry of Education requirements aimed at standardizing and unifying the teaching qualification in all universities in Bulgaria.

The training for obtaining the general professional qualification of "teacher of English" concludes with a state exam, consisting of planning, teaching and defending a lesson before a state examination board. The mentor from the school is one of the members of the board.

The aim of the present article is to focus on the pre-teaching discussion as an integral part of the initial teaching practice, which is the second stage of the practical training.

Prior to teaching, trainees will have had the main theoretical input from the compulsory academic subjects, and will have done some observation and analysis of teaching (both video and school-based). Video observations of recorded samples of teaching in both European and Bulgarian contexts provide models of teaching and also stimulate post-observation discussions, leading to a deeper understanding of the teaching process and its specific contextual characteristics. School-based observations have more general aims. They do not only focus on aspects of teaching, such as presenting grammar, vocabulary or error correction; rather, they suggest a holistic view of the lesson and aim to develop trainees' ability to summarize and comment on the lesson as a coherent structure, paying attention not only to its integral parts, but also to its effectiveness as a whole. Pre-, while-, and post- observation work is facilitated by the university methodologist who uses a range of materials for guiding and focusing the discussion of the key aspects of teaching, such as teacher's tasks and behaviour, class management, classroom language, etc.

Initial teaching practice is carried out in smaller groups, and is usually hosted by the same schools and teachers the trainees observed the previous semester. This is done so that the trainees are familiar with the teaching environment, the students, the mentors, and the teaching materials, and will thus feel less stressed out in their first attempt at teaching.

An important issue facing both the methodologist and the trainees is how prepared the latter are for high risk/cost real classroom teaching; in other words, if they are ready to successfully transform declarative into procedural knowledge. In cognitive psychology and learning theory these types of knowledge are the two ways information is stored in long term memory. Whereas declarative knowledge is information that consists of consciously known facts, concepts or ideas,

procedural knowledge is acquired gradually through practice, and underlies the learning of skills (see Richards & Schmidt 2002:144).

The need for some practice in teaching, however limited in scope and duration, is crucial in terms of skill acquisition. It is feasible to assume that by the time they have to teach, trainees have, at least to some extent, internalized the main theoretical input (i.e. declarative knowledge) necessary to inform their decision making, and have managed to reach some level of automatization (through some limited practice) of the basic skills or routines involved in teaching. Automatization is characterized by the “power law of practice”: regardless of the domain of learning, both reaction time and error rate decline over time according to a very specific function that is mathematically defined as a power function” (De Keyser 2007: 3).

Before getting trainees to teach a whole lesson, the methodologist usually introduces the trainees to some low risk/cost practices, such as micro-teaching and team-teaching, where one or two trainees are the teachers and the rest of the group assume the role of the students. Micro-teaching activities, which are basically short lessons exemplifying certain skills, are a good way of developing ‘experiential knowledge’ (see Wallace 1991: 91) since they provide some practice of the building blocks of the lesson, much needed in the execution of a whole 40-minute period of teaching.

Within the initial practice stage each student has to plan, prepare and teach at least one 40-minute lesson. The lesson is taught to a whole class of students (usually about 25-30 students) and is observed by the trainees in the group, the university methodologist and the class teacher (usually a mentor working with the university). The situation is obviously stressful, and the stress is additionally increased due to time constraints – trainees have only a day or two to plan the lesson, discuss it with the instructor and teach it the following day. There has to be at least one day between the pre-teaching discussion and the teaching itself, since “suggestions made to the teacher just before they teach a lesson can undermine a teacher’s confidence” (Randall & Thornton 2001:58).

The trainee is told what his/her lesson is going to be in a brief meeting with the class teacher. He/she is either given a copy of the pages from the student’s book where the lesson is, with the boundaries of the lesson in the book more or less clearly outlined, or given some freedom to choose what to teach from the Module or Unit (especially where the material in the coursebook is not clearly divided into lessons). The situation in most Bulgarian schools is that the work schemes are made around a pre-selected coursebook on an annual basis at the beginning of the school year. Since this type of long-term planning does not allow much flexibility, some minor adjustments are usually made on occasion to make up for unforeseen circumstances. The mentors are instructed not to give trainees too much guidance about the lesson, so that they can make their own decisions about

what and how to teach and then discuss them with the university instructor. The trainees, on the other hand are told to come to the pre-teaching discussion with clear and well-justified ideas about their teaching and an outline of a lesson plan with more or less rough estimation of the timing for each stage and activity. At this stage the trainees are not expected to prepare detailed written plans, but it is important for them to realize that planning is essentially a thinking skill. As Scrivener (2005: 109) points out, 'Planning is imagining the lesson before it happens. It involves prediction, anticipation, sequencing, organizing and simplifying'. Thus the informed choices trainees make in advance are seen as providing more freedom in teaching the lesson.

The session usually starts with the trainee explaining his/her ideas of the lesson and the instructor listening and then giving feedback whenever it is necessary. The aim of the on-going feedback is seen mainly as a means for facilitating, channeling and focusing the trainee's decision making processes, through questioning, probing, challenging, re-focusing and shaping trainees' ideas and beliefs about the particular lesson and teaching in general. The main implication of the pre-teaching discussion is seen as emphasizing the skill of decision making as one of the basic teaching skills (see Westerman 1991).

The discussion is usually structured and given shape by the trainee's account of what he/she intends to do starting from the beginning of the lesson. A common pattern is to start with a detailed description of the teacher's actions in chronological order. One of the major problems with this approach is to let trainees be guided by the order of activities/exercises as they are sequenced in the book. Some of the trainees will simply find it easier to follow the prescribed order of tasks and even stick to the instructions (sometimes very prescriptive) in the teacher's book. If this happens, the instructor might stop the trainee and ask him/her to justify this particular sequence by discussing the rationale behind each stage or activity in terms of the lesson's overall aims and objectives. Finding proof for any particular sequencing will activate trainee's received knowledge and help him/her see the links and the continuity between the activities. It is important at this stage to check if the trainee has decided if and how they should use the activities from the workbook (in most cases students have one and use it either in class or for homework), and how to incorporate any additional self-made materials that are relevant to the lesson's aims. The trainees should always be encouraged to prepare their own supplementary materials for the lesson, such as handouts, texts, visuals, etc.

One of the most problematic issues in the initial teaching practice is that the trainees are only vaguely familiar with the class they have to teach, let alone individual students and their needs. This problem can be addressed by asking the class teacher to familiarize the trainees with the class, its level, needs, interests, etc., just after the observation session which precedes students' teaching. Still

trainees are encouraged to consult issues like students' interests, motivation, discipline, classroom routines with the teacher whenever they need to do so. Introducing routines which are new to the students can lead to confusion and failure to achieve the aims of the task. One of the most common examples of this problem is trainee's using pair or group work for activities which have never been done in this format previously. Thus, a trainee might ask students to work in pairs to discuss some questions or a situation in order to elicit ideas. When students are given instructions, such as: "Talk to each other for two min. about..." or "Discuss with your partner..." they are obviously confused, and either don't work as they are told and wait to see what happens, or work on their own as they are used to. Group work in topic-based or task-based activities is also doomed to failure when the students are not used to working in this format or don't have clearly assigned roles in the group. Another reason why trainees are not eager to use these interaction formats is that they feel uncomfortable when they just do monitoring and are not talking to the class. The idea of increasing student talking time at the expense of teacher talking time is still perceived as something alien or at least strange in the Bulgarian educational tradition. Moreover, most trainees admit that they don't feel comfortable relinquishing control when they face the students. The tension between being the authority figure in the classroom and being flexible with the interaction formats is still strong at this initial stage of teaching practice.

Not knowing students' names is yet another hindrance, which, however, can be easily solved by asking the class teacher to make a plan of the seating arrangement and then make sure students don't change their seats in the lessons.

After trainee's provisional plan of action is described, the methodologist might try to prompt the trainee to think about details and generate alternatives to some of the stages/activities, which could be done in a different /better way. It is also useful for the trainee to try and predict students' reactions and responses, which might provoke deviations from the plan.

Another way of organizing and structuring the pre-teaching discussion, which works better with trainees who have more difficulties and uncertainties about their lesson, is to provide them with some kind of structure to follow in their thinking about the lesson's aim and procedures. Scrivener (2005: 109) outlines some general areas to think about, which the university methodologist might adapt and use in channeling the discussion. These are the areas with my discussion of their appropriateness and suggestions for their adaptation in the specific context of the classroom trainees work in:

1. Visualizing the characteristic atmosphere and look of the lesson and imagining the experience of the lesson for any one specific student.

This useful holistic picture creates the necessary empathic experience which can be seen as a prerequisite for a successful adapting of planned action to the real

circumstances of the particular class. The only problem with this idea is that it is more suitable for the later stages of the school-based practice, after the trainees have had some period of adaptation and familiarization with the students.

2. Engaging the learners and catering for their benefits from the lesson.

Although in the very first lesson the trainees are preoccupied mainly with achieving their own teaching goals, i.e. they think more in terms of teaching than in terms of students' learning, it is useful to try and re-focus their attention to those who will benefit from the teaching process. This in turn might reduce trainees' anxiety and enhance their performance.

3. Looking at the aims of the lesson both from the view point of the teacher and the learners; distinguishing between procedure and achievement aims.

It is a good idea to ask trainees to think about and formulate the aims of the lesson from both perspectives – the teacher's (procedure aims) and the students' (achievement aims). Another way of getting trainees to think from the students' perspective is to ask them to write the rationale for each stage or activity of the lesson in more detail.

4. Deciding on the teaching point or the subject-matter of the lesson in terms of skills, language areas, topics, etc.

This is a good reference point for activating and focusing trainees' received knowledge and making it easier for them to apply it successfully in their teaching. It is important for the methodologist to make sure trainees' knowledge of the subject matter is consistent and precise, which will provide a kind of rehearsal of the presentation stage of the lesson and will potentially increase trainees' confidence in teaching.

5. Selecting, sequencing and carrying out tasks and teaching procedures;

This area is directly linked to the decision making processes involved in planning. It is important to discourage trainees from direct following of the activities in the order they are given in the student's book.

6. Making the lesson challenging for the students; deciding on the right level of linguistic challenge.

This is one of the most difficult aspects of teaching for the inexperienced trainees. Grading the information for the students as well as grading the language of instruction is something which trainees need to discuss in advance with the methodologist in order to avoid misunderstandings and failure to achieve the teaching goals.

7. Deciding on the materials to be used in the lesson.

Trainees are asked to bring all the materials they intend to use in the lesson and explain how exactly they are going to use them. The methodologist has to ask trainees to explain why their materials are better or more appropriate for the aims of the lesson or given activities. This is done so as to avoid using exercises simply borrowed from other sources without any critical thinking or adaptation.

8. Thinking about classroom management issues and procedures, such as seating arrangements, timing and pacing, dealing with mistakes, etc.

The discussion of issues related to classroom management should be initiated by the methodologist, since trainees don't have the necessary experience or just expect to be able to make managing decisions in the course of the lesson. Thinking about these issues in advance will increase trainees' awareness of their importance.

During pre-teaching discussion the methodologist might either focus trainee's attention to some of these areas and just listen to their thoughts and ideas, or elicit trainee's response using question format, as it is done by Scrivener (2005: 109).

Finally, the methodologist should emphasize that the plan is only the overall backbone or scheme of the lesson and that flexibility is the key to its successful adaptation. The trainee should be able to think of some steps which will assure flexibility, such as changing activities, timing, cutting a long or tedious activity short by explaining what to do and then assigning the rest of it for homework, etc. The methodologist's task in this respect will be to help trainees access and make use of their received knowledge and begin their teaching practice empowered by the experience of intensive thinking and decision making about their performance.

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RUSSIANS IN THE BULGARIAN AND THE BRITISH PRESS

Iliyan Ivanov, Desislava Cheshmedzhieva-Stoycheva

Abstract: *The paper analyses the devices used in developing the identity of the Russian communities in Bulgaria and in the UK. The corpus for the study comprises articles from the Bulgarian Dnevnik and the British The Independent.*

Key words: *media discourse, printed media, Russian identity, CDA*

I. Introduction

The media play a very important part in social life. Media presentations of ethnic identities, especially those of ethnic minority groups in a country, could predetermine the general social attitude to those groups. At the same time media publications also reflect some of the existing stereotypes regarding ethnic groups, as well as the attitude of the majority towards the discussed minorities.

This paper's objective is to analyse the way the press develops the identity of ethnic Russians in Bulgaria and the UK. Applying Critical Discourse Analysis as the main approach, we are trying to focus on the linguistic devices used in the development of the above mentioned ethnic identities in the Bulgarian newspaper Dnevnik (Dn) and in its British "equivalent" The Independent (I). The corpus for the paper includes publications referring to the Russian community in 2008 and in the first half of 2012.

The reasons to choose that particular ethnic group are various – Russian diasporas are the fastest spreading world-wide (see Krasteva 2010); due to their similar phenotypic features Russians are quite similar to the majority in the two countries, therefore they are not as visible in society as some other ethnic groups, etc. At the same time the Russian identity in the media is a topic that has not been widely explored, therefore it would be interesting to analyse.

The markers of identity we have focused on are the ethnonyms used, stereotypes, metaphors, some cultural characteristics, and use of lexis in the respective native language.

II. Analysis

According to the census data provided by the National Institute of Statistics the number of Russians living on the territory of Bulgaria in 2011¹ was 15 595 (0.2% of Bulgarian population) – a number which has remained almost the same since 2001 (see NSI 2012; Wikipedia/BG/; Krasteva 2010).

¹ It should be taken into consideration that the section ethnicity in the national census from 2011 was not mandatory, therefore the data might not be as precise as the information provided in previous years.

Looking at the census data in 2001 for the UK, it turns out that the Russians in the UK at that time were estimated at 15 160, while in 2009 their numbers were double and the latest estimates show approximately 300 000 people of Russian descent (0.5% of the total population) living in the UK, mostly in London (see Wikipedia/EN/).

The main topics discussed by the two newspapers in reference to Russians have remained more or less the same in 2008 and in 2012. The majority of publications on Russians both in Bulgaria and in the UK could be subdivided into the following thematic areas: tourism, investments/ business, and politics.

In Dnevnik the first two topics are intertwined focusing on the fact that a part of the tourists in Bulgaria also invest into property in many Bulgarian mountain and sea resorts.

In the articles on tourism the ethnonym *Russian* is used either on its own or in paratactic constructions with ethnonyms like *Bulgarian*, *English*, *French*, *Austrians*, etc. to show the variety of tourists visiting Bulgaria or investing in it:

[1] *Араби и руснаци* са проявили интерес към обявените за продажба два инвестиционни проекта на дружеството (Dn/ 13.11.08); [2] Най-много *руснаци* избират за почивка *Банско*, на второ място – *Боровец*, и след това идва *Пампорово* (Dn/ 21.08.08); [3] Близо половината от жилищата [в *Поморие*] вече са продадени на *българи*, *поляци*, *испанци*, *руснаци*, *украинци*, [...] (Dn/ 09.10.08); [4] [...] броят на *големите яхти*, *кръстосващи моретата*, се утрои, а *новите милиардери* – *най-вече руснаци*, инвестират в тях като символи на социален статус (Dn/ 31.08.08).

[1`] *Arabs and Russians* express an interest in the two investment projects put on sale by the enterprise (Dn/ 13.11.08); [2`] The bigger part of the *Russians* choose *Bansko* as a place for their holidays, second comes *Borovets* and then *Pamporovo* (Dn/ 21.08.08); [3`] Almost half of the flats [in *Pomorie*] have already been sold to *Bulgarians*, *Poles*, *Spaniards*, *Russians*, *Ukrainians*, [...] (Dn/ 09.10.08); [4`] [...] the number of the *big yachts* cruising the seas has trebled and the *new billionaires*, *Russians* in their bigger part, invest in them as a symbol of their social status (Dn/ 31.08.08).

The fact that Russians coming to Bulgaria for tourist or investment purposes are well-off is stressed by their preference to invest in real estate in Bulgarian sea and mountain resorts where property is quite expensive. Their good financial state is further stressed by the reference to the big yachts that Russians possess as well as by the noun phrase used to describe the investors – *новите милиардери* ('the new billionaires' – Dn/ 31.08.08) and modifiers, such as: "*заможните руснаци* ('the wealthy **Russians**' – Dn/ 13.07.08); *платежоспособните руснаци* ('the solvent **Russians**' – Dn/ 09.04.08); *по-платежоспособни руснаци* ('more solvent **Russians**' – Dn/ 06.04.08), and in one case even *по-бедни* ('poorer'), e. g. [5] [...] *британските купувачи енергично се изтеглят*

от българския курортен пазар. Затова пък по-бедни **руснаци** купували без притеснение в България ('the British buyers are withdrawing at a fast rate from the Bulgarian market of property in resorts. On the other hand, *poorer Russians* are buying without giving it a second thought in Bulgaria' – Dn/ 13.04.08), which although assigning negative qualities in the example given actually shows that even poor Russians could afford buying property in Bulgaria, so in a way their financial state could be inferred to be better than the Bulgarians' or that Bulgarian economic situation is beneficial to Russian nationals.

Wealthy Russians are depicted in the British The Independent as well. The topic discussed, however, is mostly business/ investments rather than tourism. A big part of the articles is connected with sports and mostly with football as two of the premier league teams are owned by Russians: FC Chelsea by Roman Abramovich and FC Arsenal by Alisher Usmanov.

The lexeme that receives the highest coverage in articles on Russians in the UK is *oligarch*:

[6] [...] *self-exiled oligarch* and Kremlin critic Boris Berezovsky [...] he had been ordered to kill *the oligarch Boris Berezovsky*, the year before (I/ 28.04.12); [7] Mr Mamut, *an oligarch* with close links to the Kremlin (I/ 28.01.12); [8] It is not the kind of place you will rub shoulders with *the designer-clad wives of Russian oligarchs* (I/ 28.11.08); [9] A £2bn legal tussle between *Britain's two most high-profile Russian oligarchs* [...] (I/ 19.04.08), etc.

Using the lexeme *oligarch* to refer to some of the Russian immigrants in the UK, already builds a part of their identity as people of substantial power, people who are used to their word being heard. In addition to *oligarch* the Russian immigrants who form the Russian community in the UK are referred to as *billionaires*:

[10] *Russian billionaire* leads a London bookshop revolution /h/ (I/ 28.01.12); [11] *Russian billionaire Alisher Usmanov* wants a number of questions answered over the boardroom upheaval at Arsenal following the exit of Lady Nina Bracewell-Smith (I/ 23.12.08); [12] *The Russian billionaire* remains delighted with his choice and accepts the reasons why things are not running as smoothly (I/ 29.11.08); etc.

Thus the image that is developed and the new stereotype of Russians are of powerful and very wealthy men in their bigger part. Their wealth is also emphasized through references to their possessions like yachts, mansions, football clubs, big size companies, etc.

The other topic that is widely discussed in Dnevnik and in The Independent is politics. Both newspapers dwell on the presidential elections in 2008 and in 2012 and the conflict with Georgia in 2008. The Independent also covers the problems between British Petroleum and their Russian partners. These articles comment on Russia's internal or foreign policy and they do not give the reader much

information on the identity of the Russians who have settled in Bulgaria or in the UK; therefore they are not an object of analysis in this paper.

Russia's internal policy, however, has indirectly contributed to the creation of a new image of Russians in the UK: the ex-KGB agent and political immigrant living in London.

[13] *Double agent Gordievsky* claims he was poisoned by the Kremlin /h/ Police are investigating allegations that *a former Russian spy* who defected to Britain was poisoned in *an attempt to assassinate him* [...] Mr Gordievsky, *the highest-ranking Soviet spy* to defect to the West (I/ 06.04.08); [14] *The former KGB officer Andrei Lugovoi*, wanted by the British authorities for the poisoning by polonium of Mr Litvinenko – also once *a KGB and later FSB officer* [...] (I/ 02.08.08); [15] “Sasha” is the name by which she called her husband, Alexander, *the ex- KGB agent and dissident émigré*, who died in London in November 2006, after being poisoned with radioactive polonium-210 (I/ 28.04.12).

The James Bond scenarios and the references to the Cold War are evident in all publications on Russian agents seeking refuge in London. This new image of Russians in the UK became especially prominent with the poisoning of Alexander Litvinenko in London. His case in a way triggered the spawning of articles on other agents, expats and dissidents who were disclosed as living in the UK. At the same time the excerpts above show the alleged involvement of these agents in assassinations of other agents or in some other hit operations.

In addition to the image of the spy, there are examples of Russians presented as mobsters involved in crimes of a different nature:

[16] Fears that the *UK has become a battleground for deadly Russian vendettas* have been reignited after the security services publicly warned of *an assassination plot against a high-profile Chechen exile* [...] MPs warned last night that Britain was becoming a *Russian battleground* amid growing concerns about *the number of exiles who pose a serious security risk to the UK* (I/ 02.04.12); [17] The Government is under pressure to publish the names of *Russians suspected of being linked to targeted assassinations* amid increasing concerns that London is turning into *a playground for mobsters and hit squads* [...] our main city is not ‘*Londongrad*’ and *Russian killers* should stay away and stop harassing British businesses [...] *Russians suspected of involvement in political or financial criminality* [...] *London’s swelling Russian expat community* – many of whom are openly critical of the Kremlin – have long expressed their concerns that the capital has become *a playground for mobsters* (I/ 04.04.12)

Apart from the implications of organized Russian crime being quite widespread in the UK, the examples hint on the perception that the city of London is actually overtaken by the Russian mafia and the process is so pervasive that the capital is with a changed name to make it sound more Russian and to enhance the suggestion of Russian omnipresence. The Russians presented in the articles have transferred their battles and their conflicts onto British soil.

Although the majority of articles in Dnevnik and in The Independent do not dwell on common Russians who have settled or were born in any of the two countries, there are some articles that touch upon these people who call Bulgaria or the UK their home.

The article in Dnevnik which talks about Russians who have chosen to settle in Bulgaria is entitled [18] *Новите малцинства* /h/² ('The New Minorities' – Dn/ 26.03.08).

The headline is a bit misleading as it suggests discussion on various ethnic groups or at least a review of the ethnic groups considered a minority in Bulgaria. It could be expected that the article places emphasis on some specific characteristics inherent to each group, which would predetermine the attitude toward that respective group in society. Viewed from a different perspective the heading could be regarded as the title of a series of articles published on the topic.

The article is divided into three separate parts: "*Новите*" и "*старите*" ('The New and the Old'), *Ентусиастите* ('The Enthusiasts'), and *Носталгичите* ('The Nostalgic Ones'). Each of these subheadings carries initial information on the particular group that is going to be discussed and at the same time the lexemes used hint on the variety of individuals within the Russian community: teachers, entrepreneurs, businessmen, engineers, all of them people who have succeeded to integrate fully in the Bulgarian society.

In order for the account presented to be more plausible the journalist has decided to structure his whole article as a form of interviews with members of the group.

The article features several markers of identity that define the group as different from Bulgarians.

On the one hand, we have some typically Russian food items: [19] *онези гигантски шоколадови "конфети" с ароматизиран фондан, опаковани в най-различни шарени станиолчета* ('those gigantic confetti with tasty fondant wrapped in various colourful foil' – Dn/ 26.03.08), and [20] *бориът там има истински вкус, както у нас [...] грузинската минерална вода "Боржоми"* ('the borscht there really tastes like at home [...] the Georgian mineral water "Borzhomi"' – Dn/ 26.03.08).

On the other hand, the Russian language as marker of identity is used in several places in the article. Apart from the Russian lexemes "*конфети*" ('candies'), *бори* ('borscht' – a kind of soup), *книжарницата "Русская книга"* ('the book shop "Russian book"'), there are also *вестника "Русская газета"* ('the newspaper The Russian Newspaper'), *ресторант "Россия"* ('Russia Restaurant'), *магазинчето "Русские сладости"* ('the Russian Sweets small shop'), *новые руские* ('the new Russians'), *сдружението "Россияны 21-й век"*

² /h/ - headline

(‘the organization 21st century Russians’), *дружество “Соотечественики”* (‘the organization Fellow Countrymen’), *“Руская дура!”* (‘Russian fool’).

The fact that the journalist has decided to use the original lexemes in Russian, rather than their Bulgarian equivalent or a translated version, shows that he is convinced that the Russian lexis would not hinder the understanding of the article simply because Bulgarians have shared common history with Russians and they also share a similar language. Actually the beginning sounds even somewhat nostalgic of that past when the two nations were very close.

The examples hint on a different issue as well, i. e. the Russians in Bulgaria have managed to integrate into our society but they have not lost the main characteristics of their identity – their culture, language, cuisine.

As mentioned above, the journalist is also trying to portray the variety of individuals comprising this ethnic group. In a way the opposition also reveals the difference between the existing “old” stereotypes of Russians (kind-hearted, close to Bulgarian culture) and the image the “new” Russians are imposing in Bulgaria.

Each of the two groups is associated with its own characteristics determined by the course of time. On the one hand we have the Russians who have settled in Bulgaria after the changes in 1989 and those who have come to Bulgaria more recently.

The opposition new vs. old is further developed in the words of a representative of the “old” Russians. The phrases to describe the “new” ones are:

[21] *Различни са. Общуват помежду си и не търсят връзки с общността* (Dn/ 26.03.08); [22] *[...] няколко от най-големите и представителни стари къщи в сърцето на града, купени от “новите руснаци”.* Отличават ги системите за сигурност, видеокамерите и скъпите автомобили пред тях [...] Бизнесът на “новите руснаци” е разностранен – от строителството и недвижимите имоти до производството на соеви продукти, търговия и хотелиерство. Обичат редките марки автомобили, наемат най-скъпите офиси и въпреки това остават невидими и непознати (Dn/ 26.03.08).

[21`] They are *different*. They communicate only with each other and do not seek to establish connections with the community (Dn/ 26.03.08); [22`] [...] *some of the biggest and most representative old houses in the heart of the city were bought by the “new Russians”.* They stand out with their security systems, surveillance cameras and the expensive vehicles parked in front of them [...] The business of the “new Russians” is many-sided – from construction work and real estate to the production of soya products, trade and hotel management. They like rare cars, they rent the most expensive offices but still remain invisible and unknown (Dn/ 26.03.08).

This new stereotype of Russians in Bulgaria comes as a confirmation to the image of Russians created in the other articles from the corpus – wealthy, looking for investment in real estate, driving expensive cars.

The so-called “old” Russians are associated with all those nostalgic areas and objects described with the lexemes in Russian. In a way, they are the keepers of traditions. This is further highlighted by the statement uttered by one of the “old” Russians: [23] *А може би именно те [новите] са една от причините за промененото отношение към руснаците в България?* (‘Most probably it is namely them [the new ones] who are one of the reasons for the changed attitude toward Russians in Bulgaria’), as well as [24] *Младите имат проблеми с установяването си тук, отглеждат децата си. Те са по-заети!* (‘The young ones [the new ones] have problems settling here, raising their children. They are busier’ – Dn/ 26.03.08). Therefore, the root of the difference between new vs. old Russians could be found in the different ideologies these two groups relate to: the first group is associated with the aspirations for economic development and pragmatism, while the latter with the Bulgarian-Russian friendship and maintenance of traditions. The strife for wealth and social status exhibited by the new Russians is probably the reason for the only negative expression in the article, i. e. [25] *“Руская дура!”* (‘Russian fool’), uttered by a Bulgarian to a Russian woman after the Changes, when life in Bulgaria was quite hard and the job market was very tight, so the Russian lady was viewed as a competitor.

Apart from that reference the tone of the article itself is very positive and the general image of the Russians in Bulgaria is also quite positive.

Common British Russians are presented in only three or four articles, which, however, mention Russians only indirectly. One of the articles talks about two graduates trying to realize their potential on the job market while the other articles are on the drinking sprout of the Rolling Stones’ member Ronnie Wood who ran away with a 19-year old Russian.

Although the number of articles on common Russians is quite small to allow us to draw some final conclusions, there are phrases used which could provide some insight into their image:

[26] [...] *the lovely Ekaterina, the cocktail waitress and model who has so beguiled Ronnie Wood [...] a Russian waitress [...] many Russian catering staff in Britain* (I/ 19.07.08); [27] *The guitarist is said to have met his 19-year-old companion, Yekaterina Ivanova, in a London escort club* (I/ 12.07.08); [28] *19-year-old blonde Ekaterina Ivanova* (I/ 13.07.08); [29] **Olga Turner, property consultant [...]** *graduated from LSE with a first in Geography last summer [...] on the fast track to success ever since [...] Olga was raised to be fluent in Russian, her mother’s native tongue. This skill landed her a part-time position on her current employer’s Russian desk from January to May 2011 [...] She believes that speaking Russian led to her first big break, but the key to her success has been good forward planning* (I/ 14.02.12).

The examples show two quite different lifestyles and different personalities. Coincidentally the two characters described in the articles happen to be girls almost the same age. While the examples from 2008 draw the image of the Russian girl promoted by the movies as blonde, beautiful, even a seductress, and usually working as a model or in the catering business and getting involved with rich, usually older men, the examples from the article in 2012 focus on the fact that the girl has managed to turn her ethnic background into an advantage and has managed to integrate into British society. It could be that the better life Olga has experienced is due to the mixed marriage of her mother and the fact that she was born in the UK.

Other phrases hinting on Russian identity in the UK are more sporadic and could be found in an article on the opening of a Russian bookshop in London:

[30] It is a literary innovation that will delight *London's influx of Russians* – and intrigue the intelligence services [...] Mr Mamut, [...], has named the new store “*Slova*”, *Russian for “words”* [...] “For Russophiles and *the large, vibrant Russian community in London*, we aim to make Slova an irresistible literary and cultural destination (I/ 28.01.12)

The phrases used to describe Russians in this article speak of the variety of people within the community and at the same time stress on the increasing numbers of Russians coming to London. This is suggested once by the metaphor of flood (*influx of Russians*) used to describe the number of the Russian community and implicitly by the fact that a bookshop is established. The investment itself speaks of potential customers, therefore of substantial number of Russians in the city.

At the same time this is the only article which features a Russian word: *слова* (“Slova” – ‘words’), which is given in Latin letters and is translated but shows unique culture.

III. Conclusion

The analysed newspapers have shown that the topics that are of the greatest interest in reference to Russians in both the Bulgarian and the British press are on Russia's politics, on wealthy Russian nationals, who come to Bulgaria and to the UK for investment purposes. In addition The Independent also develops and promotes the mysterious image of the Russian spy and double agent, as well as that of the Russian mafia operating on British soil.

Common people of Russian descent have remained more or less invisible in the two newspapers and the general stereotype of present day Russians in both countries is of rich, powerful men looking for investment opportunities.

A common feature for both newspapers is the positive tone of the articles with the exception of articles on the Russian mafia published in The Independent.

The difference in the devices used by the two newspapers stem from the fact that Bulgarian and Russian cultures are closer than British and Russian ones and this

allows for Bulgarian journalists to use Russian lexis which speaks of the acceptance and recognition of cultural difference.

The Independent refrains from such usages but resorts to the metaphor of *flood* to describe the increased number of Russians in the UK.

In conclusion the analysis has proved that despite the increasing number of Russian immigrants in Bulgaria and in the UK, common Russians remain invisible to the media in both countries.

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ON THE INSEPARABILITY OF GRAMMAR AND LEXIS IN THE ENGLISH PRESENT PROGRESSIVE CONSTRUCTION

Miroslava Tsvetkova

Abstract: *Our use of language depends upon two capacities: a mental lexicon of memorized words and a mental grammar of rules that underlie the sequential and hierarchical composition of lexical forms into predictably structured larger words, phrases, and sentences. The paper discusses the relationship between lexis and grammar as a part of the cognitive model for acquiring the English present progressive construction.*

Key words: *lexis, grammar, construction.*

Комуникативният акт между говорещия и слушащия се извършва в определен момент във времето. В граматиката този момент се нарича обобщено момент на говорене и всички действия в конкретното езиково общуване се ориентират към него. Изразяването точно на този момент на говорене чрез конструкцията на сегашно продължително в английския език в когнитивен аспект е обект на авторския модел за усвояване на тази конструкция от учащи в началния етап на основната образователна степен.

Този модел е съвместим със съвременни тенденции в лингвистичната теория, включващи подходи като граматика на конструкциите (Крофт 2001; Филмор и кол. 1988), когнитивната граматика (Голдбърг 1995; Лангакър 1987) и теорията, базирана на употребата (Томасело 2003). Когнитивните лингвисти обръщат внимание на ролята на значението в езика, както на лексикалните единици, така и на граматичните. Граматиката на конструкциите е теория за езика и граматиката и за това как тя може да бъде представена в ума на говорещия. В центъра на изследователския интерес се оказва говорещият човек, а това, от своя страна, предопределя като централна задача описанието и обяснението на процесите, лежащи в основата на овладяването на езика.

Създаването на когнитивен модел за усвояване на английската морфологична конструкция *be + V + ing* от областта на граматичните категории „време и вид на глагола” е процес, който обединява няколко основни етапа. Изхожда се от дефиницията на понятието **конструкция** от гледна точка на когнитивната лингвистика (Голдбърг, Лангакър, Крофт и Томасело). Описват се частите на конструкцията в отношението им към цялата конструкция, както и в отношение на частите помежду си, като се изтъква ролята на всяка една от тях. Прилага се идеята за таксономия на конструкциите, разглежда се влиянието на контекста, значението на

лексиката при усвояването на конструкцията, както и връзката с аргументната структура и нейното модифициране в посока на изразяване на аспектиалното ѝ съдържание.

Езикът е сложна когнитивна дейност, затова важен етап за усвояването му са предлингвистичните мисловни представи. Както и останалите релации на авторския модел, така и връзката му с лексикона води началото си много преди усвояването на изследваната граматична конструкция в началния етап на основната образователна степен. Когато децата започнат да опознават заобикалящия ги свят, те първо се опитват да разпознават нещата и процесите, да ги разграничават от останалите и да ги назовават. Децата използват за това прости думи, защото те са много важни за тях или защото се срещат много често. Така децата си изграждат репертоар от думи, по-късно се добавят представки и окончания. Лексикалният запас се усвоява във взаимодействието със заобикалящата среда. Съдържателните елементи на ранното езикоусвояване се състоят често от откъслечни части на думи или собствени творения на децата, които те използват, защото така ги възприемат, като най-голямо впечатление им правят началните и крайните звукове на думите. Подобно явление се наблюдава и при усвояването на втори език. Разбира се понятията се различават качествено, както и скоростта на усвояването им.

А откъде произлиза граматиката? И как се усвоява тя? Статията се придържа към отговора, който дава граматиката на конструкциите (Голдбърг 1995), според която границата между граматика и лексика се е сляла (Лангакър 1987). Според Голдбърг в граматика на конструкциите всички лингвистични елементи са представени в хетерогенен лексикон, който се състои от свързани и свободни морфеми, функционални думи, както и от сложни фразови структури (страдателен залог).

Когнитивният модел за усвояване на конструкцията на сегашно продължително време в английския език в ранна училищна възраст се базира на принципа, че учащите трябва да имат вътрешна представа за света, разбиране, че котката е 'капризна' и може да бъде 'погалена', дори да не знаят конкретните думи. Този опит изгражда предлингвистичните понятия, които са твърде специфични и конкретни и че тези концепти им дават възможност да се изиявяват в техния ограничен свят. Ако учащият има представа за 'котката', той научава думата 'kitty', като само прибавя лингвистичен етикет към категорията на сензомоторния опит, който е изградил. Така усвояването на думи се свежда до поставяне на етикети на нещата, като определенията за тях и връзките между тях са предопределени (поне в началото) от опита на учащия. Разбира се съществителните имена се възприемат по-лесно от глаголите, които е трудно да си представят. Затова съществителните имена се използват отново в изречение с непознат етикет

за дума, за да се възприеме нейното значение. Така от първоначалното усвояване на лексикални единици се преминава към граматиката; с други думи граматиката произлиза, поне частично, от усвояването на лексика.

В основата на връзката между лексика и граматика лежи не толкова формата на лингвистично описание, колкото функцията на тези два компонента в лингвистичната дейност. Обемът лексика предсказва по-точно усвояването на граматиката отколкото възрастта като критерий. Освен това приемствеността между двата процеса на усвояване дава възможност да се изложи предположението, че забавяне на усвояването на лексика ще доведе и до по-бавно усвояване на граматика и съответно ниското лексикално ниво предполага забавено лингвистично развитие.

От структурна гледна точка всеки език включва две на пръв поглед ясно обособени сфери – лексикална система и граматична система (Зидарова 2002). В статията си *Лексика и граматика* авторката излага своето виждане, че въпреки специфичния си профил и предмет на изследване тези сфери тясно си взаимодействат от структурноезикова и от функционална гледна точка. Лексиката, бивайки система от речникови единици, предоставя езиковия материал, който в граматиката се организира по формообразователните и синтагматичните правила на езиковата система. Като съпоставя лексиката и граматиката Зидарова (2002) разкрива наличието както на специфични черти, така и на общи особености, между които е основният обект на анализ и в двете системи, а именно думата. Освен това и на лексикално, и на граматично равнище от първостепенна важност е семантичната категория “значение” – съответно лексикално и граматично (Зидарова 2002).

Възприемането на думи се извършва в определена последователност. Изследвания (виж Кати Хърш-Пасек и кол. 2006) са доказали, че въпреки индивидуалните характеристики на учащите, контекста на дейностите и начините за измерване, глаголите и прилагателните се усвояват по-късно от съществителните имена дори от прагматична гледна точка – първо да назоваваме предмети, а едва след това да описваме действия. Едва след тях се усвояват функционалните думи (Марчман и Бейтс 1994). По множество причини тези единици се усвояват трудно в езика – те са кратки, неударени, сляти с други думи в неофициална реч. Затова усвояващите чужд език в ранна възраст не могат да усвоят граматични думи преди да са усвоили определено количество смислови думи, тъй като не могат да направят връзката между думите преди да разберат нещата, за които се отнасят те.

Тези обяснения разглеждат връзката в посока от лексикално развитие към граматика. Друго обяснение на връзката между лексика и граматика разглежда усвояването на лексика от различни аспекти на изреченската рамка – семантика на ниво изречение, морфология, словоред и прозодия.

Много теории се опитват да обяснят връзката между лексиката и граматиката. Едната гледна точка е на ниво 'обем'. Усвояването на лексика се развива по-бързо и предхожда усвояването на граматика; обемът лексика се променя по-рано от граматиката. Като че ли най-изтъкнатата идея е граматиката произлиза от механизмите, участващи в усвояването на лексика. Според тази хипотеза, с увеличаване обема на лексиката, граматиката се организира в значително по-сложни форми, т.е. граматичните форми са производни свойства на единната езикова система и са най-силно свързани с промените в лексиката в тази система. Поради тази причина се изисква 'критичен обем' лексика за усвояването на определено ниво граматична сложност (Марчман и Бейтс 1994). Марчман и Бейтс (1994) анализират връзката между глаголна лексика и първите грешки на свръхгенерализация в английския език. Те стигат до извода, че усвояването на определен обем морфеми, т.е. **критичен обем**, е необходимо, за да започне процеса на създаване на абстрактни морфологични модели. Усвояването на думи включва усвояване на техните граматични, както и лексико-семантични свойства, в това число изискванията на конструкциите, в които участват тези думи.

Според други автори (Брейн 1976; Томасело 2003), ранното комбиниране на думи е силно рутинизирано и специфично за дадена ситуация, което предполага, че усвояването на граматика, както и усвояването на думи, може да се ръководи от процеси, които са специфични за усвояваната единица и зависими от честотата на употреба.

Всички тези идеи предполагат силна връзка между принципите за учене, включени в усвояването на лексика и граматика и са съвместими с интегриране на лексико-семантиката и граматиката в лингвистичните теории (Голдбърг 1995).

Когато говорим за съчетаване на глаголи и конструкции, не трябва да се изпуска от внимание факта, че то е специфично за всеки отделен език. Основното разбиране е, че конструкциите се свързват предимно с определени думи, които са с висока фреквентност и са характерни за дадения етап на когнитивно развитие на учащите. Затова смислови глаголи като *тичам*, *играя*, *разхождам се*, *спя* и др. неизменно присъстват в представянето на конструкцията на сегашно продължително в английския език.

Както всяка друга граматична конструкция и тази на сегашно продължително време изисква определен 'критичен обем' лексика или определен обем лексикални единици от специфичен клас. Разбира се лексикалният обем е необходимо, но не достатъчно условие за усвояването на функционалните думи, тяхното съчетаване и изреченска сложност. Това допълнително усложнява усвояването на граматичните конструкции. В този

конкретен случай, това се изразява в употребата на спомагателния глагол 'съм'.

Конструкцията на сегашно продължително време успешно „унаследява” знанията, свързани с предходноусвоените конструкции с глагола *съм* (форми, употреба във въпросително и отрицателно изречение), но в своята семантика тя се различава коренно от тях.

Тук възниква въпросът за семантичната класификация на глагола *съм* в различните теории. Според някои глаголът *съм* може да бъде класифициран както като смислов (глагол-връзка), така и като спомагателен. Такава позиция трудно може да обясни защо отрицателната частица *not* и в двата случая следва глагола; позиция, която когнитивистите не приемат.

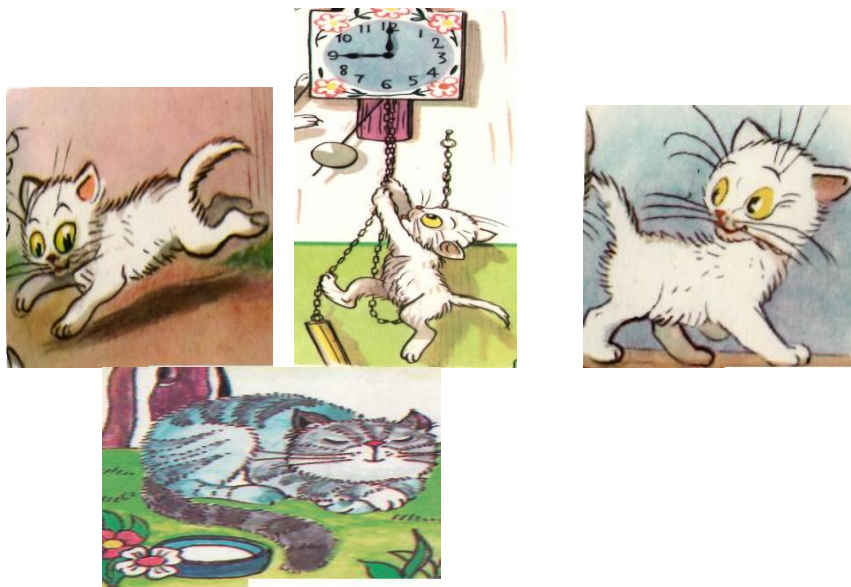
Моделът представя различни действия, които се илюстрират чрез котката и това, което тя представя в отделните картини: *run, play, walk, sleep*.

Kitty is running.

Kitty is playing.

Kitty is walking.

Kitty is sleeping.



Учащите възприемат значението на тази конструкция като цяло, холистично, като изразител на **начина** на действие на котката. Тази цялостност в изразяването на семантиката на конструкцията най-прототипно е представена чрез непреходните глаголи, защото при тях присъства

основно извършител на действието и самото действие, но в неговата специфичност, т.е. в дадения случай това е действие, което се извършва в момента на говоренето и което е значението на цялата конструкция. Глаголът *walk* е изразител на определено действие, 'разхождам се', но в тази конструкция това значение на действието е модифицирано по отношение на момента на говоренето. Такъв е случаят и с останалите глаголи *play, run, sleep* и др., които обаче, употребени в тази конструкция пресъздават непосредствеността на видяното и в това се изразява спецификата на тази конструкция.

Това са все глаголи, които изразяват вида на глаголното действие без допълнение. На следващ етап се разширява употребата на конструкцията с въвеждането на преходни действия, които изразяват същата семантика, действие в момента на говорене. С преходни глаголи, допълнението е представено като следи, които котката оставя след себе си. Допълнението пояснява смисъла на изречението, както следите показват откъде е минала котката.

Място при описание на модела се отделя и на група глаголи, които не се използват в сегашно продължително време. Те изразяват постоянни състояния, усещания, чувства, желания или обстоятелства и затова дори действието да се отнася до настоящия момент, в английския език то се изразява със сегашно просто време (*see, hear, smell, like, dislike, hate, forgive, wish, know, understand, believe, etc.*).

Изключение са глаголите, които се използват с различно значение в сегашно просто и сегашно продължително време.

I have a headache. (Имам главоболие; в момента)

I'm having breakfast/a good time/a shower.

От друга страна, една и съща дума, употребена в различни конструкции варира по значение в зависимост от конструкцията, в която се намира (Крофт 2001):

*The soup **tastes** good.* (Супата е вкусна.)

*I **am tasting** the soup.* (Опитвам супата.)

Съпоставка на конструкциите на сегашно просто и сегашно продължително време се налага поради факта, че и двете описват действие, което се извършва в момента на говорене.

Концептуализацията и семантизацията на езиковите явления е само началото на трудоемкия и продължителен процес на усвояване на чужд език, а не негов край. Осмисляйки пътищата по които се постига до семантизиране на чуждоезиковото явление, се изгражда по-ясна представа

за различните страни на протичащите вътрешни процеси. Много от учащите, без съмнение, особено в началния етап на обучение, се позовават на образни представи в стремежа си да проумеят същността на понятия като събитие и начин на протичане на действието, което се реализира в определена времева и пространствена рамка.

Това е основният аргумент за създаването на когнитивния модел за усвояване на конструкцията на сегашно продължително време в английския език в началния етап на основната образователна степен. Част от него е връзката между лексикалните и граматични единици, които си взаимодействат много от рано. Но те се различават значително по големина и функции. В учителската практика все повече се налага, наред с развиването на лингвистичната и комуникативна компетентност да се развива и лексикалната компетентност на обучаемите, като от индивидуалната лексикална единица през различни колокации се стигне до усвояването на цели конструкции (Сеизова-Нанкова 2012, под печат). Всеизвестно е, че в ранна възраст, в период на ранно усвояване на лексика, учащите изпитват затруднение към разбиране и осмисляне на граматичните правила преди да могат да използват тези граматични форми в продукцията си. Механизмите, които обуславят 'критичния обем' се обясняват спрямо връзките между определена лексикална употреба и точно определени абстрактни модели, които формират основата на граматичните закономерности. В този контекст, конструкцията на сегашно продължително време е зависима от усвояването на определени лексикални единици, а не от общия обем усвоена лексика. Всъщност, вместо върху общия обем лексика и граматична сложност, анализът трябва да се фокусира върху връзката между обема глаголни форми, които се използват в сегашно продължително време и употребата на конструкцията на сегашно продължително време и точно кои качества на лексикалните знания на усвояващите служат/не служат за основа за извличане на специфични граматични закономерности.

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EFFICIENCY IN THE DISCOURSE OF RELATIONSHIP ARTICLES FROM THE AMERICAN AND THE BULGARIAN ONLINE EDITIONS OF COSMOPOLITAN WOMEN`S MAGAZINE

(A COMPARATIVE STUDY)

Radostina Iglíkova

Abstract: *The following article explores the nature and dynamics of the relationship obtained between the regulative principle of textual efficiency and the specific features of text types as illustrated in the articles on love from the online editions of women`s magazines. The analysis is based on a corpus of 2 articles, each taken from the sections Sex/Love and “Любов и секс” (Love and Sex) in the American and the Bulgarian websites of Cosmopolitan magazine (www.cosmopolitan.com and www.cosmopolitan.bg, respectively). The present study utilizes the theoretical and methodological prerequisites of Discourse Analysis as an approach to text as well as those of Cognitive Linguistics and is comparative in its attempt at juxtaposing discourse from two different linguistic and cultural settings.*

Key words: *discourse, efficiency, text type, women`s magazines*

Theoretical preliminaries

1. Efficiency

The principle of efficiency of textuality understood as “processing the largest amounts with the smallest expenditure of resources” (Beaugrande 1980) emerges as an inevitable criterion for assessing the quality of any text when the inherent discrepancy and asymmetry between the discrete elements of surface form and the continuous notions and concepts of underlying content (Todorova 2000: 10, 13) are taken into consideration. The instruments which every language provides for “compacting surface expression without damaging the connectivity of underlying knowledge” (Beaugrande 1980) ensure that cohesion is upheld in an efficient way which satisfies the requirements of the principles of stability and economy without compromising participants` access to the underlying assumed coherence of the text³.

³ Beaugrande (1980) defines the principle of stability as one which “assigns a high priority to strategies for co-ordinating surface expressions that share common or contiguous conceptual content” and the economy principle as one which stipulates that “wherever expedient or doubtful, preference should be given to re-using already activated content, rather than activating new content”.

Beaugrande (ibid.) provides an outline of some of the cohesive devices with regard to their contribution to efficiency which includes recurrence, definiteness, co-reference, anaphora, cataphora, exophora, ellipsis and junction. These devices of cohesion contribute to textual efficiency in several ways:

- by compacting the surface expression
- by enabling the omission of surface elements
- by carrying forward relevant elements for further modification, expanding, development etc.
- by signaling knownness, uniqueness or identity
- by providing a balance between repetition and variation.

2. Text types

The question of text typology is a traditionally problematic one due to the difficulty of determining the relevant factors upon which classifications should be done. What is certain, however, is the co-dependence of text type upon the situation of occurrence of a text, since “the participants cannot even determine the means and extent of upholding the criteria of textuality” (Beaugrande 1981) unless they are able to judge the appropriateness of the text itself to its context of occurrence. A traditional classification follows the functional criterion, i.e. texts are assigned to a particular type on the basis of the prevalent function they serve, thus forming types such as descriptive, narrative, argumentative, literary, poetic, scientific, didactic and conversational. These functional types are, however, separated by fuzzy boundaries as actually occurring texts normally display varying combinations of the aforementioned general functions. In this sense, a prototype approach might prove appropriate, where prototypes are “schemata of the most characteristic members of a class, ...they are defaults” (Todorova 2000: 59-60), combined with what Beaugrande offers as a working definition of text type, namely “a distinctive configuration of relational dominances obtaining between or among elements of: (1) the surface text; (2) the textual world; (3) stored knowledge patterns; and (4) a situation of occurrence” (1981) and also “a set of heuristics for producing, predicting, and processing textual occurrences, and hence acts as a prominent determiner of efficiency, effectiveness, and appropriateness” (1980)⁴.

⁴ The Merriam-Webster online dictionary 2012 (<<http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/heuristic>>) offers the following definition of the term: “involving or serving as an aid to learning, discovery, or problem-solving by experimental and especially [trial-and-error](#) methods”.

The first definition provides useful guidelines for investigating the particular configurations of these factors and the relationships obtaining between or among them – it could be useful to observe in detail, analyze and even attempt to offer an explanation for a particular configuration of surface structure, its situation of occurrence, the underlying textual world and to try to coordinate these with the potentially activated stored knowledge patterns which enable the understanding of the text. In other words, this definition outlines (at least some of) the potential aspects of a textual occurrence which are in direct connection to the text type to which an occurrence is recognized as belonging and which directly correspond to a particular type of text.

The second definition reflects rather the top-down influence of text types as sets of constructed and structured expectations or requirements which are to be observed (to a different degree) and which provide a relative framework for the regulation performed according to the principles of textuality, the so called quality criteria of texts, the regulative principles of efficiency, effectiveness and appropriateness. In this sense, there might be a different configuration of requirements for upholding each of the three regulative standards depending on the type of text and its situation of occurrence. Thus, once a language user recognizes an occurrence as belonging to a particular class and assigns it to a particular text type, they automatically begin to assess the extent to which this particular text is efficient, effective and appropriate, and the results of this assessment process would have been different if the user had assigned it to a different text type (by mistake or due to some other reason). Two of the regulative principles, that of efficiency and that of effectiveness, can be said to be in a constant dynamic relationship, as they usually have conflicting requirements from the text; while efficiency values processing ease, effectiveness aims at keeping attention and thus intentionally complicating processing. Each text, therefore, entails a certain trade-off between the two and the dilemma is reconciled with the guidance of the third regulative principle, that of appropriateness. However, what is appropriate for a particular situation of occurrence and what a text should be like is exactly what determines the type to which a text belongs – yet another proof of the inseverable connection and co-dependence between efficiency and text-type.

Thus, the process of encountering a particular text occurrence could be seen as consisting of (at least) three basic stages:

1. recognizing the occurrence as belonging to a particular text type by following clues from the situation of occurrence/surface form;

2. juxtaposing the surface text and the underlying textual world of the actualization with our internalized set(s) of ideas, expectations and knowledge about the type of text and its typical situation of occurrence;
3. assessing the efficiency, effectiveness and appropriateness of the text (its quality as a representative of a particular type of text) based on the extent to which the actualized text corresponds to our idea of what the type of text it belongs to should be.

Case study

1. Context

According to the Media Pack of Cosmopolitan magazine its target audience is young women aged between 18 and 34. According to Nielsen Online (2011) and MRI (Spring 2011) the demographic profile of the magazine's readership in Bulgaria shows that 55% of the readers are females between 18 and 34, while in the United States the percentage is similar: 58.7%. The majority of those women are working, educated and active, and the main household shoppers. Sanoma Biasak (the company which presents the magazine on the Bulgarian market) and Hearst Corporation (the owner of Cosmopolitan magazine) both describe their target audience as comprising young, active and mature women, "fun, fearless females who want to be the best they can be in every area of their lives" (Cosmopolitan US media pack 2012). Sanoma Biasak claim that their goal is to offer to their audience "valuable information" – "unique and interesting articles created by our online editors with high editorial input, daily latest news, useful and valuable information" while the Hearst corporation's editorial section of the Media Pack boast of their "well-rounded editorial content" with a prevalence for relationship articles (29%) followed by fashion and beauty articles (at 18.2% and 14%, respectively).

Another important aspect of the context of occurrence of these texts is the type of medium through which they reach the reader – in our case with the online editions of the magazine, this is the Internet. The specificities of this most modern medium of communication and dissemination of information depend partly upon the hardware requirements and conditions (the reading happens via a screen of sorts, which imposes certain limitations to the surface format of the texts, namely the necessity for them to be divided into smaller chunks, shorter paragraphs and not too long and complex sentences, so that the reader be able to navigate efficiently and not get lost while scrolling down a page or clicking to the next link and losing the previous page from their view). A very important advantage of online editions is the unlimited access to them, as they are practically free (except for the fee paid to the internet provider) and always only a click away – they provide easy entertainment everywhere and anywhere, numerous options for browsing and skimming through articles until you pick one which attracts your attention as

interesting. This abundance of competing stories on competing websites which are all just a click away makes it important for editors to be able to attract and keep the attention of the browsing audience by various linguistic means. Articles in online women's magazines are colourful not only in the visual sense of the word, they are also textually colourful and attractive, which transforms them into a unique text type specific to a particular context and situation of occurrence. They have their own characteristic configuration of surface form and underlying textual world, which requires the activation of particular knowledge patterns in order to be understood. They are also characterised by their own uniquely specific dynamics of the relationship between efficiency and effectiveness.

The novelty of this discourse and the type of text it involves, along with its pervasiveness in the reality of the present day, determines the vivid interest on the part of sociologists, psychologists, economists and, last but not least, linguists in the workings of this new area. What is more, although this electronic discourse can be considered new and novel for the English-speaking world such as the United States, it is even more so for countries such as Bulgaria, where the language barrier is combined with a cultural one and, in a recent historical sense, a socio-political one, one of political and economic organization. It is still more interesting to observe how and to what extent the Bulgarian language has changed to accommodate the requirements of this new reality, this new discourse, the new medium in a world marked by globalization and international mass media.

It is also interesting to observe in what ways and to what extent this international brand, the *Cosmopolitan* magazine, has managed to "localize" its content while preserving its characteristic recognizable format.

2. Case study

2.1. Recurrence

The line between the application of this device in favour of efficiency or effectiveness can be drawn with regard to the factor "sameness of reference". If the stability and economy principles are to be satisfied, recurring (repeated) surface expressions should have the same conceptual content and reference (Beaugrande 1980) which would thus give priority to the regulative principle of efficiency and its role in ensuring processing ease, or as Beaugrande puts it, "Processing should be easy, as the point of connection in the ongoing text-world model should be obvious" (1980). Such same-reference recurrence is characteristic of spontaneous, non-premeditated (or intentionally meant to appear to be so) speech which the discourse of online magazines resembles and intentionally imitates and emulates for its purposes and as part of its ethos and image of the medium as one which plays roles ranging from that of a role model and trend-setter, advisor and confidante to that of an anonymous friend. It also serves as a compensatory mechanism for the inevitable anonymous and virtual,

non-material and intangible, heavily mediated nature of the relationship between the magazine (in the widest possible sense of the word) and its (target) audience.

In the examples from both editions of *Cosmopolitan* there is a pervading recurrence of the second person singular pronouns “you” both as subject and object, “your” (“ти”/”теб”/”те”/”твой” – “ti”/”teb”/”te”/”tvoy”) – over 20 instances in the US variant, over 30 in the Bulgarian. The use of the second person singular points to the reader and contributes to efficiency by “carrying forward ... materials to be expanded, developed, modified, or repudiated” and by “signaling identity” (Beaugrande 1980). Another recurring item is the masculine third person singular pronoun and its various forms – “he”, “his”, “him” (over 10 instances in the US edition) and „ro”, „my”, „него” (only five instances in the whole Bulgarian article). What is interesting here is the overwhelming prevalence of the second person singular over the masculine third person singular among pro-forms which, in compliance with the frequency principle of learning ensures that the audience feels personally involved, while at the same time keeping in mind (and being constantly reminded of) the topic of discussion which is especially obvious in the direct repetition of words like “връзка” („relationship” – 7 times), “споделям” („share” – 5 times) and “раздяла” („break up” – 3 times) in the Bulgarian text.

2.2. Definiteness

One of the ways in which the application of definiteness to entities enhances efficiency is compacting surface expression via introducing and establishing background knowledge while seeming to be simply carrying the materials forward for expansion, development, modification or repudiation. Another effect of definiteness is the suggestion of factuality which it assigns to the entities it characterizes, which serves to establish them as “defaults”, “entities created on demand for the continuity of a textual world” (Beaugrande 1980).

In the text from the US edition as examples for the compacting of the surface form by simultaneous introduction and modification of content serve the uses of the definite article in cases like “the deed” (in 1-a), “the Bomb” (in 1-b), “the longer conversation” (in 1-b) and “the breakup” (in 1-h), where the mentioned entities have not been introduced so far and have not appeared without the definite article. In the case of the second example from 1-b, introducing the notion of “longer conversation” with the definite article assigns to it the status of default, something factual and expected, forming an integral part of the textual world of the article.

In the Bulgarian text definiteness is far more abundant – over 20 instances, where it serves to establish and at the same time carry forward key elements from the text world, such as items referring to the participants, e.g. „човекът/мъжът до теб” („the person/man by your side”), “гаджето ти” („your boyfriend”) as well as

key elements from the configured text-world situation – “връзката” („the relationship”), „раздялата” (“the breakup”), „навика” (“the habit”), „страха” (“the fear”), „решението” (“the decision”), „животът” (“the life”), „ежедневието” (“the everyday life”), „емоциите” (“the emotions”), „разговорите” (“the conversations”), etc. Instead of first being introduced as new and unknown, these elements of the text world are presented to the reader as easily recoverable (from the context of occurrence as well as from their own personal experience and knowledge of the real world), which establishes them as set, concrete and factual control centres in the text world model, thus implementing the principles of economy and stability, and that of efficiency, respectively.

2.3. The use of pro-forms for the purposes of efficiency

In the examples from the American edition, the endophoric type of reference is used for compacting the surfaces form and enables the reader to keep active those of the nodes which will receive further treatment while investing minimum time and effort in the process. This is particularly aided by the use of anaphoric reference throughout the text such as the anaphoric use of “a Guy” in the title and the pronouns “he” and “him” further on in the text. This way a more natural flow of content is ensured by first introducing an entity and familiarizing the reader with it and only after that has been done substituting it by a pro-form which inherently lacks independent content and is therefore especially versatile and economical in its applicability to numerous referents, or in other words, “anaphoric use would provide a control center to which the material attached to the pro-form can be readily added on” (Beaugrande 1980).

In contrast, the use of cataphoric reference with its placing in initial position of a pro-form to be followed by its referent, serves to create “a knowledge deficit that will be later filled” (Beaugrande 1980) which would thus enhance the effectiveness of a text at the expense of its efficiency.

The prevailing type of reference via pro-forms in the texts, however, is exophoric, or referring to an implicit object, not present in the text. Such is the case with the numerous instances of the second person pronoun “you” (as well as “your” and “you” as object) which is used sometimes in the singular (to refer to the reader herself as in “you have to do the deed” and “if you need to rehash or distress”), sometimes in the plural form (referring to the reader and her “soon-to-be ex” as in “you don’t have to look at each other”, “if you aren’t checking in on each other” etc.) and only once as a reference to the “guy” himself as seen from the point of view of the reader (as in example 1-e - “you’ve always treated me well”).

Other examples are the uses of the first person singular pronouns (the “I”, “my” and “me” in the imagined direct speech of the reader when talking to her “guy” in 1-e,f,h), as well as that of the first person plural pronoun (the “we” in 1-a and 1-e,

g, h) which in 1-a refers to the author of the article and those around her who share her opinion and in 1-e, g, h denotes the potential reader and her “soon-to-be ex”.

In the Bulgarian examples, however, the prevailing approach is that of substituting the male figure the breakup with whom is the topic of the article with numerous paraphrases/contextual synonyms such as “”човекът до теб” (“the man by your side”), „мъжът до теб” (“the man by your side”), „партньор” (“partner”), „половинката” (“the better half”), „човекът, на когото споделяш” (“the person with whom you share”), „гаджето ти” (“your boyfriend”) etc. and referring to him via anaphoric use of pro-forms only five times (always using „го”/„му”-“him” and not even once „той” - “he”). It is also interesting to note that the Bulgarian article features (albeit only once) cataphoric reference in its very title – “Пет причини да го зарежеш” („Five reasons to dump him”), thus giving priority to effectiveness by creating a potentially interest-arising deficit of information. Exophoric reference in the Bulgarian example is also abundant and used to refer to the reader (mostly) as well as to the authors of the article either in a lexically explicit way (by means of the second person singular pronouns “ти” - “you” as either subject or possessive, „теб”/„те” - “you” as an object) or morphologically (as observable in the verb inflections for the second person singular – “зарежеш”/ (you) dump, „търсиш”/”(you) look for”, „искаш”/“(you)”want”, “изневериш”/”(you) cheat”); or, when referring to the authors of the article, a verb with the first person plural inflection – “идваме”/”(we) are coming”.

2.4. Ellipsis

As a cohesive device ellipsis contributes to the compacting of surface structure, as it involves the omission of surface elements resulting in “noticeably incomplete expressions” (Beaugrande 1980). Heavy use of ellipsis, however, “would demand increased effort for connecting the underlying text-world model” (ibid.), thus enhancing effectiveness but reducing efficiency.

In the English and the Bulgarian examples as well there are few instances of ellipsis. For instance, in 1-d “you won’t feel confined and trapped – as you might at a restaurant” and 1-f “you don’t want to hurt him anymore than you have to”, where after the modal verb “might” and the auxiliary “have to” there is a missing full verb – “(might) feel” and “(have to) hurt him”. A case of ellipsis very easy to process is evident in 1-g – “Yeah, sounds harsh” where there is a missing subject which can be easily supplied by the reader. Similarly, the proximity in 1-h between the subtitle “Steer Clear of Him for a Month” and the consecutive “No phone calls, FB messages, texts, nada” serves to clarify the meaning of the second sentence although it lacks all the grammatically obligatory elements of a sentence such as a subject for example. Even so, the reader can easily come up with a sentence such as, for example “you should not call him, send him FB messages or

texts” which conveys the same idea, however not so concisely, economically and effectively at the same time.

The use of ellipsis in the Bulgarian text is equally minimalist as for example in 2-с – “сърцето ти обикновено не мисли за отношенията ти в дългосрочен план, а само за това, което изпитва в момента” („your heart usually does not think about your relationship in the long run but only about what it feels at the moment”) where after the contrajunction „а” there is a missing verb, however easily recoverable from the context. Similarly, in 2-h, the two consecutive sentences “Когато имаш връзка, човекът до теб трябва да бъде и твой партньор” („When you are in a relationship, the person by your side should also be your partner”) и „Човека(sic!), на когото споделяш, от когото търсиш съвет и на когото изливаш емоциите си” („The person with whom you share, whose advice you seek and who you pour your emotions out to”) complete each other although the second one lacks subject and any verbs for that matter.

2.5. Junction

Serving to signal the relations between “blocks of conceptual text-world knowledge” (Beaugrande 1980) various types of junction are explicitly used in both the US and the Bulgarian examples, which contributes to the processing ease of the texts by ensuring easy and unproblematic access between and among elements of the surface structure and avoiding any ambiguity or difficulty which might occur when readers are left on their own to supply missing (implicit) relations within a text.

Thus, conjunction is signalled by the junctives “and”, “plus”, “for example” in 1 and by “и” in 2 (although it is much more often left implicit in the Bulgarian text than in the English one).

Disjunction, signalled explicitly by the use of “or” (1-f, i) and “или” (2 – f) is much more rare, as it subsumes the activation of alternatives to be kept active and is thus more demanding in terms of processing resources, or in other words, perhaps “the processing of disjunctive configurations is difficult, because the exclusivity between alternatives is a threat to connectivity and continuity” (Beaugrande 1980).

As the prevailing type of junction in the US example, contrajunction is signalled by the use of “but” (8 times) and “unless” (once). Since the text serves to offer its potential readership advice in situations which are problematic and involve dealing with incompatibility, it naturally expresses and dwells on possible examples of incompatible entities which coexist in the textual world. Therefore, this relationship of coexistence and discrepancy must be duly signalled for the reader to be able to recognize it and easily make the transition “between antagonistic knowledge blocks” (ibid.) which in turn supports stability and processing ease. In comparison, the Bulgarian text employs much fewer instances

of contrajunction, although it is also explicitly signalled by the use of “но” and „а” (“but”).

Finally, subordination in its function of signaling modality via the use of “if” to introduce condition is widely employed in both texts. The US text employs 3 conditional sentences (1-b, 1-g, 1-h) of the zero or first type – those types which are used when the relationship between the condition and the consequence is one of certainty. On the other hand, the Bulgarian text signals relations of conditional modality via the use of „ако”/”дали” (“if”), „в случай, че” (“in case”) and „когато” (“when”) the staggering 11 times (in examples 2-a, 2-d twice, 2-e twice, 2-f twice, 2-g twice, 2-h twice). All conditions expressed in the first part of the conditional constructions are seen and presented as certainly leading to the respective consequence in the second part of the sentence. This is ensured by the use of the present tense associated with the way things normally go. For example, “ако се чувстваш щастлива във връзката” (“if you feel happy with your relationship”), „когато това споделяне... спре” (“when this sharing... stops”) and „в случай, че имаш усещането...” (“in case you feel...”). This presentation of the stipulated conditions as practically inevitable, generally true adds to them an aura of factuality and reliability which enables the reader to make a direct connection between the two nodes (the condition and the consequence), thus ensuring quick and easy access between the two, which is conducive to the overall processing ease of the occurrence, i.e. to its efficiency.

3. Conclusion

This article attempts to present a brief treatment of the problem of ensuring efficiency and in particular the role of some cohesive devices in the process of achieving a trade-off between the aforementioned regulative principle of efficiency and its opposing principle of effectiveness. The type of medium and the context of occurrence of these texts from the US and the Bulgarian editions of the women`s magazine Cosmopolitan are also recognized as influencing the text type which can be encountered in online magazines from the top-down and the respective configuration of cohesive devices which is characteristic of this particular discourse.

Corpus

Example 1. How to Break Up With a Guy

(a) Are we the only ones who are still awed by the stealth way [Katie dumped Tom](#)? Sure [TomKat's situation](#) was a little different, but it proves that there is a way to cut a guy loose so that the breakup sticks and things don't get ugly. Next time you have to do the deed, follow these tactics:

By Malia Griggs

(b) Drop the Bomb at the End of the Workday

Mornings are too rushed, and you risk having a really crappy day ahead of you. Wait until it's late at night, and you might lose your resolve. Splitting in the evening gives you time to have the longer conversation you might need. "Plus, you'll still have several hours to call your friends if you need to rehash and distress," says Marni Battista, CEO and founder of DatingWithDignity.com.

(c) Do It in Person

Don't wuss out and send an it's-over text; unless you've only been out casually a few times (in that case, a Facebook message or phone call will suffice), you owe your soon-to-be ex some face time.

(d) Meet Him in a Semi-Public Place

A park or a shopping plaza offers enough privacy to talk but you won't feel confined and trapped—as you might at a restaurant or bar. "Going on a walk is good, because that's when men and women communicate best," says Battista. "You don't have to look at each other, but you're side by side."

(e) Start off With Something Positive

For example, "We have a great time together. I love your sense of humor, and you've always treated me well...but we're not a good match."

(f) Focus Your Reasoning on You—Not Him

"I'm at a point in my life where I need someone who is more ready to settle down," or "I'm just more focused these days on my career, and relationships aren't a priority" work because they aren't about his flaws and it spares his ego. You're dumping him...but you don't want to hurt him anymore than you have to.

(g) Hear Him Out

But if you start feeling like he's just rambling in circles and you've made your point, say firmly, "We could go over this forever, but it's just not going to work out." Yeah, sounds harsh, but you need to communicate that there's no leeway here and your mind is made up.

(h) Steer Clear of Him for a Month

No phone calls, [FB messages](#), texts, nada. It's easier to accept the breakup if you aren't checking in on each other. If he asks to still be friends with you, don't lie and say that's possible. Tell him, "I hope one day we can be friends, but right now we need to have some time apart."

(i) Unfriend Him

Unfriending sends a clear message that you're done, says Battista. Plus, why torture him with photos of your life—or risk being upset seeing him with another girl on your news feed?

Example 2.

	Bulgarian text	English translation
2-title	5 причини да го зарежеш	5 reasons to dump him
2-a	Решението за раздяла никога не идва лесно – особено ако човекът до теб технически не е направил нищо, с което да заслужава зарязване. Объркана си? Идваме на помощ.	The decision for a break-up never comes easily - especially if the person by your side technically has not done anything to deserve dumping. You are confused? We are here to help.
2-b	Има стотици причини понякога връзките да не проработват – само погледни колко много очевидни поводи имаше Кейти Холмс да сложи окончателен край с Том Круз – но това за съжаление не означава, че раздялата се случва лесно. Да прибавим към това навика и страха от самотата и решението се усложнява още повече!	There are hundreds of reasons why sometimes relationships do not work – just look at how many obvious occasions Katie Holmes had to put an end to her relationship with Tom Cruise – but this unfortunately does not mean that break-up happens easily. If we add to this the habit and the fear of loneliness and the decision becomes even more complicated!

		more complicated!
2-c	Естествено при първите съмнения дали не е време да сложиш край на връзката си, търсиш съвет. Най-близките ти хора могат да бъдат на коренно различно мнение за това кое е най-доброто за теб, а сърцето ти обикновено не мисли за отношенията ти в дългосрочен план, а само за това, което изпитва в момента. Искаш честен отговор? Погледни дали някой от тези 5 любовни сценария по-долу отговаря за теб.	Naturally, at the first doubts if it is time to end your relationship, you look for advice. Your closest people can have a radically different opinion from yours about what is best for you, and your heart usually doesn't think about your relationship in the long run but only about what it feels at the moment. You want an honest answer? See if one of these love scenarios below fits you.
2-d	1. Връзката ти те натъжава по-често, отколкото те прави щастлива. Не сме тук, за да те съдим за странния пиянски скандал, завършил в сълзи, защото дори най-добрите понякога попадат в подобни ситуации. Имаш проблем, ако тези скандали, пристъпи на ревност и периоди на кофти емоции, причинени от гаджето ти, започнат да се превръщат в обичаен аспект от ежедневието ти. Колкото и гадно нещо да е раздялата, ако мъжът до теб не те прави по-щастлива, отколкото щеше да си без него, вероятно е време да напусне живота ти.	1. Your relationship makes you sad more often than it makes you happy. We are not here to judge you for the strange drunken row that ended in tears because even the best of us sometimes end up in such situations. You have a problem if these rows, fits of jealousy and periods of awkward emotions caused by your boyfriend start turning into a usual aspect of your everyday life. No matter how much breaking up sucks, if the man by your side doesn't make you happier than you would be without him, perhaps it is time for him to leave your life.
2-e	2. Ако един мъж не те кара да се чувстваш добре, не е добър за теб. Да, може да звучи малко грубичко, но животът е прекалено кратък, за да прекараш дори няколко месеца с някого, който не дава всичко от себе си, за да бъде в компанията ти. Ако не се смее на шегите ти, не се радва за всеки твой успех или – да не дава Господ – не е луд по външния ти вид – значи просто не си заслужава усилията. Пусни въдицата си в морето и си намери риба, която ще те кара да се чувстваш най-прекрасната жена на света!	2. If a man does not make you feel good, he is not good for you. Yes, it may sound a little harsh but life is too short to spend even a few months with someone who doesn't do his best to be in your company. If he doesn't laugh at your jokes, or is not happy for your every success or – God forbid – isn't crazy about your looks – then he is just not worth the effort. Dip your fishing rod into the sea and find yourself a fish that will make you feel like the most amazing woman in the world!
2-f	3. Май би му изневерила, а? Колкото и смешно да звучи в случая това дали наистина ти се е случвало да изневериш или не, не е толкова важно. Може дори да не си падаш по някого в момента. Въпросът е дали ако някой, който ти допада, започне да работи в твой офис/ да посещава твой фитнес/ да пие кафе, където и ти, би кривнала. Ако мислиш, че би се впуснала в разследване на опциите си, няма смисъл да оставаш в тази връзка, докато нечие сърце се окаже разбито.	3. It seems like you're likely to cheat on him, aren't you? However funny it might sound in this case the fact whether it has happened to you to cheat or not is not so important. You might not even be into anyone at the moment. The question is, if someone you like starts work in your office/visiting your gym/having coffee where you do, would you arty from the path. If you think that you are likely to embark on an investigation of your options, it's no use to stay in this relationship until somebody's heart ends up broken.
2-g	4. Не можеш да го понасяш. Ако се чувстваш щастлива във връзката си, дори няма да можеш да си обясниш какво е да не понасяш гледната точка/ аромата/ допира на половинката си. Тоест, в случай, че имаш	4. You can't stand him. If you feel happy with your relationship you won't even be able to understand what it means not to be able to stand the point of view/smell/touch of your other half. In other words, in case you feel you could jump out of a moving car every time he tells you about

	усещането, че си способна да скочиш от движеща се кола всеки път, когато ти разказва как е минал денят му, това между вас едва ли ще се получи...	his day, the thing between you is unlikely to work...
2-h	5. Не споделяте един с друг. И нямаме предвид да споделяте храна, DVD-та или дори едно легло – става дума за това наистина да споделяте един с друг. Когато имаш връзка, човекът до теб трябва да бъде и твой партньор. Човека, на когото споделяш, от когото търсиш съвет и на когото изливаш емоциите си. Когато това споделяне помежду ви спре и разговорите ви се превърнат в бърбене на злободневни теми като какво да си поръчате за вечеря, може би е назрял моментът да се замислиш дали това е начинът, по който си представяше да се развие връзката ти, когато го срещна.	5. You don't share with each other. And we don't mean sharing food, DVD's or even the same bed – it means really sharing with each other. When you are in a relationship, the person by your side should also be your partner. The person with whom you share, whose advice you seek and who you pour your emotions out to. When this sharing between you stops and your conversations turn into chattering about daily routines such as what to order for dinner, perhaps the time has come to think if this was the way you imagined this relationship would develop when you first met him.

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LONDON OLYMPICS 2012 AS A CULTURAL, SOCIAL AND LINGUISTIC PHENOMENON

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Abstract: *The paper deals with British and Bulgarian media coverage of the Olympic Games in London in 2012. Apart from being a sports event it is presented as a cultural, social and even a linguistic phenomenon as it reflects issues which have an influence on the United Kingdom, on Europe and the global world as a whole from a number of perspectives. One of the problems discussed is connected with understanding, interpreting and decoding media texts about the Olympics as well as texts not directly related to the Games themselves.*

Key words: *media coverage, cultural and social phenomenon*

As every sports event the Olympic Games in London in 2012 gave thought to lots of people not only directly involved in the event but also to outsiders. The reasons for this were social, cultural and linguistic. Thus, for example, the ‘father’ of the modern Olympic Games, Baron Pierre de Coubertin, saw the games as a ‘marriage between arts and sport’ (http://www.dcalni.gov.uk/index/games_legacy/2012_games/what_are_the_social_benefits_from_the_2012_games.htm).

In support of this statement, we can mention the grand opening and the closing ceremony of the Olympics which were very culture and history specific, and very artistic at that. Yet, if there were no commentators, many of the messages to spectators will not have reached them at all. Even for those who are very much into British history and culture or for those have some knowledge of it, the way the “performances” were structured and presented was, in our opinion, too hectic and everything at the stadium happening too fast, the “scenes” changing too quickly, that one could hardly “swallow” them. This does not mean that all that was not well prepared and thought of well in advance but still it was difficult to follow at times.

What the Olympic Games provided for lots of people was definitely some job opportunities, sense of community involvement, cultural understanding and tolerance. It aimed at inspiring young people towards fair play (?!), as it appeared in a number of materials and commentaries, sports spirit, national pride, to name but a few.

There were quite a lot of questions raised not only in the UK but in other European and world countries in relation to the organisation of the Games and the catering for participants and for the needs of everyone present. One of the most important social issues was volunteering. This activity is hardly wide spread in Bulgaria. It is just now gradually but slowly gathering momentum. In developing countries, however, it is highly appreciated, practiced (not only by elderly people

but by young ones as well) and worth the effort for everybody's record. More than 1 500 volunteers participated in different ways in the organisation of the Games and the activities accompanying them. Even Vera Marinova's daughter was lucky enough to be one of the god chosen. According to the article 'What are the Social benefits from the 2012 Games' volunteering is considered to be of great importance not only for the Olympics but for young people in general and it is 'recognised as:

- A vibrant expression of active citizenship and community involvement
- A mutually beneficial gift relationship, which meets the needs of volunteers, individuals, organisations and communities'

(http://www.dcalni.gov.uk/index/games_legacy/2012_games/what_are_the_social_benefits_from_the_2012_games.htm)

There is another mention of the act of volunteering in the Internet version of The Guardian (<http://www.guardian.co.uk/sport/london-2012-olympics-blog>). There is an article from September 4, 2012 whose headline is 'London 2012: how Games success can fuel social enterprise'. The caption under a photo reads: 'London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Gamesmakers provided an excellent showcase for volunteer work'. And then it goes on with: 'Sector must seize opportunity created by Olympics and Paralympics, to show what an important role volunteering plays'.

All this means that the activities in which young people were involved also acted as initiatives for educating these adolescents by giving them lessons "free of charge" in discipline, quick reactions, tolerance not only to the Other but to what other people in the team and outside it do, politeness strategies, etiquette and a lot of other things. The preparation for the Olympic Games and the events during the Games really proved to be a paragon of tolerance seen in the eyes and views of people living in the UK. There are interesting statements made by different people in The Guardian blog in connection with the question 'Has the Olympics changed London?' One of them reads:

'I volunteered at the Olympics this year, the feeling of representing our city alongside some truly lovely individuals has been amazing. The most diverse group of people, all different backgrounds, but with one purpose and attitude. The mood of Londoners and visitors to our city is so positive, people chatting and helping each other'.

So, it is not only London that has changed a lot and makes a big difference from what it was only last year. It seems that people's attitudes have changed in the direction of tolerance, positive feelings towards what was happening and towards all those positive transformations towards 'a better society' as one of the bloggers expressed himself.

Another blogger, Tom Nicolson, said on August 12th, 2012:

‘This feels like the best thing to have happened to Britain. At last united together, from different backgrounds, classes and generations. Today we really are the United Kingdom’.

This reminds us of 1994 when our national football team won the fourth place in the World Football Championships in the USA. People in Bulgaria went out to the streets and shouted with joy and they were united or at least looked that way. So, it seems that sport is one of the few things that can really gather people together and make them forget about their daily worries and concerns. What is more, it turns out that sport is the most social and cultural symbol of all.

In connection with the preparation for the Olympics there was another interesting article by Cathy Newman in the electronic version of *National Geographic*, published before the Olympic Games started and entitled ‘East Side Story’. The title is intertextually linked with *West Side Story*. The subtitle is “The other London” – gritty, graffitied, but with a rising cool index – gets ready for its close-up as the venue of the Summer Olympics (see <http://ngm.nationalgeographic.com/2012/08/east-london/newman-text>). The subtitle is heavily loaded with some very important information about the situation before and after, so before reading the main text one can make hypotheses of what will follow. Some of the presuppositions can be connected with the changing neighbourhood for the better. Even if one is not familiar with the kind of place East End is and what people live there, the information in the title is demonstrative enough. There is some mention of *F. Cooke’s pie and mash shop* which brings us back to the year 1839 and reminds us of Dickens’s times of *Oliver Twist* and his ‘fried fish warehouse’ with his ‘Fish, chips and mushy peas’ and the setting was again East London. So, tradition and culture shown during the Olympics Opening Ceremony begin long before the event. They are intertextually, explicitly and implicitly, directly and indirectly entwined in the Olympic Games. There are also quite a lot of metaphors used in the story about a legend dying out because most of the buildings were pulled down for the sake of better surroundings. East End as it used to be, a place in which a lot of British traditions had originated, finally turned into a modern area. Nostalgia is definitely felt by the way the change is described:

‘The pie and mash shop on Kingsland High Street, one of six owned by the Cooke family, had been the **flagship of the fleet**, but **the ship had been scuttled** in response to the changing social landscape of East London.’ (emphasis authors’) and further on:

‘Pie and mashed potato drenched in neon green parsley sauce, a bowl of eels in a gelatinous matrix, is a vanishing emblem of East End’s white working class...’

The story goes on with the history of East End which happens to be a milestone for a number of important events in the shaping of the United Kingdom. There are a lot of immigrants from Africa, the West Indies, Pakistan, India, Turkey, China, and Eastern Europe, which makes the place the melting pot of many nationalities and presupposes the existence of tolerance.

Another metaphor and metonymy used in the same article was connected with something everybody knows as the pillar of the British monarchy “Buckingham Palace”: “We were the Buckingham Palace of pie and mash shops”.

There are quite a lot of references made not only by the author of the article but within it she quotes Dickens: “‘Not a wery nice neighborhood,” observed Sam Weller in Dickens’s *Pickwick Papers*’.

Luckily enough, the Olympics helped Londoners narrow the big difference between East End and West End. There is a very good comparison made between the two parts of London: “‘London,” says Danny Dorling, a professor of human geography at the University of Sheffield, “is the capital of inequality.” As they say on the London Underground: Mind the Gap’. It sounds as if the expression has originated from this disparity. And yet, the place is different from the rest of London. Again, there are very appropriate metaphors used to show what is actually happening even after the Change: ‘East London remains a continuum of arrivals and departures, appearances and disappearances, a human march, sometimes, of simply getting on with it’. We would add: Isn’t it one and the same everywhere?

References to famous people are often used in articles regarding the Great Event in London 2012. One of them ‘So How Does That Medal Taste?’ begins with a quotation by Mark Twain (see <http://msn.foxsports.com/olympics/story/biting-medal-tradition-london-where-did-it-begin-080912>). It turns out that it is connected with an expression which has become a famous fixed phrase at a later stage. The expression is ‘lies, damned lies and statistics’ and is related to ‘the persuasive power of numbers, particularly the use of statistics to bolster weak arguments’. It had been mentioned by Mark Twain in *Chapters from My Autobiography* written in 1906 who had stated back in the 20th century that one of the British prime ministers Benjamin Disraeli (1804-1881) had used the statement in relation to justice and force: “There are three kinds of lies: lies, damned lies, and statistics”. It turned out at one point, however, that the phrase was nowhere to be found in Disraeli’s works. At a later stage the expression was attributed to a number of other famous figures such as politicians, journalists and a lot others of a similar position in society and it appears that it has a long and outstanding history (for more details see [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lies, damned lies, and statistics](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lies,_damned_lies,_and_statistics)). From the article it becomes clear that the Olympic Games are not that fair and as Mark Talkington stated: ‘Lies, damn lies and statistics. Mark Twain

would be proud. The Olympics have plenty of each' (see <http://msn.foxsports.com/olympics/story/biting-medal-tradition-london-where-did-it-begin-080912>). The statistics made referred to how medalists reacted when they got their medals. We can say that this is also very culture and socially specific. One proof is that the Chinese, for example, were the most likely to sing. This reminds us of an article by David Jones, published in the Bulgarian Standart newspaper from August 3, 2012, whose headline was 'The Ugly Secret of Chinese Champions', which told the stories of Chinese sports players who were "tortured to death" while training so that they could win in any competition (see <http://paper.standartnews.com/bg/article.php?d=2012-08-03&article=418864>).

As for the history of biting gold medals, it is also presented in the article, and a comment is added about the present Games:

'At some point an Olympian did this (biting his medal, authors' comment), and the tradition started. Now, Olympians bite their medals because that's what they've seen others do.

In short, they bite them because they think they are supposed to (or because photographers tell them to). It's simply part of the tradition of being a gold medalist.' (op.cit.)

This "ritual" is even commented by psychologists:

"Sports all have their eccentricities," psychologist Frank Farley explained to NBC News. "If you want to be part of the winning zeitgeist, that winning culture, you participate in that winning practice."

In connection with the way statistics appears in public documents, there is an irritating piece of news presented on the Internet site of iNews whose headline is "BOC (The Bulgarian Olympic Committee) Reacted against Wrong Data in the Infosystem of London 2012" (inews.bg). The reaction is against the statement that the first Bulgarian participation in summer Olympic Games was in Paris 1924 ignoring the fact that Bulgaria had had representatives of the first modern Olympic Games in 1896 in Athens. There are some other inconsistencies related to the 2012 Olympics mentioned in the report to the International Olympic Committee (IOC). Yet, even though there are complaints and contestations filed against the data published by IOC, the correct statistics will remain known to only a limited number of people.

From what was already mentioned it becomes obvious that the Olympic Games have a reference to language as well. Some of the statements made contain words related to sports events bringing new understanding and interpretation (often wrong) to their usages. In this respect, there is an article about the Olympics in which the words 'surreal' and 'literally' are commented on (see <http://www.guardian.co.uk/sport/london-2012-olympics-blog/2012/aug/12/>

[london-2012-surreal-literally-britain](#)). Everybody will be surprised to find a word such as “surreal” to refer to sports. What is more, nobody will even pay attention to the way the word “literally” is used as it is an everyday language word. The headline of the article by one of the most famous Guardian journalists Martin Kelner is ‘My ‘surreal’ moment as Britain ‘literally’ turns into the USSR’. There is nothing unusual, at least at first sight, but what strikes us and makes us go back to it again is the subhead: ‘Even with blocked ears, misuse of language by athletes and commentators at London 2012 can make you feel like you are in another world’. From what follows in the main body of the article it becomes clear that the word “surreal” is misused and used instead of, say, “amazing” or “unbelievable”, as it was suggested by the sports critic. No doubt, participants in the Games are overexcited by what is happening but still the improper usage of words is somehow annoying according to the journalist. They had described their experience as “surreal” and Martin Kelner’s reaction was “the only way it could possibly be surreal is if you crossed the finish line with a fish stapled to your head”. So, the use of “surreal” is more like “absurd” according to the author of the article, though some of the meanings of the word as a dictionary entry are: ‘having the disorienting, hallucinatory quality of a dream; unreal; fantastic’ (Dictionary.com), which means that the meanings of “surreal” as “unreal” and “fantastic” can quite perfectly correspond to the athletes’ emotions and experience. The definition of “surreal” in another Internet dictionary is: ‘Surreal means seeming like a dream or fantasy. *An example of surreal is the experience of seeing a spirit.*’ (<http://www.yourdictionary.com/surreal>). In the second case, the definition of the word matches the content of the Olympics, but the example given is in unison with the journalist’s opinion. So, it really depends on what you would like to accept at face value as for linguistic considerations.

Another example of the improper use of a word is the word “literally” the way it appears in the same article and as the journalist comments it:

“‘Literally’ is another blunt instrument almost never correctly employed’ in relation to: “Annie Last knows this course literally better than the back of her hand,” said Chris Boardman, of the mountain biker on Saturday’.

It is quite natural for a word like “even” to collocate with better (“even better”) instead of “literally”, which is quite obvious but it seems that nobody is paying attention to the way language is used. Everybody is eager to find out more about the results and scores in the events themselves.

What Martin Kelner also mentioned in connection with the way sports were broadcast on TV in different languages was:

‘Having been out of range of the British media for the past week or so, I have been following the games on German language Eurosport, stripped of the

symbolism with which we are investing them. On Eurosport, sport is sport, whether the Olympics or some Friday night athletics meet...’

As for Bulgarian commentators on Eurosport representing the Olympic sports events, some of them used a very “flowery” language and original metaphors which helped them compare or contrast the events in an unusual way. Some of the phrases and expressions they used were:

‘The advantage of Tre Krunur is melting like snow in the Sahara Desert’ was an expression used for the handball match on August 10 between Hungary and Sweden;

‘Pedersen looks like a man just out of prison’ was mentioned in relation to his appearance in the same match;

‘After winning first place in the team event, the American women gymnasts pulled the handbrake abruptly’ (broadcast on Eurosport International, August 7).

These are just some of the observations we have made in relation to the Olympic Games in London 2012 but there are a lot more which deserve proper attention because the materials regarding these phenomena that were published in the media and broadcast on TV were so many and so interesting that they are really worth more time for investigation.

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THE MOSQUE: A CRADLE OF FAITH OR AN INCUBATOR OF TERRORISTS (RELIGION AS PART OF ONE'S IDENTITY IN SOME AMERICAN, BULGARIAN AND BRITISH ONLINE NEWSPAPERS)

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Abstract: *The paper reviews articles from American, British and Bulgarian newspapers on religion as part of Muslim identity in Bulgaria, the USA and the UK the three countries. The focus is on the linguistic devices used in articles on mosques which comprise a substantial part of the identity of American, British and Bulgarian Muslims. The main approach used in the paper is Critical Discourse Analysis.*

Key words: *CDA, media discourse, Muslim identity, mosque, terrorism*

I. Introduction

What we understand in our everyday life under *identity* is the self-awareness and self-perception of an individual or a group of individuals. A person can have various identities which s/he could exhibit at different times based on the situation s/he is in (see also Smith 1991). For instance, a person could identify him/herself with the ethnic group they belong to, with the religion they profess, with the gender they possess or show, or, in general with the culture they adhere to. However, due to the increased number of intermarriages and the free movement of people, ethnicity is no longer considered as such an important characteristic of one's identity but other markers like gender, class, region, gather more and more prominence (see Hutchinson, Smith 1996; Eriksen 1993).

The focus of this paper is on religion, and more specifically on Islam, as one of the main distinguishing characteristics between majority and minority groups in the US, the UK, and Bulgaria because the accepted norm of identity in all three countries is marked as "white, male, Christian, middle class, physically healthy and heterosexual" (see Hall 1996).

As press coverage on Islam is a very broad topic we have decided to narrow it by analyzing the linguistic means used in articles on mosques as the temples of faith and thus comment on the image of Muslims and Islam in general.

Our decision for the topic was also provoked by the research conducted by Richardson (2004) on the representation of Islam in British broadsheets. He states that "the topic of terrorism is a perpetual feature of press representation and

discussion about Islam and Muslims” (Richardson 2004: 130). Another topic which is also widely discussed according to him is the opportunity for terrorism to be reproduced on British soil.

The issue of Christianity vs. Islam is more heated in the UK and the US, than in Bulgaria mostly because of the association of this religion with the fanatic terrorists responsible for the attacks that took place in The US on Sept. 11, 2001 and later on in London Metro in the UK on July 7, 2005.

At the same time Islam is the religion practiced by one of the largest minority groups in Bulgaria – the Bulgarian Turks, who comprise 8% of Bulgaria’s population. The topic of terrorism is not so popular in Bulgaria as compared to the other two countries; however, the difference between majority and minority based on religion is an important factor and is worth looking into.

Based on the above the hypothesis we set forward is that terrorism and its connection with Islam will be more evident and more frequently employed in British and American publications while in Bulgaria Islam would be mostly viewed within the parametres of ethnic difference. That is why we think it will be interesting to explore the attitude the majority exhibit to the temples where this different religion is practiced and spread.

The corpus for this paper comprises the American Star News Online (SNO) – 18 articles, the British The Independent (I) and publications of the BNP (BNP) – 73 publications, and the Bulgarian Dnevnik (Dn) and Ataka (A) – 34 publications. We have chosen both mainstream and nationalistic publications so that we could be more objective in the conclusions drawn. The articles analysed were published in 2006 and in 2011-2012.

II. Analysis

Looking at the headlines of the articles where the lexeme *mosque* is present one could easily see the negativism to that concept expressed by the media in general. The topics discussed in their majority concern the development of new or the extension of already existing mosques on the territory of the three countries:

[1] Plans for new mosque *ignite cultural turf war* in Florida /h/⁵ Muslims find surprising *foes, friends* in ‘nightmare’ /sh/ (SNO/ 16.07.06); [2] New Middlesbrough mosque ‘will *dominate* the area’ /h/ (BNP/ 17.05.12); [3] ‘It can be done’ – Local opposition *blocks*

⁵ Abbreviations used /h/ - headline, /sh/ - subheadline, /l/ - lead

Blackpool mosque /h/ (BNP/ 01.12.11); [4] 150 British National Party Supporters Turn Out to Protest Mosque Plans in Bletchley Park /h/ (BNP/ 09.01.11).

[5] <i>Петрич се вдигна срещу джамия на Рупите</i> /h/ Над 1500 подписа за един ден събраха АТАКА и ВМРО срещу <i>оскверняването</i> на митичната местност /sh/ (A/ 05.01.06).	[5`] ⁶ Petrich rose against a mosque in the region of Rupite /h/ Ataka and VMRO gathered over 1500 signatures against the desecration of the mythical area /sh/ (A/ 05.01.06).
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Apart from the general negativism one could clearly sense the hostility towards the increase in number of said religious temples expressed through the metaphor of war realized through the use of noun phrases such as *cultural turf war* stressing on the clash between the two dominant cultures and their strife for gaining more ground thereby more prominence; *friends, foes* – describing the participants in the war; the verbs *dominate, block, protest, rise* – the first one defining the influence of the religious centre, while the others referring to the actions undertaken by the majority against the Muslim temple; etc.

It should also be mentioned that apart from [1], all other examples mark publications of the nationalistic press in the UK and in Bulgaria. As discussed elsewhere (see Cheshmedzhieva-Stoycheva 2010, 2011) it is typical of the nationalistic press to use the discourse of war, colonisation (in the UK), and oppression (with references to the historic past in the Bulgarian nationalistic press) to show that minorities are getting stronger and overtaking the place attributed “by right” to the majority.

This is additionally confirmed by a headline in the comparative used by the BNP showing the spread of Muslim places of worship: [6] *A Mosque Too Big and Too Many* /h/ (BNP/ 31.01.06), as well as by [7] *The Colonisation of Wales Continues: Wrexham Miners’ Building to Become Mosque* /h/ (BNP/ 15.07.11) and [8] *България – страната на джамииите* /h/ (‘Bulgaria – the Country of Mosques’ /h/ – A/ 21.12.05).

All these headlines are quite provocative as they attempt to show the defacement of indigenous culture by the Muslim one – a topic which is very painful and very heated. In the case of Bulgaria it is history repeating itself as the increased number of mosques and the dominance of Muslims is suggestive of the period of Bulgarian history in which the Ottoman Empire ruled over the country and forcefully imposed its religion and culture on the locals.

In the case of the UK, it is a matter of reversed history. It is no longer the British Empire that is imposing its dominance, thereby culture, language, religion and tradition on other countries but the other way round. The statement spread by the

⁶ Translation of original Bulgarian publications is done by Cheshmedzhieva-Stoycheva. The translated versions are marked by a prim after the number in brackets, e. g. [X`].

nationalists is that the old days colonized are the new colonizers of the UK nowadays. History lurks in the example from the US publication as well (see [1]). It is no longer old days British settlers fighting for new territory in the US but different religions and cultures fighting for wider coverage and recognition.

Two other headlines used by the BNP again, i. e. [9] *New mosque will change the face of Blackpool* /h/ (BNP/ 12.11.11), and [10] *Planned new Waitrose in Stirling hindered by nearby Islamic Centre legal threats* /h/ (BNP/ 09.04.12) suggest the fact that minorities are trying to impose their ways and their culture to the extent that indigenous culture is being disregarded and obliterated (see also [5]). The focus in this case, however, is not on minorities in general but on Muslims through their insistence on the development of new mosques or the expansion of existing ones. The certainty of the message in the examples above is conveyed through the choice of the modal verb *will* over other less certain modals like *could* in [9], and the choice of the present simple tense in [7], while in [10] the idea that the opinion of Muslims is something the majority has to take into consideration is achieved through the use of the verb *hinder* followed by the noun *threats*.

All examples quoted so far also stress on the aggression exhibited by Muslims. This notion is explicitly highlighted by various references to terrorism as allegedly promoted by Islam:

[11] *Finsbury Park mosque's terrorist roll call* /h/ The notorious Finsbury Park mosque became a breeding ground for terrorism during the six years that Abu Hamza held a 'controlling influence' there /l/ (I/ 07.02.06); [12] Charity Commission launches extremism investigation into Leyton Mosque /h/ (I/ 07.06.12); etc.

In addition to the references to terrorism foregrounded in the headlines and in the leads of the publications, journalists very often mention the mosque some captured terrorists have attended thus establishing the stereotype of mosques as incubators of terrorists and at the same time strengthening the existing stereotypes of Muslims as terrorists and Islam as a militant and aggressive type of religion:

[13] Dozier called Muslims 'dangerous,' said *they were 'terrorists.'* Another black minister in the area warned they would 'try to convert young black men.' [...] 'Islam is evil' and 'the Koran says to cut off heads.' (SNO/ 16.07.06); [14] Moussaoui was 'very dangerous,' had been indoctrinated in radical Islamic Fundamentalism at London's Finsbury Park mosque, was 'completely devoted' to a variety of radical fundamentalism that Osama bin Laden espoused, and had been to Afghanistan (SNO/ 21.03.06); [15] Which brings me to the fourth piece of the jigsaw that makes a Muslim boy who could have become a teacher or a chemical engineer become a suicide bomber: the Koran and associated teachings (BNP/13.07.05); [16] His involvement in the alleged plot was said to have stemmed from an association with a man named Abu Munthir whom he met via a mosque in Luton (I/ 23.03.06).

Modifiers like *dangerous*, *evil*, *radical* with or without amplifiers are frequently used in references to terrorists or the type of religion practiced in mosques. The

statements used are usually analytical of the type “X is ...” or “X does ...” which do not leave any ground for doubt or speculation on their truth value.

Another reference that frequently appears in order to explicitly highlight the link between the temples and terrorism is the name of the terrorist organization al-Qa’ida⁷ or its leader Osama Bin Laden, e. g.

[17] An *al-Qa’ida* supergrass who has admitted his part in a British bomb plot was a follower of two notorious UK-based preachers, the Old Bailey heard yesterday /1/. Mohammed Junaid Babar said he had been influenced by Abu Hamza, *the former imam of the Finsbury Park mosque in London*, and Omar Bakri Mohammed, *the radical Islamic cleric* (1/ 24.03.06); [18] The Most Wanted Face of Terrorism /h/ For years after the Sept. 11 attacks, *the name of Al Qaeda and the fame of Bin Laden* spread like a 21st-century political plague (SNO/ 02.05.11).

The international recognition of these two names and their presence in articles on British or American Muslims and the places of worship they attend already implicitly suggest the notion of mosques as incubators of terrorists. Explicitly, this idea is revealed through the use of the verb *breed* in *breeding ground* in [11].

Apart from the more generic examples trying to present the phenomenon of radicalism preached in mosques as occurring in various places in the UK or the US, e. g. [19] Hamza, and others like him, have made *hate-filled ‘sermons’* like that *in an untold number of mosques and Islamic community centres all over the country for years [...]* (BNP/13.07.05), part of the examples above also provide readers with a specific place and a person in the UK responsible for the spread of terrorism in the UK and in the States.

Twelve of the articles comprising the corpus link radical Muslims with Finsbury Park mosque and the imam who has preached there – Abu Hamza, who appears in another 15 articles. All the terrorists captured in the UK and in some cases in The US are linked either to the place or the person, which once again promotes the idea of mosques being incubators of terror and creates the image of Muslims as terrorists.

The strength of the created negative stereotype has led to the exhibition of prejudice and racism based on the assumption that all Muslims who attend these temples are the same. The Independent for example features several articles on a police officer being fired simply because his children attended the above mentioned Finsbury Park Mosque:

[20] Pc Amjad Farooq, 39, is suing the Metropolitan Police for race and religious discrimination after *he was removed from Scotland Yard’s Diplomatic Protection Group* (S016) when he was told he had failed a security check because *his children went to the same mosque as an imam suspected of having links to terrorism* (1/ 10.11.06); etc.

⁷ The name of the organization is spelled in different ways Al Qaeda, Al Qaida, or al-Qa’ida.

The negativism to Muslims is even stronger in several statements used in an article from the US:

[21] [...] supporters gathered nearby with signs that said '*No mosque*' and '*No jihad in my back yard.*' [...] And on top of that, the *founder of 'Citizens Against Hate'*, Joe Kaufman said: '*This mosque should not exist on American shores*' (SNO/ 16.07.06).

The slogans used are the linguistic representation of Nimbyism which in the second slogan is an exact representation of the acronym specifying jihad as the ideology that would not be tolerated.

These particular examples are interesting for a different reason as well: they are uttered by members of organizations which supposedly fight for equality and anti-discrimination or by members of other minority group, i. e. blacks and Jews, who are expected to show empathy with Muslims as another minority group who has experienced prejudice: [22] They picked that spot because *they were sympathetic to the black struggle and believed the feelings were mutual, especially since the persecution after 9-11* (SNO/ 16.07.06).

There is clearly an exhibition of religious discrimination present in The US, especially since the events of September 2001, and while some minority groups feel that they must stick together in order not to be stamped, others are obviously of a different opinion showing the prejudice and fear exhibited by the majority, e. g.: [23] Goldman recalled that, when a mosque was built next-door a few years ago, she and many of her condo neighbors protested. '*We saw the mosque as a threat,*' she said (SNO/ 16.07.06). The latter is actually the reason for all negative attitudes and acts against Muslims or their temples, i. e. they are perceived as a threat to majority's culture, lifestyle, territory, or to their existence as a whole.

Islam in The US, has long been an ideal target designated by a population stuffed daily with propaganda concerning terrorist threat. It only takes a spark to light a media fire by the faithful Christian multitude. This is another good example of the dominance of stereotypes of ethnic groups in everyday media.

Apart from the negative publications which try to fossilize the notion that mosques are incubators of terror and that Muslims are evil and terrorists, there is a group of articles in the UK and The US which try to be objective and present mosques as what they are – simply places of worship, while terrorists as people who have been misled by some individuals with power and influence to believe in a version of religion which is suitable to the interests of those militant few:

[24] According to him, these tended to be young men from perfectly ordinary homes who had *'got religion in a big way'*. But it was wrong, he said, to put the blame simply on *'radical preachers in mosques'* (I/ 25.08.06); [25] The area's Muslims have pushed most of the group's members out of local mosques in the past two years, and one imam even used physical force to stop a fundamentalist from operating in his mosque, [...] (I/ 03.09.06); [26] [...] his experience is that Muslims by and large are law-abiding people [...] the Leadership Council on Civil and Human Rights [...] accused Mr. King of *'perpetuating the dangerous myth'* that mosques are breeding grounds for terror (SNO/ 11.03.11); [27] *'We're not on opposite teams,'* al-Marayati said. *'We're all trying to protect our country from another terrorist attack.'* (SNO/ 02.09.06).

The excerpts give clear evidence of the attempts of Muslims and non-Muslims to change the existing negative perceptions of Islam and its symbols – the Koran, the imams, and mosques. These examples back up the statement which various scholars are trying to put forward, i. e. that Islam is a religion of peace and that terrorism stems from ill interpretations of religious teachings (see Karluga 2010: 56-61).

As stated in the introduction terrorism is not a widely discussed topic in reference to mosques existing in Bulgaria⁸. The “terror” promoted by mosques is in the form of increased numbers of followers, increased visibility of these followers through calls for service (discussed in several articles), and demands for recognition and for more religious temples. Nationalists get particularly aggravated by the rights granted to Muslims, their right of confession and service, and there are many discriminatory acts perpetuated by nationalists against mosques:

[27] Протестиращите са замеряли с камъни и други предмети джамията и високоговорителите.

Симпатизантите на ‘Атака’ са плюели върху горящи пътеки, запалени от тях. От високоговорителите на джамията са звучали призови за това, че обвиненията към мюсюлманите в тероризъм не са верни. Нека не уронваме престижа на исляма (A/ 25.05.11).

[27`] The protesters threw stones and other objects at the mosque and at the loudspeakers. Ataka's followers spat on the burning rugs which they themselves had set on fire. Appeals coming from the loudspeakers stated that the accusations of terrorism towards Muslims were not true. Let's not lower Islam's reputation (A/ 25.05.11).

⁸ The corpus does not cover articles published in the Bulgarian media after the terrorist attack at the airport in Burgas which took place in July 2012 so the situation might be different after the attack.

This is the only example from the Bulgarian corpus which makes any reference to terrorism as connected with Islam. Its use was triggered by the nationalists who in the bigger part of their rhetoric follow the statements of their colleagues from the UK.

At the same time, the lack of more references to terrorism originating in the mosques in Bulgaria implicitly stresses the idea that mosques are viewed as cradles of faith rather than incubators of terrorists in Bulgaria.

The general attitude that is conveyed in the articles from Dnevnik is that the general population is not hostile to Muslims. The outbursts of racism against Muslims are perpetuated by nationalists who try to present their cause as just and attempt to receive the support of the whole population:

- | | |
|--|--|
| [28] 'Атака' пак протестира срещу шума от софийската джамия /h/ (Dn/ 27.06.12); [29] Сблъсъци между 'Атака' и мюсюлмани пред джамията в София (Dn/ 25.05.11); [30] Две джамии в Кърджали са санкционирани заради високи децибели /h/ (Dn/ 11.06.12); [31] И омбудсманът се намеси в спора за звука от джамията в София /h/ (Dn/ 19.07.06). | [28`] Ataka protests again against the noise coming from the mosque in Sofia /h/ (Dn/ 27.06.12); [29`] Clashes between Ataka and Muslims in front of the mosque in Sofia (Dn/ 25.05.11); [30`] Two mosques in Kurdzhali have been sanctioned because of high decibels /h/ (Dn/ 11.06.12); [31`] The ombudsman got involved in the debate on the sound of the mosque in Sofia as well /h/ (Dn/ 19.07.06). |
|--|--|

As could be clearly seen the name of the nationalistic party is present in most headlines of articles discussing the issue with the pitch of the calls for prayer coming from mosques.

The examples mark a clear case of religious intolerance, which is exhibited not only by nationalists but by authorities as well, because some members of the majority cannot accept the visibility gained by Muslims. At the same time, despite the fact that the publications speak of disrespect and intolerance to religious specificities, there is no reference to the stereotype of Muslims or mosques or Islam as being aggressive or militant.

Still, Muslims are not readily accepted by the majority and existing mosques provoke acts of pure hooliganism, racism, or discrimination reported in American, British and Bulgarian newspapers:

[32] Man is held after attempted fire-bombing of mosque /h/ (I/ 18.08.06); [33] Arsonists pumped fuel through mosque wall /h/ (I/ 15.08.06); [34] Windows smashed at Wiltshire mosque /h/ (I/ 10.02.06);

- | | |
|--|--|
| [35] ДПС привика Петков заради палеж на джамия /h/ (Dn/ 27.07.06); | [35`] MRF called on Petkov because of the arson of a mosque /h/ (Dn/ |
|--|--|

[36] *Неизвестни запалиха джамията в Казанлък* /h/ (Dn/ 26.07.06); [37] *Кметът на Кюстендил се обяви против действаща джамия в града* /h/ (Dn/ 18.04.12). [36`] *Unknown perpetrators set the mosque in Kazanluk on fire* /h/ (Dn/ 26.07.06); [37`] *The mayor of Kyustendil declared himself against acting mosque in the town* /h/ (Dn/ 18.04.12).

Acts like the above show the degradation of society. Vandalism in these cases is an exhibition of racist attitude and in a way it is a case of terrorism on behalf of the majority to Muslims and their religious temples.

Apart from the negative examples discussed above the corpus of articles provides publications dealing with some positive activities connected with the existence of mosques in the UK, the US, or in Bulgaria:

[38] *Mosque defends firearms officer stripped of his post* /h/ (I/ 08.11.06); [39] *‘Those people we hadn’t wanted in our neighborhood saved us,’* Goldman said. ‘They wanted nothing in return,’ said resident Marlene Ashkinasi. As a result, *many of the Jewish residents [...] and their Muslim neighbors became friends* (SNO/ 16.07.06);

[40] *За Узунджово и джамията, която станала църква* /h/ (Dn/ 17.05.12); [41] *По споразумение с Турция джамия в Кюстендил ще бъде предложена за паметник на ЮНЕСКО* /h/ (Dn/ 23.03.12); [42] *Мюсюлмани и християни заедно възстановиха джамия* /h/ (Dn/ 16.09.06). [40`] *On Uzundzhovo and the mosque which has been turned into a church* /h/ (Dn/ 17.05.12); [41`] *Following an agreement with Turkey a mosque in Kyustendil will be nominated for a UNESCO world heritage site* /h/ (Dn/ 23.03.12); [42`] *Muslims and Christians restored a mosque together* /h/ (Dn/ 16.09.06).

The examples shown are more in the nature of cultural relativism where different cultures respect and support each other rather than fight each other. These examples also deviate from the stereotype of the Muslim terrorist and quite neutrally present mosques as religious establishments where people go to profess their faith.

III. Conclusion

Based on the corpus of articles from some Bulgarian, British and American newspapers on Islam and mosques as its temples in the three countries, we can conclude that the image created is quite different.

While mosques in the UK and the USA are viewed as incubators of terrorists in bigger number of the publications, in Bulgaria mosques are more often just considered as places of worship with the topic of terrorism reduced to only one example from the Bulgarian nationalistic newspaper Ataka.

The linguistic devices used in the newspapers analysed are various with focus on the use of the metaphors of war, colonisation, and oppression in the Bulgarian and the British nationalistic press, while mainstream American and British publications use the metaphor of mosques as incubators of terrorists more frequently.

Both British and American newspapers use references to terrorist organizations like Al Qaeda and its leader Osama Bin Laden in order to stress the link between mosques and terrorists who use them as hubs for the preparation of attacks. Other images used in support of the statement that mosques produce terrorists are the imam Abu Hamza and the mosque he served in – Finsbury Park Mosque.

In addition it could be stated that regardless of the different perception of mosques and Islam in the three countries the majority still has some difficulty in accepting the religious Other and even in cases where mosques and Muslims are not viewed as terrorism oriented there are still acts of racism committed against them by members of the majority.

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VERBAL SUBSTITUTION

Snejana Obeyd

Abstract: *Substitution is one of the cohesive devices in text. It is a lexicogrammatical relation and the different types are defined grammatically. This paper aims at analyzing the text-forming role of the verbal substitute „do“, functioning as a sort of „counter“, contributing to the semantic structure of text without disturbing its informational organization. The verbal substitute is typically used when the speaker/writer wants to contrast two verbal groups.*

Key Words: *substitution, verbal substitute, verbal group, contrast*

The relation of substitution is one of the cohesive ties which helps eliminating redundant words and phrases. It is a matter of economical expression without disturbing the meaning of the text. The substitution word is a sort of counter or “filler word”, which is used in place of the repetition of a particular item. Since the relations between the antecedent and the substitutes are of a lexicogrammatical nature, the different types of substitution are defined grammatically. The substitute may function as a noun, verb or clause.

The English verbal substitute is *do*. The function of *do* as a substitute is very much like that of the nominal substitute *one*: to fill the structural gap, thus substituting for a meaningful verb. Let us consider the following examples:

[1] He sensed as opportunity would come. It **did**.

(Hailey 1971: 233)

[2] “Don’t quote me.”

’I never **do**.”

(Hailey 1971: 20)

[3] “And if we left it in”, Adam said, “most drivers would never know about it. Not many take their cars up to eighty.”

Ian Jameson said, “But some **do**.”

(Hailey 1971:106)

In [1], *did* replaces the single verb *came*. In [2], *do* stands for *quote you*, and in [3] *do* substitutes for *take their cars up to eighty*. So, just as one could substitute the head of a nominal group, or the head and some of its modifiers that are not rejected, it is clear that *do* can substitute just a verb, or a verb and some of its modifiers. Thus, we may say that the verbal substitute *do* has much in common with the nominal substitute *one*.

Certainly, the structure of the verbal group is different from that of the nominal group. But as far as their experiential structures are concerned, just as the head noun expresses the lexical ‘thing’, the lexical verb expresses the ‘event’, which is the verbal equivalent of the ‘thing’; the latter expresses a process, which may be event, action, relation, whereas the former expresses an entity of some kind, but both represent the core of the lexical meaning (see Halliday, Hasan 1976: 113). Hence, the ‘thing’, from both nominal and verbal group, is replaceable by “an empty substitution counter” that functions as head. Nominal and verbal substitutes are typically used when the speaker/writer wants to contrast two nominal groups or verbal groups, which are partly identical and partly different. Thus, *one* or *do* serve to save repeating the identical part. In the following example, there is a contrast in the agents performing the action:

[4] ‘Did you attend the meeting yesterday?’

“No, but Sam **did**.”

(example mine)

An important concern is that the verbal substitute can stand for any verb except *be* and *have* (with the meaning of ‘possess’), for they replace themselves. However, it is possible for American and some British speakers to replace *had* by *did* (see Halliday, Hasan 1976: 118), as in the following example:

[5] “But I’d much rather buy you a drink, then I can apologize for cutting in front like that, and explain it was a foolish, irrational impulse at the end of the frustrating day.”

“You had one of those days, too?”

“Obviously we both **did**.”

(Hailey 1971: 164-5)

It is worth noting that the verbal substitute *do* is far behind the nominal substitute *one* in its range of usage. In fact, the alternative is substitution by zero (ellipsis) but the meaning is preserved. And when the substitute *do* is used, its function is merely as ‘place-holder’, as marker for the presupposition. But sometimes, its use can resolve an ambiguity:

[6] “What are you doing here?”

“We’re mycologists, and we’re looking for edible mushrooms.”

“Yes, we are **doing**, too.”

(cited from Halliday, Hasan 1976: 115)

In case the substitute is omitted, the interpretation would be ‘we’re also mycologists’.

Frequently the substitute *do* occurs after a sequence of auxiliaries. In fact, these remain beyond the scope of the verbal substitute. At the same time, the items which *do* can presuppose may extend to the rest of the verbal group plus any complements or adjuncts, if such are present. What we have in the form of the substitute *do* is, in fact, ‘a signal’ that this information is already known from the preceding context (or elsewhere), but placed in a new setting. Since the verbal substitute is ‘given’ in meaning, as is the nominal substitute *one*, it is phonologically unstressed and rhythmically non- prominent. When it is the only element in the verbal group, as in [1], it remains unstressed, but prominent (see Halliday, Hasan 1976: 115).

However, there is one condition when *do* is accented. That is “when the givenness of the information it conveys is precisely what is new about it” (Halliday, Hasan 1976: 116). In regard to the substitute *one*, this is the form *the same ONE*, whereas with *do*, it happens when *do* is followed by *so* (*DO so*).

[7] She had done the furnishing without much money, asking Rollie only to sign papers which she brought. He **did so** indifferently without reading, and later the furniture appeared, ...

(Hailey 1971: 241)

In fact, this *do* in the expression *do so* is the ‘pro-verb’ *do* plus anaphoric *so*. Unlike the substitute *do*, the ‘pro-verb’ *do* is usually stressed, but *so* is always unstressed. We find that this combination occurs not only in the finite form of *do so*, *does so* and *did so*, but also in non-finite forms following a modal, *be*, or *have*, or in infinitive and -ing participle clauses. In many cases, either *do* or *do so* can occur without much difference in meaning. *Do so* is normally used when it is exactly the verbal element already mentioned that is informationally in focus. But the condition that imposes on *do so* to be obligatorily used is when there is no contrastive item present, as in the following example:

[8] In you enlarge Notepad to its maximum size, the following document will be easier to read. To **do so**, click the Maximize button in the upper – right corner of the Notepad window.

(cited from R. Salkie 1995: 49)

There are two contexts that set limits on the use of *do so*: firstly, it is in a comparative clause, and secondly, when the intent is rejected. For example:

[9] “Do you believe in God?”

“More than everybody in this room **does**.”

(example mine)

[10] – Have they cleaned the yard?

No, they have **done** the bungalow by now.

(example mine)

Having in mind these restrictions, the use of *do* or *do so* is simply a matter of choice. The *do so* construction is considered somewhat formal, and in general there is alternative ellipsis of the predication which is preferred in informal speech (see Quirk et al. 1985: 876). The option with *do* without *so*, if possible, is associated with British English. Some speakers, particularly in America, would not use *do so* for state verbs and attitudinal verbs and would probably reject the following examples (see Salkie 1995: 48):

[11] A: Peter likes his work.

B: I think Bob does (so) too.

[12] A: John owns three cars.

B: Bill does (so) too.

(examples mine)

In American English, the form *do so* is restricted to dynamic meaning, whereas in British English there is no such restriction. In short, American speakers have preferences over the use of *do so* or ellipsis, while British speakers select among the three (see Quirk et al. 1985: 879).

However, ellipsis is not always possible: first, when the presupposing verbal group is in the ‘participial’ form, and second, when it is in the ‘infinitive’ form, it allows ellipsis only if it is negative, if following another verb or cataphoric *it*, for example:

[13] I can get this computer to work.

Not to (do (so)) would cause problems.

You are supposed to (do (so)).

It was planned to (do so).

(examples mine)

As previously stated, the verbal substitute is used in contrastive environment, which involves rejection of some item from the presupposed clause. Halliday and Hasan (1976: 119) argue that the only item that cannot be rejected is the attribute and in such cases it is necessary to repeat the verb. According to them, there are also instances when there is a strong relation between a process and a subsequent element, based on logical expectation (see Halliday, Hasan 1976: 120). For example, the verb ‘live’ expects locative, so it cannot be replaced without

carrying with it an item denoting 'location'. But in case 'live' appears in context with other type of adjunct: 'live by selling goods', 'live in luxury', etc., there is no such limitation.

The examples given so far have been connected with the contrast that lies within the structure of the clause. However, the contrast may be sought within the verbal group "within the systems associated with the verb itself, such as tense, polarity and modality" (Halliday, Hasan 1976: 121). So, in [14], the contrast lies in the modality. The modal adverb *probably* is contrasted with the non-modalized presupposed verbal group. In [15], there is contrast in mood (conditional as opposed to indicative).

[14] Smokey wondered if Adam knew, too, about the demonstrator cars – last year's models... He probably **did**.

(Hailey 1971: 334)

[15] He had still not told Barbara of his own decision, made in Los Angeles, or spoken of his future plans. Brett knew that if he **did**, they would talk until morning...

(Hailey 1971: 366)

It is only the system of voice that does not allow substitution in the passive. Both groups should be in the active. Nevertheless, Halliday and Hasan admit the possibility for a passive verbal group to be replaced in the active (see Halliday, Hasan 1976: 121).

The relation the substitution sets up is definitely anaphoric and is used in an environment of contrast. As for verbal substitution the contrast most frequently lies within the internal systems of the verb – modality, polarity, mood, tense, excluding the system of voice. The substitute item appears to be manifestation of givenness, contributing to the semantic structure of a text without disturbing its informational organization.

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IT'S BETTER TO DO IT OVER THAN OVERDO IT: POLYSEMOUS PREFIXES AND PARTICLES

Svetlana Nedelcheva

Abstract: *The purpose of this paper is to analyze particles in phrasal verbs, namely over, and to show that these particles are cognate both to prepositions and prefixes used for word formation. We provide evidence from polysemy – the case where a lexical item has a number of related senses. We also use cognate words⁹, such as the spatial particle over and the prefix over-, to flow over and to overflow, to turn over and to overturn, etc. We aim to reveal that there are principles relating the different senses of one lexical item. What is more, the same principles apply to relating the senses of cognate lexical items. Finding such general principles helps turning theoretical linguistics in scientific enterprise.*

Key words: *Semantic networks, preverbs, spatial particles, polysemy*

INTRODUCTION

This paper deals with English prefixes and spatial particles¹⁰ which take part in verb-particle constructions (VPC)¹¹. It aims to show that these particles are cognate not only to prepositions but also to prefixes used for word formation. They are polysemous but their senses are correlated and form motivated semantic networks. When such meaning distribution is found systematically in language than we can view the lexicon as not a mere list of “words and phrases that can be used in the sentences”¹² but as a system structured by general semantic principles. These principles are not simply rules of redundancy. Instead, they are general cognitive principles.

In English, prefixation is a very common means of word formation. The present analysis covers the formation of new words by prefixes corresponding to spatial particles, particularly *over*. This is a way to form nouns, e.g. *overflow*, *overfall*, *overhold*, verbs, e.g. *overheat*, *overheal*, *overhear*, and adjectives, e.g. *overexuberant*, *overheavy*, *overliberal*. In this respect, some questions are posed. Does the prefix *over-* display multiple meanings, and if so how are the meanings related? Another question is: do the meanings of prefixed verbs correspond to the

⁹ Cognate words have the same etymological origin. In general, cognates in a language have similar meanings.

¹⁰ By the term ‘spatial particles’ here we comprise prepositions and postpositioned particles in verb-particle constructions, such as *over*, *up*, *down*, *in*, *out*, etc.

¹¹ There is a tendency in some recent synchronic studies to avoid the term *phrasal verbs*, possibly due to its close association with the requirement for non-compositionality of meaning, and the terms *verb-particle constructions* or *verb-particle combinations* are preferred instead (cf. Grice 1999). I have chosen to use the terms “phrasal verbs” (PVs) and “verb-particle constructions” (VPCs) to refer to the same phenomenon.

¹² <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lexicon>

meanings of verb-particle constructions with *over*, such as *look over* and *overlook*, *flow over* and *overflow*, etc. and if they vary, in what respect?

To answer these questions, we approach the problem in the following way. Section 2 gives a brief overview of the methodological principles used. The third section constitutes the central part of the paper. It reveals the current analysis, which is rooted in the cognitive paradigm. Section 4 discusses the semantic network of the particle *over*. The fifth section makes a parallel with the senses associated with the prefix *over-*. And Section 6 recaps the main points and reports the findings of the study.

THEORETICAL APPROACHES

Derivational morphology has captured somewhat the attention of theoreticians dealing with language structure. Within main linguistic theories, there are essentially two fundamental views on language. The first view considers language as a system that should be studied in isolation. It is concerned with the formal relationship between linguistic elements independently of their meaning. This view is associated with the theory of Generative Grammar (Chomsky 1957, 1965) where language is described only with reference to formal rules. The second view considers language as a means of communication. What people use the language for is reflected in language structure. This view emphasizes on form-meaning relationships between linguistic elements. It is associated with the theory of Cognitive Grammar (Langacker 1987, 1991) where the formal aspect of language is only described in reference to semantics.

Linguists applying the Generative approach (cf. Chomsky 1981: 4) believe that affixes have no semantic content and the meanings of the complex words they form are not motivated. Such an assumption leads to the dominant tendency that a prefix is a meaningless linguistic element, only a formal means for deriving a new word. In other words, the prefix which precedes the root morpheme of the derived word, has no role in its semantic content but acts as a mere category classifier. It only signals that a derivation has taken place unlike the lexeme which has an identifiable meaning. The difference in the meaning of derivatives is due to the lexeme, it has nothing to do with the function of the affix. Similarly, Spencer claims that “the derivational morphology which creates the adjectives changes the syntactic category of the word but does not add any element of meaning and thus, strictly speaking, is a kind of cranberry suffix.”

Cognitive linguists (cf. Lakoff 1987: 228) argue that the primary purpose of language is communicative. The relation between form and meaning is not arbitrary but motivated. Langacker (1987: 82) states that syntactic structure is governed by a set of cognitive principles and there is a direct correspondence (mapping) from a cognitive to syntactic structure. Within this theory a prefix is

treated as a reflection of a conceptual structure and, therefore, associated with a variety of meanings. Meaning is the most important factor in the cognitive paradigm. The surface structure of an expression is directly linked to its meaning. There are no transformation rules as in Generative Grammar. A morpheme is conceived as a unity of form and meaning.

The main goal of the present paper is to show the direct relevance of meaning to derivational morphology. We suggest that prefixes have meanings of their own which contribute to the semantics of the host roots by adding a new shade of meaning. In word formation, a prefix is the most important part because it lends its character to the whole derivative. The purpose behind discussing the previous approaches has been to find out the most suitable one for the present study, the most promising for an extensive analysis of a number of derivatives. The research done in the generative paradigm is inadequate because it rules out meaning when prefixes are considered and looks at them as formal elements. The cognitive paradigm, on the other hand is helpful as it claims that a difference in form also spells a difference in meaning. Therefore, if two alternative forms exist, such as a verb-particle construction and a prefixed verb, there must be a difference in their meaning. In addition, cognitive morphologists recognize the role of the speaker in making the choice, by matching his or her conceptualization with the right expression.

Although, the spatial particle *over* has been discussed extensively (Lakoff 1987, Tyler and Evans 2003) there are sufficient differences in the analyses. Also, not so much attention has been given to the prefix *over-*. It turns out to be very productive as 705 words, nouns, verbs and adjectives, have been found for the purposes of the present study. This analysis can be seen as a continuation to the previous discussions of *over* by looking for systematicity and meaning motivation in derivatives with *over-*.

THE PRESENT ANALYSIS

The English preposition *over* is the most widely discussed due to its various meanings (Brugman (1988); Lakoff (1987), Taylor (1995)). In cognitive semantics, it has been common to assume, since Lakoff and Brugman's work, that spatial meaning is due to the different senses associated with a preposition, rather than taking into consideration the role of the sentential context. For instance, the following examples have been defined by Lakoff (1987) as distinct senses of *over*, represented by different schemas:

- (i) The cat jumped *over* the wall.
- (ii) The plane is flying *over* the hill.
- (iii) Sam is walking *over* the hill.

These schemas are differentiated by the presence (as in (iii)) or absence of contact between the TR and LM¹³ (as in (i) and (ii), or by the presence (as in (ii) and (iii)) or absence (as in (i)) of horizontal extension. This kind of detailed analysis of lexical polysemy was criticized in the past (cf. Sandra 1998; Tyler and Evans 2001, 2003). According to Sinha and Kuteva such a “full specification” approach to spatial prepositions is due to the implicit assumption that “spatial relational meaning [...] is carried by the locative principle” (Sinha & Kuteva 1995: 167). The drawback of Lakoff’s analysis of *over* and his followers is their failure to recognize that in examples such as these, the TR and LM are crucially important for defining the trajectory shape, while the verb provides path information.

Unlike the “full specification” approach the authors of the “minimal specification” view (cf. Tyler and Evans 2003) claim that a large amount of information is to be inferred from the hearer’s knowledge of the world. Here they rely considerably on the theory of implicatures (cf. Grice 1999). They agree that when we hear a sentence, such as *The cat jumped over the wall*, we have the representation of an arc in our minds with the points A, B, C (see Figure 1), but in their view this arc, which is the trajectory of the movement, is not part of the meaning of the preposition *over*. The linguistic form *over* does not describe the whole trajectory (arc) of the cat’s motion. The figure shows three of the positions occupied by the TR (*the cat*) – A, B and C, but only point B – the point at which the cat is above the highest point of the wall – is explicitly mentioned in the sentence (i.e. this is the point in the trajectory signaled by the preposition *over*). Points A and C are implied as the initial and the end point of the movement. Consequently, if the cat starts at point A and jumps to point B, then due to our knowledge of gravity, point C is entailed. This whole information is not expressed in the sentence, but thanks to the cooperation of our knowledge of language and our general background knowledge of the world we can construct the full interpretations that we need in interaction.

B

¹³ The terms *trajector* (TR) and *landmark* (LM) originate from Langacker’s Cognitive Grammar. A TR is the located object, while the LM is the referent participant. The TR tends to be the smaller mobile entity which is located in relation to the usually stative LM.

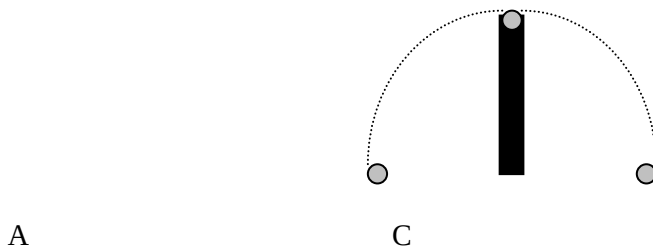


Figure 1: *The cat jumped over the wall*

Following this analysis the authors conclude that *over* is vertically oriented and encodes the central meaning, what they call the proto-scene, “higher than and proximate to”. In this central meaning *over* is static. The dynamic interpretations of *over* they find as a result of it being collocated with dynamic verbs like *jump* (whereas most researchers define many particles and prepositions as having two basic sets of meaning, i.e. static and dynamic ones).

Apart from developing a minimal-specification view, the authors also introduce criteria for meaning extension and explain it experientially. They call the experiential basis “perceptual correlation” by which they mean that when events or states co-occur very often we start taking their co-occurrence for granted, and can focus on (or *profile* in authors’ terms) the whole complex scene, or a separate part of it. For instance, in the case of (*jump*) *over*, we focus on moving over point B (the “above-and-across” sense), but we can focus on any point in this trajectory ABC: either point B itself, which gives us the static “above” sense, as in *The picture is over the mantelpiece*; or a point beyond B, which yields the sense “on-the-other-side-of” as in *over the mountains*; or we can focus on the motion towards C, which yields the “transfer” sense of (*hand sth.*) *over*; or additionally, we can focus on the moment when the motion arrives at point C: at this point the motion has completed the arc, which explains the sense of “completed” as in *the lecture is over*. Tyler and Evans’ interpretations can be represented in the following semantic network (see Figure 2). Here we preserve the names of their meaning clusters and the senses of *over* belonging to each of them, but arrange all of them in the form of a radial network.

These senses are illustrated in the following set of sentences:

- (0) Peter *jumped over* the fence.
- (1) a. Arlington *is over* the Potomac River from Georgetown.
- b. The play *is over*.
- c. Mary *turned* the book *over* to her classmate.
- (2) The tablecloth *is over the* table.
- (3) a. Susan *looked over* the paper quite diligently.

b. The little girl *cried over* her broken doll.

(4) a. Jill found *over thirty* kinds of colourful stones on the riverbank.

aa. The melting snow caused the river to *flow over* its banks.

b. She has a strange *power over* me.

c. I would *prefer* tea *over* coffee.

(5) a. The log *fell over*.

aa. After the electricity was repaired they *started* the game *over*.

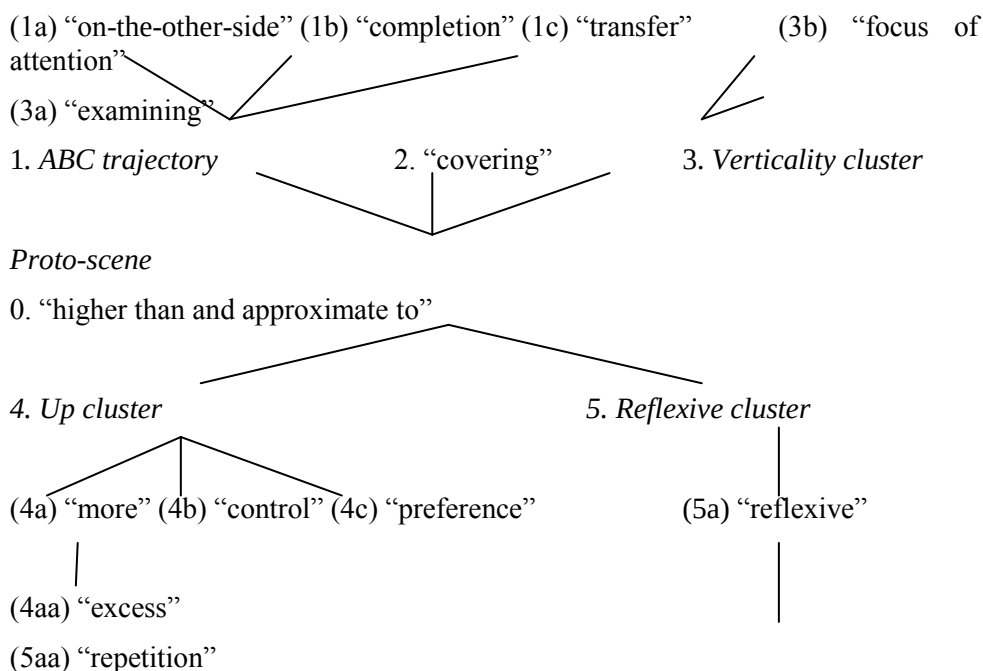


Figure 2: The Radial Network of *over* (adapted from Dirven 2001)

Tyler and Evans' view is favourable because it applies Lakoff and Johnson's (1999) notion of "the experiential or embodied basis of meaning" and what is more they manage to reduce in half the 24 different senses attested by Lakoff (1987: 416) in his own analysis of *over*. The minimalist analysis should also be credited for the fact that *over* not only has different clusters of senses such as (1) the ABC trajectory cluster, (2) the Coverage schema, (3) the Verticality cluster,

(4) the *Up* cluster, and (5) the Reflexive cluster (see Figure 2), but the extensions within each cluster of senses are systematically accounted for. Further, the whole semantic network of *over* is coherent and motivated. All in all, the authors prove the usefulness of the semantic network itself, the value of which at a certain point has been slightly questioned as a descriptive tool (see e.g. Taylor 1995).

By the notion of “perceptual correlation”, the authors manage to reduce the impact of metaphor as an all-explanatory principle for meaning extension (cf. Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 1999; Sweetser 2008). Even in their explanation for the use of *see* and *vision* in the meaning of “know” and “understand” they claim that, given the perceptual basis of human experience, it is clear that ‘seeing’ and ‘knowing’ things are perceptual correlates and that we can focus on either of them to mean the other. The question Dirven (2001) posits is whether this is not a matter of implicature rather than of “perceptual correlation” or both, and whether implicature and perceptual correlation are not just two different names and views of the same phenomenon? Whatever the answer, this does not mean that the authors reject the existence of conceptual metaphors. Actually, they combine them with the notion of “perceptual correlation” and thus try to clarify the limits of metaphor and its all-explanatory force.

Although Tyler and Evans do not specifically focus on phrasal verbs, their view on spatial particles can be applied to the field of phrasal verbs. Here, we use their approach to build the semantic network of *over* as a phrasal-verb particle. We collected a corpus of 106 phrasal verbs with *over* from Collins Phrasal Verbs Dictionary (2000) for the purposes of the present study. We also hypothesize that when *over* is used as a prefix it does not only bear the Excess sense as it has been attested by Lakoff (1987) and Tylear and Evans (2003). We use a corpus of 704 compound words with *over* to construct the semantic network of the prefix *over-*.

THE SEMANTIC NETWORK OF PHRASAL VERBS WITH OVER

Before we start building the semantic network of the phrasal verbs with *over*, we’d like to find motivation between prepositional relations and verb-particle constructions. The motivation can be found in the conceptual metaphor TIME IS SPACE (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). This is reflected syntactically by the fact that phrasal verbs do not mediate a TR-LM configuration. This is compatible with Langacker’s statement (1992: 279) that ‘[a]n expression’s grammatical class is determined by the nature of its profile.’ The relationship profiled by a verb-particle construction essentially differs from the relationship profiled by a preposition in that a phrasal verb takes part in the relationship as its TR and does not have a salient LM. In contrast, prepositions take an entity as their TR and relate it to a highlighted LM. Let’s compare:

(6) He bent *over* the plate.

(7) He *bent over*.

In example (6) the TR (*he*) follows the ABC trajectory illustrated in Figure 1 and as a result he is over the location LM (*the table*). In example (7) the TR is again *he* but this time no LM is mentioned. The Motion/Activity component of the scene corresponds to the LM entity. The TR follows the same ABC trajectory. Figure 3 shows the correspondence between the Spatial scene exemplified by (6) and the Temporal scene represented by example (7). We can define them as a spatial and a temporal version of a more general relational profile – the ABC trajectory.

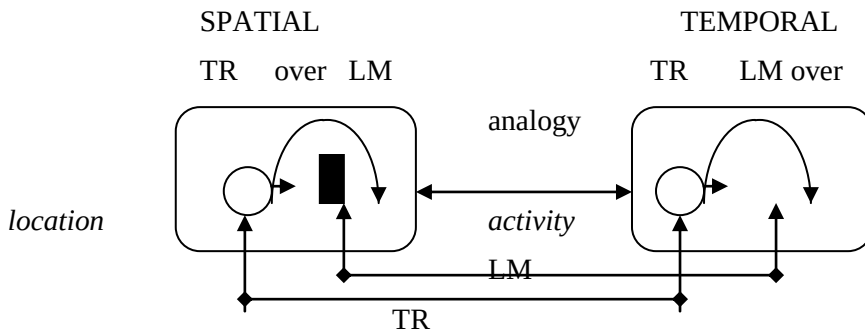


Figure 3: The TR-LM correlations in the preposition and the particle profiles

In Figure 3 the two spheres depict the corresponding TRs. The black rectangle stands for the LM, which is missing in the temporal illustration, where the LM is the activity itself. The arc-shaped arrow is the ABC trajectory defined as the proto-scene of *over* (see Figure 2).

The correspondence between the two scenes motivates the hypothesis about the correspondence between the semantic networks of the preposition *over* and the particle *over*.

ABC-trajectory Cluster

The three distinct senses in the ABC-trajectory cluster (On-the-other-side-of, Completion and Transfer) all derive from reanalysis of the spatial relation depicted in Figure 1. As a TR such as a cat could not occupy more than one position at the same time, we conceptualize such a spatial scene in summary format, i.e. point C is in focus and points A and B are inferred. The verbs in this group express a movement of the body forward which follows the arc trajectory: *bend over* (e.g. *He had walk, crawl, bent over.*); *double over* (e.g. *Her stomach*

clutches, causing her to double over.); trip over (There's dead stuff lying on the ground to trip over.).

On-the-other-side-of Sense

This distinct sense results from reanalysis of the complex construal represented in Figure 1 and specifically, the consequence of the jump, namely that the TR ends up on the other side of the LM. An additional characteristic of this conceptualization is the change of the vantage point from being 'off-stage' (Langacker 1992), to being at point A (see Figure 4). As spatial scenes could be viewed from a number of different vantage points, these different vantage points give rise to different construals of the same scene.

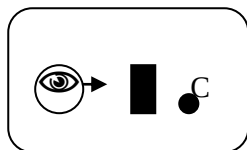


Figure 4: On-the-other-side-of Sense

In Figure 4 the eye represents the vantage point, the black rectangle the impediment and the dark sphere the TR. The following sentence:

(8) Someone must have used it to *cross over*.

only make sense if the construer (i.e. the vantage point) is located at point A (in Figure 1) and the area beyond black rectangle is construed as point C. Thus, the reanalysis of *over* which results in the On-the-other-side-of Sense differs from the proto-scene in two aspects - the TR is located at point C and the vantage point is changed such that the construer is at point A. With the On-the-other-side-of Sense the TR can only be on the other side of the LM if the vantage point constitutes the opposite side. The same construal can be found in other examples with phrasal verbs, for instance: *flip over*; *heel over*; *keel over*; *knock over*; *push over*; *roll over*; *turn over*, which proves that this meaning has come to be conventionally associated with *over* as a distinct sense. Other examples are:

(9) People saw roofs fly and cars *flip over*.

Tim looked like he was about *to keel over*.

Ruth patted his back dry and helped him *roll over*.

Completion Sense

The end point of a trajectory (which represents the process of moving) is generally interpreted as marking the completion of the process. The Completion Sense of *over* has arisen as a result of reanalysis. The final location of motion correlates with the completion of motion, and the distinct sense comes to be associated with the form *over* in the semantic network.

(10) Fans anger isn't going *to blow over*. [=be forgotten]

He seemed tired, but signaled for me *to come over*. [=end of trajectory]

But the bus doesn't *pull over*. [=stop]

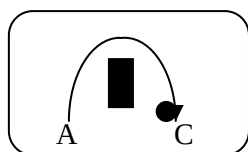


Figure 5: Completion Sense

The meaning of completion results from reanalysis of the spatial location of the TR being interpreted as an aspect of a process. For example, in the case of (10), the end point of the motion through space (i.e., the location at which the TR comes to rest) is the completion of the movement. Therefore, the Completion Sense does not represent a purely spatial relation, but rather an aspect of a process. It differs from the On-the-other-side-of Sense because the latter focuses on the spatial location of the TR when the process is completed (see figure 4). The former, however, views point C as the end of the motion or process. In figure 5, A on the left represents the location of the TR at the beginning of the process. The black dot C on the right represents the end point or completion which is in focus. Other verb-particle constructions belonging to this group are: *creep over*; *deliver over*; *give over*; *heal over*; *throw over* (end a romantic relationship). A specific subgroup are the verbs from the domain of *Visiting*: *drop over*; *go over*, *hash sb over*, *invite over*; *show over*; *sleep over*; *stay over*; *stop over*.

Transfer Sense

In the Transfer Sense the TR moves from one point to another. This follows from the construal illustrated in Figure 1, which gives rise of an implicature of *transfer*. This is a consequence of understanding the spatial scene as one involving change of location. We argue that change in location of an entity is experientially correlated with the transfer of a TR from one location, namely point A, to a new location, point C (see Figure 6). As with the Completion Sense, the Transfer Sense involves the reanalysis of the trajectory as an activity/ process. The TR has

been transferred from the left side of the impediment to the right side, as represented by the white sphere which is in focus (Figure 6).

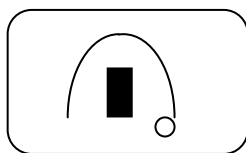


Figure 6: Transfer Sense

It may happen that TRs and LMs are non-physical entities which are not related spatio-configurationally, still they involve the notion of *transfer*:

(11) Those qualities may not *carry over* (to the next generation).

It is true that he never had to *pay over* (the large sums).

You only need 11 votes *to switch over* (to the Republicans).

In the first example of (11), there are qualities of one generation that may not transfer to the next generation. Physically, nothing is transferred because the TR is abstract. However, *qualities* have foundation in real-world experiences similarly to *the large sums* in the second example and the *votes* in the third example. All of them combine with *over*, due to the Transfer Sense, rather than the TR and the LM having a literal spatial relation between them. Conventionalization of Transfer Sense in language is proved by a number of phrasal verbs: *change over*; *dub over* (replace the original sound of a film), *get over* (begin to feel better after a shock); *hand over*; *kick over*; *make over* (transfer property); *move over*; *pass over*; *put over* (transfer ideas); *scoot over* (move in order to make space); *sign over* (give property or a legal right); *spread over*; *switch over*; *take over* (take the responsibility of doing sth); *win over* (persuade someone to support you, or to get them to like you).

Covering Sense

When the TR and LM are physical entities typically the TR, being the movable entity, is smaller than the immovable reference entity LM (Tyler and Evans 2003: 25-26). We have assumed that the TR is smaller than the LM in all the senses and interpretations we have examined so far, except the abstract ones. However, there are situations in the real world in which the TR is larger or perceived to be larger than the reference object (LM). Such instances are described by the sentences in (12):

(12) Your eyes *film over*.

The sky *clouds over*.

The two parties tried to *paper over* their differences.

From our everyday experience we know that eyes film over with tears so that tears cover the eyes with a transparent layer, it follows that our typical vantage point is such that when the tears are over the eyes, then we perceive them as covering the eyes. The same applies to the clouds that are over the sky and the non-physical differences that are metaphorically papered over. In these situations, the vantage point is such that the TR is between the LM and the construer/ viewer. When the TR intervenes between the viewer and the LM we perceive the TR as covering the LM or some significant portion of it. *Over* can be used with the covering interpretation when there is contact between the LM and TR, as in the first example of (12), or when there is no contact between the TR and the LM as in the other two sentences of (12).

Figure 7 illustrates the Covering Sense differently from the default representation of the proto-scene – the TR is perceived as being larger than the LM and it intervenes between the viewed and the LM.

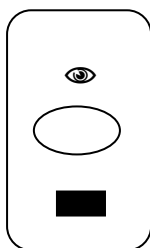


Figure 7: Covering Sense

In this diagram, the eye represents the vantage point, the elongated sphere the TR, which from the position of the viewer covers the black rectangle representing the LM.

Evidence for the instantiation of the Covering Sense in the semantic network comes from phrasal verbs such as *cover over*; *freeze over*; *frost over*; *glaze over*; *gloss over*; *grass over*; *haze over*; *ice over*; *mist over*; *pave over*; *plant over*; *plaster over*; *smooth over*.

Examining Sense

The Examining Sense is a result of change in vantage point. In the situations associated with the Examining Sense, the vantage point coincides with the TR, and the TR's line of vision is directed at the LM. The spatio-physical configuration of the TR and LM is such that the TR is higher than but proximal to

the LM. A consequence of this physical relation is that the TR is in a position to observe the LM carefully. Many everyday examples of looking carefully at objects involve the human head/ eyes being higher than the examined. Proximity is a requirement as it is generally not possible to see the object clearly and examine it in detail if it is far away.

The functional aspect associated with the proto-scene is that there is a conceptual relation between the TR and LM, that is, the ‘sphere of influence’. In this case, the connection is construed as that between the examiner and the examined. However, in order for the Examining Sense to arise, the scene must contextually imply examination. In other words, “examination must be an implicature deriving from the particular linguistic prompts in a given sentence” (Tyler and Evans 2003: 94). For instance:

(13) I pretended *to look over* the menu as I waited.

He seemed to need *to mull over* my explanation.

I *read over* my uncle’s opening paragraph.

In these sentences, the TR (*I/he*) is physically higher than and in proximity to the LM, *the menu/ my explanation/ my uncle’s opening paragraph*. Moreover, the TR is conceptualized as focusing the attention on the LM. The additional element of focus of attention towards the LM is essential to the Examining Sense as can be seen in the other examples in this group: *check over; go over; look over; mull over; pick over; read over; run over; see over*. This is illustrated in Figure 8, in which the eye (vantage point) coincides with the TR, and is above and proximal to the LM. The focus is on the vantage point.

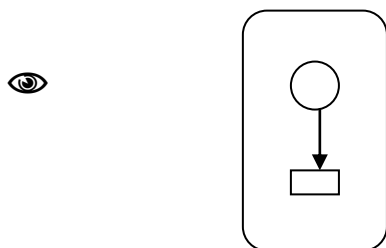


Figure 8: Examining Sense

Focus-of-attention Sense

The following sentences illustrate the so called Focus-of-attention Sense:

(14) Taxpayers have *forked over* \$1.1 billion in interest payments.

What my dad said I generally didn't *fuss over*.

There were no clues, no experimental results *to puzzle over*.

When the LM is the focus of attention it is closely related to the Examining Sense. A natural consequence of the Examining Sense is that the object being examined, the LM, is the object of the TR's attention. This natural consequence has been privileged and reanalysed as a distinct sense, as diagrammed in Figure 9, where the LM is in focus, illustrated by the black rectangle (different from the white one in Figure 8 where the TR is in focus).

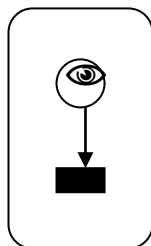


Figure 9: Focus-of-attention Sense

Non-physical TRs and LMs can also be found with this sense, as evidenced by the following: *chew over*; *drool over*; *hash over*; *moon over*; *pore over*; *puzzle over*; *rave over*; *sit over*; *think over*; *watch over*.

Up cluster

The vertical orientation is very often marked in human conceptualization. As Clark (1973) and Lakoff and Johnson (1980) observed, an element in a vertical position is experienced as being positive or superior to another element in a physically lower position. The proto-scene of *over* by itself does not entail the idea of the TR being higher than the LM. The notion of verticality can be represented by the TR (the black sphere) being vertically elevated in relation to the LM (the vertical rectangle) (see Figure 10).

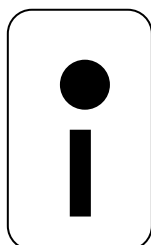


Figure 10: Up Cluster

Verbs belonging to this group are: *fall over*; *hang over*, *hold over*; *lord over*; *preside over*; *stand over*; *tower over*; *triumph over*.

(15) I think Solomon could not possibly *preside over*.

Ultimately it will *triumph over* cruelty and division.

Of all distinct senses attested in this cluster, as can be seen from Figure 2, we find only examples of the Excess Sense.

Excess Sense

The Excess Sense adds the interpretation of too much. It is described in the following examples:

(16) The milk's *boiling over* - quick, turn it off!

Racial tension *boiled over* into violence.

Twelve large sacks were filled with corn until they were *brimming over*.

Other verbs of the same group are: *boil over*; *brim over*; *left over*; *linger over*; *run over* (starts flowing over); *screw over* (cause someone a lot of problems); *spill over*; *steal over you* (you gradually feel it more and more); *wash over* (you suddenly feel it very strongly). When *over* combines with these verbs the LMs are containers and the TRs are understood as the entities in the containers. When the amount of TR is higher than the capacity of the LM, then TR becomes an excess, which results in a mess, as can be seen in Figure 11. In this configuration, greater amount of quantity results in a volume greater than the capacity of the LM, hence excess.

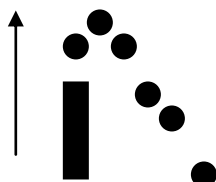


Figure 11: Excess Sense (adapted from Tyler and Evans 2003)

Repetition Sense

The Repetition Sense adds the interpretation of iterativity to the meaning of *over*. Again, this meaning cannot be found in the proto-scene (or any other sense discussed so far). Verbs that prompt for this interpretation when combined with *over* are: *rake over* (think about it again and again); *start over* (do sth again); *walk over* (always treat someone badly); *work over* (hit someone hard many times). In the following examples *over* can be substituted by again or anew:

(17) The jury basically has to resettle and *start over*.

The gang tied him to a chair and *worked him over*.

What is specific about the Repetition Sense is that it cannot appear with verbs that do not prompt for iterative reading. The following example for instance is semantically unacceptable with the Repetition Sense:

*He drank the whiskey *over*.

Repetition can be conceptualized as an iterative application of the ABC trajectory, such that when the end point of the trajectory is reached the process restarts. Or the notions of completion and reflexivity can be seen as forming a conceptual blend (in the sense of Fauconnier and Turner 1998, 2002).

The analysis of the different senses associated with the phrasal-verb particle *over* shows that its semantic network repeats the semantic network of the preposition *over*, which is evidence that they are cognate. This fact also justifies Tyler and Evans (2003: 2) in using one complex term to address prepositions and particles together, namely ‘spatial particle.’

OVER- AS A PREFIX

Most of the compounds involving *over-* bear the Excess Sense. In many cases, the lexical item prompts for the conceptualization of containment, e.g., *overbrim*, *overbubble*, *overwell*, *overflow*, *overflow*, *overfill*, *overfeed* and *overeate* (the body is a container). The conceptualization of exceeding the capacity of a container can be transferred to the domain of emotions or activities and can be reanalyzed as the notion of going beyond the normal: *overtired*, *overconcerned*, *overconscientious*, *over-anxious*, *overdo*, *overreact*, *overcommunicate*, etc.

Although the Excess Sense is predominant among the compound words with *over-* (603 out of 704 verbs, nouns and adjectives in the corpus) it is not the only sense attested from the semantic network of the preposition *over*:

- ABC-trajectory Sense (12 verbs attested): *overbreak* (to break over), *overbrow* (to hang over like a brow), *overclimb* (to climb over), etc.;

- On-the-other-side-of Sense (6 verbs attested): *overrake* (to rake over, or sweep across), *overslide* (to slide over or past), *overslip* (to slip or slide over; to pass easily), etc.;
- Transfer Sense (3 verbs attested): *overgive* (to give over, hand over, surrender), *oversend* (to send over, transmit), *overshape* (to transform; alter);
- Covering Sense (11 verbs and 5 adjectives attested): *overcast* (to overshadow), *overgild* (to cover with gilding), *oversnowed*, etc.;
- Focus-of-attention Sense (5 verbs attested): *overgaze* (to gaze; to overlook), *overglance* (to glance over), *oversee* (to survey), etc.;
- Verticality Sense (12 verbs, 15 nouns and 8 adjectives attested): *overhang*, *overbar*, *overground*, etc.;
- Control Sense (9 verbs and 3 nouns attested): *overput* (to subdue), *oversit* (to preside over), *overking*, etc.;
- Repetition Sense (12 verbs attested): *oversay* (to repeat), *overwrap* (to wrap in a secondary wrapper), *overwrite* (to destroy old data by recording new data over it), etc.

As it is clear from the senses appointed for the prefix *over-* its semantic network coincides to a considerable degree with the semantic network of the preposition *over*, illustrated in Figure 2. This fact proves that it is cognate to the preposition *over* and the phrasal-verb particle *over*.

CONCLUSION

In this paper we provide a detailed analysis of *over* as a preposition, particle and prefix. In doing so, we bring evidence that they share the same semantic network and they are cognate in nature. We also show how meaning relates directly to derivational morphology. Prefixes and particles with their meanings contribute to the semantics of the host roots by adding a new shade of meaning. The applied methodology provides insights for explaining the motivation behind pairs of verbs such as *brim over* – *overbrim*, *cloud over* – *overcloud*, *spill over* – *overspill*, etc. The verbs in these pairs share the same meaning from the semantic network. For *brim over* – *overbrim* and *spill over* – *overspill* it is the Excess Sense and for *cloud over* – *overcloud* it is the Covering Sense. However, similar pairs of verbs do not share the same meaning but still their different meanings belong to the semantic network of *over*, e.g. *do over* (repetition) – *overdo* (excess), *call over* (transfer) – *overcall* (excess), *throw over* (completion) – *overthrow* (repetition).

Such differences in the past were explained with the arbitrariness of the language. The cognitive analysis in this paper reveals the polysemous character of both the particle *over* and the prefix *over-*. Furthermore, it helps to supply evidence to account for the interrelation of so many divergent meanings.

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MULTICULTURALISM, XENOPHOBIA, AND IDENTITY IN RAMMSTEIN'S "MEIN LAND"

Sylvia Teneva

Abstract: *The paper uses the cultural interpretation of the song "Mein Land" by German industrial band Rammstein as a starting point for a discussion about multiculturalism, ethnicity, and identity, while addressing some of the issues as presented in this particular example of popular culture.*

Key words: *multiculturalism, ethnicity, identity, popular culture*

Introduction

The date 11.11.11 bore special significance for many people around the world – both positive and negative. In the hard rock and heavy metal world, on the fringes of mainstream rock music, the date stood out as the official date for the release of the first single from Rammstein's upcoming album "Made in Germany 1995-2011."

It should not come as a surprise that the German metal icons would choose the controversy-laden date for the release – they are notorious for breaking rules and defying boundaries. Since the demo of the single leaked as early as June 2011, commentaries on it have been around the web for a while before the official release date. These could be grouped as follows:

- Group 1: Rammstein fans enjoy it as they would enjoy almost anything made by the band with no further need to justify or analyze it.
- Group 2: Metal fans in general try to place the song within the context of previous Rammstein albums.
- Group 3: Those outside the metal paradigm tend to think that the song and the lyrics are dull, unimaginative, simplified. Quite a few have complained that the lyrics "just don't make sense."

Sadly, many people will not give the song a second chance and thus miss out on a poem abounding in messages. After all, Rammstein do not have one-dimensional songs. In fact, the opposite is true: the simpler the lyrics, the deeper the meaning. As a true genius, the ominous mastermind behind "Mein Land" makes it necessary for the target audience to take everything into consideration: the lyrics, the music, and the context those two have sprung up from.

It would be practically impossible for anyone to get a good idea of the song without listening to it, so I am not going to attempt any review of the track itself.

Instead, I will focus on the original lyrics in German and their English translation and attempt a structural and cultural analysis.

“Mein Land” – The Original Lyrics

- 1 Wohin gehst du, wohin?
- 2 Ich geh mit mir von Ost nach Süd
- 3 Wohin gehst du, wohin?
- 4 Ich geh mit mir von Süd nach West
- 5 Wohin gehst du, wohin?
- 6 Ich geh mit mir von West nach Nord
- 7 Da kommt er angerannt
- 8 Mit der Fahne in der Hand
- 9 Mein Land, Mein Land
- 10 Du bist hier im meinem Land
- 11 Wohin gehst du, wohin?
- 12 Ich geh mit mir von Nord nach Ost
- 13 Wohin gehst du, wohin?
- 14 Ich geh mit mir von Ost nach West
- 15 Wohin gehst du, wohin?
- 16 Ich geh von Land zu Land allein
- 17 Und nichts und niemand
- 18 Lädt mich zu bleiben ein
- 19 Mein Land, Mein Land
- 20 Du bist hier im meinem Land
- 21 Mein Land, Mein Land
- 22 Meine Welle und mein Strand
- 23 Jaaa
- 24 Eine Stimme aus dem Licht
- 25 Fällt dem Himmel vom Gesicht
- 26 Reisst den Horizont entzwei

27 Wohin gehst du, hier ist nichts mehr frei

28 Das ist mein Land

29 Das ist mein Land

30 Das ist mein Land

31 Mein Land, Mein Land

32 Du bist hier im meinem Land

33 Mein Land

34 Mein Land (Vertrieben)

35 Mein Land (Vertreiben)

36 Mein Land (Vergessen)

37 Mein Land (Nirgends kann ich bleiben)

38 Mein Land

“My Country” – The Translated Lyrics¹⁴

1 Where are you going? Where?

2 I'm going (with myself) from east to south

3 Where are you going? Where?

4 I'm going (with myself) from south to west

5 Where are you going? Where?

6 I'm going (with myself) from west to north

7 There he comes running

8 With the flag in his hand

9 My country, my country

10 You are here in my country

11 Where are you going? Where?

12 I'm going (with myself) from north to east

13 Where are you going? Where?

¹⁴ German to English translation made by the author

14 I'm going (with myself) from east to west
15 Where are you going? Where?
16 I'm going from country to country, alone

17 Nothing and no one
18 Invites me to stay

19 My country, my country
20 You are here in my country
21 My country, my country
22 My waves and my beach
23 Yeeaah

24 A voice from the light
25 Falls off the face of the sky
26 Tears the horizon apart
27 Where are you going, there is no more space here
28 This is my country
29 This is my country
30 This is my country

31 My country, my country
32 You are here in my country
33 My country

34 My country (Banished)
35 My country (Banishing)
36 My country (Forgotten)
37 I got no place to stay
38 My country

Structural Analysis

The text is seemingly repetitive and simple, yet the story it tells complies with classic drama rules, as explained by Terrin Adair-Lynch:

The first verse (Lines 1-6) presents the “point of attack” – this is the main action that causes all other actions to come.

Lines 7-8 are the “exposition,” i.e. they give important information that we need to know in order to follow the storyline. Exposition climaxes in lines 9 and 10.

The second verse (Lines 11-17) presents the “rising action” – this is the answer to the attack and it mounts suspense to a point of climax or conflict.

In a similar manner, lines 18-19 present the quintessential information and in this case build up to the highest level of dramatic intensity.

Lines 20-21 remind us of the conflict and lines 22-23 build up on the exposition.

Lines 24-28 present the point of highest dramatic intensity, or the “climax.” Everything said before has led up to this moment. In this case, the answer is inherent but the climax brings clarity of realization and conviction to the Speaker.

Lines 29-30 present the “resolution” – the point where all the conflicts are resolved, all the questions – answered.

Cultural Analysis

Like any vast country, Germany cannot be perceived as a single, monolithic entity. It has been divided into two parts, the Protestant North and the Catholic South, for centuries. Furthermore, the Allies split the country into East and West Germany in 1945. Rammstein touch upon this multidimensional division by repeatedly mentioning in the song the four cardinal directions, which, of course, are not just the geographical markers they might seem at first.

So, the country, which the title “Mein Land” refers to, is Germany. Some might argue that this fact does not need discussing – Rammstein are German, the song is in German, so which other land should it be? Besides, the title “Mein Land” has clear nationalistic ring to it and most of the world associates the word “German” and all its derivatives with the Nazis. That much is sadly true, I agree. In fact, I would add on that Rammstein, instead of attempting to confront the Nazi stereotype, have built their image, collected many fans around the world, and made loads of money exploiting that same stereotype. Yet, it is not that simple.

After having paid particular attention, one would acknowledge two different voices in the song. In fact, the lyrics present a conversation between two people whom I will call “the Speaker” and “the Other.” The Speaker starts first. S/he draws the audience to her/his side of the story. The Speaker asks questions and the Other answers. Naturally, the audience wonders who the Other is and why they would move around the country. Since the Speaker starts asking the questions, it is logical to assume that the country in question is his/her homeland.

At the end of the first verse, we learn that the Other is running with a flag in their hands. This, amplified by the inherent implications of Otherness, paints the picture of a conqueror. The Other is someone who floods the Speaker’s homeland imposing their will and waving their flag.

To further claim the territory as theirs, the Other states with a tone that leaves no room for argument, “Mein Land, Mein Land; Du bist hier im meinem Land.”¹⁵

In the second verse, the speakers swap roles and now the Other is the one asking the questions, which is signalled by a change in the pitch, tone, and timbre. Respectively, the Speaker is the one who moves around but this time the movement is triggered by the attempt to escape, not to conquer. The Speaker goes “von Land zu Land”¹⁶ and more importantly wandering alone. The somewhat passive escape of the Speaker is contrasted with the daring advance of the Other.

In the bridge, what seems like a (super)natural disaster or divine intervention makes the Speaker wake up to the reality of the situation in their homeland and claim their rights. The Speaker makes a decisive stand and the Other's voice is heard no more. The Speaker now roars the same daring words previously pronounced by the Other. And there is a happy ending.

But wait, Rammstein and happy endings? Surely, there must be something wrong! That is correct – in the very last words of the lyrics Till Lindemann, Rammstein's vocalist, spits out the words “vertrieben,” “vertreiben,” and “vergessen.”¹⁷ They are separated by the phrase “Mein Land,” and thus made to stand out. Then the song lyrics conclude with the phrase, “Nirgends kann ich bleiben.”¹⁸

This is not just a desperate cry. It is also a call for action. To put the last lines descriptively, “The one(s) who has been banished (will now) banish and forget you. I/we can no longer remain passive observers for there is no place to stay any more.”

But is that really so? This last addition makes the lyrics more than a little ambiguous. Who is the one who banishes and who is the one banished? Who has no place to stay? There is more than one way to interpret it. That is why we need the background knowledge.

Putting It All Together

So, by now we know that the Speaker, a German native, is threatened by a non-native. The Speaker first succumbs to the offensive of the Other but then, after an external intervention that mirrors the Speaker's internal conflict resolution, s/he reclaims their dominant position in their homeland.

The song adds a certain nuance to the lyrics. If you listen carefully, you will notice the colourful oriental beats added quite explicitly to the first ten seconds of

¹⁵ “My country, my country; You are here in my country.”

¹⁶ “from country to country.” In German, “Land” denotes not only the English “land, country” but also the English “state,” which in this case refers to the sixteen federal states of Germany.

¹⁷ “banished,” “banishing,” “forgotten.”

¹⁸ “I've got no place to stay.”

the song intro. Well, it is not the first time that Rammstein, or other bands for that matter, have used ethnic music samples in their songs but the oriental melody coupled with the lyrics calls for something specific.

I read “Mein Land” as a commentary on the immigrant situation in contemporary Germany. Multiculturalism has had a lot of opponents. The song, with its lyrics and oriental samples, refers to the thousands of immigrants from all over the world, but most notably Muslims and even more so Turks, who are flooding the country. Unfortunately, many of them implant their own culture in a manner that hardly adds to the indigenous heritage but rather displaces it, forcing the natives to feel lost and out of place in their own country. The muslimization of Germany puts a veil, or shall we say a burqa, over the European face of one of EU's most distinct countries. This is a slow but steady process the outcomes of which are unpredictable. Anyway, evidence of multiculturalism that has failed can be seen on a daily basis in German cities.

Many people would disagree that this song is a critique of multiculturalism. Most of them have probably never lived in Germany so they could not possibly imagine the complexity of the cultural and ethnic situation in German metropolises. Yet, even people who live in Germany could disagree because, like most cultural, social, and ethnic phenomena, the (detrimental) influence of multiculturalism needs a long time to be perceived. It is hard for an insider to a society/group in transition to notice the signs of change, whether positive or negative.

In this case, I am in a privileged position: I have lived in a few countries before moving to Germany. I am an outsider to this society but also an occupant of a specific “third space,” to use Homi Bhabha's term, thus I may be seen as better equipped for making an objective observation. (Bhabha 1990)

If the story behind the lyrics of “Mein Land” is a rendition of a possible outcome of the current cultural predicament, an intimate desire/dream of the author, or a preview of a parallel universe, one could never be sure. This interpretation is just one angle I could present. In fact, the video to the song brings a whole new meaning. As I have already mentioned, with Rammstein everything is multi-layered. A great dose of irony is the least that should be expected. For example, the statement “Meine Welle und mein Strand”¹⁹ is absurd. Who could actually claim nature as their own? And could the voice from the light in the sky in Lines 24-28 be the voice of a divinity claiming the whole world? So, are Rammstein being xenophobic or are they making fun of people who are xenophobic? There is no single correct answer. Rammstein leave the interpretation discussion open – after all, controversy and multitude of opinions raise publicity, respectively sales.

¹⁹ “(These are) My waves and my beach”

Moreover, the song intro of “Mein Land,” the same riff which Rammstein have masterfully turned into a Türkü, “Turkish folk song” (Wikipedia), is a reference to the theme song of the popular British TV series “UFO.” The series, which was “first aired in the UK and Canada in 1970 and in US syndication over the next two years,” was set in “a fictional version of 1980” when “Earth is being visited and attacked by aliens from a dying planet and humans are being covertly harvested for their organs by the aliens.” (Wikipedia)

Could Rammstein be warning us against the invading aliens who have come to destroy us? I cannot overlook the fact that “alien” stands both for “extraterrestrial” and “immigrant,” or as The Free Dictionary entry for “alien” goes,

1. An unnaturalized foreign resident of a country. Also called noncitizen.

[...]

4. A creature from outer space.

In the TV series “UFO,” the aliens are “extraterrestrial,” whereas in Rammstein’s “Mein Land,” the aliens are “unnaturalized immigrants.” Moreover, if someone needs a hint at who those immigrants are, they would only have to pay attention to the genre in which the UFO theme song is presented – a Türkü.

Conclusion

In both the song and the video for “Mein Land,” Rammstein have managed to cover many different angles, many different planes, to reach out to many different people, coming from different backgrounds, of different age groups, etc. For some people, the phrase “Mein Land” is a clear, non-negotiable statement of Nazi xenophobia and a reference to Adolf Hitler’s notorious autobiography/manifesto “Mein Kampf.” For others – the brutal destruction of American idyllic freedom and hope of the 1960s, presented in the video, is what it takes to see the light. For the sci-fi lovers who grew up watching “UFO,” it might be the theme song that brings the “alien” threat image to mind. However, all these layers of associations and many more intertextual links try to get through a single message: immigrants who do not respect the native population are a bomb sure to explode and put an end to the world as we know it. This is a problem in Germany, in England, in the USA, and anywhere in the modern world. This is a problem of multiculturalism *per se*. Keeping one’s own cultural heritage intact while being an integral part of a larger cultural group may sound brilliant in theory, especially when contrasted with assimilationism, but in practice the immigrants do not always approach the country they have chosen as their new home with the proper reverence. Case in point: “unnaturalized” immigrants. I do not mean immigrants in general. I would not put all immigrants under a common denominator because that would be discriminatory and hypocritical since I am an immigrant myself.

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GALVANIZING FRESH STRATEGIES FOR INTENSIVE AND EXTENSIVE READING IN BULGARIAN ELT

Temenuzhkha Seizova-Nankova, Bill Templer

Abstract: *The present article suggests a range of proven strategies for Intensive and Extensive Reading that can be further experimented within differing learning EFL teaching and learning ecologies in Bulgaria, and points to resources online and elsewhere.*

Key words: *Intensive Reading, Extensive Reading, ELT*

Reading is the only way -- Krashen (2004: 37)

The core thesis we develop here is that a range of strategies for Intensive Reading and Extensive Reading (IR + ER) -- some familiar to teachers and learners, others perhaps novel, even revolutionary -- need to be energized in Bulgarian ELT, operating in dynamic tandem both inside and outside the country's classrooms.

While in ER, a teacher encourages students to select for themselves what they read for pleasure at their comfort level of comprehension (even at 200-headword level, Penguin Easystarts) -- developing broad reading skills and a love for independent reading -- IR seeks to develop specific skills: these include reading for gist (skimming), reading for focused specific information (scanning), reading for detailed comprehension or for inference as to what is 'behind' the words (Harmer 2007: 283), reading to expand vocabulary in particular in an IR oriented strongly to the 'Lexical Approach' (Seizova-Nankova 2012; Harwood 2002).

This should be done at all levels at schools, dealing now in Bulgaria and elsewhere with a 'Generation Y' or NetGen of 'screenagers' who are 'digital natives' and may often 'feel disengaged in the classroom' (Templer 2012b: 1), and are perhaps especially resistant to conventional forms of reading and instruction. NetGen kids/teens have their 'e-life,' /Internet/ 'g-life,' /computer games/, 'm-life,' /music, pop + chalga/, 'p-life,' /cell phones + SMS/, their 'c-life' /comics/, 'f-life' /films/. But their 'b-life' /self-selected relaxed reading of books for pleasure/ is quite limited in any language for most younger Bulgarians. Both IR and ER need to build bridges to where the students are at -- that is also a concern of <<http://cheti.me>>, trying to galvanize more reading in Bulgarian.

Importantly, a conjoint aim should be to make reading in the IR and ER modes independent and autonomous. That means encouraging foreign language learners (FLLs) to become self-propelled -- "deciding what kinds of activities to include in a program of study in order to learn a language without the help of a teacher" (Nation and Yamamoto 2012: 184) -- especially after they reach an intermediate

level, around mid-B1 in terms of the Common European Framework. Krashen (2004a; 2011; 2012) has repeatedly stressed that once FLLs reach an intermediate level, in most learning ecologies they can best stay at their achieved level and improve by developing their own independent self-propelled style in acquisition and advance on their own. This is especially true where FLLs are in a situation where they have little contact with English speakers or local English texts outside the classroom, as in Bulgaria. In a country like Bulgaria, reading is the single best mode of learning, since it is what learners can best organize autonomously for learning independent of any scaffolding except texts hands-on.

Nation and Yamamoto (2012), Loucky (2005) Harmer (2007: 283-302), Krashen (2004a; 2011; 2012) and others stress the importance of combining IR and ER in dynamic inventive tandem in EFL teaching. This should best be geared to the specific ecologies of EFL teaching and learning in a given country, region or even a specific school with its distinctive mix of dominant social class and cultural background of the learners involved, including schools with a high number of learners from a minority language background (Templer 2012b), and the special problems this poses for literacy in *any* language. Loucky (2005: 2) notes: ‘A well-balanced second language reading program should include three main foci: 1) vocabulary development activities, 2) intensive classroom reading and 3) extensive out-of-class free reading activities.’

The present article suggests useful proven strategies that can be further experimented with in differing learning EFL teaching and learning ecologies in Bulgaria, and points to resources online and elsewhere. IR in various forms remains a common component in most ELT syllabi around the globe -- ER much less so, especially in Bulgaria. Table 1 (adapted in part from Loucky 2005: 19) presents an overview of some key aspects of IR as contrasted with ER.

Table 1

INTENSIVE READING SKILLS vs. EXTENSIVE READING SKILLS

Stress on development of specific reading skills, meaning comprehension skills stressed, focused development, reinforcement of grammar, inferencing, predicting in pre-reading activities, scanning, skimming	Stress on large quantity of reading, often self-selected, out of class, for pleasure, Free Voluntary Reading of easier graded materials at level of learners comprehensible input (Krashen 2004a; 2004b; 2011; 2012); see video, Rob Waring: http://bit.ly/GJ7wIz
Strong emphasis on ‘language focused learning’ activities in sense of Nation and Yamamoto (2012) and their work on ‘four strands’ of language learning, along with ‘meaning focused input’ in	Emphasis on strand of ‘fluency development’ in reading at one’s comprehension level in sense of Nation and Yamamoto (2012), along with ‘meaning focused input’ in large

small intensively examined dosage	quantity
Deepening cognitive processing through learning and practicing specific lexical comprehension skills in an intentional manner; emphasis on 'Lexical Approach' (Harwood 2002)	Broadening exposure to the target language meanings and forms through breadth of overall lexical input and pleasure of more autonomous self-selected reading activity
Use of shorter texts of 400-1,800 words for intensive micro-analysis; often 'authentic' academic and literary texts	Reading of longer easier texts and stories, graded readers, even at the pace of one full graded reader a week (Nation and Yamamoto 2012: 186)
More stressful reading, often all students reading same text as assigned	Students reading largely self-selected texts from a library resource, or self-chosen on Internet
Higher anxiety, due to 'assessment stress,' testing of materials after reading, receipt of a formal 'grade,' thus lower motivation for some	Lower anxiety, lowered 'affective filter' (Krashen 2004a: 130-131) due to greater freedom – graded readers but often not 'graded students' in the traditional sense. Improved motivation
Use of texts with perhaps 15% of lexis or more not readily familiar to the learner	Often reading texts based on '5-finger rule,' not more than five unfamiliar words on a page (ca. 2% of vocabulary)
Lexis work on synonyms, semantics of vocabulary in a given text, collocations (Seizova-Nankova, 2012); collocate tool: www.just-the-word.com	Reading more for pleasure and enjoyment; see 2012 video with J. Harmer: http://bit.ly/GRneyY
Extensive use of dictionaries, mono- and bilingual, use of corpora such as the British National Corpus http://corpus.byu.edu	Often avoidance of using any dictionary in reading at simpler comprehensible input level specific to the learner
Skills/strategies such as previewing and guessing content, summarizing, searching for synonyms, rephrasing	No need for manipulations of texts being read, no tests
Working with numerous forms of 'exercises' to interiorize and learn new lexis, master spelling, pronunciation	Avoiding most kinds of exercises and tests; perhaps a book report written or a journal on book read is kept
Concentration on given set text, more mono-medial in approach. IR texts may seem too difficult, even boring to some	Use of CALL, multimedia, 'lexically and contextually rich environments' (Loucky 2005: 3) chosen by the learner

students, esp. GenNet ‘screenagers’ who may dislike lockstep print learning	+ surfing for texts online (Krashen 2007); graphic novels (Templer 2009)
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In all its forms, IR is more the norm of typical course book ‘readings’: look ‘INSIDE’ the text, look ‘IN’ at vocabulary, grammar, reading skills, various kinds of exercises, teacher-led, generally all reading the same texts, at same pace, both better and weaker students. IR is often not individualized, or self-selected.

Narrow mechanical IR and the dilemma in China

These negative aspects are strongly reflected in China, the largest system of EFL teaching in this part of the universe, where IR in a rigid, mechanical form is heavily entrenched as a methodology: ‘IR has dominated English language curriculum in the teacher-dominated class, students do nothing but just read, listen, write, translate, imitate, memorize’ (Yang, Dai, Gao 2012: 112). The authors criticize this ‘hair-splitting analysis of text, emphasis on mimicry-memorization drills, overdoing mechanical exercises, and spoon-feeding,’ and go on to propose a much more flexible kind of IR, combined with an inventive, student-centered ER to ‘enable students to cultivate a capacity to be ultimately an autonomous reader and work independently’ (Yang, Dai, Gao 2012: 116) -- within a powerfully de-institutionalized autodidacticism along the lines of Jacques Rancière (1991).

IR in Focus: Reading Skills and Reading Types

Schmitt (1997) lists 58 strategies relevant to IR, including Social Strategies (interaction with others to learn, collaborative and Memory Strategies and Deep-Processing Strategies of various kinds) to improve language learning. Significantly, over recent decades we have seen a marked shift from a focus on grammar to lexis acquisition in second-language pedagogy and research, stressing a ‘Lexical Approach,’ including better control of collocations, also termed ‘colligations’ (Seizova-Nankova 2011, 2012; Lewis 2000; Harwood 2002).

Looking at fluent reading, Loucky (2005: 4) mentions Grabe’s six key components: 1) automatic word recognition skills, 2) structural and vocabulary knowledge about words, 3) formal discourse structure knowledge, 4) background knowledge about content and the world, 5) skill in using essential reading strategies, evaluative skills and an ability to synthesize or compare texts, and 6) an ability to monitor one’s own reading skills and strategies (known as meta-cognitive skills). Loucky (2005: 20) offers a model of the major cognitive phases of lexical processing with essential text-decoding and meaning-encoding strategies that he feels should be specifically taught to FLLs and practiced by them. Readers can access that model in tabular form online. He posits seven ‘reading types’: survey reading, speed reading (skimming, scanning), phrase

reading (determining structure by sense units), close reading, (summarizing story line, text's rhetorical structure), inquiry reading (making inferences), critical reading (noting personal judgments, insights, using graphic organizers) and esthetic reading (visualizing story, picturing action, retelling, dramatizing).

What is it to 'know' a word through the prism of 'Lexical Approach'?

It means comfortable familiarity with its form – spelling/sound, morphological structure, syntactic patterning, basic meanings/connotations, pragmatics, lexical relations, and very importantly, the 'company it keeps,' its collocations (Seizova-Nankova 2012; Lewis 2000; Harwood 2002). The adjectives 'lazy' and 'idle' can be used in similar constructions with the verbs: to be / become, but differ in the collocations with nouns they are used with: e.g. lazy day/way/river/curve/voice, but idle talk/gossip/threat/chatter/thought/time/hour/speculation/fun/gesture/boast, and many more. In inventive IR, students should use the excellent online tool www.just-the-word.com, here 'idle': <http://goo.gl/Pbkqg>. FLLs often know some core meaning of a word but not necessarily their collocations. Corpora online at <http://corpus.byu.edu> are also very useful for learning real collocations.

Assorted IR strategies

One innovation Loucky recommends is creating mini-book clubs for students, where they can learn collaboratively, while bonding socially and sharing insights (ibid.: 4-5). An excellent idea one of the present authors (Bill) has applied is EFL Literature Circles, for in-class collaborative discussion of a text (Furr 2004). It is highly effective for building various skills in analysis of literary texts, on a collaborative basis, with specific functions assigned to circle members. A number of such circles can be created simultaneously in a classroom for group work. This is somewhat similar to what Loucky (2005: 10) describes as Collaborative Strategic Reading (CSR), where students are assigned specific roles in organizing a text discussion. Students can also create their own questions, and practice collaborative summarizing in small groups.

Among the techniques for vocabulary building Loucky (2005: 7, 9) discusses are the 'Draw It Game' (sketching a picture of what a word represents), 'Manipulate It' (listing synonyms, opposites, rhymes, students can work in groups), 'Word Grids' (making connections, associations in mental maps) and 'Word Boxes' (students contribute to a class Word Box with self-chosen words, picturing their meaning and use on a card) and strategies for 'Personalizing or connecting with real life experiences,' 'interpreting text using Graphic Organizers (GOs).'

A technique one of the authors (Templer) has observed in Malaysia is students making numerous comic drawings for a text they are reading, that illustrate the plot. This is of course best for fiction, but can also be applied to non-fiction texts. Todorova (2007) discusses numerous salient features of text grammar, such as cohesive devices, junctives, pro-forms, parallelism, tense and aspect, ellipsis,

lexico-semantic fields, hyponymic relations, contextual synonymy that are relevant for students to become aware of, even from an intermediate level, and is replete with activities (Todorova 2007: 79, 90, 93, 101, 105, 108, 112-13, 124, 130 + key) useful for IR.

Harmer (2007: 286-302) sketches a broad spectrum of strategies and activities of IR. One (Harmer 2007: 287) is to allow students to collaborate in pairs or troikas searching for word meanings in a common text they are reading -- making small lists, comparing, discussing among themselves, and finally deciding in a somewhat larger group (perhaps 6-8) what has to be looked up in a dictionary, where “understanding every word” has been changed into a cooperative learning task in its own right’ (Harmer 2007: 287). Other exercises include matching words and their definition, a modified cloze procedure where every 7th word, for example is missing, and students work in pairs to fill in the blanks. Harmer also provides examples of jigsaw exercises and other types that activate understanding through questions on the text. Use of the Internet for texts is also discussed.

One approach Templer has also experimented with extensively is assume the role of someone in the text they are reading, especially if fiction, and then writing a letter or interior monologue (Templer, Tonawanik 2011) by that character in the text. This is an effective exercise that hones social imagination and social empathy, while activating better control of lexis, theme of the text, and grammar.

One important dimension is simplification and annotation of authentic texts of all kinds, depending on student levels. The text ‘15 ways to simplify reading texts’ (<http://goo.gl/5evsS>) has many good ideas for teachers/students to work with texts in inventive ways. FLLs can also learn to apply other aspects of CALL (<http://goo.gl/KKWkp> for IR), such as Wordsmith tools (<http://goo.gl/NwBcI>).

Extensive Reading

Maley (2009) suggests the following characteristics of successful ER, which can also be applied in part to Extensive Listening. The following have been adapted from his list (see also Day, Bamford 1998: 6-8):

- Students read a lot and read often. Maybe 30 minutes a day, 2-3 hours a week. For pleasure, information, general understanding. Reading at a slow 50 words per minute that can amount to 18,000 words a week.
- There is a wide variety of text types and topics to choose from, fiction, non-fiction, comics, graphic novels and texts, drama, newspapers.
- The texts are not just interesting: they are engaging/compelling.
- Students themselves choose what to read. If they find too hard after 2-3 pages, they try something else.

- Reading is its own reward. For pleasure, not some test. You acquire more vocab, grammar, subconsciously.
- There are no tests, no exercises, no questions and no dictionaries. Reading for pleasure and literacy praxis is the aim..
- Materials are within the language competence of the students, maybe 2% of words not known, the ‘five-finger rule’ (see below).
- Reading is individual, and generally silent.
- Speed is normal, not too slow. Maybe 100 words a minute, 6,000 an hour (slow for some). But 2 hours a week means about 48-50 thousand words a month. It can add up to 600,000 running words a year at this slow rate.
- The teacher explains the goals and procedures clearly, then monitors and guides the students, who are autonomous learners.
- The teacher is a role model, herself a reader, who participates along with the students -- not a ‘police officer for literacy’ or a ‘master schoolmaster’ within a rigid ‘explicative order’ in Rancière’s sense (1991: 4-8, 12-18).

Maley (2009) stresses that “there is no cheaper and more effective way to develop learner autonomy. It offers comprehensible input, with repeated encounters with language the students already largely know: ‘the only reliable way to learn a language is through massive and repeated exposure to it in context: precisely what ER provides.’ Importantly, ER creates and sustains motivation to read more, looking for ‘compelling’ material. Maley notes: ‘the effect on self-esteem and motivation of reading one’s first book in the foreign language is undeniable.’

The ‘5-finger rule’ means no more than five unfamiliar new words per page of about 275-300 words, the classic ‘5-finger rule of thumb’ for comprehensible input (2% new words on a page, best not more!). Research suggests learners need to encounter a lexical item 25-30 times in different contexts of reading and listening before they really learn it. Ergo: read, read, read, for fluency, in your comfort and pleasure zone.

A focus on ER and EL suggests some 10,000 words a week or more of sustained, repeated comprehensible input amounting to a goal of ca. 500,000 words annually at a reading & listening speed of 100 words per minute, 100 minutes a week. (100 x 100 x 52) In Japan, teachers may try to reach the double: 1,000,000 running words intake per year in the SSS approach – Start with Simple Stories -- the work of Akio Furukawa: <http://bit.ly/GHPKF6>. Akio’s approach is great! Extensive can mean repeated readings of and listening to the same material, but more normally

is reading hefty amounts of new material, lots of graded readers (see also Takase, Uozumi 2011 on intriguing empirical work in Japan).

Paul Nation stresses that learners need the ‘opportunity to become really good at using what you already know, and that means developing fluency with the language that you have already learned. At every level of language proficiency, learners should try to be fluent with what they already know. So right from the very first day of learning a language, you can be fluent in the small amounts of language that you know’ (Nation 2008). This kind of ‘fluency’ can be best developed through a lot of reading at your level, whatever that is, even knowing a hundred words. Penguin Easystarts start at 200 headwords, cum audio pack.

Free Voluntary Reading (FVR) & Listening (FVL)

A key focus for developing reading fluency is wide, relaxed Free Voluntary Reading outside classroom or Sustained Silent Reading (SSR) of a self-selected text for maybe 20-30 minutes inside the classroom. Krashen (2004b) notes: ‘In the last few decades, evidence from several areas continues to show that those who do more recreational reading show better development in reading, writing, grammar and vocabulary. These results hold for first and second language acquisition, and for children and adults.’ Krashen (2011) provides a fascinating interview online about the need for developing FVR; see also his talk on poverty and literacy, also relevant for Bulgaria 2012: <http://bit.ly/HrHx5S>.

FVR and FVL, for recreation and pleasure, are rare among most FLLs in Bulgaria at all levels, whatever foreign language. Research can substantiate it. Most students here are not reading much independently for fun or pleasure -- even newspapers or comics in English. Nor listening much in English, except maybe to pop songs. Free reading in Bulgarian, Turkish, and certainly Romanes among ethnic Roma, is also fairly scant (Templer 2012a). Sure, kids go online but do not read longer texts (much is Twitter’d, SMS’d). The most important socioeconomic structural factor is simply scarce resources for graded ‘easier’ reading in English - - little at home, little in local libraries, book shops, in an economy in the crisis of ‘transition’ for over 20 years. In part, this is also due to student learning styles: pupils and university students tend to study what is assigned for tests, what is marked, especially now with GenNet attitudes unbound. The result is: many teachers do not encourage free voluntary reading outside class, even online. For teachers there is always the additional argument of ‘no time’ in the curriculum.

What to Read Hands-On in ER?

- **LEARNER LITERATURE** - Graded readers (GRs) for FLLs: there are now over 3,000, fiction and non-fiction for EFL – See the Extensive Reading Guide of erfoundation.org, p. 16 (<http://bit.ly/HOo2Ce>). But most graded readers are a bit expensive in lower-income economies. We need cost-free learner literature. Macmillan

Readers for Beginners at 600 headwords have 36 titles, all with audio: <http://bit.ly/HhiJ0U>; Penguin Easystarts at 200 headwords offer 24 different titles (<http://bit.ly/HLPh3L>). Penguin Kids Readers, a new series at six levels from 200 headwords on up, offers more than 25 titles: <http://bit.ly/HSzOhR>. All these are nicely illustrated. There is graded drama such as *Romeo and Juliet* at a level of 1,200 headwords from Penguin. But graded drama is rare and requires much expansion in GRs.

- LEVELED READERS FOR YOUNG LEARNERS – few are available here in Bulgaria in any bookstore, except in Bulgarian translated from English, such as *Wizard of Oz* or *Black Beauty*, *Dracula*.
- YOUNG ADULT FICTION, especially with themes connected to the life worlds of your students / lit. for kids and teens: Children's literature and Young Adult Fiction should be a main focus (see this video from UK: <http://bit.ly/GZ2amV>)
- SHORT STORIES/NOVELS ONLINE – there are numerous good sites, here a few: <http://free-online-novels.com>; <http://goo.gl/7ivS8>; <http://www.shortstories101.com/>; <http://bit.ly/JquIf0>. These are written by students: <http://shortstories.student.com> (see also Krashen 2007).
- VOA SPECIAL ENGLISH -- the online archive has over 6,000 articles and stories in simpler English, graded at 1,500 headwords (see <http://learningenglish.voanews.com>). Here is a famous story by Jack London: <http://bit.ly/HYdiCX> (see also Templer 2012b: 6-7).
- MULTIMODAL MATERIALS GALORE -- Graphic novels and comics, Manga in English. A huge growing body of material that young readers love. Get these into libraries and students' hands! (see Templer 2009).

Conclusion

Templer (2012b) provides much additional material on ER, other useful websites. Takase and Uozumi (2011) provide interesting data on ER from Japan. Waring has a superb site: <http://www.robwaring.org>. Research in the Bulgarian context is needed for all aspects of hands-on IR/ER pedagogy, including action research on a more 'Lexical Approach' in IR (Harwood 2002). Moreover, Templer wishes to stress that reading needs to focus on 'critical literacy' and its skills, learning how to read texts 'against their grain,' interrogating how meaning and power are encoded in texts. Many approaches in our classrooms are 'domesticating' for learners, 'teaching them only how to fit in with dominant cultures rather than to question and reshape powerful discourses' (McKinney, Norton 2008: 200-201). Here in the region, readers can look at the movement 'MI CMO 99%' ('99% of Serbia'), which is encouraging just such critical questioning of the status quo

(<http://goo.gl/yrCyJ>). They are also building on Chomsky's notions about how the media manipulate us (<http://goo.gl/xQdUT>; see also occupytogether.org).

In a similar critical vein, knowledge of English here in BG should not be a mere tool in the 'tool kit' for labor (e)migration abroad. Over 37% are now working abroad, many permanent emigrants (<http://goo.gl/1Beb5>). A large proportion of the young see no future here. Bulgaria needs to retain learners of English at home, in *all* walks of life and social strata, and counter the surging exodus + brain drain.

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